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The Historical Novel and the Nation State, 1814-1900

by

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For Mom and Dad

Abstract

The following is a work of literary history on the historical novel in nineteenth-century Britain, France, America, and Canada, combining history and criticism, using materials from politics, bibliography, and literature. Following upon earlier romance, gothic, national, and historical novels, Walter Scott's combination of history and romance in *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814) offered a unique, effective, and influential means of describing and directing the social transformation and modernization of nation states. Honoré de Balzac, James Fenimore Cooper, and Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé built upon the success of Scott's *Waverley Novels* (1814-31) by adapting formal and thematic resources to local circumstances, making the historical novel transnational in scope and national in application. Case studies of Scott's *Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818); Balzac's *Père Goriot* (1835); Cooper's *Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea* (1840); and Aubert de Gaspé's *Anciens Canadiens* (1863) situate, describe, and trace the impact of such works: first, literary and print history situates initial production; second, narrative analysis describes the representation of modern identity and group formation; third, downmarket dissemination and cultural adaptation within and between nation states throughout the nineteenth century traces the extended impact on publishing, reading, and culture. Consideration of the historical novel as a historical, political, and popular form used to respond and contribute to conditions of modernity provides the information and analysis necessary for reevaluation of the role and significance of such works in the development of the modern nation state.

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Introduction

Criticism and Methodology

The historical novel is notoriously difficult to define. In *On the Historical Novel* (1840), Alessandro Manzoni concludes, “the historical novel is not a false genre, but a species of a false genre which includes all compositions that try to mix history and invention, whatever their form” (81). In *The Art and Practice of Historical Fiction* (1930), Alfred Tresidder Sheppard echoes the problem outlined by Manzoni: “It is not difficult to define fiction; the definition of historical fiction, on the other hand, presents innumerable, and at first unsuspected, difficulties” (12). Such difficulties have resulted in wide-ranging views of the role of history and fiction in the historical novel. György Lukács in *The Historical Novel* (1937) and Harry Henderson in *Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction* (1974) argue that fiction and history cannot be separated; Lion Feuchtwanger in *The House of Desdemona or The Laurels and Limitations of Historical Fiction* (1963) and Floyd Watkins in *In Time and Place: Some Origins of American Fiction* (1977) argue that fiction and history are distinct. Whether or not the historical novel is even a genre is uncertain. Lukács, for example, does not separate the historical novel from the novel (242); he describes shifts in form and content relative to historical circumstances. If it is a genre, the means of categorization vary considerably. In “The Kinds of Historical Fiction: An Essay in Definition and Methodology” (1879), Joseph Turner suggests, “all we can say in general about the genre is that it resists generalization” (335) and leaves his own three-part categorization to the reader: “The necessity for the categories of

invented, disguised, and documented historical novels, therefore, is exclusively interpretive, a matter of differing expectations and conventions involved in our reading” (355). In “The Historical Novel and French Canada” (1945), David Hayne simply contends that the historical novel is a typical novel plus “emphasis on setting” (39). In *The Historical Novel in Europe, 1650-1950* (2009), Richard Maxwell describes historical fiction as “hard to isolate” (8) and then focuses on specific themes or motifs in historical novels of various periods and contexts.

Definitions of the historical aspect of the historical novel—the period of time between publication and setting—are no more helpful. In “Some Words About Sir Walter Scott” (1871), Leslie Stephen defers to the subtitle of Walter Scott’s *Waverley, or ‘Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814), suggesting that sixty years is appropriate (291) (although the setting of Scott’s novels range from *Count Robert of Paris* [1831], set in the eleventh century, to *Saint Ronan’s Well* [1823], set in the present). For Sheppard, whether a few minutes ago or a thousand years, it is all history and drawing a line is arbitrary (15). In *The Historical Novel and Other Essays* (1901), Brander Mathews suggests that historical novels are in fact contemporary productions: “In other words, the really trustworthy historical novels are those which were a-writing while the history was a-making” (18). Hayne brings up the subject but only differentiates between novels “historical in intention” (7) and those that have become historical over time. Feuchtwanger sees an important intermediary event as crucial: “One inclines to regard as being historical only novels set in an age antecedent to that of the author, but I simply can’t understand why a literary piece may not be designated as historical if the

time of its action is separated from the time of its writing by some decisive event” (101). In *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf* (1971), Avrom Fleishman says two generations; Henderson says “the world that existed before the author was born” (xvi). In *The American Historical Romance* (1987), George Dekker asks, “For fiction to qualify as ‘historical,’ what more can be required than that the leading or (more to the point) determinative social and psychological traits it represents clearly belong to a period historically distinct from our own?” (14); he does not insist on a specific period of time in the past or on historical figures. As such, some critics indicate a period of time in the past, others none at all, Feuchtwanger hints at the historical event, which seems one of the few useful interventions, and Dekker points to historically accurate social and psychological determinants. In short, over the past two hundred years no consensus as to the definition of a historical novel has emerged.

The process and problems of making history out of the combination of history and fiction tend to overshadow the wide-ranging definitions of what makes a historical novel historical. The transition from the chronology or history proper to that which comes closer to historical truth or living history is outlined in “On History and Romance” (1797) by William Godwin, who opposes romance and invention to history, but insists on their combination to form historical romance:

From these considerations it follows that the noblest and most excellent species of history, may be decided to be a composition in which, with a scanty substratum of facts and dates, the writer

interweaves a number of happy, ingenious and instructive inventions, blending them into one continuous and indiscernible mass. It sufficiently corresponds with the denomination, under which Abbé Prévost acquired considerable applause, of historical romance. (n. pag.)

The term ‘historical romance’ used repeatedly and inconsistently in literary criticism, often seemingly interchangeably with ‘historical novel’ (the term used throughout this study), is important as Godwin uses it. Historical romance does not aim to replace chronology, but to improve upon it by coming closer to the truth of the historical moment, which requires imagination and not merely facts: “That history which comes nearest to truth, is the mere chronicle of facts, places and dates. But this is in reality no history. He that knows only what day the Bastille was taken and on what spot Louis XVI perished, knows nothing. He professes the mere skeleton of history. The muscles, the articulations, every thing in which the life emphatically resides, is absent” (n. pag.). This sense of bringing history to life, of filling in the absences of historical record, is essential to the historical novel—to the individuals and relationships portrayed, the events remembered, the story believed.

The relationship of the individual to (national) history is central to Godwin’s discussion of historical romance: “The study of history divides itself into two principal branches; the study of mankind in a mass, of the progress, the fluctuations, the interests and the vices of society; and the study of the individual. The history of a nation might be written in the first of these senses, entirely in

terms of abstraction, and without descending so much as to name one of those individuals to which the nation is composed” (n. pag.). The historical romance includes both ‘mankind in a mass’ and ‘the individual,’ combining national contexts and individual lives, precisely why European and North American readers found the Waverley Novels (1814-31) so profoundly different, exciting, and relevant in the nineteenth century. The tension between individual and context, however, is reduced to “knowledge of the individual, as that which can alone give energy and utility to the records of our social existence” (n. pag.). This step from the two branches of history to emphasis on individual character influenced, or at least describes, subsequent fictional and critical reinterpretations of the historical novel. Writing at the turn of the twentieth century, Mathews, for example, presents a humanist interpretation of Scott; more particularly, he praises realism with “a compassionate understanding of his fellow-creatures” (11); history is merely added or subtracted, employed as background or injected into a story. The historical novel is denigrated in favour of realist fiction, which is “more authentic fiction, in which the story-teller reports on humanity as he actually sees it” (25). The historical novel, too far from the skeleton of history perhaps, is a form of “drug” or of “dissipation” that deceives readers into believing they are “improving their minds” (26). In short, the historical novel is dishonest because it does not declare itself as pure romance and because it is not realistic compared to reportage, realism, or naturalism of the period. Following Manzoni and others, the historical novel is, much like melodrama, considered an unwieldy and inconsistent mixture; or, in Mathews’s memorable phrase, it is for

those who wish to be “ravished out of themselves into an illusion of a world better than the one they, unfortunately, have to live in” (27), and as such, dangerous.

In *The Historical Novel: An Essay* (1924), Herbert Butterfield moves away from formal impossibility or romantic utopianism to the practical importance of making history, describing the historical novel as one of the primary sources of understanding the past and as part of what people make of themselves (2). To support his view of the historical novel as “a piece of invention” (4), Butterfield emphasizes the “impossibility of history” (14); he is modernist in this respect, and in his colourful description of the process of making history: “The Memory of the world is not a bright, shining crystal, but a heap of broken fragments, a few fine flashes of light that break through the darkness” (15). The story enables belief and understanding, “it fuses the past into a picture, and makes it live” (23). The emphasis on combination returns to Godwin; the importance of content precedes Lukács. More importantly, the transformation of history proper, a chronology of events, into a picture and a story creates what Butterfield refers to as “literature of power” (24), which provides an important connection to Lukács’s description of the historical novel as based on material historicism: “Historical novels are born of romanticism of a kind; but they are a romancing around objects and places; they have a basis in reality, and their roots in the soil” (41); as a result of this link with the soil, “The historical novel itself becomes a maker of history” (42). It is here, however, that the connection with Lukács breaks down.

Lukács writes of the social transformation of a nation; Butterfield focuses more on how to write a great historical novel, discussing cohesive weaving versus episodic juxtaposition, for example. Accordingly, Lukács prefers Honoré de Balzac, Butterfield Alexandre Dumas. Further, Butterfield favours the great individual in history: “A ‘historic’ character is a famous character, very often a public man” (65). This is the point which most clearly separates Lukács from Butterfield, who writes: “In all the ages of the past there have been a few people who have moved the world, and have cut a great figure in their day, and behind these there has been the mass of people who did not lead, but followed, who did not act, but watched, who were the material upon which the great men worked, the instrument upon which the men in high station played” (65). However useful Butterfield’s understanding of the making of history through historical fiction, the concern with a ‘great figure’ described in psychological-moral terms ultimately reflects an internal-individualist understanding of history: “It is his own hopes and ambitions and fears as he finds himself set up against the world of men and things, his conflict with circumstances, his moods and his glad moments, his risks, his falling in love, his bewilderments, his relations with men, that make up the novel” (68). The ‘great men’ of history, who live with greater intensity, during important epochs, participating in historic moments, are set forth against (or above) the world of people and things (a view later re-popularized by Ayn Rand). Butterfield leaves no doubt as to the hierarchical world view upon which his analysis rests: “over our heads, as it were, a great history-making is always going on” (81). He holds up Victor Hugo as the great representative of “the sublime

tragedy of Man's experience in the world" (85) before describing experience in the world as "cosmic in conception" (86). In this movement from the soil to the sublime Butterfield epitomizes all that Lukács rails against, turning the novelist into a poet and a Romanticist based upon an interpretation of the past as somehow unified and in line with a "higher power" (87), a notion with clear religious and class implications.

Following upon criticism by Mathews, Butterfield, and others, Lukács's *Historical Novel* was groundbreaking. The key shift was in Lukács's recognition of the way in which "Scott portrays the great transformations of history as transformations of popular life" (49). Lukács takes up Godwin's twofold description of history, but the tension between individual and context remains, and is even amplified in that the individual represents the common people—the nation at a popular level—during a moment of national crisis. The *Waverley Novels* were not the first historical novels, but the first and primary example of this kind of historical novel, which Lukács calls a 'classical historical novel' because it is popular, historical, and material: "History for Scott means in a very primary and direct way: the fortunes of the people. His first concern is the life of the people in a given historical period; only then does he embody a popular destiny in an historical figure and show how such events are connected with the problems of the present. The process is an organic one. He writes *from* the people, not *for* the people; he writes from their experiences, from their soul" (282-83). Different from gothic, national, domestic, and regional novels, the *Waverley Novels* combined history and romance particular to the changing conditions of

modern Britain and arising from the popular and material basis of life; for this reason, it was a unique and effective expression of national transformation.

Lukács's reinterpretation of the Waverley Novels as revolutionary descriptions of national transformation contributed to new interest in Scott, the historical novel, and collective or sociological views of history, especially following upon the English translation in 1962. In 1930, Sheppard emphasizes atmosphere, suggesting that Scott produces "the haze of wistfulness and glamour which is comparable to that gloss or film on pre-historic implements and weapons" (17) and in 1945 Hayne refers to Scott as a "romancer" with a "genius for the picturesque" (10). In 1963, however, Feuchtwanger summarizes the key points of Lukács's understanding of the historical novel. Nevertheless, although Lukács becomes a point of reference, much of the criticism that follows struggles or fails to engage directly with collective or social views of history—with "mankind in a mass, of the progress, the fluctuations, the interests and the vices of society" (Godwin n. pag.). Feuchtwanger, for example, provides an interpretation of Scott and the historical novel which seems unable to reconcile individual and collective views of history. He writes that Scott's "concern for the common man brought him the new realization that the masses, the people, are the bearers of history rather than highly placed single individuals" (58). His transition from "the art of Walter Scott" (48) to prose for the people, however, reverses direction when he criticizes Lukács for his failure to comprehend the individualistic nature of poetry: "Lukács, who is a sound critic, knows, of course, that the art of every genuine poet has many sources and that the temperament and talent of the poet

determine the basic character of his work. But Lukács inclines to forget this time and again . . .” (71-72). Not ten pages later, he adds, “I agree completely with Georg Lukács” (78), noting that the Waverley Novels “gave expression to what everyone suspected but no one had yet formulated, namely, that history is not an irresponsible vortex of individual destinies but the fate of a whole, of a people, of the masses” (78). Feuchtwanger provides an example of the complicated and unresolved tension between the two views of history outlined by Godwin.

The Marxist basis of Lukács’s criticism of the historical novel translated into English during a high period of American individualism and anti-Communist fervor followed by the long Cold War and coinciding with the rise of formalism perhaps in part explains the continued emphasis on the form of the historical novel over the past fifty years. Criticism in the 1970s did, however, begin to consider more sociological views of history. In *The Historical Novel and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century England* (1975), Nicholas Rance, for example, emphasizes historical novels that reflect contemporary and popular social problems. Writing of historical novels by Charles Dickens (*A Tale of Two Cities* [1859]), George Eliot (*Romola* [1862-63]; *Felix Holt, the Radical* [1866]), Elizabeth Gaskell (*Sylvia’s Lovers* [1863]) and George Meredith (*Sandra Belloni* [1887] originally published as *Emilia in England* [1864]; *Vittoria* [1867]), he says: “As a group, the historical novels were inspired by the events which induced their subjective tendencies: wars abroad, the growth of the union movement, and the reform agitation, beginning in the late 1850s, that culminated in the Hyde Park demonstrations of 1866 and 1867” (73). The understated tension between

common individuals and contemporary, popular social transformation is also found in *The Victorian Historical Novel 1840-1880* (1978) by Andrew Sanders, who adds: “Victorian historical novelists chose individual solutions to problems they found suggested in the Waverley novels, and they felt free either to take what they wanted from Scott’s example or to adapt Scott’s formulae to their particular ends” (10). More directly, in 1979 Turner openly refers to and follows Lukács, emphasizing the content of the historical novel as a distinguishing element (335), although focusing more exclusively on genre and form.

Sociological emphasis and material history are, in fact, more prominent in relation to specific works and authors than to the historical novel in general. Scott scholarship, in particular, provides a fruitful basis from which to consider the historical novel in such terms and as it contributes to identity and community. Harry Shaw’s *Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors* (1983), for example, points to “a sociological sense of both past and present, a recognition that societies are interrelated systems which change through time and that individuals are profoundly affected by their places within those systems” (25). More recent scholarship on the role of Scott’s fiction in the development of the nation state and modernity includes Caroline McCracken-Flesher’s *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (2005); Douglas Mack’s *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* (2006); Andrew Lincoln’s *Walter Scott and Modernity* (2007); Ian Duncan’s *Scott’s Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (2007); and Kenneth McNeil’s *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands 1760-1860* (2007). Likewise, emphasis on the print and cultural history

of Scott's works has increased and continues to expand, including Jane Millgate's *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History* (1987); William Todd and Ann Bowden's *Sir Walter Scott; A Bibliographical History 1796-1832* (1998); Murray Pittock's *Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (2006); Annika Bautz's *Reception of Jane Austen and Walter Scott: A Comparative Longitudinal Study* (2007); and Ann Rigney's *Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (2012); in addition to textual histories for each novel in the Edinburgh University Press edition of the Waverley Novels (1993-2009).

In contrast, two recent works indicate the continuing tendency of scholarship on the nineteenth-century historical novel to focus on formal analysis rather than context or print history. In *The Historical Novel in Europe, 1650-1950*, Maxwell includes French and British works to describe a "shift in taste" (1) in the modern period and a corresponding "family tree" (2) of the historical novel from Mme de Lafayette's *Princesse de Clèves* (1678) onwards, leading to "a dense profusion of micro-connections among a huge range of texts" (2). This sort of expansive opening is reminiscent of Jerome de Groot's introduction to the genre in *The Historical Novel* (2010), which includes a vast array of authors, works, and fictional types somehow employing or linked to history. Maxwell, however, outlines two primary categories: "fictional biographies set against a background of public events" (2) and "a fictional narrative with historical events" (3). He also attributes a basic method to the historical novel, beginning with Lafayette and including Scott, "called history in glimpses . . . to suggest the flickering, equivocal way in which historical materials surface, then disappear,

then surface once more, in fictional works by Lafayette and her successors” (12)—a method not dissimilar from that described by Butterfield. Maxwell indicates how Lafayette initiates historical fiction by specifying a time period, working from written sources, and employing a chronology, but this actually reinforces the fact that Scott did something quite different; these are the bare bones, the ‘skeleton’ of the historical novel, but the powerful application of it, the weaving of history and romance at the level of popular social transformation remains untouched, or at least does not reach a mature form until the *Waverley* Novels. Maxwell refers to Lukács, but his emphasis is elsewhere. His concern with the formal continuity of the historical novel from Lafayette to Scott and beyond, and not with the material and collective depiction of social transformation, becomes especially clear when discussing *Waverley*: “Scott’s use of the old Lafayette/Prévost routine, where secret history is lodged within particular history, and dominated by it, had its comforting side” (57). Perhaps, but the enthusiastic response to *Waverley* across Europe and North America was not due solely to formal continuity from French predecessors. Similarly, Brian Hamnett’s juxtaposition of history and fiction in *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Representations of Reality in History and Fiction* (2011) emphasizes formal resources; although, like Maxwell, he discusses Scott at length and mentions Lukács, careful not to leave out the relationship of literary works to historical contexts, his argument is that the historical novel developed in different national contexts (e.g., Spain, Germany, and Russia) in response to formal issues, namely, the tension between historical fiction and historiography.

Between the problem of definition and emphasis on formal resources, the situational production, sociological description, and material reception of the (classical) historical novel, which effectively combines history and romance to describe the changing relationship between individual trajectories and collective forms of social organization, there is much to learn of modern identity and group formation. This study aims to better understand how the historical novel described and directed the social transformation and modernization of nation states in the nineteenth century. Settled agricultural communities following upon traditional pastoral settings were transformed by capitalism and industrialization; collective identity was superseded by a highly reflexive form of identity facilitated by print and communication technologies as well as literacy and education. The changes were local and concrete as well as international and abstract, affecting all levels and forms of community organization, involving the fundamental re-organization of time and space that altered social and political life. The publication of *Waverley* marked the emergence of a unique, effective, and influential form of the historical novel to address the unprecedented speed, scope, and impact of social, political, economic, and technological changes culminating in the nineteenth century.

The *Waverley* Novels engage shifts in modern identity and group formation in Scotland, Britain, and Europe from historical, collective, and popular perspectives appropriate to the development of nation states characterized by centralized government, territorial control, a dominant elite or class, having definite modes of training, recruitment, and status attributes. They do so by

providing a powerful means to re-interpret the past and question the future, to challenge or shape cultural hegemony and political power, in part by making history personal and shared through the juxtaposition of continuous memory and discontinuous history. Just as important, the Waverley Novels were reprinted, collected, adapted, and translated for upmarket and downmarket readerships across Europe and North America throughout the nineteenth century, thus engaging growing and heterogeneous readerships as nation states emerged in the western world. The flexible form and popular success set forth a literary blueprint for authors and encouraged modern publishing practices. Adaptation could be applied for various political purposes; the form(s) of the Waverley Novels enabled writers to describe contentious historical moments from a distance and to place representative national individuals amidst the social transformation of the modern world, outlining popular changes relative to axes of modernity such as capitalism and industry as well as the development of institutions and organizations central to the modern nation state. By reaching large readerships with stories that addressed the central issues of modernity and the practical formation of the modern nation state, the Waverley Novels contributed to changing notions of identity and the actualization of group formation.

Use of the historical novel to shape national transformation is complex, “For,” as Roy Harris writes, “language-making involves much more than merely the construction of systems of signs. It is also the essential process by which men construct a cultural identity for themselves, and for the communities to which they see themselves belonging” (v). More particularly, the process of constructing

communities with literary works, as Roger Chartier notes, involves “the practices and the institutions of the social world” (x). In other words, the process is individual and collective, literary and material, social and historical. Accordingly, each chapter of this work is a case study of a single novel divided into three sections to investigate literary-historical, socio-political, and material-popular aspects of production and reception: first, literary and print history situates initial production; second, narrative analysis describes the representation of modern identity and group formation; third, downmarket dissemination and cultural adaptation within and between nation states throughout the nineteenth century traces the extended impact on publishing, reading, and culture. Further, as the role of language and literature in the construction of modern identity and group formation cannot be described within strictly national borders due in part to the nature of transnational publishing and reading in the nineteenth century, the works chosen represent national contexts—Britain, France, America, and Canada—linked by emigration and immigration, colonialism and war, exploration and trade as well as print, reading, and culture, thus allowing for a more integrated, expansive, and realistic picture of community development.

The Waverley Novels, as sociological histories of modernity disseminated widely in many forms across Europe and North America throughout the nineteenth century, provide a unique and influential starting point from which to consider the historical novel and national transformation in the nineteenth century. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), in particular, as Scott’s most complex consideration of the modern nation state and a novel adapted in various ways for

upmarket and downmarket readers throughout the nineteenth century, offers a key example of the literary influence and cultural impact of the *Waverley* Novel. Chapter one, then, describes literary fields of production and reception in Britain from 1774 to 1818, analyzes formal and thematic resources of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* relevant to modern identity and group formation, and outlines communication networks that extended its afterlife and impact in the nineteenth century. Downmarket dissemination and chronotopic adaptation of such *Waverley* Novels contributed significantly to the negotiation of national communities in France, America, and Canada; Balzac, James Fenimore Cooper, and Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé capitalized on the popularity of Scott, the historical novel, and historiography as well as the expansion of literacy, reading, and print capitalism by producing historical novels uniquely adapted to modern conditions. Chapter two outlines the emergence of popular print and historical fiction in France from the 1789 Revolution to the 1830s, explores individual progress and social change in Balzac's *Père Goriot* (1835), and describes downmarket dissemination of *Goriot* up to 1870 in forms that contributed to popular memory and political consciousness. Chapter three includes description of national expansion and print capitalism in the first half of the nineteenth century in America, analysis of frontier myths and modern progress in Cooper's *Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea* (1840), and an extended history of *Pathfinder* and downmarket literature in America, Britain, and France up to 1890. Chapter four describes international trade, popular literature, and historical novels relevant to French Canada prior to Confederation in 1867, analyzes national progress in Aubert de

Gaspé's *Anciens Canadiens* (1863), and considers the politics of cultural production in English and French Canada particular to reprints, translations, and adaptations of *Canadiens* as well as other historical novels of the period. Each case study, then, is a complex cultural history—upmarket and downmarket, national and transnational—that describes the literary and material use of the historical novel (after *Waverley*) towards the social transformation and modernization of the nation state.

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Chapter 1

The Heart of Mid-Lothian

The impact of Walter Scott's *Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818) depended on historical context, literary resources, and communication networks; this chapter considers literary and print history leading up to the first edition, analysis of the form and content of the text, and an extended nineteenth-century cultural history including downmarket forms and stage productions.

The Reading Nation and the Waverley Novel

Expansion of the printing industry and the popularity of prose fiction contributed to a threefold shift in reading habits in nineteenth-century Britain: “from reading aloud to private reading; from predominantly religious reading to more secular reading; and from ‘intensive reading’ (close and repeated reading of a few canonical texts, mainly the Bible) to ‘extensive reading’ (rapid reading of a large body of ephemeral texts, mainly newspapers, magazines and novels)” (Rose 173). Scott's *Waverley Novels* (1814-31), long, secular historical novels published frequently and disseminated widely, capitalized on and furthered all three aspects of the shift to popular reading by adapting contemporary literary production to conditions of modern reception, combining history and romance in a unique way to describe and direct the progress of an emerging nation state.

Fields of Production

Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since (1814) was something new and something old. There was a known literary field within which any romance of the

early-nineteenth century was received in Britain, by both professional peers and common novel readers. In *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789-1830* (1989), Gary Kelly describes how Scott capitalizes on the efforts of late-eighteenth-century women writers of romance, masculinizing the romance for a growing population of readers with access to print and points to other literary influences such as popular novelists and genres of the eighteenth century and earlier. Besides works such as William Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (c. 1611), Henry Fielding's *History of Tom Jones, A Foundling* (1749), and Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771), Scott was influenced by "the work of writers of 'national tales' in the 1800s and the early 1810s" (Kelly, *English* 150), including Lady (Sydney) Morgan's *Wild Irish Girl* (1806), Jane Porter's *Scottish Chiefs* (1810), and Christian Johnstone's *Clan Albin* (1815), and by popular chapbook romances (167). Scott's attention to women writers and popular works included foreign influences, particularly from France, with two notable examples: *La Princesse de Clèves* (1678) by Mme de Lafayette and *Elisabeth ou les Exilés de Sibérie* (1806) by Mme (Sophie) Cottin. As such, varied and complex literary influences, from the seventeenth century onwards, including contemporary gothic novels, romances, and downmarket literature, in Britain and abroad, contributed to the negotiation of a new form that would be accepted by the literary establishment and popular among a growing novel readership.

The unique combination of history and romance that emerged most significantly with *Waverley* also owes something to the wider cultural field. James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of*

Scotland (1760) and his claim in 1761 to have found an epic on the hero Fingal, included in *The Works of Ossian* (1765), influenced Scott's early works, including the collection of ballads in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-03) and his first narrative verse poem *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), as well as the Waverley Novels. The controversy surrounding the authenticity of Macpherson's epic, alongside national tales that attempt to recreate the history of a nation, accentuated the process and possibilities of re-presenting historical moments of crisis as a founding national narrative accessible to a wide readership. David Hume's rejection of the opposition between private and public good and his suggestion that moral values and judgments were social constructions, his narrative history of England, *History of England* (1754-62), and Adam Smith's view of history as a progression through four economic stages attended by political and social structures provide further points of reference critical to the concern with national memory and socio-political construction in the Waverley Novels. Perhaps most importantly, the crux of Hume's philosophy, "the subjective index of knowledge and truth, the term of interpellation, *belief*" (Duncan 127), is directly relevant to Scott's combination of history and romance for social and political purposes in a period of revolutionary change. Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791), Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), and the many revolutionary pamphlets of Thomas Spence and others in the aftermath of the American and French Revolutions also contributed to a dynamic atmosphere that encouraged writers, including William Godwin, Thomas

Holcroft, John Galt, and James Hogg, to address changing conditions and national progress.

The Progress of Romance

Scott nurtured a field of reception for his early literary work and the historical novels to follow by contributing to the interest in and growth of romance scholarship in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. As Fiona Robertson notes, “Scott was at the center of a group of scholars, collectors, editors, and writers . . . committed to the collection and publication of romance texts, creating for them a new readership and a new lease of life in a wide rather than a specialized literary culture” (293). In 1796, he published *William and Helen, Two Ballads from the German* and *The Chase*, translations of German romances by Gottfried August Bürger. Scott reviewed new translations of *Amadis de Gaul* by Robert Southey (in prose) and William Stewart Rose (in verse) in 1803, Godwin’s *Life of Chaucer* (1804) in 1804, and the ballad collections of George Ellis and Joseph Ritson in 1806. He also wrote an essay on chivalry in 1814 for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1818) and an essay on romance for the same publication. The Roxburghe Club from 1812 (Scott became a member in 1822) and the Bannatyne Club, founded by Scott in 1822, offered series of old romance texts. Scott wrote prefatory memoirs for the Ballantyne ‘Novelist’s Library’ beginning in 1821 and forewords to works by notable predecessors such as Horace Walpole, Clara Reeve, and Ann Radcliffe. As Michael Gamer suggests, “The task for Scott of positioning himself is essential to the issue of securing his own literary reputation [and the sale of his novels], since he has played a central

role in reviving the popular romance and institutionalizing it in its romantic form” (524).

The emphasis of Scott’s early poems on traditional ballads, minstrelsy, and the Scottish border was also continuous with contemporary interest in national origins, antiquarianism, and local scenery. Accordingly, in the *Waverley Novels* Scott follows the example of the medieval romancers but, as indicated in “*Essay on Romance*” (1818), uses the romance form in a particular way:

Scott’s conception of the form is fluid and inclusive: he traces its history not to an identifiable ‘origin’ (it is ‘like compound metal, derived from various mines’) but to local and national circumstance. Throughout, his underlying interests are in the production and reception of the form: how romance had begun with records of events and traditions (so that ‘romance and real history have the same common origin’); how it had changed in response to the inclinations of its hearers and later readers; and how the authors of prose romance had striven, after the advent of the press, to satisfy a ‘newly-awakened and more refined taste’ Throughout the essay, Scott brings to bear on the analysis of romance a sophisticated awareness of changing methods of literary production and their impact on the literature itself. (Robertson 295)

In short, Scott describes romance as an ancient form malleable to contemporary circumstances (literary and otherwise). Likewise, in “Forms of Time and the Chronotope of the Novel,” Mikhail Bakhtin describes the history of a consistent

but flexible romance form that begins in antiquity and continues into the nineteenth century up to the *Waverley Novels*. Whether Xenophon's *Ephesian Tale* (c. mid-second century CE) or *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (hereafter *HM*), the romance form remains stable, but the chronotope set forth at each point in history changes in response to the context from and in which the romance is necessarily re-written. On the one hand, the form affords recognition accompanied by historical authority as a continuous form that stretches back several thousand years. As Hayden White notes, "When the reader recognizes the story being told in a historical narrative as a specific kind of story – for example, as an epic, romance, tragedy, comedy, or farce – he can be said to have comprehended the meaning produced by the discourse" (43). This recognition is essential because, as Pierre Bourdieu writes, "the power of a discourse depends less on the intrinsic properties than on the mobilizing power it exercises – that is, at least to some extent, on the degree to which it is *recognized* by a numerous and powerful group that can recognize itself in it and whose interests it expresses (in a more or less transfigured and unrecognizable form)" (188). On the other hand, the form retains the flexibility to alter the dimensions of time and space such that an inclusive and productive sphere of relations at the community level is possible.

Germaine Necker de Staël writes, "Everything is so true to life in such novels that we have no trouble persuading ourselves that everything could happen just this way – not past history, but often, it seems, the history of the future" (600). Truth, as such, is not so much in the details as in the unique alteration of synchronic and diachronic elements of discourse to create a present perfect form

that directs a real past towards a possible future by reconsidering the institutions and axes of modernity particular to the development of Britain as a nation state. The romance form is continuous because it retains certain formal resources (e.g., marriage) and flexible because it enables a contemporary sense of time (whether mythical or historical). In this way, nineteenth-century historical romance enabled the weaving of two forms of time, the first contemporary and contingent (historical), the second cosmic and continuous (romance); as Northrop Frye suggests, “Thus the creation of romance brings us into a present where past and future are gathered” (179). The selective and creative repetition of memory, as discontinuous (historical) and continuous (romance), for individual readers and collective readerships, provided an effective and powerful form of expression in early-nineteenth-century Britain.

Scott’s romance also incorporates more recent changes in the notion of history. Katie Trumpener describes a shift at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Britain from Enlightenment notions of progress towards a focus on historicization, with notions of history and the preservation of historical record as points relevant to national survival (27). Between the union of Scotland and England by the 1707 Act of Union and the addition of the Kingdom of Ireland to forge the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801, an evolutionary view of history, one epoch replacing another, is at least in part replaced by recovering and re-creating history in a way that better explains or copes with recent revolutionary events. The resulting change is important: “where Enlightenment histories stress the necessary discontinuities of culture, nationalist

histories stress the survival of cultural memory from one epoch to the next” (29). Questions of memory and forgetting, identity and recognition come to the fore, particularly in light of the *Ossian* controversy, as significant sites of political conflict. “The national tale before *Waverley*,” according to Trumpener, “maps developmental stages topographically, as adjacent worlds in which characters move and then choose between; the movement of these novels is geographical rather than historical. In contrast, the historical novel . . . finds its focus in the way one developmental stage collapses to make room for the next and cultures are transformed under the pressure of historical events” (141). Re-readings of the history of the nation within a context of recovery, revolution, and revision lead to reinventions of cultural continuity from past to present, resulting in the *Waverley* Novels, which depict history as progressive, progress as historical, and the process as imaginative.

The *Waverley* Novel

The *Waverley* Novels emerge during a revolutionary period in the history of Britain. The question that needed to be addressed was: how do we go forward? This prompted the question: who are we? To go forward, then, it was necessary to look back. The *Waverley* Novel, as a particular sort of historical novel, made this possible in a number of ways. First, the historical events employed in a *Waverley* Novel, although not always of national significance, were known, allowing for identification. As James Anderson writes, “Special value was attached to historical events and persons which are already known to the public, as being on that account likely to facilitate the novel’s reception” (27). More importantly,

such events were of social, political, and ethical importance, exploiting shared psychological markers in the history of the nation, thus striking a chord with readers adapting to great changes in social organization:

These events, which are said to be ‘epoch making,’ draw their specific meaning from their capacity to found or reinforce the community’s consciousness of its identity, its narrative identity, as well as the identity of its members. These events generate feelings of considerable ethical intensity, whether this be fervent commemoration or some manifestation of loathing, or indignation, or of regret or compassion, or even the call for forgiveness.

(Ricoeur 187)

The transformation of a historical event affects people, classes, and regions regardless of their personal or social sphere of influence, often in unintended ways. Targeting events that speak of great loss, suffering, missed opportunities, and historical turning points provides the opening for collective remembering (and forgetting), the basis for re-imagining moments not merely as inevitable, isolated events but as social paths or political results that might have been otherwise. The power of memory (as history), the filling in of important blanks that allow for the construction of an intelligible and recognizable past as the basis of contemporary group formation, cannot be underestimated. This sort of historical revaluation may confirm the present or speak to the future by way of imagination because “fiction is placed in the service of the unforgettable. It permits historiography to live up to the task of memory” (Ricoeur 189). Cultural

memory, by way of historical possibility and selective construction, acts to bridge the gap between consciousness and community, past and present.

Second, historical figures never dominate a Scott novel; they coexist with fictional characters representing various regions, classes, and social positions. For example, in *Guy Mannering* (1815), Meg Merrilies, although a gypsy and largely an outcast in Scottish society, is a key figure, and more importantly, a product of social circumstances like any other character, regardless of class or place of birth. As John Henry Raleigh notes, “in the *Waverley* novels generally it was shown how strange and eccentric characters developed naturally out of social norms” (30). Historical inclusion brings time and place to bear on all characters in a given society, demonstrating social tensions and revolutionary possibilities left out of official or national history. *HM*, for instance, is the chronicle of the Deans family’s rise to middle-class respectability, but the story also sets forth largely ungoverned social spaces and lines of flight taken up by individuals or groups, by choice or necessity, that do not fit the neat path of harmonious progress sanctioned by central authority and silent majority. Further, Jeanie’s journey from Edinburgh to London is connected at every turn to the complex co-existence of Scotland amidst British, European, transatlantic, and global contexts not under control. Scott exploits the romantic possibilities of his heroine’s situation to the fullest, but juxtaposes upward mobility, middle-class marriage, and capitalist industry with the authoritarian treatment of lawless outsiders. Part of “Scott’s great originality in *Waverley* lies not only in his intuition that an individual’s life is fundamentally affected by the age in which he lives, but also in a

complementary intuition that the most significant manifestation of the forces at work in society at any one time will be in the lives of ordinary individuals” (Brown 27). In the words of György Lukács, “The principal figures in Scott’s novels are also typical characters nationally, but in the sense of the decent and average, rather than the eminent and all-embracing” (36). The *Waverley Novel* tests the character and relationships which contribute directly to the construction of community, broadly defined. Every character in a Scott novel demonstrates something of the nation (Scotland and Britain) as a whole by illustrating the positions and position-takings possible for nearly all individuals in relation to the heterogeneous and changing social field. The aristocrat, the middle-class housewife, and the bandit are important.

As a result, history becomes something much more than a top down and linear view of progress restricted to the endeavours of great historical figures. All characters and events emerge out of historical necessity and are connected to social structure. The peculiarities of the age manifest or make possible the decisions, attitudes, and behaviours of all characters. This is not a strict determinism, but a means of setting forth the inseparable interplay of structure and agent—historicity—that pervades every aspect of human society (individual and collective). Accordingly, it is not important that historical facts are always or entirely accurate, only that each character and situation is recognizable as historical, thus keeping the possibilities drawn within a recognizable and believable historical arc. The trajectory of each character given the historical

circumstances must be true; the parts of the whole set in motion must allow for self-reflexive recognition, collective understanding, and practical reconstruction.

The historical novel participates in a sort of collective *poiesis*, that is, the means of making and remaking groups by representing what has passed and what might be through the selective use of events and characters. The *Waverley Novel* is not historical because it deals with the past, but because it opens up the process of making history: the “text reveals, indeed actively draws attention to, its own processes of meaning production and makes of these processes its own subject matter, its own ‘content’” (White 211). In other words, the means of production and reception are laid bare, although never resolved. The *Waverley Novels* involve multiple levels of self-reflexivity, particularly in many of the prefaces Scott added for the magnum (collected) edition (1829-33), as well as the extensive notes and explanations. History, like romance, is imaginative, constructed, and thus open to rewriting. Most importantly, the fundamental questions at the core of Scott’s work addressed the challenges of modernity and the modern nation state: “How can one become modern while preserving traditions? How to change while remaining the same? How can multiple groups be turned into one nation?” (Rigney 84). The *Waverley Novel* reinvents national history through an alternative telling of known events that is inclusive and practicable, emphasizing the middle-class values (e.g., upward mobility, education), modern institutions (e.g., marriage, military) and axes of modernity (e.g., capitalism, industrialism) that enable a progressive relationship between past and future mediated by contemporary readers.

Conditions of Reception

Scott responded to contemporary literary influences and the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment to write effectively for a popular and modern audience composed primarily of the middle and professional classes. The conditions of reception were complex and changing, dependent on capitalism and industrialization, population growth and urbanization, education and literacy, as was the process of production: Scott's "texts always were corporate productions dependent on his critical printer, his commercial publisher, and the compositor and house stylist" (McCracken-Flesher 172); success depended on an established and ambitious print and publishing industry capable of serving a rapidly growing and highly literate multi-national readership capable of and interested in reading novels. Scott acted "under pressure from the practical needs of novel-writing and novel-selling" (Anderson, *Sir Walter* 35), fulfilled or directed by material and economic context as much as by literary inheritance. Richard Sher, for example, points to the complexity and competitiveness of the book trade in Britain, a socially and politically contested field of interests that emerges in the eighteenth century. London was the undisputed centre of print and publishing, but Edinburgh too began to emerge as a centre of production after 1750: "Not only were more new books being published in Scotland, but more of the so-called English Classics were being reprinted there, and both new books and reprints were being exported in growing numbers" (Sher 51). Perhaps not surprisingly, Scott, emerging as a writer at the turn of the nineteenth century in the midst of a flourishing but competitive and somewhat anarchic Scottish market, was himself

the founder of a printing press and co-owner of Ballantyne booksellers, one of many entrepreneurs attempting to capitalize on a growing middle-class readership in increasingly literate Britain.

Not only was literacy increasing at the turn of the nineteenth century, but the means of distributing print was reaching a technological capacity and economic viability hitherto unknown. As Ina Ferris notes, “The period is filled with signs of an urgent, widespread sense that large numbers of new and diverse readers had appeared on the scene” (22). Economic changes within and between Scotland and England largely facilitated by capitalism and early industrialization results in financial accumulation and investment in reading—a potentially lucrative situation for an author capable of producing the right words for the market. Print technology significantly impacted individual and group consciousness as described, for example, by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991), in part by making the mass dissemination of the Waverley Novels possible. Reaching a new level of maturity, print capitalism supported by economic and cultural changes necessary for expansion and maintenance significantly expanded the material networks of symbolic representation, redefining the way many people understood their place in the modern world.

Some of the cultural changes that preceded or coincided with further technological changes included copyright, libraries, and *Waverley*. In 1774, the *Donaldson vs. Beckett* ruling by the United Kingdom House of Lords denied the continued existence of a perpetual common law copyright and held that copyright

was a creation of statute and could be limited in its duration (never upheld by Scottish law), resulting in cheap out-of-copyright novels, including romances, gothic novels, and national tales. Many of these novels ended up in libraries across Britain. The two most common types of library in the eighteenth century were circulating and subscription libraries; before 1801 there were 369 in England and thirty-one in Scotland, mostly in large towns and on the east coast (Crawford 189). As John Crawford notes, libraries could offer varying levels of access: “Class was a defining factor with more expensive libraries for the well-to-do – entry fees in the eighteenth century were about a guinea, with an annual subscription of around 6s. Cheaper options, where they existed, had correspondingly smaller stocks for poorer readers” (190). The novel, however, reached a new level of legitimacy and appealed to even larger ‘polite readerships’ in the growing urban centers of Edinburgh and London with the publication of *Waverley*. By mid-century, libraries were well stocked with Waverley Novels.

The price of new novels increased while older works (out of copyright or collected) went increasingly downmarket. Technological innovation enabled the more profitable production of longer works as well as the mass distribution of downmarket forms. In 1800, the basic mechanics of printing in Europe remained much as they had been in the days of Gutenberg (Howard-Hill 36), but changes in paper and printing brought the cost of manufacture down significantly. The first license for a Fourdrinier paper machine in Scotland was signed in 1807 and was producing paper by 1811, after which it gradually took over the market (Morris 22). König’s single-cylinder, web-fed, steam-powered press was used to print *The*

Times as early as 1814 and cylindrical stereotyping plates were introduced for use with rotary presses in 1816. Stereotyping was spreading as early as 1800 and common in the Edinburgh printing offices of Duncan Stevenson of the University Printing Office in 1825 (Howard-Hill 37). William St Clair notes that by 1840 “it was economically feasible, because of changes in manufacturing technology and reduced taxes on paper, to print and sell novels in full or abridged versions in much the same format and at much the same price as newspapers, and a large industry grew up which was, to a large extent, separate, both in text and price, from mainstream publishing” (392). Also of importance, the construction of roads throughout Britain, improvements in land and sea travel as well as the coordination of postal services made the dissemination of print materials faster, safer, and cheaper.

Accordingly, the publishing industry in Edinburgh was generally in a state of expansion in the 1820s. As Peter Garside writes, “In all, more than 130 new titles were published from Scotland in the period 1800-29, only a handful of these coming from non-Edinburgh locations, with output approaching 15 per cent of total British production in the optimum years in the mid-1820s” (“Rise” 211). Increased productivity included niche-market booksellers offering everything from maps, travel guides, and medicine to phrenology and drama (Garside, “Publishing” 88). By the mid-1830s, Edinburgh had ninety-three booksellers (Beavan 124). The spread of booksellers beyond Edinburgh soon followed: “By the end of the eighteenth century the retail book trade had spread beyond the major cities and towns in Scotland, and into smaller localities, northern and north-

east Scotland showing evidence of significant, if uneven growth” (123). Other than mainstream methods such as wholesale agents and retail booksellers, “Travelling to fairs and country markets, or finding a pitch on the busy street, hawkers, chapmen and ballad sellers sold chapbooks, broadsheets and slip-songs directly to the customer” (133). The growing book market in Edinburgh and Scotland, although always subordinate to the larger London market exploited by Scott and his publishers, was emerging as a centre of production in its own right. In short, the conditions for extensive production and reception of the novel were well underway by the time Scott began publishing the Waverley Novels.

Tales of My Landlord, Second Series

The first edition of *Tales of My Landlord, Second Series, Collected and Arranged by Jedediah Cleishbotham, Schoolmaster and Parish-Clerk of Gandercleugh (HM)* was published in four volumes, printed for Archibald Constable and Company on 25 July 1818 in Edinburgh and ready for delivery on 28 July in London at £1.12.0. The print run was ten thousand copies (total printing for all three issues). The first London publication notice was provided both by the Ebers Library and again by the bookseller William Sams, the official Longman listing appearing three days later. The original binding was drab or blue boards with printed labels. The printer listed on the title page was James Ballantyne and Co. *HM* was the seventh Waverley Novel and third work in the Tales of My Landlord series that included the following works: *The Black Dwarf* (Tales of My Landlord, First Series, 1816); *The Tale of Old Mortality* (Tales of My Landlord, First Series, 1816); *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (Tales of My

Landlord, Second Series, 1818); *The Bride of Lammermoor* (Tales of My Landlord, Third Series, 1819); *A Legend of Montrose* (Tales of My Landlord, Third Series, 1819); *Count Robert of Paris* (Tales of My Landlord, Fourth Series, 1831); *Castle Dangerous* (Tales of My Landlord, Fourth Series, 1831).

David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden describe the production process in detail, summarized as follows: Scott sent his manuscripts in batches to a copyist so that his handwriting would not be recognized; the copyist for *HM* is unknown and the printer's copy has not survived. As such, compositors received the transcript, not the manuscript, and then put the text into type. The compositors inserted punctuation, normalized spelling, and corrected small errors. A first proof was pulled and likely corrected by Ballantyne's foreman Daniel MacCorkindale. This was done to bring it up to standard. A new proof would be pulled and sent to James Ballantyne, then to Scott for further corrections. Such coordinated production extended from in-house production to public dissemination and reception in various forms: "For a time, Scott and his partners achieved an ownership of the whole literary production and distribution process from author to reader, controlling or influencing the initial choice of subjects, the writing of the texts, the editing, the publishing, and the printing of the books, the reviewing in the local press, the adaptations for the theatre, and the putting on of the theatrical adaptations at the theatre in Edinburgh which Scott also owned" (St Clair 170). In short, Scott's productions were in part collective literary negotiations for the market and thus reflective of contemporary conditions and trends.

In *Life of Scott* (1848), John Gibson Lockhart records many instances of James Ballantyne (Scott's printer)'s literary engagement with the proofs. Jane Millgate, however, points out that it is unjust to forget "Scott's ongoing involvement in the business side of the printing firm" ("Kelso" 49). Likewise, Scott's partnership with Constable amounted to a shared investment profitable to both. Constable had a literary eye and was ambitious. Millgate describes Constable's early fight against the imperialism of the London trade and his desire to protect and expand the literary productions of Scotland ("Constable" 112) and Ian Duncan notes how "Constable played a key role in the institutional transformation of Scottish literature after 1800, in which it devolved from the academic infrastructure of the Lowland Enlightenment to an industrializing marketplace" (21). Constable and Scott both knew that whatever the extent of market growth in Edinburgh, London was essential to success in the British book trade; the largest sales market was England (Beavan 136). As such, "Constable from an early stage had enjoyed firm relations with the London trade, operating as if on equal terms with long-standing concerns such as Longman and Co., and eventually, after a final falling out with Longman, supplying exclusively Hurst, Robinson and Co., whose main remit was to clear large numbers of new Waverley Novels and collected sets of Scott" (Garside, "Publishing" 83). Constable's relationship with Longman gave him much needed financial support and access to the London market. This relationship broke down in 1806, was later re-established by 1814 after other arrangements did not work out, and then finally turned sour in 1817, just prior to the publication of *HM*.

Unlike *Rob Roy* (1817), which sold out an initial print run of ten thousand in two weeks, sales for *HM* were slower. This might have been due to the time of year (summer), the initial title, the high price (32s.), or most likely, Constable's quarrel with Longman. As Garside notes, "After a falling out with Longmans, Constable's firm appeared alone on the title page of the second series of *Tales of My Landlord* (1818; comprising *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*); then in association with the London firm Hurst, Robinson and Co. for the third series of *Tales* (including *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *A Legend of Montrose*) published in the summer of 1819" ("Waverley" 226-27). The result of the rupture with Longman was significant because "In his desire to maximise the return to Constables, [Robert] Cadell had sacrificed their distribution system, and there was confusion among London booksellers who did not realise that for this title Longmans was only a retailer, not a wholesaler" (Hewitt and Lumsden 501). As such, Cadell ended up running about London in the summer trying to distribute the novel to uncertain sellers. Regardless, at a time when the print run of most novels was not often more than one thousand and second editions were rare, *HM* was successful.

Modern Identity and Group Formation

HM chronicles a key period in the history of Britain (c. 1660-1761), considers many contemporary issues of national importance, including class and political representation, law and justice, religion and education, women and reproduction, domestic and international commerce, employment and vagrancy, transportation and population movement, and in doing so describes the direction

of the nation state. In the introduction to *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40), Hume describes the Enlightenment categories of understanding which form the basis of the science of man proper to the philosophical investigation of human nature: logic, morals, criticism, and politics. Hewitt analyzes *HM* in similar terms: “The first volume is dominated by historical writing, the second by the narrative of court proceedings in exactly the form used in the records of trials before the High Court of Justiciary, the highest criminal court of Scotland. The third mimics *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, and the last a ballad in its beginning and a gothic novel in its ending” (154). The key difference between these two accounts concerns the fourth volume. Volume one is the logical basis, a selective view of the past; the trial in volume two and the journey in volume three describe tastes and sentiments, with volume two also describing progress towards a law-based, moral society, and volume three setting out the sort of popular myth that at once criticizes modern society and binds a nation together. Volume four is, however, rather than ballad or gothic novel, melodramatic, and in this respect aligns better with Hume’s fourth category: politics. The fourth volume of *HM* builds upon reconstruction of the past, modern legal institutions, and popular myths to project a blueprint of social transformation emphasizing organizations and institutions relevant to the development of nineteenth-century Britain.

The opening line of the first chapter, ‘*Being Introductory*,’ outlines the sort of modernization at the heart of the novel: “The times have changed in nothing more (we follow as we are wont the manuscript of Peter Pattieson,) than in the rapid conveyance of intelligence and communication betwixt one part of

Scotland and another” (Scott, *HM* I.1: 7). ‘The times have changed’ connects past and present, the manuscript indicates a constructed historical basis, intelligence is knowledge or education, communication is circulation and media, and ‘betwixt one part of Scotland and another’ is geographical, technological, and national. Everything in the first paragraph emphasizes progress and interconnection. Following the opening epigraph attributed to Frere, “So, down thy hill, romantic Ashburn, glides / The Derby dilly, carrying six insides” (I.1: 7), Scotland, as part of Britain, seems to be moving inevitably towards an idealized, modern future. The idea of a smooth transformation from past to present that happily unites Britain is, however, quickly disrupted. Modernity is a period of crisis that represents clear, often highly disruptive, breaks with past forms of social organization. The stage-coach, for example, was central to the spatial unification of the nation state and the time table indicative of temporal control, but “the Somerset had made a summerset in good earnest” (Scott, *HM* I.1: 9)—the coach crashes. Two young lawyers thrown from the top of the coach argue with the guard and coachman before threatening legal action. The “elderly and sickly-looking person, who had been precipitated into the river along with the two young lawyers” (Scott, *HM* I.1: 11), Dunover, is then taken in hand by the lawyers and brought to the Wallace Inn. At one moment the young men press their legal rights, in the next they see a fellow traveller to an inn named after a Scottish hero. The contrasts between purposeful modern transportation and a leisurely walk to the inn, legal rights and easy-going conversation, and upwardly-mobile young

lawyers and a man ‘Dunover’ present both the possibilities and unexpected social consequences of modern progress.

HM begins in Edinburgh—the urban, capitalist centre of Scotland—prior to the 1760s, a critical turning point in the Agricultural and Industrial Revolution that continued at an unprecedented pace until the middle of the nineteenth century. According to T. M. Devine, “That decade seems to have been a defining watershed because from then on Scotland began to experience a social and economic transformation unparalleled among European societies of the time in its speed, scale and intensity” (107). *HM* was published in 1818, roughly the midpoint of a revolutionary period in British history bounded by the 1801 Act of Union and Waterloo on the one side, the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act and the 1832 Representation of the People Act on the other. The tale, however, extends further, spanning the 1760s, bringing past (1736) into present (1818) in the following ways: 1) David Deans’s transition from tenant farmer to agricultural expert/manager of the Duke of Argyle’s estate reflects improvements in and increased emphasis on dairying and cattle-rearing to supply rapidly growing cities. It also points indirectly to the displacement of tenants, changes in land use, and a shift from subsistence farming and widespread land ownership to rent, single use farms, and market conditions. 2) Jeanie Deans travels on foot from Edinburgh to London; she finds coaches in the later stages of her journey. Devine writes that over the course of the eighteenth century, “With the construction of more roads and the continued expansion of the coastal trade, the central Lowlands acquired a first-class transportation network capable of large-scale exploitation of

the very favourable geological advantages of the region” (114). 3) These changes, in turn, were linked to the development and exploitation of a transnational capitalist economy: “The construction on a truly massive scale of estate, parish and turnpike roads produced an intricate communications network that allowed market influences to affect all rural areas in a powerful way” (135). The tobacco merchant, Mrs Glass, in London and Argyle’s hobby farm in Scotland represent urban and rural aspects of the transatlantic trade. 4) Banking plays no obvious role in the novel, but it is notable that Laird Dumbiedikes stores sacks of ‘siller’ in his house. In contrast, many readers would have appreciated that banking underwent drastic changes in the eighteenth century. For example, “The establishment of the Royal [Bank of Scotland] soon led to the development of the ‘cash compt’ in 1728, the world’s first overdraft facility, while the Linen Company was the only British chartered bank in the eighteenth century devoted specifically to the encouragement of industry” (106). 5) Further, throughout the eighteenth century the landed classes mobilized resources, expanded financial networks, improved efficient mobilization of capital through the bank system, added innovative banking features, carefully reinvested, and increased American trade. The difference between the bumbling Dumbiedikes with his traditional ways and the progressive Duke of Argyle is no doubt a subtle but pointed indication of these new directions. 6) Population and urbanization increased at a remarkable rate: “In 1755 Scotland’s population numbered some 1.25 million. By 1801 this had grown to 1.6 million, and to 2.6 million by 1841” (111). Notably, *HM* is an urban novel in many respects, with the Porteous riot in Edinburgh and the meeting with the

Queen in London acting as two poles of reference, reflecting a trend of increasing importance after 1818: “Less than 10 per cent of Scots lived in towns with 10,000 inhabitants or above in 1750, but almost one-third did so in 1850” (153). 7) The figures of the novel associated with Argyle’s estate are either middle class or upwardly mobile in some sense (e.g., Deans the expert manager, Duncan the security chief, Reuben the minister, Staunton the aristocrat, Argyle the chief executive). This is in line with a contemporary, century-long shift towards an emerging middle class which made up around fifteen per cent of urban inhabitants in the 1750s and around twenty-five per cent in the 1830s (112). 8) Finally, references to popular works, forms, and venues (e.g., John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* [1678], the broadside of Margery Murdockson’s last confession and dying speech, Effie’s trip to the theatre in London) establish continuities and changes in communication circuits over several centuries.

The ‘heart of Mid-Lothian,’ or Tolbooth, central to the novel is further indicative of the connection between old and new used to create a sense of historical change significant to contemporary British readers. In 1887, Peter Miller wrote that in fourteenth-century Scotland “no business of a civic character could be gone into without the ringing of the bell in the *belfredo* or Belhous ‘Belhous’ was the designation by which the burghal offices were known before the term Tolbooth came into use. That term also has had its day, and has now given place to the more fashionable designations of Town Hall and Corporation Buildings” (9). The bell house remained in every burgh as a steeple or clock tower, but at the end of the fourteenth century in Edinburgh the bell house was a

separate building attached to the new municipal buildings called the ‘Tolbuith’ (9). In 1403, Pretorium (Tolbuith) is mentioned for the first time; all public business, including the Town Council, the Justice Ayres, the Law Courts, and the Scottish Parliament, was conducted there; as such, “all business, whether of a local or national description, was transacted within its walls, down to Queen Mary’s time, when the New Tolbuith was erected further south” (10). Booths or offices in the Tolbuith were rented for various uses, but in 1480-81 a change occurred in the records: “The sixth buith is made a prisoun” (45). From 1480-81 to 1817, when the Tolbooth was shut down, it was used at least in part as a prison (although more like a holding cell).

This longer view of the ‘Tolbuith’ presents the ‘heart’ of the novel as a symbolic representation of Scottish institution, commerce, and identity dating back over four hundred years—a view not incompatible with the role of the Tolbooth in the novel. Hardie, a young lawyer, asks, “Was it not for many years the place where the Scottish parliament met . . .” (I.1: 16). In volume one, the front gate of the prison is set on fire by an organized group of citizens and the Captain of the guards, Jock Porteous, is hanged in the Grass Market in response to London’s decision to delay his execution by six weeks (based on a true account). The Porteous riot was a significant disruption of relative peace in Scotland under the patronage of Islay, later the third Duke of Argyle: “Walpole trusted him to run Scotland with hardly any reference to Westminster. Indeed, not until 1737 did the government in London interfere in Scotland again in any direct fashion” (Devine 23). Similarly, in 1818, “The rural Lowlands were remarkably free of social

unrest during the classic period of agrarian transformation between c. 1760 and 1815” (102); but during the period from Waterloo to Scott’s death in 1832, economic depression, government repression, riots, radicalism, and political uncertainty set forth national questions of progress. The fictional events centered upon the Tolbooth act as a questioning of the balance of power—political, popular, and divine—how the Scottish people existed and exist in relation to political power, with each other, and in relation to God. The fictional re-opening of the Tolbooth as the site of civil disobedience connects to its historical role in Scotland and questions the political heart of the Scottish people (within Britain).

Following upon the historical account of the Porteous riot in volume one, the trial of Effie Deans in the second volume—interrupted by histories of first, the Covenanters, second, Scottish law—is an essential transition towards the actualization of the modern nation state in volume four. Following religious conflict, the law makes possible negotiation between self-interest and social welfare, the individual and the state. Accordingly, *HM* repeatedly flips between personal histories and state interventions, most pointedly as Jeanie’s journey takes her from home to Muschat’s Cairn, the courtroom, the bandit hideout, the rectory, Mrs Glass’s shop, and the Queen. By providing a historical view of progress towards the modern British state as well as a critical dissection of Britain through description of people and places, including differences in dialect, social customs, transportation, architecture, agriculture, technology, and education, the first three volumes set up the depiction of individual trajectories and collective association in volume four.

Volume four is distinctly melodramatic: Jeanie marries the Presbyterian minister Reuben Butler and they prosper at Roseneath, estate of the Duke of Argyle; her sister Effie marries George Staunton, they move to the continent, later returning to London; years later, Staunton, while searching for his lost child, is killed by a Highland bandit who turns out to be his own son; the boy escapes but is sold into slavery in America, and later joins an Indian tribe; Effie returns to the continent, turns to Roman Catholicism, and lives in seclusion at a convent. The purpose of the fourth volume, however, is not simply to entertain, but to address the transformation of settled agricultural communities within the industrialized and capitalist nation state emerging in the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century, describing individuals, relationships, and social structures in a range of contexts embedded in wider reaches of time and space. More particularly, volume four outlines key aspects of modernity: time-space separation, disembedding mechanisms, and institutional reflexivity; capitalism, industrialism, and surveillance; labour, communications, ownership, political negotiation, trust and risk, autonomy and security, rights and obligations.

Jeanie's return to Scotland in volume four is to Dumbartonshire, the birth place of Scotland's national hero, William Wallace. As such, there is a twofold sense of creative repetition: first, as a reference to the Wallace Inn at which the tale begins, and second, as a return to the origins of modern Scotland. Ferris's comparison of the ending in Morgan's *Wild Irish Girl* and the *Waverley Novels* generally is of interest here: in the former, the return is to a remote corner of Ireland to live in the old way, "in a world outside the linear flow of history,"

whereas in a Waverley Novel “idylls are always enclosed in and threatened by metropolitan and other worlds that have a different sense of time and value” (132). As in *Clan Albin*, the hero of *HM* returns to the place of national origins, but for Jeanie this also requires the more immediate and practical social transformation of Britain as a whole, as indicated by the movement from Woodend to St Leonard’s to Roseneath; Deans rises from peasant to farmer to agricultural expert, a return to origins that is at the same time a move forward in terms of modern practice and social standing. Deans starts out as a peasant farmer at Woodend, has his own property at St Leonard’s, and finally takes over “a sort of experimental farm on the skirts of his [Argyle’s] immense Highland estates” (Scott, *HM* IV.5: 377), referred to as a “fancy-farm in Dumbartonshire” (IV.5: 378).

Upward mobility, professionalization, and specialization describe Deans’s shift from Woodend to Roseneath as well as the social trajectory of other key characters. Jeanie becomes Mrs Butler, the well-dressed housewife of a minister on the Duke of Argyle’s estate. Effie marries into a rich family with an ancient lineage; her letter to Jeanie indicates remarkable improvement in her handwriting; Argyle reports that Effie is “the ruling belle – the blazing star – the universal toast of the winter” (Scott, *HM* IV.11: 423) in London. Reuben emerges from poverty through education and social connections to become a successful minister and local representative at the Kirk of Scotland Assembly in Edinburgh. Rat becomes Captain of the Tolbooth, Duncan something like chief of police or estate manager, and Dolly a housekeeper. Mrs Glass is a successful shopkeeper and Archibald a

professional driver. The transition towards middle-class distinction and accumulation continues with Jeanie's sons, David and Reuben, who become a lawyer and an officer, and her daughter, Femie, who marries a rich laird. The generational change mimics what Deans finds upon his return to Edinburgh to settle accounts with Dumbiedikes: the laird's estate is entirely changed, "He found it in a state of unexpected bustle. There were workmen pulling down some of the old hangings, and replacing them with others, altering, repairing, scrubbing, painting, and white-washing. There was no knowing the old house, which had been so long the mansion of sloth and silence" (IV.6: 381). As at the end of *Waverley*, the nation under construction is taking shape.

The establishment of a stable, middle-class family involves marriage, inheritance, an investment mentality, and capitalist circulation. Once the laird is married Deans becomes reconciled to Reuben as a match for Jeanie, not because he becomes aware of her love for Reuben, but because Butler is "no longer the half-starved, thread-bare usher – but fat and sleek and fair, the beneficed minister of Knocktarlittie, beloved by his congregation, - exemplary in his life, - powerful in his doctrine, - doing the duty of the Kirk . . ." (Scott, *HM* IV.6: 384-85). Deans presses Butler to spend the night with him while he thinks over his decision about Jeanie; Deans produces two bottles of strong ale and puts Jeanie to market, speaking "of her merit – her housewifery – her thrift – her affection" (IV.6: 389). Deans appears to be breeding cattle at this point, or, consolidating stock. The investment mentality demonstrated by Deans and others enables social progress at the level of the family unit. After re-reading Effie's letter, Jeanie "could not help

observing the staggering and unsatisfactory condition of those who have risen to distinction by undue paths, and the outworks and bulwarks of fiction and falsehood, by which they are under the necessity of surrounding and defending their precarious advantages” (IV.11: 422). Yet, in the very same paragraph Jeanie accepts Effie’s money on behalf of her children, saying, “Her sister had enough, was strongly bound to assist Jeanie by any means in her power, and the arrangement was so natural and proper, that it ought not to be declined out of fastidious or romantic delicacy” (IV.11: 422). Later, Reuben considers whether or not to purchase an adjoining property, but the inheritance of fifteen hundred pounds after the death of Deans leaves them short. Jeanie pulls out a jar from the cupboard stuffed with fifty pound notes to the amount of one thousand pounds collected from Effie over the years. With this, the property of Craigsture two miles from the Manse can be secured. The means of accumulating the necessary money is worth noting: first, through the death of Deans (family inheritance); second, through Effie, or more broadly, through the Stauntons, which may be said to be a channel of rather dubious moral undertones given the links to the West Indies and to smuggling. But Jeanie says to Reuben, “If it were ten thousand, it’s a’ honestly come by” (IV.12: 429). This is either dishonest or simply naïve, but typical of the blind (or unethical and hypocritical) capitalist accumulation that underpins the upward mobility and social status of individuals and families. This uncertain capitalist circulation is, finally, again linked to inheritance, as Jeanie says to Reuben, “Only if ye like, I wad wish Femie to get a gude share o’t when

you are gane” (IV.12: 429). Progress trumps romance and circulation continues—in a particular direction.

This sense of generational prosperity linked to capitalist accumulation is clearly not community oriented, or is so in a definitive way. Lady Staunton suggests, “it would cost Sir George but the asking a pair of colours for one of them at the War-office, since we have always supported government, and never had occasion to trouble ministers” (Scott, *HM* IV.13: 439). Yet, when Duncan asks the same favour for his own sons, “Lady Staunton only answered this hint with a well-bred stare, which gave no sort of encouragement” (IV.13: 439). This remarkable exchange demonstrates that already the Deans family is ordered along class lines—social distinction and self-preservation are key—national origins or social welfare beyond the family unit do not seem significant factors.

Accordingly, Lady Staunton emerges as the perfect society woman—in speech, tone, and mood she commands, delegates, and dominates—far removed from the young lily of St Leonard’s. She conducts herself and her family affairs with a sense of the insularity, protectionism, and favoritism particular to the patronage system. Notably, the change includes her interest in nature: “she undertook long and fatiguing walks among the neighbouring mountains to visit glens, lakes, water-falls, and whatever scenes of natural wonder or beauty lay concealed among their recesses” (IV.13: 440). This passage is followed by a quote from William Wordsworth, not inappropriate to the contemporary upper-class or aspiring middle-class reader.

Moderation is a key element of the community at Roseneath. Reuben, for example, refuses Staunton's exorbitant offer of twelve hundred a year to take up a position at Willingham, saying that he has all he needs (Scott, *HM* IV.14: 455). Besides financial restraint, the underlying contrast between the Catholic Staunton and the Protestant Reuben, including excessive accumulation and modest investment, moral impoverishment and social stability, also refers directly to long-running religious conflict. As such, Deans is central to the depiction of mediation as he is the most religiously zealous and polemical figure in the novel. Deans refers to the decay of religion in the land and "how the love of many is waxing lukewarm and cold" (Scott, *HM* IV.2: 355), which leads him to suggest a change of domicile; he moves from St Leonard's to Roseneath to live among like-minded people where he can *practice his trade*; it is a search for community, but most importantly, it is a community that is not established by Covenanters. As such, "Honest David had now, like other great men, to go to work to reconcile his speculative principles with existing circumstances; and, like other great men, when they set seriously about the task, he was tolerably successful" (IV.6: 383). In short, the problem of subordination, whether of personal ambition or faith, to the social and economic progress of a capitalist community becomes a priority. Deans has three problems: the Kirk of Scotland, lay patronage, and "the oaths to government extracted from the established clergymen, in which they acknowledged an Erastian king and parliament, and homologated the incorporating Union between England and Scotland . . ." (Scott, *HM* IV.6: 384). He reconciles himself to the Kirk of Scotland "in its present model" (IV.6: 383),

accepts the lay patronage of the Duke if “the parishioners themselves joined in a general call to Reuben Butler to be their pastor” (IV.6: 383), and states that “*If* an incumbent was not called upon to make such compliances, and *if* he got a right entry into the church without intrusion, and by orderly appointment, David Deans came to be of opinion, that he might lawfully enjoy the spirituality and temporality of the cure of souls at Knocktarlittie, with stipend, manse, glebe, and all thereunto pertaining” (IV.6: 384). Clearly, ‘Honest David’ must set aside some of his principles. The description of how Deans comes to his decision is worth quoting at length:

His mind was so much occupied by considering the best means of converting Duncan of Knock to a sense of reverential decency during public worship, that he altogether forgot to enquire, whether Butler was called upon to subscribe the oaths to government. Some have insinuated, that his neglect on this head was, in some degree, intentional; but I think this explanation inconsistent with the simplicity of my friend David’s character. Neither have I ever been able by the most minute enquiries to know, whether the *formula*, at which he so much scrupled, had been exacted from Butler, aye or no. The books of the kirk-session might have thrown some light on this matter; but unfortunately they were destroyed in the year 1746, by one Donacha Dhu na Dunaigh, at the instance, it was said, or at least by the connivance, of the gracious Duncan of Knock, who

had a desire to obliterate the records of a certain Kate Finlayson.

(IV.8: 404)

Such willful forgetting on the part of Deans (David rather than Jeanie in this instance), or the editor of *Tales of My Landlord*, as well as the seeming collusion between Deans and Duncan, a convenient partnership, lends itself to a secular foundation of the state and the establishment of acceptance and continuity within a diverse community that must forget in order to move on.

The political structure at Roseneath establishes central governance and hierarchy as the structural means of control in Britain. The community is managed by Argyle from London: Duncan is estate manager, Reuben the minister, Deans the agricultural expert, Dutton head of the dairy. Respect for the centre-margins form of compartmentalized administration is noted by the most prominent dissenter, Deans:

As for the Queen, and the credit whilk she hath done to a poor man's daughter, and the mercy and the grace ye found in her, I can only pray for her weel-being here and hereafter, for the establishment of her house now and for ever, upon the throne of these kingdoms The Duke of Argyle is a noble and true-hearted nobleman, who pleads the cause of the poor, and those who have none to help them; verily his reward shall not be lacking unto him. (Scott, *HM* IV.2: 356)

As such, negotiations between the Queen and Argyle describe a civilized political game played out by elites in London, carried outward by the hierarchical

delegation of authority, and accepted by people carrying out specific roles, sometimes separated by great distances. The orderly extension of power, however, looks different at the community level, where words must turn to action. The struggle to get Mrs Dutton into the boat and across to Roseneath is a prime example. Archibald, the Duke's servant, says, "Madam, it's high time you should know you are in the Duke's country, and that there is not one of these fellows, but would throw you out of the boat as readily as into it, if such were his Grace's pleasure" before adding, "You will have a dozen of cow-milkers under your own authority at Inverary, and you may throw any of them into the lake, if you have a mind, for the Duke's head people are almost as great as himself" (IV.4: 373). Hierarchies extend from London and are replicated down the social scale within fields of responsibility, indicating discrete, subordinate categories of administration.

That being said, governance requires the effective coordination of departments. The parish at Knocktarlitie under Reuben's leadership, including the elders of the kirk-session and "a wilder set of parishioners, mountaineers from the upper glen and adjacent hills, who spoke Gaelic, went about armed, and wore the Highland dress" (Scott, *HM* IV.8: 398), is no exception. Cohesion, or at least peace, is established by the coordinated efforts of Reuben and Duncan. As a result of Duncan's enforcement, "the strict commands of the Duke had established such good order in this part of his territories, that the Gael and Saxons lived upon the best possible terms of good neighbourhood" (IV.8: 398). Isaac Micklehose, an elder of the church, explains to Deans that Duncan's behavior was "far frae

beseeming – But what will ye say? The Captain’s a queer hand, and to speak to him about that or ony thing else that crosses the maggot, wad be to set the kiln a-low. He keeps a high hand ower the country, and we couldna deal wi’ the Hielandmen without his protection, sin’ a’ the keys o’ the kintra hings at his belt; and he’s no an ill body in the main, and maistry, ye ken, maws the meadows doun” (IV.8: 403). Micklehose’s words of moderation speak to the priority and means of structure and progress: “Fair and softly gangs far” (IV.8: 403). The transition of power from the Queen and Argyle to Duncan and others in the community describes not only the top-down, specialized structure common to both industry and military, but the lateral political diplomacy on the ground that enables all to get on in one way or another.

Reuben, for instance, acts as a local representative at the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in Edinburgh (Scott, *HM* IV.14: 445), but more importantly, he was chosen by Argyle to lead the parish and administers to the community’s spiritual needs in the shadow of Duncan’s administration of justice. As such, the church negotiates a prominent social role through coordination with the hierarchical and lateral extension of state authority. In this way, the church retains significant power, particularly at the level of local governance. In reverse, Duncan’s contempt for Reuben’s authority, the Butlers and Deans, is checked after a visit by the Duke to Roseneath, during which he paid respect to the families present. As a result, Duncan “held it prudent to change his course” (IV.10: 412) and henceforth treated Deans, Reuben, and Jeanie with greater respect, “So that, by avoiding topics of dispute, the personages of our tale lived in

great good habits with the gracious Duncan” (IV.10: 412). Butler plays backgammon and draughts with Duncan for money (IV.10: 415); church and state interact peacefully and reasonably, each giving way on some points (both under Argyle). Duncan, for example, argues that Ailie McClure should not be called to the Kirk-session for witchcraft; Butler insists, Duncan threatens; Butler deals with her in private, Duncan responds, “This was speaking like a reasonable shentleman” (IV.11: 422). The message is clear: institutions—government, military, and church—of national importance can and should coordinate and compromise to govern effectively and peacefully.

A central question or challenge to such governance that emerges is how to maintain community in the face of capitalist circulation, a form of circulation that extends beyond currency and goods to people. As Kenneth McNeil writes, “Circulation – of goods, money, and people – not only links the Highlands with the rest of Scotland, Great Britain, and the empire in the novel, it shapes new transcultural identities” (56). The multicultural, confusing, and nearly ungovernable parish of Knocktarlitie is the perfect testing ground for the institutional structures put in place. In this way, Avrom Fleishman is correct in stating that “Roseneath is a symbolic landscape of modern Scotland” (93) and his discussion of volume four as speculative and realistic, as a projection of modern Scotland not without challenges, is particularly useful in comparison to other critiques. For example, the “tidy resolutions of the Waverley novels” (20) referred to by Andrew Sanders are more apparent than real due to the romance structure and James Kerr’s description of *HM* as “an extended piece of pastoral

embellished with historical detail” and of volume four as intended to “return the Scottish nation to the footing of a simple morality, founded on the social structure of the old peasantry” (62) is simply wrong. According to Andrea Henderson’s thoughtful account, “The final section of *Heart of Mid-Lothian* marks a change in the novel’s geographical and economic center, a shift from the heart of the busy city of Edinburgh to the isolated island of Roseneath. The novel sets out to do no less than redefine society in terms of a rural ‘colonial’ economy rather than an urban market one” (161) and “The social structure that serves as the novel’s ideal – the island colony – aspires to an isolation and self-sufficiency that would ideally and ultimately make any ‘peripheries’ drop out altogether” (162). The combination of realism and speculation involved in portraying the shifting basis of modern society is correct. Roseneath, however, is not an isolated community; it functions through the management of a porous border that determines internal identification, cohesion, and prosperity in relation to the outside world. It is important, for example, that Roseneath is not an island, but a peninsula accessed from Dumbartonshire by boat. Institutional structures attempt to protect traditional forms of social interaction by moderating circulation. Duncan controls the water between Roseneath and Dumbartonshire, ferrying passengers back and forth, guarding against smugglers and thieves (when it is to his benefit). Further, he receives and passes on messages from the Duke or others and thus plays a role in mediating communications between Roseneath and the rest of Britain. Transportation and media are critical aspects of any modern nation state and in important ways define the functioning of the state through the regulation of

movement, of both people and information, across borders. But order is never fully imposed. The Duke's coach that brings Jeanie to Roseneath, although threatened, seems under control, avoiding the mob at Carlisle and the troubles at Glasgow, but the opening scene of the novel with the overturned coach is not forgotten. Duncan cannot stop Effie from visiting Jeanie, Staunton from smuggling, or messages and broadsides from entering and leaving the community; more dramatically, at the end of a night of drinking, he runs his boat into smugglers and is thrown into the water.

Following upon Hume, and more particularly, Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), progress is presented as complex, discontinuous, and uneven, situated within a modern economy emerging in Scotland and extending beyond national borders. Just as Ferguson brings his theories to bear on Scotland and the problems of the eighteenth century, Scott is, as Duncan Forbes notes, a "conscious sociologist" (27), aware of the complexities and consequences of nineteenth-century progress. On the one hand, the Deans's move from Woodend to Roseneath coincides with the development of extended capitalist networks of exchange: Jeanie's Dunlop cheese is sent to London; Deans also produces for export. On the other hand, the shift to modern agricultural practices and the production of luxury goods sold for profit in urban areas has consequences; using land for specialty cheese and the production of textiles cannot be separated from the disastrous clearing of Scottish people and communities from fertile land to make way for grazing, which contributed to labour uncertainty, and even slavery. Likewise, Mrs Glass's prosperity as a

tobacconist in London depends on slave labour in Virginia and the Staunton's fortune, likely in textiles, on plantations in the West Indies. Trade in people, however, is not a foreign problem: the Whistler was sold to Annaple, then to Donacha, who "was occasionally an agent in a horrible trade then carried on betwixt Scotland and America, for supplying the plantations with servants, by means of *kidnapping*, as it was termed, both men and women, but especially children under age" (Scott, *HM* IV.15: 463). The development of a prosperous British middle class was in part dependent on the emergence of expanding capitalist markets, domestic and international, that relied upon unethical and unregulated means of acquiring capital.

HM, however, is a family chronicle of upward mobility and social progress that clearly distinguishes between two paths—moderation, prosperity, and inclusion or circulation, loss, and exile. When David Deans dies in 1751, "He is believed, for the exact time of his birth is not known, to have lived upwards of ninety years; for he used to speak of events, as falling under his own knowledge, which happened about the time of the battle of Bothwell-Bridge" (Scott, *HM* IV.12: 427). His life span, c. 1660-1751, covers most of the tale. The fourth volume, however, takes the tale ten years further, describing the prosperity of the Butlers on the one hand and Effie as a widow moved to the continent to live out her days in a convent on the other hand. As such, it is in several important ways the chronicle of two families (also as Jeanie and Effie are born of different mothers), illustrating diverging social trajectories. The prosperous path forward for self and state lies in the strengthening of modern institutions. Those who stay

within the law prosper and become productive members of the community. The Butlers are productive, middle-class members of society: Reuben is professionally successful, the family inherits money and purchases land, Jeanie's three healthy children become a lawyer, a military officer, and a rich laird's wife. In contrast, Effie says to Jeanie, "You live happy in the esteem and love of all who know you, and I drag on the life of a miserable impostor, indebted for the marks of regard I receive to a tissue of deceit and lies, which the slightest accident may unravel" (IV.11: 418). The different paths are further contrasted: Duncan is the estate manager, Donacha is killed; the elder Staunton is a prominent member of society, the younger Staunton (Robertson) is killed by his own son; Femie (Euphemia), rich and beautiful, her wealth "augmented by her aunt's generosity" (IV.15: 468), marries a Highland laird "who never asked the name of her grandfather, and was loaded on the occasion with presents from Lady Staunton" (IV.15: 468), Effie (Euphemia) ends up on the continent in a convent; David Butler becomes a lawyer, the Whistler is sold into slavery (they are cousins). The divergent paths represented, largely within a single family, depend to a small degree on agency and to a far greater degree on circumstances and social relations. Those connected to people in positions of power progress, but the direction of that progress is not equal. It is not a matter of ethics, as the success of Duncan and Rat suggest. Family security and personal progress in the modern nation state depend on the law, military, and marriage (conservative social bonds) as well as social connections, wealth, and lineage.

HM describes and contributes to the development of modern identity and group formation in the nineteenth century in four key ways: first, it employs logic, morality, criticism, and politics to describe a society in motion; second, this description is centered on the axes and institutions of the modern nation state; third, it is inclusive and self-reflexive, including lines of flight and uncertainties; fourth, the construction of historical memory and the projection of a collective way forward involve the careful negotiation of remembering and forgetting. In some ways, this last point is the most essential element of the blueprint for the nation state set forth. As Ann Rigney suggests, “After several decades of research in the field of cultural memory it has become apparent that the key issue is not really how societies remember but how societies (learn to) forget” (221). Three instances of forgetting in *HM* are of particular importance. First, Staunton’s return to Edinburgh long after the Porteous affair is framed as an opportunity to forget and move on: “The forbearance of the magistrate was in these instances wise, certainly, and just; for what good impression could be made on the public mind by punishment, when the memory of the offence was obliterated, and all that was remembered was the recent inoffensive, or perhaps exemplary conduct of the sufferer?” (Scott, *HM* IV.13: 446).

Second, the forcible clearance of the Scottish Highlands to make way for the grazing of sheep and cattle in the eighteenth century remained an issue, with Scotland on the verge of a second major clearance in 1818. In *HM*, the Clearances are brought into the picture by way of Argyle’s experimental farm, Dunacha and the outlawed gypsies, the Whistler, and Butler’s purchase of land, but never

confronted head on, as in *Clan Albin*, for example. As noted in “Qu’est-ce qu’ une nation?” (1882) by Ernest Renan, nation-building is in important ways based on a collective process of remembering and forgetting (284-85); but not all memories can be redeployed to equal advantage at a particular time. Such painful memories with continuing ramifications may only be referred to indirectly, as one aspect of a larger history. The destruction of an entire people and a way of life to support grazing and the financial well-being of a few cannot be defended. It is the kind of ethical wound or collective guilt that can linger unproductively in a nation’s psyche. The Porteous riot, however, is a lesser-known, isolated, and distant historical event that can be more productively reconsidered, or managed.

Finally, while much is made of the history of Deans and the Covenanters, stretching back to the 1660s, the events of Glencoe are not mentioned. On the morning of 13 February 1692, thirty-eight men, women, and children of the clan MacDonald were murdered in cold blood by the first and second companies of the Earl of Argyle’s Regiment of Foot, under the command of Robert Campbell, for not proclaiming loyalty to the new monarchs, William and Mary. The details are brutal: hospitality was offered, the attack occurred in three settlements simultaneously, many of those killed were fleeing and many others died of exposure as their homes were burnt to the ground. The event, as with the Clearances, was and remains prominent in the history of Scotland, and yet Scott does not touch it in *HM* (he does so in a short story called “The Highland Widow” in *Chronicles of the Canongate* [1827]). It was, perhaps, so horrible an incident, and the Campbell clan still so powerful in 1818, that to open it up could only

serve to stir bad blood. Many of the soldiers involved were from the Lowlands, only a few were Campbells, and the government was involved, but it was commonly attributed to the lingering MacDonald-Campbell clan conflict. Or, it may not have served well in a work destined for a national, that is, British audience. As such, this memory is not part of Scott's history; Argyle is portrayed as a national hero helping Scotland move forward as an integral part of Britain in a post-1707 nation that emphasizes union and prosperity: Scotland forgets, Britain moves on.

HM selectively reconstructs the past, consciously forgetting or re-inventing people, events, storylines, and conflicts, thus contributing to identity and group formation. In this way, Scott "perceived what in fact did happen in modern times" and "For the first time in literature Scott had dramatized the basic processes of modern history" (Raleigh 31). More particularly, rather than one epoch replacing another, beyond the vague evolutionary transition from past to present and 'processes' left as broad historical forces, *HM* suggests that to progress collectively people must have a clear (historical) picture of who they are, individually and collectively, that fosters belief in the possibility of material and political self-improvement. In short, there must be a way forward, regardless of the glaring faults, the obstacles, the uncertainties—past and present. The critical innovation is the construction of belief in community, not solely by way of folklore or national origins, but by way of an upwardly-mobile, professional, specialized, and moderate middle class connected by shared investments in institutional organization and axes of modernity such as capitalism and

industrialization. *HM* sets out a social architecture that incorporates history, law, myth, and politics and describes a modern path towards individual and collective confidence in a reciprocal relationship between self and state that is recognizable in the past, practicable in the present, and foreseeable in the future.

Extensive Communication Networks

The remarkable domestic sales figures for the Waverley Novels up to 1832 depended on a growing British readership with time, money, and education as well as an extensive and rapidly developing form of print capitalism that included multiple forms of production and dissemination throughout Scotland and England, with centers located in Edinburgh and London. The initial print run of six to ten thousand for every Waverley Novel points to an immediate and widespread popularity among social groups with access to expensive first edition novels (in shops or libraries). Dissemination, or impact, however, was not limited to initial publication and distribution. St Clair, for example, estimates the total number of copies up to 1829 at 500,000 and up to 1860 at three million (221). Capitalism provided the means of expansion, initially through Edinburgh and especially London as the centers of production and reception in Britain, followed by international dissemination to America and France, Europe and the world.

Anderson describes the role of print capitalism as one of the key conditions of modernity and the nation state as follows: “the mechanical reproduction of language, ‘print-language’ as opposed to spoken language, formed the foundation for modern national consciousness and the development of

the nation-state in three ways: it created unified fields of exchange and communication . . . gave a new fixity to language . . . [and] created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars” (44-45). Building upon the power of print language to reach and connect people by the act of reading, the sales figures of the *Waverley* Novels “make these fictions authentic for being the index of a collective imaginary investment or ‘belief’” (Duncan 67). In this way, the historical novel’s contribution to identity and group formation is material as well as literary; the extent and form of dissemination also reflect upon and contribute to social transformation. Accordingly, besides the initial print run of ten thousand, the diverse history of *HM* as a print artifact and cultural point of reference—reprinted and collected, rewritten for chapbooks and abridgements, adapted to the stage, and otherwise for further national and international consumption—depended on a maturing print and culture industry supported by high demand in Britain and elsewhere.

Reprints and Collections

Only five years after the publication of *Waverley* the first downmarket collection of novels by the ‘Author of *Waverley*’ appeared. In 1819, Constable purchased the copyrights of Scott’s first seven novels. He brought out five different editions of *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*: 1) 1819 (12-vols., 8vo, £7 4s); 2) 1821 (16-vols., 12mo, £6 in boards, 1,500 copies ordered); 3) 1822 (16-vols., 8vo, £7 4s, larger version of the 1821 edition); 4) 1823 (16-vols., 18mo, £4 4s in boards); 5) 1825 (16-vols., 12mo, based on the 1821 edition). The total number of sets produced was 11,500; illustrations were added

to later sets; five thousand of the 1823 set were ordered (Garside, “*Waverley*” 227). The decreasing size, falling price, use of illustrations, and increasing number of copies reflect the exploitation and creation of ever larger, downmarket readerships that culminated in Scott’s lifetime with the magnum edition published under the title ‘*Waverley Novels.*’ The ambitious collection of all Scott’s novels, initiated by Constable and seen through by Cadell (due to the 1826 financial crash that brought Constable down), was issued in monthly, cloth-bound, 18mo volumes priced at five shillings each. To each novel were added new introductions, annotatory materials, and a decorative frontispiece illustrating a scene from the novel (a way of getting a new copyright and attracting interest). *Waverley* was the first work published, in two volumes on 1 June 1829. Production of the collection was based in Edinburgh; stereotype plates and steam presses (from about the sixteenth volume) were used. *HM*, published in 1830, occupied part of volume eleven, all of volume twelve, and part of volume thirteen of the forty-eight volume set; sales reached thirty thousand per volume (Garside, “*Waverley*” 228-29). *Poetical Works* (1833-34), *Miscellaneous Prose Works* (1834-36), and Lockhart’s *Memoirs of Scott* (1837-38) aimed to capitalize on the success of the *Waverley Novels*, which led to other collections of the novels designed to reach all readers in Britain:

At one end of the marketing spectrum, Cadell brought out a People’s Edition, sold originally in weekly sheets priced 2d, and then on completion in five volumes at £2 10s. At the other, slightly in its wake, a grandiose Abbotsford Edition in large octavo was

issued fortnightly at 2s 6d a number between 1842 and 1847, this in turn being sold on completion in twelve volumes at £16 16s, with a vaunted ‘2000 illustrations on wood and steel.’ According to information given by Cadell’s trustees, after his death in 1849, in two decades Cadell had printed 78,270 collected sets of the Waverley Novels, a figure *excluding* no fewer than 7,115,197 weekly sheets printed of the People’s Edition. (Garside, “*Waverley*” 230)

The Abbotsford Edition (*HM*, vol. 3, 1843, with *Rob Roy*) was expensive, large, heavy, and thus only suitable for those with a proper library or drawing room. Although not accessible to many, it is at least indicative of the cultural cachet attached to Scott and the Waverley Novels among the upper classes in the Victorian period. The People’s Edition, on the other hand, overlaps with or continues from downmarket chapbooks sold for one penny to one shilling between 1800 and 1830 and gallery seats in the theatres costing sixpence. Among the many other editions to follow, Adam and Charles Black published numerous popular editions from the 1850s to the 1870s; for example, “a ‘sixpenny edition’ in paper covers, issued monthly between 1866 and 1868, all twenty-five volumes then being available at 12s 6d the set, with total sales evidently exceeding 2 million volumes” (231). Although various forms of dissemination overlapped at any single moment, the general trends are clear: upmarket to downmarket, larger to smaller, individual to collected, and text-based to illustrated, with the overall aim of reaching ever greater audiences.

Chapbooks and Abridgements

For the average factory or agricultural worker—the majority of the population—new novels and circulating libraries were expensive, while reading societies required entrance and yearly subscription fees beyond their means. In short, reading new works of fiction was a luxury dependent on leisure time, education, and financial independence, the *Waverley Novels* especially so. While the average price of unbound three-volume novels rose steadily from about nine shillings (1800-10) to over thirty (1840) (St Clair 203), the *Waverley Novels* were consistently priced beyond other works of fiction throughout the period, rising progressively from eighteen to thirty-two shillings. In this respect, “there was still a large gap between the nation as a whole and the literate nation, and another gap between the literate nation and the reading nation” (266-67). But novels, sold individually, collected, or borrowed from libraries, were only one component of a burgeoning print market. Traditional and new chapbooks, religious tracts and political pamphlets, print versions of plays and broadsides, were available downmarket for as little as a penny. Newspapers gained ground throughout the period, particularly with the use of steam after 1814 and the decrease in tax from four shillings to one shilling in 1836. The success of the *Edinburgh Review* (started 1802) initiated a flood of reviews, journals, and magazines. Selling in parts and numbers was an important form of circulation as it often made upmarket literature more accessible. Traditional popular works such as almanacs continued to flourish, especially among rural readers. An Enlightenment sense of progress common to middle-class or aspiring working-class readers made a vast array of

works on science, medicine, astrology, language or other forms of ‘useful knowledge’ for adults and children popular. Encouraged by cheaper materials, improved technologies, and growing markets, the publishing industry diversified to meet the needs of downmarket readers, in part by transforming Scott’s novels.

Despite the rise of the popular novel, selling in parts and numbers, and increased circulation of newspapers, chapbooks remained a prominent form of reading in Romantic-era Britain. Many working-class people “continued to read traditional, centuries-old chapbook fiction” (Kelly, “Fiction” 233) as old titles were replaced or supplemented by new ones (209; St Clair 348). In the eighteenth century, most people read chapbooks such as *Guy of Warwick*, *Jack and the Giants*, or *Robin Hood* that had been circulating for centuries. The usual sort were eight to thirty-two pages, cost between one penny and sixpence, and were decorated with woodcut images (not necessarily pertaining to the story). These did not disappear in the nineteenth century, but as Kelly points out, “Around 1800, chapbooks of a new kind began to appear, mainly much shorter versions of books read by the middle classes, and bought from publishers and small shops, or possibly borrowed from small circulating libraries and pubs” (“Fiction” 209). Chapbook versions of out-of-copyright novels such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Pilgrim’s Progress* were popular (Rogers 164), while abridgements and adaptations of upmarket novels for adults and children also began to flourish in the traditional chapbook form, re-produced in various ways for multiple readerships.

The new chapbooks were usually from thirty-two to seventy-four pages long and cost from sixpence to a shilling – the price of a meal or a cheap theatre seat. The majority comprised fiction of three main kinds: shortened versions of the three-volume Gothic romances, historical novels, and sentimental tales produced for the middle classes; original novelettes or stories from magazines, in the same genres; and novelettizations of popular plays, melodramas, and even poems. These chapbooks purposely differed in appearance from the earlier kinds – more carefully printed, bound in attractively ornamented blue and yellow paper covers, and with hand-colored frontispieces depicting a sensational incident from the story. (Kelly, “Fiction” 218)

The chapbook form thus modified, while continuing the usual short, straightforward plot depicting a working-class experience of life, helped to fill a gap between upmarket modern literature and the downmarket reading of the economically less well off (St Clair 349). In particular, the form, content, and price of chapbooks—short histories, abridgements, or derivative tales—adapted from *HM* between 1818 and about 1830 suggest that the chapbook was a means of reaching and cultivating a variety of print audiences down the socio-economic scale. As such, while studies of the novel continue to be valuable as means of considering national questions, the question of how most people read or experienced *HM* and the means by which the reading nation in the Romantic

period can be described, is not answered in full by inquiries that do not include forms other than books.

The print market was divided into fairly broad (often fluid) categories: for example, *HM* sold for thirty-two shillings, *Criminal Trials: Illustrative of the Tale Entitled 'The Heart of Mid-Lothian' Published from the Original Record, with a Prefatory Notice, Including Some Particulars of the Life of Captain John Porteous* (history of the Porteous riot) sold for eight shillings, *The Confession, andc. of Nicol Muschet, of Boghul, who was executed in the Grassmarket, January, 1721, for the Murder of his Wife, in the Duke's Walk, near Edinburgh* (pamphlet explaining the gruesomeness of events at Muschat's Cairn) sold for one shilling (Parsons 201), and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian; or, The Lily of St. Leonard's* (chapbook published by Caw and Elder) sold for twopence; each work was published in 1818 in Edinburgh. Downmarket publications, however, were also diverse in different ways. The new chapbook was an especially flexible form that could mediate between publisher and downmarket reader by variations in price, form, and content. Caw and Elder, for example, reached juvenile or downmarket readers with a short, cheap, dramatic narrative faithful to the original. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian, or The Affecting History of Jeanie and Effie Deans. Abridged from the original [of Sir Walter Scott] (1819)* by D. Stewart strives to separate itself from the traditional chapbook by increased length (52 pp.), higher price (1s.), and a skillfully told narrative emphasizing progress and social position. Joseph Claude Mauris's *Romantic Tale, Founded on Facts* (1820) is a short (24 pp.), cheap (price not listed, twopence seems likely), strongly

moralized re-telling of *HM* that favours institutional norms such as education and marriage and stresses the disadvantages of foreign influence. *The Heart Of Midlothian; Or The Lily Of St. Leonard, a Caledonian Tale of Great Interest* (1822) manipulates form (34 pp.), price (6d.), and content to bring conservative, middle-class values to the downmarket chapbook in a particular way, integrating an Enlightenment sense of progress, lower-class sympathy, traditional authority, and moral education for a broad readership. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (c. 1830-50), only twelve pages, cheaply made with thin paper and woodcut prints, and sold for one penny, was designed for wide dissemination, but the covers are made of blue paper decorated with borders and a woodcut image, every page has a border, there are numerous relevant images to accompany the text, and despite some weak transitions between scenes this is a relatively smooth and even account of *HM* with little moral judgement tacked on. *Jeanie Deans, and the Lily of St Leonard's* (n.d.), part eleven of the Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England, likely sold for one penny (two pence coloured), is a straightforward and largely faithful re-telling, although with an unusual ending that makes reference to events in the fourth volume. The chapbooks and abridgements of *HM*, alongside the reprints and collections, indicate the extent of niche production by publishers looking to profit from the growing and diverse print market.

Although changes in British printing and publishing such as the steam press and stereotyping tended to favour wider dissemination of novels at lower prices, print production was neither linear nor uniform. Rather, because of the

improvements and disparities in education, literacy, and financial well-being across all classes, publishing during a period of limited copyright, population growth, and increased literacy was as rhizomatic as the population served. The middle-class Enlightenment ideals of progress and improvement represented in *HM*, and many other works of the period, were not restricted to novel readers. Publications by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge provide two obvious examples, although instructive literature came in many forms, some more entertaining than others. The working classes, as with other classes, furnished themselves with the reading material they could get and with that which made the most material and social sense for their own lives. Accordingly, chapbooks and abridgements of *HM*, alongside downmarket reprints and collections, describe reading situations indicative of the social transformation of nineteenth-century Britain.

Melodramatic Adaptations

The dramatic adaptation of popular literary works was not uncommon in the nineteenth century and the Waverley Novels were among the works most often and most successfully transformed. Melodramatic adaptations of *HM* successfully played upon genre stereotypes such as the undivided, externally-oriented character and clear-cut results, but the real power of dramatic adaptation lay in the integration of diverse cultural forms of representation in the lives of working-class people. The history of *HM* dramatized in the national capital, north and south of the Thames, describes how political and socio-economic factors participate significantly in the production and reception of melodramatic

adaptation for various audiences, including politics and commerce, print and theatre cultures, upmarket and working-class audiences. The connections pursued between literature, melodrama, and the real needs of theatre goers coincide with and participate in the formation of a national, although complex and heterogeneous, British identity central to the success and significance of popular adaptation.

In *Scott Dramatized* (1992), H. Philip Bolton records thousands of performances at legitimate and illegitimate theatres based on the prose works of Scott; in London, at the Theatres Royal and numerous minor theatres such as the Surrey and the Coburg on the south bank of the Thames as well as many others throughout Britain. He lists over three hundred productions of *HM*, adding that it “ranks fourth among Scott’s long prose narratives for its ability to inspire the commercial playwrights of the nineteenth century: only *Rob Roy*, *Guy Mannering*, and *Bride of Lammermoor* come before it” (259). He further notes “twenty-one publications of plays from *Heart of Mid-Lothian* – a number exceeded only by those published dramas derivative from *Ivanhoe* (42), and *Kenilworth* (27)” (259). *HM* was a clear favorite with audiences in Britain with at least sixty-four distinct productions of six dramatic versions produced in London, at least fifty-three in Edinburgh by 1900, thirty-two for the Glasgow region, and many others of the provincial variety throughout England and Scotland (260).

The first dramatization of *HM* was *The Heart of Mid-Lothian; or; The Lily of St. Leonard’s: Melo-dramatic Romance, in Three Acts* by Thomas John Dibdin at the Surrey Theatre, London on 13 January 1819. There were at least seventy-

two performances in its first season and it was successful enough to be revived, including versions at the Pantheon Theatre in Edinburgh as well as Newcastle, York, and many other provincial sites (Bolton 259). Competition and innovation related to the genre restrictions placed on minor theatres made melodrama an exciting, mixed genre combining sentimental comedy, history, romance, and tragedy with various forms of performance. The advertisement to the print edition of this melodrama describes an attempt to bridge a gap between an expensive literary novel (32s.) and the illegitimate stage (6d. for a seat in the gallery) with drama in print (2s. 6d.). The negotiation of overlapping social and economic fields of reception by form, price, and direct appeal or explanation (a form of marketing) suggests that melodrama could act as a flexible middle ground of formal and thematic expression for various British audiences.

Action, spectacle, and minor characters are used to great advantage, employing comedy and song, dialect and dress as well as direct appeals to the audience. Virtue and action succeed where justice (the letter of the law) fails, or more generally, where circumstances fail; the overindulged Staunton proves heroic in his attempt to save Madge from the mob (not in the novel); the motherless Effie is found innocent; poor Jeanie Deans succeeds against all odds. Despite challenges, change is in the hands of common individuals, a stance not inappropriate considering the venue and contemporary agitation for reform. Importantly, however, this is not an unambiguously open and sympathetic appeal to the working classes. Dibdin follows the novel in that Jeanie marries the minister, Effie is “made an honest woman,” and Staunton seems “about to

abandon the path of gross vice” (Scott, *HM* IV.9: 410-11), but also in that redemption and inclusion do not extend to Madge; she dies a tragic death—a despised vagrant or witch at the hands of an English mob. Even at an illegitimate theatre, reward for right action is balanced with social acceptance and an alliance with traditional structures of power.

The principles of group formation remain consistent with Scott’s negotiation of modernity by way of benign local patronage (Duke of Argyle) and central authority (Queen Caroline). With a multitude of class characters and the ambitious and successful journey of the working-class Jeanie from Edinburgh to London, the re-imagination of national identity and social progress is largely inclusive, but as in *HM*, modern progress remains moderate, tempered by patronage networks relying on the continuation of the landlordism that more radical reformists sought to uproot and middle-class social norms that insist on hierarchy and cultural privilege based on birth, wealth, merit, and virtue—in that order. Dibdin the writer aims to entertain, and to reflect and provoke to some degree, but as manager of the Surrey, he produces in light of more practical concerns such as broad working-class appeal (ticket sales) and government censorship (licensing).

The Heart of Mid-Lothian, A Musical Drama by Daniel Terry was produced sixteen times at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden starting on 17 April 1819 (Bolton 263). The 66-page, 1819 print edition was published by William Stockdale in London and sold for two shillings and sixpence as part of a volume of Scott plays. Terry deviates from *HM* to a far greater degree than Dibdin, taking

liberties with plot and character to emphasize action, sentiment, comedy, and high drama while catering to the social and political sympathies relevant to venue, audience, and pre-performance censorship. *HM* overflows with characters across the social spectrum. Likewise, Dibdin's dramatization emphasizes the upright, working-class Jeanie and her bold initiative carried through with the help of a varied set of characters. Terry, on the other hand, eliminates lower-class and political figures that were popular with working-class audiences as well as successful middle-class characters. In contrast, minor characters in Dibdin's version, as in *HM*, have key roles that address major issues. For example, Jeanie and the Queen speak to the issue of female agency; it is Jeanie who has the resolve to act and the Queen that supports the pardon. One might at least expect the Queen to remain at a Theatre Royal, but any hint of the public and troubled relationship between George (appointed as Regent in 1811) and Caroline of Brunswick that had engrossed London for more than twenty years is notably absent from Terry's adaptation. South of the Thames, Dibdin takes full advantage of popular support for Caroline of Brunswick by making Jeanie's visit to the Queen a key moment.

Both Dibdin and Terry begin in the aftermath of rebellion and move towards a peaceful, conservative resolution that skips over the "great national emergency" (Scott, *HM* II.6: 174), but the resolutions that follow are quite different. Terry depends largely on the intervention of secular authority; Dibdin follows Scott more closely by employing a varied cast of characters and by attaching to Jeanie's journey, in particular, a sense of transgression. The result is a

far more progressive consideration of power and class, suggesting a greater sense of reciprocity, flexibility, and inclusion at the heart of the social contract. In other words, Dibdin continues to emphasize the sympathy that Evan Gottlieb finds in *HM* (188-96), whereas Terry's depiction stresses legal authority and class isolation. Despite a similar emphasis on middle-class values and the use of illegitimate genre, Terry strays from the plebeian roots of the melodramatic form in important ways, making adjustments for venue and audience. As such, it is not surprising that Bolton suggests "most of the numerous provincial productions seem to have derived from the Surrey's version" (259).

The Waverley Novels were well-suited to dramatization, with strong story lines, memorable incidents, topical questions, fantastic characters, and the built-in popularity attached to the 'Author of *Waverley*.' *HM* added a strong national dimension (Scottish or British depending on interpretation) when the question was hot and provided for an extended stage life with the possible centralization of lower-class characters, female agency, education, class, morality, justice, and other key issues for nineteenth-century Britons. Dramatic versions appeared in a number of series, including Hodgson's *Juvenile Drama* (1822), Huie's *National Dramas* (1823), Cumberland's *Minor Theatre* (1828), Dick's *Standard Plays* (1833), *The Waverley Dramas* (1845), and Lacy's *Acting Edition of Plays* (1863). Melodrama succeeded as a flexible, recognizable form of entertainment easily adapted to the portrayal of complex social issues for a variety of audiences. The theatre was central to the social, political, and economic life of early-nineteenth-century Britain—across a network of classes, regions, and venues—with the

melodramatic depiction of past and current events of local and national significance intricately woven into the cultural fabric of the day. The many dramatic adaptations of *HM* throughout the nineteenth century represent not only the formal and thematic adaptation of Scott for the stage, but for legitimate and illegitimate venues, upmarket and downmarket audiences, and as such, another important way by which the Waverley Novels were received across regional and class lines. David Worrall writes, “By the late 1810s drama was the primary literary form mediating between the British people and national issues” (274); the popular reception of Scott dramatized played no small role in this mediation.

Multimedia

“To have been alive and literate in the nineteenth century was,” says Raleigh, “to have been affected in some way by the Waverley novels” (10). Collections, chapbooks, and melodramas were essential means of secondary dissemination. However, multiple forms of media enabled the Waverley Novels to reach, repeatedly throughout the nineteenth century, all Britons. Advertising, criticism, and playbills, for example, were important means of making announcements to the public and considering the merit of individual works. Marketing was especially common from the 1820s onwards; advertising in newspapers was a cheap and effective means of announcing new publications. For *HM*, there were fifteen in the *Morning Chronicle*, 28 July 1818 to 4 May 1819; six in the *Star*, 5 June 1818 and 15 February 1819; and fourteen in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 9 May 1818 to 19 April 1819 (Garside, *British* n. pag.). In the early-nineteenth century, criticism was an important part of the literary and

cultural climate; many periodicals carried summaries of new publications. As the number of novels published increased, however, it became impossible to cover them all. Few novels received a long review that covered a single work in detail, as was common in *The Edinburgh Review*, and many did not make it to the catalogue or listing at the back of the periodical. Scott's novels, however, were "noticed by *The Quarterly Review*, *The Edinburgh Review* and all other major periodicals" (Bautz 39); *HM* was reviewed in twenty periodicals, where reviewers generally showed considerable interest in Jeanie, paying particular attention to her speech (36), and in Effie, noting her rise in social rank (37). Playbills for theatrical performances were numerous—handed out in the street, posted on poles, doorways, walls, and likely elsewhere—a cheap, visible form of generating enthusiasm and revenue.

Musical adaptations added considerably to the constant, multifaceted, and widespread dissemination and recognition of the Waverley Novels in Britain throughout the nineteenth century. Music often played a significant role in household entertainment, especially in middle- and upper-class homes with a piano or other musical instruments. Ballads and overtures derived from the Waverley Novels or melodramatic adaptations of the Waverley Novels were popular, including, for example: Henry Bishop's *Overture to "The Heart of Midlothian"*. *A Musical Drama. Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. Selected, composed and arranged for the Piano Forte, by Henry R. Bishop, Composer and Director of the Music to the Theatre Royal Covent Garden* (1819); Edward J. Loder's 'In the days of hap-py child-hood' (from *The Lily of St.*

Leonard's as sung by Miss Poole in *The Heart of Midlothian*) [n.d.]; Loder's 'A-float on the O-cean my days ga-ly fly' (as sung by Mr. Weiss, at the Princess Theatre in *The Heart of Midlothian*) (1849); and John Thomas's *New Overture to The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1874).

The mid-nineteenth century was the heyday of opera in Europe and Scott was well-represented on the stage, especially outside of Britain. *HM* was not adapted as frequently for opera as other Waverley Novels, but two operas are worthy of notice. First, *La Prison D'Edimbourgh*, libretto by Eugene Scribe and Eugene de Planard, set to music by Michael E. Carafa, was first performed on 20 July 1833 at Opéra-Comique in Paris. Productions in French took place at Amsterdam, Liege, and Antwerp; in German at Vienna, Frankfurt, and Basel; in Russian at St. Petersburg; and in English (as *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*) at London's Princess' Theatre on 18 April 1849 (Mitchell 73). It was based on the first half of the novel, which was fairly common to most adaptations. Second, the first production of *La Prigione d'Edimburgo* was on 13 March 1838 in Trieste. The libretto was adapted from Scribe and Planard by Gaetano Rossi, the music was by Frederico Ricci, and the story "follows the Scribe-De Planard test in many particulars as well as in main outline" (81). It was one of Ricci's most successful operas; in Italy, it was first performed in Autumn of 1838 at Firenze (Florence) and "soon reached virtually all the theaters in Italy"; the *barcarola*, "Sulla poppa del mio brick," was for a long time one of the most popular melodies in Italy" (81). This opera quickly became a European and international phenomenon, including the following performances: Carnival 1840 at Cagliari, Sardinia; Teatro

Nuovissimo, Carnevale 1840-41 at Padua; April 1840 in Vienna; July 1840 in Barcelona; November 1840 in Nice; November 1841 at Copenhagen; December 1841 at Lisbon; 1841 at Malta; Autumn 1841 at Odessa; January 1842 at Mexico; April 1842 at Hamburg; October 1842 at Budapest (in German); April 1843 at Prague; October 1844 at Warsaw; October 1853 at Buenos Aires; and as *Susana* [from *La Prigione D'Edimburgo*] May 1867 at Madrid.

Images of characters and scenes from the Waverley Novels were popular, to say the least. Chapbooks and musical adaptations such as those already noted were often accompanied by images based on the relevant novel. Ninety-six steel engravings were produced for the magnum edition, with each volume including an engraved frontispiece. Collections of portraits of the main characters or scenes from the novels preceded the magnum and continued well into the nineteenth century, including William Allen's *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley: A series of portraits of eminent historical characters introduced in those works. Accompanied with biographical notices* (1823); John MacCulloch's *Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, containing Descriptions of their Scenery and Antiquities, with an Account of the Political History and Ancient Manners, and of the Origin, Language, Agriculture, Economy, Music, Present Condition of the People; Founded on a Series of Annual Journeys Between the Years 1811 and 1821, and Forming an Universal Guide to that Country, in Letters to Sir Walter Scott, Bart* (1824); James Skene's *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels, Etched from Original Drawings* (1829); Society of Painters's *Landscape Illustrations of the*

Waverley Novels, with Descriptions of the Views (1831); *Notices and Anecdotes Illustrative of the Incidents, Characters, and Scenery described in the Novels and Romances of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.; with a Complete Glossary of all his Works* (1833); Robert Forsyth's *Waverley Anecdotes: Illustrative of the Incidents, Characters and Scenery described in the Novels and Romances of Walter Scott, Bart.* (1833); George Newenham Wright's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels; from Drawings by J.M.W. Turner, Professor R.A.* (1836-38); M. C. Pelle's *Landscape-historical Illustrations of the Waverley Novels/Nouvelles illustrations anglaises des romans de Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (1840); *The Waverley Gallery of the Principle Female Characters in Sir Walter Scott's Romances; From Original Paintings by Eminent Artists. Engraved under the superintendence of C. Heath* (1841); *The Book of Waverley Gems: In a Series of Engraved Illustrations of Incidents and Scenery in Sir Walter Scott's Novels* (1846); *The Land of Scott: A Series of Landscape Illustrations, Illustrative of Real Scenes, described in the Novels and Tales, of the Author of Waverley; From Drawings by the Most Distinguished Artists* (1848); and H. I. and A. Stevens's *Scott and Scotland; or, Historical and Romantic Illustrations of Scottish Story* (n.d.) (Rigney 55; 128).

The *Waverley Novels* also inspired independent paintings and illustrations: "Between 1805 and 1870 Scott's subject matter attracted over three hundred painters and sculptors who exhibited more than a thousand 'Scott' works at the Royal Academy and British Institution" (Gordon 297). In short, Scott was taken seriously by major artists; for example, "In the catalogues of the Royal

Academy and British Institution between 1815-50, Scott is virtually the only contemporary prose writer whose works provide continuously acceptable and popular subjects for paintings” (300). Specific scenes from a novel were often depicted, as in H. P. Parker’s 1826 depiction of the Porteous mob breaking into the Tolbooth, Robert Scott Lauder’s *Trial of Effie Deans* (1840), and James Drummond’s *Porteous Mob* (1855). The “fifty or so canvases devoted to [HM]” created what Rigney calls a “canon of dramatic moments” (38). Interest was not restricted to any one particular novel or series, as “By 1830 virtually every one of the major novels written between 1814 and 1826 had become a source for popular narrative painting” (311). *HM* was something of an exception in that it “received only half a dozen illustrations in the decade following its publication, of which one was a theatrical portrait and two were comic scenes” (311). Production, however, tended to fluctuate over the course of the nineteenth century: for example, “between 1830 and 1850, there were twenty-seven paintings exhibited from *The Bride of Lammermoor* and a similar number from *The Heart of Midlothian*” (312), but “After 1850 the number of Scott subject paintings at major London exhibitions began to dwindle. Whereas from 1830 to 1847 there were between twenty and thirty Scott titles each year, the number shrank to ten or less between 1850 and 1870” (316). Interest in Jeanie and depictions of her tragic situation, likely stemming from a similar emphasis in melodramatic adaptations for the stage, fueled interest from the 1830s to about 1860, leading to works by John Pettie and William Quiller Orchardson, “who during the 1860s and 1870s chose subjects from Scott for their decorative possibilities of colour and costume

rather than for the expression of any moral sentiment or anecdotal incident” (316). Overall, then, the many images derived from the Waverley Novels, including *HM*, alongside the reprints, chapbooks, dramas, advertising, music, and more, contributed significantly to the collective cultural memory of Scott, his works, and their messages throughout the nineteenth century.

Summary

The description and direction of modern identity and group formation in the nineteenth century by or stemming from Waverley Novels such as *HM* was literary and material, sociological and historical, upmarket and downmarket. Changes in reading, writing, printing, and publishing, literary adaptation of formal and thematic resources to historical circumstances, and the extension to various cultural forms enabled *HM* to reach a broad cross-section of the British population throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, as the following case studies describe further, such impact was not restricted by national borders. The historical novel as used by Scott to engage the people, spaces, and institutions of Scotland, Britain, and the nation state more generally as it emerged in the western world set forth a literary and commercial blueprint enabling other novelists and publishers to emulate and adapt such developments for their own national spheres of influence.

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Chapter 2

Le Père Goriot

This chapter outlines the emergence of modern publishing and popular fiction in France from 1789 to 1830, explores formal and thematic resources in Honoré de Balzac's *Père Goriot* (1835) used to situate individual trajectories amidst post-Revolution social transformation, and describes how downmarket reproduction of such novels contributed to popular memory and political change up to 1870.

Modern Publishing and Popular Fiction

The print industry in post-Revolution France changed considerably in the period 1789-1835: writers and publishers adapted the form and content of literary works to social, political, economic, and literary conditions, including the introduction of the Waverley Novels, which furthered growth in popular reading and writing, solidified the market for historical fiction, and opened the way for French historical novels such as *Goriot*.

From *Éditeur* to *Libraire*

The 1789 Revolution “swept away the corporate system which had governed the book trade and the printing industry for centuries” (Lyons, *History* 120). The changes that followed were significant for writers, publishers, and readers. Intellectual property rights in 1793 “made the written text the legal property of its author for his or her lifetime and for ten years after the author’s death” (121), which put the works of authors such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and

Voltaire in the public domain, a change similar to that following *Donaldson v Beckett* (1774) in Britain. Newspapers, journals, and pamphlets flooded the market: between 1789 and 1799 more than two thousand newspapers, one thousand journals, and twelve thousand pamphlets appeared (122-23). Production shifted from elite publishing supported by patronage to more democratic forms of publishing increasingly dependent on the capitalist market system.

The alteration and expansion of the print industry at the end of the eighteenth century occurred in spite of little change in production and distribution technology; the major changes were social and political. On 5 February 1810, for example, Napoleon re-regulated the book trade, requiring official licenses of all printers and booksellers (upheld in 1814) and extending literary property for authors to twenty years after they and their spouse died, which was something of a compromise between state control and market enterprise. Overall, the book market was opened up and entrepreneurs responded. The publisher emerges as a specialized profession for the first time in this period; more importantly, the publisher becomes “a speculator in literary capital” (Haynes 1) involved in investment, recruitment, marketing, and sales. An early example of the new-style publisher is Charles-Joseph Panckoucke. He built a publishing empire that included the *Encyclopédie* (1751-72) of Diderot, featuring lower prices, smaller formats, installments, subscriptions, publicity, credit, and other innovations to stimulate sales. Pierre-François Ladvocat, who was a major publisher of the Waverley Novels in France, also used new marketing techniques and major authors to boost sales. Gervais Charpentier produced the in-18 *jésus-velin* (small

or post-octavo) with decorative yellow covers, reducing the price of a single volume from fifteen to 3.5 francs; “By point of comparison, the average wage of a Parisian worker for one working day in the 1840s was between 1.50 and 2 francs – the price had been reduced from approximately ten working days to slightly over two working days for those earning the most meagre salaries” (Olivero 76). Others quickly followed with their own *bibliothèques*, including Charles Gosselin and Michel Lévy. The transition from *éditeur* to *libraire*, from the man of letters involved in publishing literary works for select readers to the entrepreneur who sells books to as many as possible, was significant in at least three respects. First, the number of publishers increased drastically; in 1770, there were 160 publishers, in 1831, there were five hundred (Haynes 23). Second, book production increased from 2,547 in 1814 to 8,273 in 1826 (Allen 128); the book trade became a large-scale business endeavour—it was no longer a literary concern attached to gentlemen and the monarchy. Third, the print market began to diversify and go downmarket.

Several factors facilitated the shift to modern publishing practices. Industrial printing was not effective in France until the 1860s when papermaking from wood chips was perfected and rotary presses were adopted (Haynes 26). Other changes were underway earlier in the century, in transportation and education for example, but cannot be said to have caused revolutions in reading, education, or publication. The most significant factors were “reforms in the law on the book trade, regarding intellectual property rights, trade restrictions, and censorship control” (26). The key shift is to liberalization, and namely, capitalism.

Increased access to the trade and the ability to profit from the sale of literature as objects to be manipulated for the market, as shown by Panckoucke and others, were essential to the changes in the production and reception of literature. The 1819 Serre Laws placed further emphasis on the publisher, who was the property owner, legally responsible and thus the primary figure in the production of a work, shifting emphasis from literary to capitalist production of print materials (31). The new-made men of the post-Revolution era who entered the literary trade as entrepreneurs dominated the scene by treating books as profitable material objects. Literature was no longer a family affair. Charpentier, for example, was the son of a sub-lieutenant in the army. The new publishers were speculators, and as a result, did not hesitate to innovate for profit, which resulted in subscriptions, prospectives, catalogues, advertisements, illustrations, and posters—the emergence of something resembling the modern book trade.

The transition from *éditeur* to *libraire* was further established by changes in distribution. In the early-nineteenth century, distribution took three primary forms: *colporteurs* ‘pedlars,’ *étalages* ‘street shelves,’ and *cabinets de lecture* ‘reading rooms.’ *Colporteurs* carried literature throughout France and *étalages* provided access in urban areas. *Cabinets de lecture*, which rented books by the volume or by the hour, were especially important in Paris. The subscription rate was three francs per month and another fifteen or twenty centimes to hire a book; as such, the clientele was mostly bourgeois (or middle class). In the heyday of the 1830s and early 1840s, over two hundred *cabinets de lecture* were officially authorized, but as early as the 1810s commission agents, booksellers, wholesalers,

bazaars, and *grands magasins* became increasingly prominent. The book shop and the newsstand appeared and spread quickly, changes which would eventually contribute to the end of *colportage* in the 1850s.

The Waverley Novels

The emphasis of French publishers on cheap production and high sales through centralized and coordinated distribution networks was not limited to works originating in France. Commercial, political, and social links between France and Britain, in particular, were well established. Following centuries of war and diplomacy, piracy and trade, feuds and marriages, trade routes for cultural exchange were in place. French dramatic and literary works translated or adapted were popular in the theatres and in print across the Channel; similarly, with no international copyright agreements in place and a culture of reprinting common throughout Europe, “By the late 1820s, every new British novel was on sale in Paris within three days of its publication in London, in a beautiful, well-printed, convenient, clothbound, single-volume edition, at a quarter of the British price” (St Clair 296). High profit margins for popular works, particularly when pirated, and increasing demand for print encouraged unregulated international trade regardless of the efforts made by governments on behalf of authors, publishers, and sellers.

The Waverley Novels were reprinted in English throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. For example, the initial publication of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818) in English was extensive: France/Switzerland (1818, extracts), Germany (1821), Denmark (1822), Italy (1823), Sweden (1824), Netherlands

(1825), Russia (1825), Poland (1826), Belgium (1827), Spain (1831), Denmark (1832-56, Collected Works), Hungary (1832; Pest), Portugal (1839), France (1849-57, Complete Works), Sweden (1853-58, Complete Waverley Novels), Denmark (1855-71, New edition of Collected Novels), Spain (1891-1920, Collected Novels). Collections of English works were popular among expatriates on the continent, Europeans who could read in English, or anyone looking for a cheap copy of an otherwise expensive novel. Galignani and Didot published *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* in 1821 as part of the Collection of Modern English Authors; it was published numerous times in English collections thereafter, including Galignani (1827-34); Baudry's Foreign Library (1831); Baudry's European Library (1831, 1838, 1840); and Galignani (1845).

In France, interest in history was particularly acute during the Restoration (Allen 130). Pamela Pilbeam, for example, notes "a fivefold increase in historical works between 1812 and 1825" (73). Richard Maxwell regards early French historical novels such as Mme de La Fayette's *Princesse de Clèves* (1678) as well as Abbé Prévost's *Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde* (1728-31) and *Philosophe anglais, ou Histoire de Monsieur Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwell, écrite par lui-même, et traduite de l'anglais* (1731-39) as key to understanding the nineteenth-century historical novel, but for the period in question the impact of the Waverley Novels on publishing and reading was overwhelming: "Taking all known records of Parisian 'cabinets de lecture' between 1815 and 1830, Scott, with twenty-six citations, is second only to Madame Genlis with twenty-seven, in a list of 172 men and women, 'tous auteurs

de romans' (Parent-Lardeur 172)" (Brown and Schaff 436). French publishers industrialized the translation of Scott: "Between 1816, when *Guy Mannering* appeared in translation in France, and 1851, no fewer than twenty-two French publishers issued his works, the most prolific by far being Nicolle, Nicolle and Ladvoat, and Gosselin" (436). The result was a massive output of Waverley Novels. Martyn Lyons finds that by 1826 Scott was one of the most influential and well-received authors in France, listing the following print/edition estimates for the period 1826-30: *Ivanhoe* 20,800/10; *L'Antiquaire* 20,800/10; *L'Abbé* 20,000/9; *Quentin Durward* 20,000/9 (23). These numbers do not include abridged versions of the most popular novels aimed at children by D'Exhauvillez in the 1840s or affordable editions of works in one volume by Charpentier in 1848 (neither of which included *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*).

The publication history of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* provides a good example of the wide dissemination of Scott in France. The first translation was *La Prison d'Édimbourg, nouveaux Contes de mon hôte, recueillis et mis au jour par Jedediah Cleishbotham* (1821; 4 vols., 12mo). Auguste Jean-Baptiste Defauconpret's translation was most common among the nineteenth-century collections that followed; others by A. and P. Chaillot (1829), Albert Montémont (1835), Louis Vivien (1838), Louis Barré (1852), and M. L. Daffry de La Monnoye (1884) were also significant. As the listing for Scott translations in France provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France indicates, at least twenty publications of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* appeared in *Oeuvres complètes de Sir Walter Scott*. Each work in the series occupies a single volume and is usually

octavo in format. J. Bry Aîné's *Veillées littéraires illustrées* included *La prison du comté d'Édimbourg* (1852; vol. 7), translated by Barré, which seems to be the first illustrated edition in France; *Walter Scott illustré*, including *La Prison d'Édimbourg* (1884), translated by Monnoye, followed. Maxwell concludes, “[the Waverley Novels] were no passing fad. Over the course of a century, they were, for all practical purposes, assimilated into the literary and even the political history of France” (101). In short, they were effectively reproduced by an expanding and increasingly entrepreneurial print industry, and as such, contributed significantly to popular reading and writing, of historical novels and otherwise, in nineteenth-century France.

Popular Literature and Historical Fiction

Several of Balzac's novels are regularly isolated for special merit, such as *Goriot*, *Eugénie Grandet* (1833), and *La Cousine Bette* (1846), and the collection of over ninety of Balzac's novels as the *Comédie humaine* (1842-48) is considered his most remarkable achievement—a microcosm of nineteenth-century France at a critical historical juncture, including romance, tragedy, and comedy as well as colourful characters occupying multiple classes and positions in urban and rural settings. Critical focus on the *Comédie humaine*, however, tends to overshadow the early romance and adventure novels published under pseudonyms or anonymously. Balzac began his writing career with *Cromwell* (1819), a tragedy in blank verse. Relatively unknown novels followed throughout the 1820s: in 1822, a collaborative effort called *L'Héritage de Birague, Jean Louis* by Lord R'hoone, *Clotilde de Lusignan*, *Le Centenaire*, and *Le Vicaire des Ardennes* by

Horace de Saint-Aubin; *La Dernière Fée* by Horace de Saint-Aubin in 1823; *Annette et le criminel* (*Argon le Pirate*) by Horace de Saint-Aubin, *Du droit d'ainesse* and *Histoire impartiale des jésuites* (both anonymous) in 1824; *Wann-Chlore* by Horace de Saint-Aubin and *Code des gens honnêtes*, another anonymous work, in 1826. The turn from verse to popular prose is indicative of personal, literary, and social circumstances reflective of publishing and reading in the period.

The canonical writers of French literature in the early-nineteenth century were dramatists of the eighteenth century, Jean Racine and Molière, but the novel was clearly on the rise, “from only 210 titles in 1820, to more than 400 in 1838, its highest point in the romantic book trade” (Allen 131). After *Cromwell*, Balzac’s turn to prose was as much practical as it was of the moment—he needed to make money to survive. He began writing in Paris at the age of nineteen with fifteen hundred francs a month guaranteed for two years by his parents. Neither the time frame nor the funds provided were sufficient for Balzac to establish himself as a ‘serious’ writer. Romance, adventure, and crime novels, however, sold well enough to support other writers. For example, “Beginning in 1813, [Paul de Kock’s] pictures of Paris life amused France for half a century with tales of concierges, artisans, and amiable *rentiers* who pursue accommodating *grisettes*” (Coward, *History* 267). Likewise, in his twenties Balzac supported himself by writing works for *cabinets de lecture* readers. In the early-nineteenth century, the *roman d'intrigue sentimentale*, the *roman noir*, and the *roman gai* were especially popular. Female authors such as “Mme de Guenard de Mere, Mme de Souza,

Mme de Krudener and others wrote in unrosy terms of contemporary marriage and the unhappy effects of divorce. Sophie Cottin (1770-1807) specialized in heroines riven by passions which conflicted with social constraints, ground also covered in a dozen statuesque novels by Sophie Gay (1776-1852)” (265).

François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil specialized in the dark, adventure stories (*Victor, ou l’Enfant de la foret* [1796] and *Coelina, ou l’Enfant du mystère* [1798]) that would later be mastered for the serials by Eugène Sue. Charles-Antoine-Guillaume Pigault-Lebrun contributed his own mixture of realism and social observation, usually of lower classes or underground crime, including *L’Enfant du Carnaval* (1796) and *Les Barons de Felsheim: histoire allemande qui n’est pas tirée de l’allemand* (1798), which “pitted beleaguered lower-class heroes against foreign agents, convicts, money-men and conspirators who oppress the vulnerable” (266). Balzac experimented with these types in his early works and would later make use of all three in novels recognized as part of the *Comédie humaine*: in *Physiologie du mariage* (1829), for example, he writes extensively and intuitively of women and married life; with characters like Vautrin in *Goriot* he enters into the mysteries of the underground world of Paris; strong descriptions of social setting exist in all his works. Although Balzac depicts aristocratic and bourgeois characters in the *Comédie humaine*, he does not shy away from the “murder, poison, foundlings, stratagems and spoils” (266) common to his own earlier works and to popular fiction of the early-nineteenth century.

The variety of literary forms that were available is important to an understanding of Balzac’s development as a novelist from the 1820s to the 1830s.

On the one hand, besides new novels written for *cabinets de lecture*, popular fiction was largely composed of older, out-of-copyright works. Jean de La Fontaine's *Fables* (1668-94), François Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque* (1699), Claude Fleury's *Catéchisme historique* (1679), Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian's *Fables* (1802), Jacques-Henri Bernardin de St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1787), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Charles Perrault's *Fairy Tales* (1697), and works by Buffon, Racine, and Molière are repeatedly at or near the top of Lyons's records for the period 1820-40. This does not include the songs of Pierre-Jean de Béranger, almanacs, cooking books, political pamphlets, and other downmarket publications that sold well outside the capital. Popular literature (e.g., La Fontaine, Fénelon), classicism (e.g., Voltaire, Rousseau, sentimental literature), school books (e.g., *Télémaque*), and religious works (e.g., Catechisms) co-existed alongside new works of fiction, history, and historical fiction aimed at largely Parisian readers, as indicated by the key authors, works, and print runs for 1826-30 and 1831-35 noted by Lyons: 1) 1826-30, Scott, *Ivanhoe*, *L'Antiquaire*, *L'Abbé*, *Quentin Durward* (each 20,000+); Louis-Pierre Anquetil, *Histoire de France* (10-11,500); Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes* (17-21,000) (*Reading* 23); 2) 1831-35, Mme de Saint-Ouen, *Histoire de France* (52-66,000); Rousseau, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (15,000); Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (11-14,000); Marie Joseph Louis Adolphe Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution française* (10-15,000); Anquetil, *Histoire de France* (9-12,000); Scott, *Château périlleux* (9,300) (33). The data are not complete for there is no mention of the periodical press, as Lyons notes: "Balzac is a slightly less surprising absentee, but since he was often

serialized in the press, some of his success may have escaped the survey” (33). Regardless, the impact of Scott and historical works on reading and writing is clear. Further, the overlap between popular literature and historical fiction points to Balzac’s own negotiation of literary and market conditions in the transition from unacknowledged romance and adventure novels of the 1820s to historical novels of the *Comédie humaine*.

Perhaps partly due to the popularity of *Ivanhoe* (1819) and *Quentin Durward* (1823), many French historical novels of the 1820s were set in the Middle Ages. Augustin Thierry’s *Histoire de la conquête de l’Angleterre* (1825) and Louis Edouard Gauttier du Lys d’Arc’s *Histoire des conquêtes des Normands, en Italie, en Sicile, et en Grèce* (1830) made effective use of the dramatic quality of the period (Allen 41). The uses of such a distant setting were various, however. Prosper Mérimée’s *Chronique du règne de Charles IX* (1829), set in 1572, aims to simply describe the manners of the period. Alfred Victor de Vigny’s *Cinq-Mars* (1826), set in 1639, is a study of solitude and destiny. In most cases, historical works of fiction were used more directly to make statements of a social or political nature. Regardless, popular taste shifted from the Middle Ages and historical figures such as Charlemagne to more contemporary themes and popular figures, a “shift from a traditional folk to a more modern popular culture” (Allen 33) that included “*chansonniers*, melodramas, romances, and dramatic histories” (34). Napoleon, the assassination of the duc de Berri, the Greek war of independence, and the 1830 Revolution intrigued readers more interested in contemporary figures and events that impacted their own lives.

Early in his career, Balzac worked towards a similarly contemporary and popular depiction of national history: “Balzac made notes for two historical novels, one, *Le Capitaine des Boute-Feu*, with a fifteenth-century setting, and the other, *Le Gars*, set in the very recent period of the royalist insurrection known as the *Chouannerie*” (Maurois 133). Stéphane Vachon places the resultant shift in relation to Scott: “Ce n’est pas une découverte que fait Balzac, mais plutôt une résolution qu’il prend dans la confrontation avec Walter Scott, lu comme historien de sa nation, observateur de ses gens et de ses costumes, reconstruisant le passé à partir du présent” ‘It is not a discovery made only by Balzac, but rather a resolution which comes out of the confrontation with Walter Scott, read as historian of his nation, observer of its people and its costumes, rebuilding the past from the present’ (17). In 1825, Balzac first described the *Histoire de France pittoresque*, an early plan for a series of novels similar to the Waverley Novels, as follows: “chaque siècle de l’histoire de France possède sa figure emblématique et doit faire l’objet d’une étude et d’un roman” ‘each century of French history has its emblematic figure and must be the subject of a study and of a novel’ (17). By the end of the 1820s, Balzac’s historical project had taken on a contemporary, post-Revolution focus that coincided with literary, social, and political developments in France. After his initial attempts at the historical novel *à la Scott* in the 1820s, and in line with contemporary literary developments in France, Balzac recognized that new directions were required, resulting in the unique production of popular historical novels of nineteenth-century France.

Le Père Goriot

Goriot started out as a short story intended for the *Revue de Paris*. The resulting novel serialized in the *Revue* appeared in four installments between 14 December 1834 and 11 February 1835. Authors of the period often published in serial publications, which could serve as advertising and as a testing ground prior to publication in book form. It was not uncommon for a daily to buy the publication rights to an unfinished work and for a book publisher to purchase the publication rights a little before the series was complete so that if the series was successful the publicity would further book sales (Witkowski 76). Balzac published frequently in the *Revue*, including *L'Elixir de longue vie* (24 Oct. 1830), *L'Auberge rouge* (21, 28 Aug. 1831), *La Femme de trente ans* (29 Apr. 1832), and *Histoire des treize I. Ferragus, chef des dévorants* (10, 17, 31 March and after 10 Apr. 1833). Between 1830 and 1834 he also published in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Le Cabinet de lecture*, *La Silhouette*, *Le Voleur*, *Le Lutin*, *La Mode*, *Feuilleton des journaux politiques*, *Le Temps*, *La Caricature*, *L'Artiste*, *L'Émeraude*, and other such periodicals.

According to David Bellos, the *Revue* was “aimed ostensibly to serve an aristocratic readership seeking relaxation” (7). The puffs clearly suggest an aim to provide upper-class society with literature that was not identifiably or obviously political. Bellos describes the *Revue* as “a very successful review, in a period when there was fierce competition amongst dozens of new periodicals for the favors of an increasingly large, and increasingly middle-class reading public” (7). With an increasing number of literate adults between 1780 and 1830, particularly

in Paris, it is likely that the *Revue* attracted a much broader audience than the advertising indicates: “The real readership of the *Revue*, that is to say the original audience for which the story called *Goriot* was written, was probably as mixed and socially indeterminate as the audience for any successful work in the mass culture that was beginning to take shape in the nineteenth-century” (8).

Description of mass print culture in 1834-35 is problematic considering that serial forms did not start to go downmarket until 1836 and not substantially until the 1850s and 1860s. Nevertheless, the cross-section of those who might have taken an interest in the *Revue* and been able to pay for it, many of which would have been readers at the *cabinets de lecture*, included students, bourgeoisie, and middle-class women.

Goriot was well-received: “As soon as it was published, *Le Père Goriot* caused an upheaval in the press. It was reviewed in the major Parisian papers and magazines This in itself is an indication of the novel’s great popular success and explains Balzac’s boast about having at last ‘arrived’” (Kanes 13). Rose Fortassier notes that Balzac’s enthusiasm was likely overstated (33). The reviews ranged from outright celebration to quiet criticism and appeared in a variety of publications: *Le Journal des débats*, *La Quotidienne*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Journal de Paris*, *La Revue du XIXe siècle*, *La Revue des femmes*, *Le Courier français*, *L’Impartial*, and *Le Voleur* (15). It was not uncommon, however, for writers or publishers to place ads and reviews to support friends or vilify competitors; the literary landscape was political and contentious. Further, Balzac published work in a number of these publications.

The preface published on 8 March 1835 in the *Revue* notes the near simultaneous publication by Werdet (with preface added) in book form. The first *librairie* edition, *Le Père Goriot, histoire parisienne* (2 vols., in-8), was published by Werdet in association with Spachmann on 2 March 1835: “Au total, 274 pages, payées, sur la base de 200 F la feuille de 16 pages, contrairement au contrat du 26 mai 1834, qui en prévoyait 250, rabais consenti pour avoir l’autorisation de publier rapidement le roman en librairie” ‘In total, 274 pages, paid at 200 francs per 16 pages, in contrast to the contract of 26 may 1834, which states 250, thus agreeing to authorize quick publication of the novel’ (Pierrot, *Balzac* 247). The publication arrangement with Werdet was not straightforward. Mme Charles Bechet proposed a collected edition in a dozen volumes under the general title *Études de mœurs* around 1833; she offered 27-30,000 francs and Balzac accepted. For Werdet to become sole publisher rights had to be bought back from Gosselin, Levavasseur, and Mme Bechet. André Maurois describes the process as follows: “Werdet sold his option on Balzac’s future works to a consortium of booksellers for 63,000 francs. The consortium paid Balzac an advance of 50,000 francs and, in addition, a sum of 1,500 francs a month. He was to renounce all normal author’s rights but was to be credited with half the profits” (345). As this brief description suggests, the publication process surrounding *Goriot* is reflective of the changes to modern publishing practices already discussed, including the shift from *éditeur* to *libraire* involving the capitalist production and distribution of books as consumable objects.

The first book edition was upmarket (2 vols., 15fr.). At the end of volume one, however, two advertisements indicate something more of the literary market. The first is for *Librairie de Werdet*, including an extract from a current historical memoir on Louis XVIII. The second is of more interest as it describes the sale of an early collected edition as well as single works and including valuable bibliographic information. For example, the packaging of new and old titles is noteworthy—well before publication of the *Comédie humaine* Balzac's novels were compiled with considerable variation. Further, small, multi-volume collections of older works were cheaper than larger, more recent editions of newer works. The difference between a thirty-volume, in-12 collection for fifteen francs and a two-volume, in-8 edition for fifteen francs, for instance, is significant. Clearly, market differentiation played a key role in the sale of Balzac's works. The third edition of *Goriot*, however, published in 1835 by Werdet and Spachmann (2 vols., in-8), continued to sell for the lofty price of fifteen francs, indicating that sales remained solid among those who could afford such books.

Individual Trajectories and Social Change

Between Balzac's move to Paris in 1814 and his death in 1850 changes in politics, economics, industry, communications, and social structure in France were revolutionary. *Goriot* describes the transformation of post-Revolution France from *ancien régime* to July Monarchy with particular emphasis on tensions between the re-established, landed aristocracy and the new, commercial middle class in Paris. The ferocious social and economic realities, the greed and

avarice of bourgeois Paris, the outright turn to material concerns come to life in *Goriot* with vivid descriptions of “the obsession with money, the fever of financial speculation, the fights to the death over social position, the stress on private wealth, and the consequent public squalor” (Kanes 7). More importantly, Balzac, like Scott, wrote during a “time of amazing changes in social conditions and values of every kind” (Crawford, “Introduction” 6) of historical changes that affected individual trajectories, family relationships, and the social organization of an emerging nation state.

The freedom of the press and the politics of journalism following the 1830 Revolution contributed to *Goriot*'s emphasis on the recent past: “le journalisme entraine Balzac vers l’histoire du temps présent et non plus du passé, l’engage à se faire le *secrétaire* de ‘l’histoire des mœurs en action’. L’activité journalistique est bien en effet la première responsable, en 1830, d’un ‘tournant,’ d’un basculement de l’*Histoire de France pittoresque* vers les *Études de mœurs*” ‘journalism takes Balzac towards the history of the present and not only the past, he becomes the *secretary* of “the history of manners in action.” Journalistic activity is indeed primarily responsible, in 1830, for the “turn” or swing from *Histoire de France pittoresque* towards *Études de mœurs*’ (Vachon 19). Other popular authors of the period, such as de Kock, wrote *études sociales* or *romans sociaux* (Lyon-Caen 30) that focused on contemporary events, but as early as 1834 Balzac was collecting his works under the title *Études de mœurs au XIX^e siècle* and emphasizing the social transformation and modernization of France since 1789.

The transition from distant history (e.g., Mérimée, Vigny) to recent change is related to journalism, the press, and reader interest, but also mediated by the possibilities opened up by the Waverley Novels, which represent historical moments of crisis ranging from the eleventh century (*Count Robert of Paris* [1831]) to the present (*Saint Ronan's Well* [1823]), describing a progressive trajectory towards modern Britain. Maurois's comment is apt: "For a period to become matter for an historical novel it needs to have lapsed a little into the past; but 'a nation sometimes grows more in a decade than in a century'" (134). Between journalism and the Waverley Novels, besides other forms of popular literature and historical fiction, by 1830 Balzac had found the form that enabled the representation of transformation from past to present particular to modern France.

Although both *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* and *Goriot* speak to the development of a modern nation state, each focuses on time and events of most immediate relevance. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* is primarily concerned with events in 1736-37 but between setting and publication (1818) spans a period of historical change and social crisis particularly relevant to the modernization and social transformation of post-1688 Britain. Similarly, the setting (1819-20) and publication (1835) of *Goriot* spans the 1830 Revolution, and of course both follow upon the 1789 Revolution. In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, the frame of the narrative is largely covered by the lifespan of David Deans (c. 1660-1751). In contrast, although *Goriot* briefly mentions the beginning of Goriot's rise to wealth following the 1789 Revolution, the story takes place over a two month period,

emphasizing a brief, defining timespan that decides the fate of both young Rastignac and post-Revolution France. Whereas Scott is concerned with a longer history, Balzac emphasizes a short, intense period. The chronicle of Deans sits at a key juncture in the history of modern Britain, with 1736 midway between 1688 and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, but as part of a history (the Waverley Novels) that spans centuries. In contrast, a single lifespan, that of Rastignac (among other characters in the *Comédie humaine* such as Bianchon, M. de Trailles, and Marsay), covers the transformation of France into a modern nation state—capitalist, (more) democratic, industrial—from 1789 to the middle of the nineteenth century. Both Scott and Balzac respond to revolutionary changes by subordinating a lingering attachment to monarchic values to a realistic acceptance of changed circumstances (Butler 256), but the time-space distanciation, the chronotopic adjustment of formal and thematic resources, and the political paths set forth are necessarily different.

The year 1830 is an important turning point from old to new in France, the culmination of a transformation from monarchy to monarchical parliamentarism, and from king to chief executive. Between the elaborate and religious coronation of Charles X in 1825 to the oath of the Palais Bourbon, “only five years elapsed between these two ceremonies, but they separated two worlds. 1825: an age-old tradition expired; 1830: another was born” (Rémond 105). Louis Philippe was wholly supportive of constitutional and parliamentary government, accepted the principle of national sovereignty, and promoted laissez-faire economics. Written in 1834, *Goriot* describes the Restoration from the perspective of the July

Monarchy. Politics never appears to be front and centre; for example, there is no reference to the assassination of the duc de Berry on 13 February 1820, one week before Goriot's death. Politics, however, was central to ongoing public discussions in the 1830s, literary or otherwise, including worker protests in Paris (1831) and Lyon (1831, 1834); various forms of socialism, feminism, and changes to established religion proposed, for example, by followers of Saint-Simon who after his death in 1825 opposed the July Monarchy's enthusiasm for laissez-faire economics and supported a positive role for women and anti-monogamy; the feminist group *La Femme libre*; and Hugues Félicité Robert de Lamennais's newspaper *L'Avenir* and other publications to promote social Catholicism (the church's duty to ameliorate the consequences of economic liberalism and individual development) (Popkin 96). It was a period of great change and much debate over the future of France.

Chateaubriand's melancholic hero in *Atala* (1801) and the sequel *René* (1802) turns away from events; the *roman personnel* emphasizes autobiography and interior experience as the means to uncover a true self. Such works concerned the change from an aristocratic to a bourgeois society (Matlock 20), but in a particular way aimed at upper-class readers; *mal de siècle* novels of the early-nineteenth century distanced the protagonist from historical context. In contrast, Balzac, and others such as Stendhal in *Le Rouge et le noir* (1830), connected individuals and circumstances more broadly. *Goriot*, for example, emphasizes socio-economic structures and ethical consequences by tracing the path of representative individuals in the 1789-1830 period. Key oppositions, including

revolution/counter-revolution, aristocracy/bourgeoisie, *émigré/acquéreur*, and more broadly, rich/poor and strong/weak, are particular rather than abstract, external rather than internal; capitalism, for example, including commerce, industry, and speculation, determines the specific way in which such binary oppositions play out in the lives of individuals. Each binary frames the changing relations between spouses, friends, and strangers as well as the more abstract relationship between self and community.

Goriot is set in Paris, appropriately described as the “*intra muros et extra*” (Balzac, *Goriot* 27) of change in modern France; government was decided in Paris repeatedly and dramatically throughout the century, physical control of the centre of administrative power was essential, and a large, literate, and often radical working-class population made the capital a focal point of political conflict (Tombs 187-88). Further, as France remained largely agricultural change occurred first and most dramatically in the cities, Paris in particular, where the “population doubled in the first half of the century, reaching a level of over a million” (Popkin 109). *Goriot*, however, is even more specifically located; the centre of action is a middle-class boarding house in the Latin Quarter of Paris, which connects a large cast of representative social types to the unstoppable course of bourgeois progress at the heart of the novel: “Le char de civilisation, semblable a celui de l’idole de Jaggernaut, à peine retarde par un cœur moins facile a broyer que les autres et qui enraye sa roue, l’a brise bientôt et continue sa marche glorieuse” “The chariot of civilization, like the chariot of Juggernaut, is scarcely halted by a heart less easily crushed than the others in its path. It soon

breaks this hindrance to its wheel and continues its triumphant course' (Balzac, *Goriot* 50; Crawford 28). David Coward writes, "most novels [of the 30s] were *romans de mœurs* set in elegant drawing rooms (balls, gambling, conversation) where dramas of finance and adultery were played out" (*History* 269). Maison Vauquer, in contrast, provides a common space for the middle classes, variously defined—provincial nobility or bourgeoisie, ruined or struggling, enterprising or destitute. Balzac situates his story historically—circumstances are never general; he does not merely suggest the rise of capitalism or the changing relations between aristocracy and bourgeoisie, his characters experience social, political, and economic context directly and the results describe the trajectory of the nation state.

The Restoration continued the compromises set forth by Napoleon. In 1815, "Louis XVIII upheld the Napoleonic land settlement, promising that property acquired since 1789 would be secure and thereby dashing *émigrés* hopes of regaining their confiscated estates" (Popkin 84). Further, "Their constitution of April 6th provided for a bicameral legislature, an independent judiciary, an amnesty for political opinions, freedom of the press and religion and promised that the revolutionary land settlement would be permanent" (Pilbeam 62-63). The Charte was granted by royal grace; the king was king of France called to the throne by divine grace and not the French people. The Restoration had little impact on the open national market created by the Revolution (Popkin 84). As such, a middle political course between the Ultras (Royalists) and Revolutionaries had to be negotiated. A king plus legislative powers supported by the

Doctrinaires ensured a battle between conservatism and liberalism. The aristocracy was fighting to resume the ways of the *ancien régime*, whereas the bourgeoisie aimed to hold onto and take advantage of changes brought about by the Revolution and Napoleon. A Chamber of Deputies elected by ninety thousand adult males who paid an annual tax bill of at least three hundred francs a year severely limited control, but the struggle for a republic was ongoing and there was much to be won by way of the economic changes. Assured peace, high tariffs against British products, stable currency, investment in canals, and other factors enhanced the ability to plan investment, broaden markets, and accumulate wealth. Alternatives to economic liberalism and individualism were discussed. Saint-Simon “preached a return to an organic, communitarian society in which all would work together for the common good, instead of pursuing selfish individual interests” (91) and Charles Fourier was against individualist and capitalist society. But overall the mood was expressed by Francois Guizot in 1827: *Aide-toi, le ciel t’aider* ‘Heaven helps those who help themselves.’ In short, economic liberalism began to make serious progress for the first time during the late 1820s (Wright 153), a central factor in the struggle for power in modern France.

Balzac ties the personal history of each character to the history of the times, and more particularly, to the emerging economic and systemic changes that underpin the social transformation and modernization of France. In this way, Mme Vauquer is central to the story, for she and the Maison Vauquer are in many ways one and the same:

Mme Vauquer respire l'air chaudement fétide sans en être écoeuvée. . . . Le baigne ne va pas sans l'argousin, vous n'imaginerez pas l'un sans l'autre. L'embonpoint blafard de cette petite femme est le produit de cette vie, comme le typhus est la conséquence des exhalaisons d'un hôpital. . . . Quand elle est là, ce spectacle est complet. (Balzac, *Goriot* 54-55)

Mme Vauquer is at home in its stuffy air, she can breathe without being sickened by it There is no prison without its warder; you cannot conceive of the one without the other The unwholesome plumpness of this little woman is a product of the life she lives here, by the same process that breeds typhoid fever from the noxious vapors of a hospital When she is there the picture is complete. (Crawford 33)

Further, the description of Mme/Maison Vauquer speaks directly to the ethics of the modern economic and social system that puts good people in poor circumstances. Mme Vauquer is “prête à tout pour adoucir son sort. . . . Néanmoins, elle est *bonne femme au fond*” ‘ready to lend herself to any shift that may make her path in life smoother All the same she is a *good woman at heart*’ (55; 33). The connection between person and place (in history) is more generally the relation between agent and structure that determines social consequences. The ‘inmates’ at Maison Vauquer are described as ruined, wasted people, not merely poverty stricken, but devoid of soul, lifeless, withered, empty, and even more, as a result of the system, the machine, the ‘social treadmill’ that

grinds them into nothing, leaving them to struggle on, to wait for death. These are not bad people, but *wronged* people, wronged by circumstances, like Mme Vauquer with a good heart turned cold by the incessant pursuit of financial gain. It is a devastating picture which sets the stage for the social machinery to be revealed in all its complexity and brutality through Rastignac's rise from Maison Vauquer into society.

The name 'Mme Vauquer (*née* Conflans)' is a combination of aristocratic and bourgeois influences. Conflans refers to a Marquis de Conflans, while the name Vauquer was mixed up in a scandal in Tours in 1806 and 1807 involving public funds (Fargeaud in Gengembre 29). As such, the first line of the novel brings together two classes, two directions, roughly referring to the conflict (between aristocracy and bourgeoisie) and associated problems (e.g., corruption) central to *Goriot*. After the Revolution, *biens nationaux*, the land of *émigrés*, was allowed to pass from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, who were keen to acquire land and capital. Balzac presents a wide range of *acquéreurs* in the *Comédie humaine*. Most are bourgeois property owners, although there is at least one exception, in *Les Paysans* (1844) when *biens nationaux* are purchased by the local commune. Other sorts of *acquéreur*, primarily speculators such as the moneylender Gobseck, are accounted for; the term speculator is largely defined by three primary categories: industry, commerce, and finance. Many of the *émigrés* returned to France in 1814-15. The law of December 1814 authorised the return of unsold property (during the first Restoration). The *émigrés* experienced mixed fortunes under Louis XVIII, but many recovered quite well after 1815, due

to official legislation and royal patronage; litigation was also a factor. Nevertheless, as mentioned, the bulk of *émigré* property was lost; the Declaration of Saint-Ouen and the Charte upheld the rights of *acquéreurs*. The indemnity came into being, which was important as a means of restoring aristocratic wealth, but also because *émigrés* did not always or even often repurchase their old properties. The fulfillment of personal projects, the purchase of new properties, investment, and speculation followed. The re-establishment of wealth was key but the means had changed.

Goriot primarily concerns the negotiation between these two groups, one attempting to restore power, the other trying to acquire it. The inability of the aristocracy to come to terms with the bourgeoisie, the reality of bourgeois wealth, and the imminence of bourgeois power are central to the description of post-Revolution France for readers in 1835. A hierarchy that places the aristocracy, even when such status is acquired through marriage (as with Anastasie), above those connected to commerce (e.g., Delphine through her marriage to Nucingen the banker) remains in place. The aristocracy enjoys prestige and glamour during the Restoration; an ‘ultra mentality’ lingers despite the Revolution, or perhaps in response to it, encouraged by the return to power of Charles XVIII. The change in attitude towards Rastignac at the Restauds is a noteworthy example. When Anastasie introduces the Chevalier *de* Rastignac to her husband as a relative of Mme la Vicomtesse de Beauséant “le comte quitta son air froidement cérémonieux et salua l’étudiant” ‘the Count’s coldly formal manner relaxed, and he returned the student’s bow’ (Balzac, *Goriot* 99; Crawford 83) and even Count

Maxime “quitta tout a coup son air impertinent” ‘dropped his insolent attitude’ (99; 83). The name (class) “furent d’un effet magique” ‘played the part of a magician’s wand’ (99; 83). His poverty is not of great importance—such things can be overcome—but his birth, social status, and connections matter.

In 1819, despite the Restoration, which in retrospect seems to have masked (or delayed) the ultimate trajectory of the nation state towards democratic reform, the bourgeoisie were on the rise, with increasing wealth and power, and it was the aristocracy who had difficulty accepting (or controlling) the social transformation underway. The emergence of a new elite class that cut across aristocratic and bourgeois lines, particularly during the Restoration, depended on accumulation and distinction. Wealth increased social status for the bourgeoisie and the *embourgeoisement* of the aristocracy through commerce or intermarriage added financial stability, as needed. Social status was furthered by law, as “Article 71 of the Charter not only reversed the revolutionary legislation when it declared that ‘la noblesse ancienne reprend ses titres,’ [‘the old nobility takes back its titles’] it also confirmed the titles of the imperial nobility (‘la nouvelle conserve les siens’ [‘the new preserve what is theirs’]) and asserted the king’s right to create new nobles at his discretion (‘Le roi fait des nobles a volonté’ [‘The king makes nobles at will’])” (Butler 92). From the Empire onwards a climate of recovery or acquisition became the norm. Noble status became everything, for aristocracy and bourgeoisie alike, and it occurred in a number of ways that did not exclude the bourgeoisie. Anastasie acquires nobility through marriage, Delphine pursues status first by marrying money and later through an

affair with Rastignac that gives her access to the exclusive Faubourg Saint-Germain. Both daughters are able to arrange such marriages because Goriot has made his fortune selling vermicelli and Italian pastes. As such, *Goriot* points to the rise of the bourgeoisie through various means, notably commerce and inter-marriage between classes, but also to the uneasy coexistence of the aristocracy and the upstarts, or *acquéreurs*.

It is through Rastignac that such negotiations are revealed; his “observations curieuses” ‘observant curiosity’ (Balzac, *Goriot* 57; Crawford 35) and “son désir de pénétrer les mystères d’une situation épouvantable aussi soigneusement cachée par ceux qui l’avaient créée que par celui qui la subissait” ‘his desire to fathom the mysteries of an appalling state of affairs, which was being carefully concealed by the victim as by those responsible for it’ (56; 35) make the novel a journalistic unraveling of the historical tensions of modern France. Rastignac, however, is only suited to reveal the social trajectory of the provincial nobleman aiming to find a foothold between the Parisian nobility and the *haute bourgeoisie* (the ninety thousand males who could vote). He begins at a working-class boarding house out of financial necessity, but he studies law, knows Latin, and refers to classical authors. His upbringing and status give him options not open to the shop keeper or the artisan. His initiation and progress must be understood in these terms, as a trajectory well suited to reveal the ongoing negotiation between aristocracy and bourgeoisie, for the poor provincial nobleman, despite the connections that introduce him to high society, will need to make money to found his advancement. Rastignac’s coming-of-age story was not

unfamiliar to French readers: *Télémaque*, for example, describes a similar trajectory; in this case, however, Rastignac engages three mentors: Mme de Beauséant, Vautrin, and Goriot.

From Mme de Beauséant Rastignac learns three things: to conceal, to distinguish, and to calculate. According to Mme de Beauséant, “Le monde est infâme” ‘The world is vile’ (Balzac, *Goriot* 115; Crawford 102). The “*ultima ratio mundi*” (118) is power, the ability to stand on higher ground, which requires the execution of rational, self-interested steps towards concrete goals: “Plus froidement vous calculez, plus avant vous irez. Frappez sans pitié, vous serez craint. N’acceptez les hommes et les femmes que comme des chevaux de poste que vous laisserez crever a chaque relais, vous arriverez ainsi au faite de vos désirs” ‘The more cold-bloodedly you calculate the farther you will go. Strike ruthlessly and you will be feared. Regard men and women only as you do post-horses that you will leave worn out at every stage, and so you shall arrive at the goal of your desires’ (116; 103). The great difference between the Hôtel de Beauséant and the guests of the Maison Vauquer, who feed “comme les animaux à un râtelier” ‘like animals at a trough’ (118; 106), stimulates Rastignac’s sense of class differentiation and his rising ambition.

Vautrin puts Mme de Beauséant’s advice into even starker terms, and ultimately, into action: “Comme Mentor, Vautrin est un ‘lieu’ ou se dit la vérité. La sagesse dans la vertu est ici remplacée par la sagesse dans le crime” ‘Like Mentor, Vautrin is a site of truth. The wisdom of virtue is here replaced by the wisdom of crime’ (Hamm qtd. in Gengembre 319). Jacques Collins, alias Vautrin

(from *se vautrer*, to wallow in vice; note, *Vauquer/Vautrin*) or *Trompe-la-mort* ‘Cheat-death’ is quite explicitly depicted as Mephistopheles or the all-seeing ‘sphinx’ of the underworld. He reveals in detail the life trajectories available to Rastignac at the Maison Vauquer: subsistence, a career, perhaps marriage—servitude or compromise in every direction, poverty, struggle, and uncertainty, never the freedom and prosperity that young men dream of upon entering the world. Vautrin draws a picture of the masses grovelling for scraps, fighting each other for the few positions of worth available and concludes: “Il faut vous manger les uns les autres comme des araignées dans un pot” ‘You must devour each other like spiders in a pot’ (Balzac, *Goriot* 139; Crawford 129). The answer is clear and cruel: “Il faut entrer dans cette masse d’hommes comme un boulet de canon, ou s’y glisser comme une peste. L’honnêteté ne sert a rien” ‘You must cut a pass through this mass of men like a cannon-ball, or creep among them like a pestilence. Honesty is of no avail’ (140; 129). According to Vautrin, “l’honnête homme est-il l’ennemi commun” ‘the honest man is the common enemy’ (140; 130). Vautrin’s own plan is as rational as it is unethical: to live like a monarch off the backs of slaves in the deep south of America. In connection, his offer to Rastignac is as follows: Victorine has been cut out of her father’s inheritance, but if her brother is killed in an arranged duel it would leave Victorine in a position to inherit a million and as she has already shown signs of commitment to Rastignac this sum would fall to him after marriage; in return for arranging matters, Vautrin would receive twenty per cent, which would then fund his foreign exploits.

A process of rationalization begins: “Il n’y a pas de principes, il n’y a que des événements; il n’y a pas de lois, il n’y a que des circonstances : l’homme supérieur épouse les événements et les circonstances pour les conduire” ‘There are no such things as principles, there are only events; there are no laws, there are only circumstances: the man who is wiser than his fellows accepts events and circumstances in order to turn them to his own ends’ (Balzac, *Goriot* 144; Crawford 134). Rastignac wavers even as he acts: he sends letters to extort money from his mother and sisters and at the same time experiences nostalgia for home, indicating a rupture between self and family, Paris and the provinces, adulthood and adolescence. He enters a period of debauchery, or experimentation, which involves drinking, gambling, sexual adventures, and general mischief with friends or associates. At this point, his intentions are neither evil nor unlawful and his actions are socially acceptable, properly placed or concealed. The underlying sense that Rastignac can get on in society without upsetting his own moral compass, or that of others, without adhering to circumstances as they are persists. Vautrin, however, puts things in perspective: “La vertu, mon cher étudiant, ne se scinde pas : elle est ou n’est pas” ‘Virtue, my dear student, is indivisible: it either is, or it is not’ (145; 135). All walk the same path, even if all do not have access to the same streets; it is merely appearance that separates people into moral categories: “Le secret des grandes fortunes sans cause apparente est un crime oublié, parce qu’il a été proprement fait” ‘The secret of great fortunes is a forgotten crime, forgotten because it was properly carried out’ (146; 136). To Vautrin, virtue is not a matter of social morality, it is a matter of individual

freedom: “En y jouant quelques petites scènes de vertu, l’homme supérieur y satisfait toutes ses fantaisies que grands applaudissements des niais du parterre” ‘A man who knows what he’s about acts a virtuous part in a few scenes and then he can do exactly what he likes amid great applause from the idiots in the gallery’ (185; 181). If Rastignac thought that he could take the smooth path from the provinces to the heights of Parisian society without muddying his shoes he is taught otherwise.

Vautrin’s individualism has much in common with that of Mme de Beauséant. Vautrin, however, also says: “Les bureaux ont leur obéissance passive, comme l’armée a la sienne : système qui étouffe la conscience, annihile un homme, et finit, avec le temps, par l’adapter comme une vis ou un écrou à la machine gouvernementale” ‘Government departments, like the Army, have their system of passive obedience, a system which stifles the conscience, destroys the individual utterly, and ends, in time, by making a man nothing more than a screw or a nut in the administrative machine’ (Balzac, *Goriot* 189; Crawford 185). In short, he is set against the very institutions upon which the aristocracy depends. Vautrin is part of a “‘classe dangereuse’ issue des ‘classes laborieuses’” “‘dangerous class’ resulting from the “‘working classes’” (Gengembre, “Upstairs” 133). His individualism, a form of anarchism, is opposed to that of the Mme de Beauséants of the world. He is a banker in the underworld, as the detective says: “Le faux Vautrin . . . reçoit les capitaux de messieurs les forçats, les place, les leur conserve, et les tient à la disposition de ceux qui s’évadent, ou de leurs familles, quand ils en disposent par testament, ou de leurs maitresses, quand ils tirent sur

lui pour elles” ‘The so-called Vautrin receives the convicts’ money, invests it for the gentlemen, looks after it and holds it at their disposal if they escape, or gives it to their families if they leave a will, or to their mistresses when they draw on him for them’ (Balzac, *Goriot* 190; Crawford 186). Structures and responsibilities exist in the underworld, but in the service of a self located outside or in opposition to legitimate governance. Ethics is openly based on the inequalities of the natural world—the strongest defeat the weakest in pursuit of resources, security, and dominance—and opposed to the false appearances, empty rhetoric, and corruption of the legal system which serves the few in the name of the many. The detective that arrests Vautrin says: “Sa caisse et ses talents servent donc constamment a solder le vice, a faire les fonds au crime, et entretiennent sur pied une armée de mauvais sujets qui sont dans un perpétuel état de guerre avec la société” ‘his hoard of money and his brains are always at the service of vice, supply the funds for crime, and maintain a standing army of scamps who wage incessant war against society’ (191; 188). Like Mme de Beauséant, the aim is to stand on higher ground, but the opposition is to legitimized hierarchy and not simply class based.

Working-class Goriot is at the crossroads of the struggle between the rising bourgeoisie, which includes both himself and his daughters, the disdain of the new elite (aristocratic and/or wealthy), the individualism and immorality that enables such social ascension, and the dissolution of the traditional family structure that results. Sublime Goriot, crushing silverware with his bare hands in a pathetic boarding house room to serve his daughters, laid the foundation of his fortune after the Revolution by selling flour for ten times as much as it cost him

and sharing profits with the Committee for Public Welfare. He took over the business when his employer failed due to the change in regime and then capitalized on circumstances. Luck, hard work, and determination were certainly involved, but also exploitation and corruption. At a time when people were hungry, Goriot raked in the profit. His attempts to find a foothold in his daughter's lives through Rastignac's visits to the Faubourg Saint-Germain and the Italiens, and his relationship with Delphine, are both noble and pathetic, determined and doomed, fostered by his business acumen and dependent on the underlying dishonesty that enables the fast accumulation of wealth. Goriot is sublime in his undying fatherly passion for his daughters, so much so that he threatens to kill, to kidnap, to blackmail. His blindness to all that affects others is clear: when Rastignac tells him of the duel and the likely death of Victorine's brother Goriot answers: "Qu'est-ce que cela vous fait?" "What is that to you?" (Balzac, *Goriot* 199; Crawford 198); when Vautrin is arrested and young Taillefer is dead Goriot says: "Eh bien, qu'est-ce que ca nous fait?" "Well, what matter? That's nothing to do with us" (225; 228). He is entirely absorbed in his own affairs and in this respect he is no different from Mme de Beauséant and Vautrin, another social climber with his own particular means.

Goriot, however, deals with Nucingen and Restaud in different ways, revealing more nuanced divisions in French society. As Nicole Mozet notes in her description of the connection between Goriot and Napoleon, Goriot is positioned between two moments of history: in 1813, he retires from business (Leipzig); in 1815, he moves to the Maison Vauquer (Waterloo); in 1820, he dies in exile

(Napoleon died in 1821) (in Gengembre 430). The death of Goriot is the end of the Empire: “La Restauration signifie l’éviction de Goriot : son argent garde toute sa valeur, mais il faut taire son origine, occulter la Révolution sans laquelle ni Restaud ni Nucingen n’occuperaient la place qu’ils ont dans la société du temps” “The Restoration signifies the eviction of Goriot: his money keeps all its value, but its origins should be concealed, to cover the Revolution without which neither Restaud nor Nucingen would occupy the place that they have in contemporary society” (Gengembre, “Échos” 193). It is the parricide so often compared with *King Lear* (1608), but on quite specific terms—not simply the death of the monarchy in France, but the transition from Restoration to modern nation state (and all it entails). In the midst of this transition, antagonism to the aristocracy and respect for the rule of law co-exist: Goriot threatens to kill the aristocrat Restaud, but points to the law with the banker Nucingen. In this respect, Goriot is an important mentor, for he gives Rastignac a close view of the direction the wind blows at a critical juncture in French history.

Each of the three mentors capitalizes on circumstances by using the most effective weapon at their disposal: Beuséant relies on social status, Vautrin on the underworld, and Goriot on industry. To enter this “*drame manichéen*” (Michaud qtd. in Gengembre 513) Rastignac must not only use his noble status, but overcome his sense of ethics and learn to speculate. First, Bianchon, referring to Rousseau, poses the following problem to Rastignac: if you could make a fortune by killing an old Mandarin in China without leaving Paris, would you? It is a return to Vautrin’s savage logic—men are moral or they are not—and the

answer is implied. Second, following upon his frequent bouts of gambling, his ultimate preference for Delphine has everything to do with speculation: unlike Victorine, Delphine would owe Rastignac something as a result of her introduction to high society; the relationship would be one of mutual profit, if not love; Victorine is set to inherit a large sum, but Delphine's sister is placed in the Faubourg Saint-Germain and her husband is the banker Nucingen, placing Rastignac between the two aspects of the elite world that matter most—the aristocracy (social status) and the bourgeoisie (high finance). The gamble pays off later in *La Maison Nucingen* (1838) when Rastignac marries Delphine's daughter and makes a fortune on Nucingen's market speculations.

Speculation played a relatively minor role during the Restoration, but Ronnie Butler outlines the emerging trend critical to the period 1830-48: "The number of firms whose shares were quoted on the 'Bourse' rose from eight in 1816 to 42 in 1826 and to 88 in 1836, after which they increased dramatically to reach 260 by 1841. Sixty-eight coal companies were formed between 1835 and 1838, with a capital of 142 million. The 1840s saw a corresponding proliferation in railway companies, accompanied by a similar wave of speculation" (229). Although the stock market was only beginning to play a significant role in 1819, Butler is clear about the role of speculation in the period, indicating that the Restoration "appears above all as a period of intense speculation in which fortunes fluctuate rapidly, when personal triumphs are completed and disasters suffered" (142). Also important is that Balzac writes *Goriot* in 1834 and is thus writing with the July Monarchy and capitalist expansion before his eyes. Further,

gambling, at the gaming house or the stock market, represents a sort of revolt against the establishment, and perhaps more importantly, the chance to propel oneself into a higher sphere of social life with one roll of the dice. Lucienne Frappier-Mazur writes, “La règle de jeu c’est la révolte” ‘The rule of the game is revolt’ and “c’est la révolte de l’ordre nouveau contre l’ancien” ‘it is the revolt of the new order against that of the former’ (qtd. in Gengembre 323). Rather than revolt, the rule of the game may simply be to get ahead at any cost. Regardless, speculation is important; Rastignac, on his way up in life, gambles and wins on his first try—with Delphine’s money.

Many of Balzac’s novels consider aspects of speculation relevant to *Goriot*. *Jean Louis* (1822) attacks the bourgeois worship of money. *Gobseck* (1830) is the story of a Parisian moneylender. *La Peau de chagrin* (1831) provides the picture of a decadent society, describing power passing to bankers, lawyers, and editors in a world without principle. *Louis Lambert* (1832) demonstrates the struggle between strong and weak in economic terms, offering another “condemnation of the Revolution for having elevated money to its present unprecedented status” (Butler 169). *Eugenie Grandet* (1833) denounces the replacement of religion with money and describes the dealings of the new-made men of business only interested in the accumulation of wealth. *L’Illustré Gaudissart* (1833) involves the adventures of a commercial traveller from Paris in the country. Maurois describes *La Duchesse de Langeais* (1834) as “a scathing account of the great families of the Faubourg Saint-Germain at the time of the Restoration, who instead of displaying an aristocratic magnanimity had behaved

as greedily and shabbily as any parvenu. The nobility had been shameless in the pursuit of wealth and office, the veneer of elegant manners concealing their lack of principle” (246). *La Fille aux yeux d’or* (1835), which was started before *Goriot*, an episode of *Histoire des treize*, describes a Paris of sound and fury distinguished by five social categories—the world that owns nothing, the world that owns something, professionals, artists, aristocracy—connected by money. *Facino Cane* (1836) tells the tale of a blind man obsessed with gold. *César Birotteau* (1837) is a picture of Parisian commerce that depicts artisans and tradesmen at the mercy of immoral men of high finance and the conflict between an ambitious bourgeoisie and a defiant aristocracy. *La Maison Nucingen* (1838) describes the banker Nucingen as a ruthless speculator. Balzac’s repeated return to commerce and finance has everything to do with the foundational and increasing importance of capitalism to modern France depicted so clearly in *Goriot*.

From the 1789 Revolution onwards, and especially after 1830, a new period in the history of the French economy emerged. Government measures, including the majorat (the succession of titled property instituted by Napoleon and abolished in 1848), contributed to the economic recovery of the aristocracy during the Restoration. Increased public spending, production, and trade after 1830 as well as higher protective tariffs and decreased taxation, contributed to an atmosphere that dissuaded government interference in business and promoted openness to private enterprise (concessions and guarantees). The abolition of the *Messageries royales* in 1817 stimulated competition in road transport. Coal

production doubled under the July Monarchy (Butler 218). Rail started tentatively in 1835, and as *Les Parents pauvres* describes, railways and speculation went hand-in-hand in the 1840s; it was only after 1840 that industrial production took off, mostly in metal, coal, and textiles. Bankers became increasingly central figures, the Keller brothers and Nucingen are the most notable examples in the *Comédie humaine*, but it was not until after 1830 that banking put its resources to commerce and industry more freely; until then the major banks would not support such endeavours (see *César Birotteau*), which was one of the major reasons for the slow industrialization of France in the early-nineteenth century, and the importance of figures such as the moneylender Gobseck. The sale of *biens nationaux*, the indemnity, and the rising wealth of the bourgeoisie contributed to an increasing detachment from ancestry and family lands. Land was generally preferred until mid-century due to the high tax on it. The use of land, however, shifted from holding or investment to speculation; space became property (e.g., the investment in the apartments for Rastignac and Nucingen's scheme). Land was dislodged, went into circulation, and became something bought, won, or stolen.

Balzac was certainly not against individualism, capitalism, or speculation, but saw disastrous consequences in unfettered liberalism (and democracy), exchange without the direction of an enlightened aristocracy, and a strong leader, which could foster the social and economic development of France as a whole. Along these lines, fields of potential are drawn and important distinctions are made between primary characters: Mme de Beauséant is forced off the stage;

Vautrin has many of the attributes of a great leader, but unlike Napoleon does not put his will in the service of the nation and is carried off to prison; Goriot succeeds in commerce, but is left alone to die in a working-class boarding house. Mme de Beauséant is exquisite at home, Vautrin is a king in the underground world, and Goriot is sublime in the factory—only Rastignac remains in Paris. The underlying message is at least in part that social ascendance does not ultimately depend on privilege, individual merit, or the accumulation of personal wealth, but, ideally, results from the combination of all three. As such, Rastignac ends up in a newly-furnished apartment between the Latin Quarter and the Faubourg Saint-Germain. This new space, held in common by the educated daughter of a wealthy merchant married to a banker and a provincial nobleman rising in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, speaks to Balzac's conservative trajectory for modern France. More particularly, it speaks to the prioritization of order. When Balzac writes that “La société, le monde roulent sur la paternité, tout croule si les enfants n'aiment pas leurs Pères” “The country will go to ruin if the fathers are trampled underfoot” (*Goriot* 275; Crawford 286), the real father in question is not the king or Goriot, but order—the means to counter modern circulation and the dissolution of social structure.

The disastrous changes underway and the conservative paths necessary are clear: “A disastrous individualism has replaced the non-material values which, before the Revolution, gave purpose and unity to the nation. The society which Balzac recommends in order to arrest the drift towards social chaos and national humiliation is one based on religion, the family and privilege” (Butler 169).

Balzac's description of society in terms of "l'Obéissance, la Lutte et la Révolte; la Famille, le Monde et Vautrin" 'Obedience, Struggle, and Revolt, or, the Family, the World and Vautrin' (Balzac, *Goriot* 262; Crawford 271) is instructive.

'Family' and 'Obedience' represent the consolidation of property and privilege under authoritarian leadership and patriarchal structures, ensuring the smooth transfer of power and property from one generation to another. 'The World,' or worldly struggle among the working classes, is to be pacified by religion: "Balzac is convinced, the poor are led to accept their condition as the expression of divine will, whilst the rich are moved to seek to improve the lot of the poor" (58); for example, the church is strongly defended in works such as *Jésus-Christ en Flandre* (1831) and *Les Médecins des campagnes* (1833). 'Revolt,' or 'Vautrin,' must be contained. The consequences of unchecked modern progress are clearly illustrated. In front of the Maison Vauquer a statue of the God of Love is chipped, scaling, abandoned, and deteriorating; such is the state of human relationships at the mercy of Juggernaut in modern Paris. The family is in a shambles: Rastignac is separated from his home and will not return; Anastasie and Delphine reject their father, despise each other, and have failed marriages; Victorine is disowned by her father and brother, and only reunited with her father when Vautrin has her brother killed; Mme de Beauséant is left by her lover in favor of a wealthy marriage; Restaud disinherits his wife and her illegitimate children; Nucingen favors an adulterous wife, as does Beauséant.

In such a situation, Balzac's plan for a stable and prosperous France is rooted in conservative social change; marriage and patriarchy are two means of

slowing or directing unbridled progress. Marriage, first and foremost, ensures the social and financial distinction of an upper class capable of holding power. After 1830, “Intermarriage was now clearly in the interests of both bourgeoisie and aristocracy and could make a valuable contribution to the social reconciliation which, for Balzac, was the prerequisite of national unity and revival” (Butler 216). In *Goriot*, bourgeois women marry aristocrats (e.g., Anastasie marries Comte de Restaud) and wealthy financiers (e.g., Delphine marries Baron de Nucingen). Goriot becomes wealthy in the wake of the Revolution due to his timely and astute immersion in commerce, but he is incapable of adapting to and is rejected by Parisian society; he remains socially working class and dies alone; Anastasie and Delphine, born after the Revolution, are set forth on a different path. Importantly, however, marriage between classes does not change the patriarchal relationship between husband and wife. Balzac was against anything that contributed to the *morcellement* or the division of France and was strongly in favor of reinstating the *droit d’aînesse* or right of inheritance abolished after the Revolution. It was not uncommon at the time for men to take control of property—management if not ownership. Accordingly, Anastasie is forced to cede control of her property to her husband; everything will go to the first born son and nothing to the children resulting from an affair. Another example of patriarchal restriction occurs when it is revealed that there is no bed in the apartment Delphine has prepared for her lover, Rastignac. This seems odd to the modern reader, but at the time a woman convicted of adultery could receive a prison term of three to twenty-four months, whereas a man committed a crime

only if his concubine was installed in the home, and then there might only be a fine of one hundred to two thousand francs. If a man caught his wife in the act of adultery and killed her he would not be responsible, but the wife would not have the same rights. A woman also needed authorization to seek justice. As Théodore Zeldin states, “La loi, en fait, traitait les femmes comme des mineures” ‘The law, in fact, treated women like minors’ (qtd. in Gengembre 305). Despite the possibility of an upwardly-mobile marriage between classes, women were in a disastrous position, sacrificed to a traditional, patriarchal sense of social order. The key point here is the emphasis on marriage and patriarchy, or perhaps the ineffectiveness of such institutions and structures in the face of social transformation that seems to threaten the total breakdown of social relations.

The novel begins with reference to the catacombs beneath Paris and seems to end with Rastignac’s rise at Père-Lachaise, but the trajectory depicted is not complete without the final step—Rastignac must descend, not to Maison Vauquer or to his family home in the country, but to take up his new position in the apartment provided by Delphine. It seems impossible that Rastignac could return to dine with cold and callous Delphine after all that happens, but he enters the fray again, this time with eyes wide open: “Le défi final de Rastignac procède directement de l’énergie accumulée par cette triple initiation” ‘Rastignac’s final challenge proceeds directly from the energy accumulated by this triple initiation’ (Gengembre, “Structure” 213). Moreover, the new space he enters indicates a calculated position in a new society. Victorine, unlike Delphine, represents traditional values; she respects family, religion, and legal authority. Rastignac is

moving in a different direction; despite the immediate financial advantage of marrying Victorine, who has just come into a large inheritance, her position represents something of an obstacle. The primary question Rastignac faces is: “quel parti prendre dans la société?” ‘which party to choose in society?’ (Rudich qtd. in Gengembre 77). It is not a matter of one woman or another, but of one direction or another. The answer is clear: “C’est chez *Mme de Nucingen*, la femme du banquier, qui ne peut plus rien lui refuser, dont le mari va l’aider a faire sa fortune, et qui est son associée” ‘It is at the home of *Mme de Nucingen*, the banker’s wife who can refuse him nothing and whose husband will help him to make his fortune as a partner’ (Barbérís qtd. in Gengembre 441). Following a logic of exchange aimed at social ascendance (dependent on moral descent), Rastignac plays for a greater prize down the road, and in doing so, describes positions and potentialities particular to the modernization and social transformation of France.

Downmarket Dissemination

The downmarket dissemination of *Goriot* after 1835 was dependent on print for the masses made possible by an expanding, diverse publishing industry and on cultural transformation for the theatre. Early serialization and collections followed by theatrical adaptations and cheap popular editions enabled the novel, or versions of it, to reach a national audience over the course of the nineteenth century.

Print for the Masses

Urban, middle-class literature from Paris became increasingly prominent in the French book market over the course of the century, eventually competing with almanacs, lives, and broadsides for the attention of artisans, shopkeepers, domestics, and other provincial or middle-class readers. Education was an important factor in the dissemination of novels, but it came late: “It was not until Jules Ferry’s education laws of 1881-3 made elementary education free, compulsory and secular that basic instruction was made available to both boys and girls” (Coward, *History* 200). Besides, a steady rise in access to education throughout the century does not in itself explain increased production, purchase, and reading in nineteenth-century France, for novels and otherwise. The decline of patois and the rise of literacy were important, but are difficult to describe precisely. The expansion of readers, however, necessarily involved particular and far-reaching “developments in printing technology and the appearance of a new entrepreneurial attitude in publishing [that] opened the way to the greater commercialized and capitalistic exploitation of an expanding readership” (Lyons, *Reading* 43-44). Due to technological changes in printing, transportation (national and international distribution), and the specialization of printer, publisher, and bookseller, production increased significantly, especially towards the end of the first Empire. Print technology played an especially important role in the expansion of reading from about the 1830s onwards. Early hand presses that produced 250 impressions per hour were slowly replaced by mechanical presses. The Stanhope press was invented about 1800; Ambrose-Firmin Didot brought one

from London after the Napoleonic wars and French manufacturers started to copy it (Lyons, *History* 138). In the next fifty years, development led to greater output and lower costs. König's steam-driven cylindrical press invented in 1811 could produce one thousand impressions an hour by 1820; Philippe Taylor refined the König machine to print on both sides of the page, which enabled up to 3,600 impressions an hour. The price of a Nicholson press was 36,000 francs in 1815; a König model was only twelve thousand francs in 1848 (Allen 112). In short, the effectiveness and availability of the mechanical press after 1830 facilitated larger print runs and cheaper editions. Other factors involved include paper manufacture, which was industrialized as rags were replaced by straw and then wood pulp; the mechanization of paper-cutting, folding, and binding (Lyons, *History* 139); and stereotyping.

Generally, only publications with high daily outputs could afford to invest in the new printing presses, which contributed to lower prices and increased circulation. The number of titles and copies in book form increased significantly: "In 1820 editions in the belles lettres and history averaged 1,130 copies; in 1841, a comparable economic year, they averaged 2,253" (Allen 115). The new presses, however, were particularly effective in enabling the expansion of periodicals: "In 1824, the combined circulation of the Paris periodicals was 60,000, a figure which trebled by 1848" (Coward, "Popular" 74). Expensive, multi-volume historical novels produced for the rental libraries could not compete with serialized adventure stories in the daily press (125); books sold for 7.50 francs could not outsell the many novels published in serials and available at a subscription rate of

forty francs per year. Such shifts in form and circulation describe important changes in reading habits, from upmarket books to downmarket periodicals, which encouraged the expansion of the reading nation.

By 1836, although colporteurs were still prominent, serialized literature in downmarket periodicals such as the *Revue* available in hundreds of *cabinets de lecture* in Paris and elsewhere made access to reading material in urban areas easier and cheaper. Political events encouraged reading and the politicization of writing. People wanted to know what was going on around them or to express a point of view. New journals and newspapers responded, with many appearing immediately after 1830 (Allen 196), although this was also connected to government restrictions, which fluctuated repeatedly: the Charte of 1814 restored limited freedom of expression and the number of newspapers rose; in 1819, penalties were introduced for authors that offended public decency, religion, and morality; this was lifted after 1830, re-imposed in 1835, relaxed after 1848, and restored after 1850 (although only briefly). The high production of classics and the increasing demand for new or contemporary fiction in the Restoration period led to an increased emphasis on new material. This demand was met and encouraged by the introduction of serial fiction in the daily press, as Claude Witkowski notes: “C’est en octobre 1836 dans *La Presse*, quotidien créé le 1^{er} juillet précédent que – pour la première fois dans l’histoire du journalisme – parut un texte purement romanesque : *La Vieille fille de Balzac*, alors inédit” ‘In October 1836, *La Presse*, the daily newspaper created on 1 July, set the precedent—for the first time in the history of journalism a new novel, *La vieille*

filles de Balzac, appeared' (69). Moreover, *La Vieille fille* was the "premier roman publié, en France, par tranches successives dans la presse quotidienne" "first novel published serially in France by the daily press" (Guise qtd. in Vachon 29). Balzac's novels were thereafter reprinted frequently in *La Presse*.

The reinvention of *Figaro* at the end of 1836 further indicates the critical market changes underway. *Le Figaro, nouvelles du soir* became *Figaro, journal – livre – revue quotidienne*. The new paper was in-8, sixteen pages, and most important, the final eight pages were taken from or formed a work of fiction. Other publications would develop the form. Novels published in episodes, *romans feuilletons*, dominated the 1840s and most novels were first serialized. *Le Journal des Débats* published *Les Mystères de Paris* by Sue, the most popular serial in the nineteenth century; as a result, competition for authors that could shift product increased. Sue's *Juif errant* went to *Le Constitutionnel*, which guaranteed 100,000 francs a year for fifteen years in return for ten volumes per year; it was an astounding contract, the sort of income Balzac dreamed of, and the result was favourable for the publisher with a print run of 21,210 for 1 January 1845 (Witkowski 37). In contrast, the circulation of most periodicals through the 1830s was not often more than five thousand (Lough 241). The success of *Le Journal des Débats* and *Le Constitutionnel* had much to do with pricing: for example, *Le Constitutionnel* originally sold for eighty francs per year (subscription) in 1819, but the price dropped to forty francs in 1836. Regardless, it was not until 1865 that circulation numbers really took off, with *Le Petit Journal* selling for one sou (the average daily wage of a Parisian labourer in the 1840s was about two to three

francs), and eventually achieving a circulation over 250,000 by 1870 and one million by 1886 (Coward, “Popular” 74).

The post-Revolution shift from *éditeur* to *libraire* and from patronage to free market competition encouraged industrial innovation and capitalist competition, resulting in cheaper, popular fiction. As Witkowski notes, “Le prix des quotidiens a baissé de façon spectaculaire au milieu du XIX^e siècle. De 80 francs par an avant 1836 il est tombé à 18 francs (un sou par jour) en 1863 et à 12 francs (un franc par mois) en 1864” “The price of the daily newspapers fell spectacularly in the middle of the nineteenth century. From eighty francs per year before 1836 it fell to eighteen francs (a penny per day) in 1863 and to twelve francs (one franc per month) in 1864” (189). Gaps in revenue were made up by charging up to five hundred francs per page for advertisements (Allen 123). Using new authors and selling new works from prolific authors required constant promotion. Advertisements attached to publications or placed in periodicals became increasingly common and visible: “By 1835 newspaper ads had ballooned to nearly a third of the page, sometimes next to the notices of clothiers and chocolate manufacturers, as books became less a luxury item and more a consumer item within the modest means of a growing literate audience” (109). The need for new supplies of fiction, the decreased price and increased circulation of the dailies, and the introduction of advertisements as a revenue source completely changed the book trade. According to Lyons, “By the end of the nineteenth century, readers all over France were buying or borrowing novels like Hugo’s *Notre Dame de Paris*, or Dumas’s *Les Trois Mousquetaires*. A

homogeneous reading public had been created, and the distinctive audiences of learned literature on one hand, and the popular texts of the *bibliothèque bleue* on the other had become merged in the formation of a new mass audience” (*Reading* 43). Alongside the novels and the *Bibliothèque bleue* were the downmarket serials from 1836 to 1870 that connected a national readership differentiated by income, class, and region. Long before the end of the century, for example, *Notre Dame* was published by the popular publisher Gosselin in 1831 and *Les trois Mousquetaires* was first serialized in *Le Siècle* in 1844. The changing relationships between form, price, publisher, and readership in the period are as central to the description of the nation state as the text of *Goriot*, pointing to a twofold (internal and external, literary and print) self-reflexive process of description and creation.

Reprints and Collections

Problems with Werdet led to a contract with Henri-Louis Delloye, Victor Lecou, and Victor Bohain as early as November 1836. This consortium of publishers paid fifty thousand francs to cover Balzac’s debts with Werdet and offered half the profits of the company (Vachon 31). The primary result was *Balzac illustré*, of which the first book was published on 22 December 1837, each of twenty-five parts selling for 0.60 francs, ending in July 1838, collected in one in-8 volume for fifteen francs. It was an important precursor to later illustrated editions and the consolidation of the complete works as the *Comédie humaine*. A subsequent contract signed on 12 November 1838 with Gervais Charpentier was an important milestone. As a result, *Goriot* appeared in a new edition revised and

corrected published in Paris by Charpentier on 16 March 1839 for 3.50 francs (the two prefaces of 1835 removed) as part of a “Collection des meilleurs ouvrages français et étrangers, Anciens et modernes” ‘Collection of the best works, French and foreign, old and modern’ in the “‘format anglais’ in-18, à typographie compacte” “‘English format’ in-18, compact typography’ (32). The standard price of a book during the Restoration was 7.50 francs, around three to four times the average daily wage for manual labour. In 1838, Charpentier revolutionized the sale of literature in France by dropping the price of a single volume to 3.50 francs and the size from the standard multivolume in-8 to the one-volume in-18 format. Vachon summarizes the importance of these changes as follows: “Elle est la première offensive de la librairie française contre la concurrence belge, le monopole des cabinets de lecture (premiers acheteurs des in-8 ‘blanchis’) et le roman-feuilleton en train de se substituer à la librairie de romans” ‘It is the first offensive of the French bookshop against Belgian competition, the monopoly of the reading rooms (first purchasers of the in-8 “bleached”) and the serialized novels replacing the novels in bookshops’ (32). Such dissemination did not put novels in the hands of all French readers, but it opened up the market, making books more affordable and more portable—a clear move away from expensive first editions and centralized *cabinets de lecture*.

An established publication pattern emerged, benefitting author, publisher, and many readers. A work was serialized, possibly adapted for the stage, printed in book form (in-8, multiple volumes) mostly for *cabinets de lecture*, then reprinted in-12 or in-18 as a single volume at a reduced price. *Goriot* is one

example among many—four installments in *Revue de Paris*, drame-vaudeville at the theatre, two volumes by Werdet, and a fourth edition by Charpentier. The next development was a collected edition to reproduce previously published works for an even lower price, allowing publisher and author to once again profit from a work. *Études de mœurs au XIXe siècle* (1833-37) was the first of such endeavours, but not the most important. The idea that would become the *Comédie humaine* began to take shape in 1840; on 2 October 1841, Balzac signed a contract for the publication of his complete works, the aim of which is described by Balzac in the following passage from *Lettres à Madame Hanska*: “J’ai signé un marché par une édition complète de mes œuvres, qui vont être exploitées par une grande maison de librairie et publiées avec un grand luxe et un bas prix” ‘I have made progress with the complete edition of my works, which will be exploited by a large bookshop and will be published with great luxury and a low price’ (qtd. in Vachon 37). The capitalist terminology (e.g., *exploiter*) and conditions of production (e.g., luxury and low price) are notable as seemingly continuous with *Goriot* itself. Balzac, of course, continued to produce new works; after 1842 the publication pattern included the exploitation of increasing readership with a growing downmarket collection.

The *Comédie humaine* consists of about ninety works subdivided into three sections: *Études de mœurs*, *Études philosophiques*, and *Études analytiques*. Each section is further divided into scenes within which are located novels, novellas, and shorter works. The first edition (in-8 with engravings) began on 12 April 1842: 160 parts at 0.50 francs (16 vols.), including the fifth edition of

Goriot published on 7 November 1843. The subsequent corrected edition of the *Comédie humaine* (1849) took the book form further downmarket: 340 parts at 0.25 francs (17 vols.) distributed one per week by subscription. Publication of the complete works, however, was irregular and circulation was relatively low: “Imprimée à 3,000 exemplaires, *La Comédie humaine*, n’est pas non plus un succès de vente” ‘At 3,000 copies printed, *The Human Comedy*, was not a sales success’ (Vachon 40). Regardless, the price of a single volume dropped considerably, a precursor to even more popular reprints of *Goriot* to follow.

Drame-vaudeville

The theatre played a central role in nineteenth-century Paris. Napoleon reduced the number of theatres from nearly thirty to eight, but the number increased quickly after 1814 (Raser 45). It was a form of entertainment, but also an important place for social engagement, particularly among the aristocracy and artists. The vaudevilles of Eugène Scribe were the most popular of the period; by 1830 he had written 148, sometimes in collaboration, as was common (Coward, *History* 250). The financial incentive to produce plays was great: “The fiction and stage adaptations of Charles-Antoine-Guillaume Pigault-Lebrun and François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil, like the melodramas of Pixérécourt (whose *Coelina* was staged 1,500 times in his lifetime), made their authors rich” (203). A best-selling novel rarely netted five thousand francs and most editions were of one thousand copies or less and published only once, whereas a long-running play could earn fifteen thousand francs for the author (Allen 91). Works often crossed from one form to another: “After receiving money for his novel from, first, a

newspaper and then a publisher, a writer could obtain some extra remuneration by allowing a professional to adapt his work for the stage, or he could collaborate with such a writer in producing a stage version” (Lough 270). Many of Balzac’s contemporaries made tremendous sums by writing for the theatre. Plays by other fiction writers of the period include *Henri III et sa cour* (1829), *Antony* (1831), and *Richard Darlington* (1831) by Alexandre Dumas, *Hernani* (1830), *Marion Delorme* (1831), and *Lucrèce Borgia* (1833) by Hugo, and *La Maréchale d’Ancre* (1831) by Vigny.

Considering the themes most common to popular theatre, it would seem to have been a venue well suited to Balzac: “During the Restoration, when political subjects remained taboo, comedy returned to its traditional assault on manners: money, marriage and social ambition” (Coward, *History* 246). Further, John McCormick remarks, “After 1830 many writers of melodrama began to aim at an increasingly middle-class public and preferred to refer to their works as ‘drames.’ The historical melodrama and the ‘drame romantique’ in prose, with a historical theme or setting, had become virtually indistinguishable” (55). A ‘drame’ was a form of play between tragedy and comedy originating in the eighteenth-century comedy-vaudeville, a comedy consisting of successive performances of often unrelated songs, dances, dramatic sketches, acrobatic feats, juggling, pantomimes, puppet-shows, and various stunts. By the nineteenth century, it had become a convention to add only light songs to a low comic plot; drame-vaudeville, for example, was a sort of tragi-comedy interspersed with songs.

Goriot, among other works, would seem primed for adaptation as a ‘drame,’ especially since Balzac refers specifically to it as such in the opening pages (*Goriot* 50). Balzac also refers to theatre projects numerous times in his letters of 1834 (Vachon 144) and more importantly, he constantly sought ways, literary or otherwise, to get out of debt, as indicated in the following passage from *Lettres*: “Pour me liquider, cette effroyable production de livres, qui a entraîné des masses d’épreuves, ne suffit pas. Il faut en venir du *théâtre*, dont les revenus sont énormes comparés à ceux que nous font les livres” ‘To sell off this appalling production of books, which involved so many experiments, is not enough. It is necessary to come to the theatre, whose incomes are enormous compared to what the books make us’ (qtd. in Lough 270). Given Balzac’s interest in Rabelaisian prose, his sense for melodrama, and his need for money it is not surprising to find that he made repeated attempts to write for the stage. Unlike contemporaries such as Dumas, Hugo, and Vigny as well as Goethe and Mérimée, “He had few real successes in the theater during his lifetime, two real fiascos, and wrote a few plays which he could not get performed, and a large number of skeletons or scenarios he intended to fashion into regular plays” (Raser 67). Although Balzac wrote, or at least started, *Les Employés (La Femme supérieure)* (1838), *L’École des ménages* (1839), *Vautrin* (1839), *Les Ressources de Quinola* (1842), *Pamela Figaud* (1843), and *La Marâtre* (1848), he was only moderately successful.

Goriot was quickly adapted for the stage: “Des 1835, deux pièces intitulées *Le Père Goriot* furent créées concurremment au Vaudeville et aux Variétés, cette dernier avec un réel succès” ‘In 1835, two works titled *Le Père*

Goriot were performed simultaneously at Vaudeville and Variétés, the latter having real success' (Tabarant qtd. in Gengembre 141). *Le Père Goriot: drame-vaudeville en 3 actes* by Emmanuel Théaulon, Alexis Decomberousse, and Ernest Jaime was first performed at the Théâtre des Variétés on 6 April 1835. During the 1830s and 1840s, Variétés boasted a stellar cast and was one of the most popular theatres in Paris. It was attended by a broad range of people, but was a common meeting place for professionals, as opposed to the more strictly upper-class gatherings at the Opera and the Italiens. The print version was published the same year by Marchant in Paris and Jouhaud in Brussels. The price listed on the title page of the twenty-page publication is forty centimes. According to the advertisement following the text, *Goriot* was the last title of the first volume in the second year of *Le Magasin Théâtral, Choix de Pièces Nouvelles Jouées sur tous les Théâtres de Paris*. In the first year, there were four volumes, each volume containing twenty-five titles. The price of each in-8 volume was five francs. The characters in this adaptation of *Goriot* are Père Goriot, le Comte de Restaud, le Baron de Nucingen, M. Richard (notaire), Vautrin, M. Poiret, la Comtesse Anastasie, la Baronesse Delphine, Mme Vauquer, Mademoiselle Michonnaud, Victorine, Sylvie, pensioners, friends and neighbours, and two prison guards. The scene is Paris; the first act is set in the back room of Goriot's business, the second in a middle-class boarding house, and the third in a hospital.

Théaulon was adept at the stage adaptation of popular or well-known works by authors such as Goethe and Dumas; his adaptation of *Goriot* provides an interesting example of the flexibility afforded stage adaptation and the negotiation

of production and reception relative to different mediums and audiences. It sets forth a realistic opening act focused on the ambitious rise of the *nouveau riche* (with scenes that do not exist in the novel), then follows the novel closely in the second act (with speeches from Vautrin and Rastignac), and ends with a reinvigorated Goriot who rejects his legitimate daughters and finds solace in the union of his abandoned, illegitimate daughter (rediscovered) and a benign, seemingly unambitious, Rastignac (completely different from the novel; although as in *King Lear*, there is the third daughter, Cordelia/Victorine). Differences from the novel are numerous. Rastignac does not have to choose between Victorine and Delphine; he ends up going in the exact opposite direction suggested by the conclusion of *Goriot* by siding with a lower-class girl and her working-class father. Vautrin never threatens to kill anyone, is never revealed to be a criminal, and ultimately proves rather helpful. Goriot does not allow his passion for his daughters to overcome him and seems quite happy to embrace Rastignac and Victorine instead. In short, he is ultimately quite practical. The real villain, although not fully developed, is Nucingen, and to a lesser extent the daughters, who appear spoiled and greedy rather than evil. Despite depicting the transition from *ancien régime* to Orleanism with emphasis on the *je me suis enrichi* 'I enrich myself' mentality, the drama develops as adapted to this melodramatic theatre by setting forth a realistic opening that the audience can relate to (e.g., lawyers, marriages), employing the most dynamic characters and phrases from the literary source (e.g., Vautrin's speeches), and then sending the audience home with an ending that depicts the triumph of good over evil. Unfortunately, the

circumstances surrounding the theatre made success unlikely: the 1832 Cholera Epidemic emptied theatres and the Romantic theatre movement had not recovered in 1835, despite the efforts of more successful playwrights, such as Hugo. Regardless, it is a notable example of downmarket literary adaptation along social, economic, and class lines for a particular venue and audience.

The spin-off from *Goriot* written by Balzac, *Vautrin, drame en cinq actes, en prose*, was first performed on 14 Mar 1840 at Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, published on 23 Mar 1840 by Delloye, Tresse and reprinted in April, May, and July of the same year (Vachon 191). *Vautrin* likely failed for a number of reasons. Possibly, Balzac had not yet figured out how to write melodrama for the theatre. More certainly, he attempted to control seating for the first performances to keep the press out and Frédéric Lemaître appeared on the stage as a Mexican general with a wig resembling that of Louis-Philippe, whose son was in the audience; as a result, the play was banned (Raser 53). There were further performances from 23 April to 12 May 1850, and fifteen performances of *Vautrin* at Théâtre de la Gaîté in 1855 (Vachon 289). Regardless, although his plays did not answer his financial needs, the effort to write for the stage is again indicative of both personal and wider social and literary circumstances.

Éditions populaires

The recession of 1846-47, the political crises of 1848, and the subsequent events leading to the restoration of Empire in 1852 were certainly enough to further interest readers in new literature concerned with contemporary issues. Other factors, however, including changes in the electoral system, education,

transportation, industry, finance, and commerce were important. The *pays legal* (those who could vote) doubled between 1830 and 1848, but still represented an elite class. The first free election involving universal male suffrage was in 1848; the Charte was removed and the *pays legal* increased from 200,000 to nine million (Rémond 127). After 1850, the education of girls also increased significantly (Lough 220) and government censorship was negligible (Witkowski 94). The transportation system in France changed significantly between the 1830s and the 1850s: railways started in the 1830s began to connect administrative centers in the 1840s; Legrand Star connecting Paris to provincial towns was completed in 1850; and the cost of transportation decreased. Such changes were linked to industrial development: between 1850 and 1870, industrial production doubled, foreign trade tripled, the use of steam power increased fivefold, railway mileage increased sixfold (Wright 158). Increased public spending, private speculation and investment, and the first investment banks, including *Crédit Mobilier*, all contributed to the “vigorous stimulation afforded the economy” (Rémond 147) by Louis-Napoleon. Authoritarian rule and a new constitution renewed the business environment after 1851; a government-assured business environment increased stock market investment and capital for expansion (also, gold discoveries in California and Australia affected world markets).

The downmarket diversification of literature from the 1830s onwards indicates clearly how the book trade was part of the early growth of industry and capitalism. Isabelle Olivero describes the period 1850-70 as “the first golden age of the series” (78) and links such developments to economic events in France:

“Different publishers responded to the commercial crises by launching several kinds of *bibliothèques*, this time addressed to the working class. A deficit of affordable books for the reading public was at the origin of two other general models of reprint series, sold at an even cheaper price” (79). The two other types of reprint series mentioned are: 1) cheap reprints of popular fiction sold daily, weekly, or monthly with minimum print runs of ten thousand called *Romans à 4 sous* or *Romans populaires illustrés à 20 centimes*—“the equivalent of two or three hours of work for an average Parisian artisan”; and 2) *collections*, forming a library of important works in small format for a low price, usually aimed at a working-class audience (79). Witkowski separates the different forms of popular literature into three categories: 1) *édition populaire*, “toute édition, livre ou périodique, dont le prix de vente – ou, plus précisément, le prix des 10,000 signes typographiques – est suffisamment bas pour permettre son acquisition par les couches de la population ne disposant que de faibles revenus” ‘any edition, book, or periodical, whose selling price—or, more precisely, the price of the ten thousand typographical signs—is sufficiently low to allow its acquisition by the layers of the population having only low incomes’; 2) *livre populaire*, “réservée aux productions destinées au colportage” ‘restricted to productions intended for hawking’; and 3) *littérature populaire*, “l’objet d’études universitaires” ‘the object of study at universities’ (17). Between the descriptions by Olivero and Witkowski, the number of categories and related variations in form and price point to extensive dissemination and wide readership through market diversification.

The *feuilletons* that developed out of the first *romans-feuilletons* of the 1830s led directly to periodicals of the Second Empire. In 1840, Fellens and Dufour published *L'Echo des Feuilletons* (32-48 pp., two columns, 13 x 21 cm, annual subscription 6fr.); it lasted twenty-four years, until the journal for a sous came into existence. In 1841, *Le Magasin littéraire* (two columns, 23 x 31 cm, yearly subscription 12fr.) began; it lasted until 1848. In 1842, *Le Journal des Débats* published *Les mystères de Paris* to great effect: “Des le début, l’effet produit sur le public est considérable. Bien que les Débats ne comptent que 12 à 13 000 abonnées, tout le monde parle du roman, les fouriéristes le portent aux nues, chacun veut lire le feuilleton du jour, cabinets de lecture et cafés sont pris d’assaut” ‘From the beginning, the effect produced on the public was considerable. Although les Débats counted only twelve to thirteen thousand subscribers, everyone was speaking about the novel, the *fouriéristes* carried it to the newborn, everyone wanted to read the serial of the day, reading rooms and cafés were taken by storm’ (Witkowski 72). Other authors jumped into the opening created by Sue, and although none recreated his success, the changes were significant. With such high circulation at stake salaries increased considerably for authors such as Sue, Dumas, and Balzac. Serialized fiction was big business for at least some authors and publishers. The government tried to benefit, as well. On 16 July 1851, a government tax of one cent was imposed “sous le prétexte que le timbre en vigueur était fait pour l’affranchissement de l’information journalistique et non de la littérature d’imagination” ‘under the pretext that the stamp enforced was made for the postage of journalistic

information and not for literature of the imagination' (73). Regardless, periodical production did not decrease.

After 1848, downmarket periodicals of various sorts, some publishing only fiction, were the major outlet for most novelists (Coward, "Popular" 74). In January 1848, the first of the *Romans à 4 sous* appeared: "brochures de 16 pages sur 2 colonnes, format 21 x 30 cm, illustrées de quatre gravures sur bois et vendues 20 centimes" 'booklets of 16 pages with 2 columns, in the format 21 x 30 cm, illustrated with four wood engravings and sold for 20 centimes' (Witkowski 21). From 1851 to 1855, the number of volumes of these large, cheap, illustrated publications reached a maximum of ten million each year, and more after 1853 due to reprints (21). Three primary types of *éditions populaires non illustrées, ou peu illustrées* 'popular editions not illustrated, or with few illustrations' emerged: 1) editions of the journal *Le Siècle*; *Le Musée Littéraire*, with thirty-three installments per year from 1847 to 1877; *Les complements* with 114 installments of Balzac, five of Bernard, ninety of Hugo, eighty of Lavergne, seven of Scribe, 116 of Sue; and *Œuvres complètes de Dumas* with thirty-three installments per year from 1847 to 1859; 2) reprints of *Le Siècle*, such as *Le Musée Littéraire Contemporain et le Dumas de Michel Lévy*, which culminated in 155 installments in 1860 and 1861; and 3) installments for fifty centimes of the *Bibliothèque bleue*, *Bibliothèque pour Tous*, and the *Bibliothèques populaires des Romans* between 1857 and 1863, reaching a maximum of 268 installments per year in 1860. *Collections à un franc le volume* (16 pp., 11 x 17 cm or 12 x 18.5 cm, 1 vol. of 5 parts at 20 cts. each) were also popular; the main editors were Jaccottet and

Bourdilliat, the first to make this type in 1854, creators of the *Bibliothèque nouvelle* and the *Librairie nouvelle*, taken over in 1861 by Lévy, who produced more than 180 titles each year in 1861 and 1862. According to Witkowski, *les éditions populaires, illustrées, non illustrées*, and *volumes à un franc* reached more than fourteen million volumes from 1855 to 1862 and *journaux-romans* (serial publication of novels illustrated with woodcuts; 8 pp., 21 x 30 cm, 2-3 cols., 5 cts.) surpassed twenty million from 1861 to 1866 to a maximum of twenty-three million in 1864 (23). The first, published on 7 April 1855, was *Le Journal pour Tous*, which lasted for twenty years and spawned more than fifty imitators, many of which only lasted a few months (89). Millions of copies were in circulation until a decline began after 1860. Perhaps the greatest change occurred in 1863: “L’avènement du quotidien à 5 centimes en 1863 : Le Petit Journal ; tirant à 250 000 exemplaires des la fin de 1865, il se maintiendra à ce niveau jusqu’en 1870 et sera imité” ‘The advent of the daily newspaper for 5 centimes in 1863: *Le Petit Journal*; with 250,000 published copies by the end of 1865 it would continue at this level until 1870 and would be imitated’ (93). The price of five sous was unprecedented, opening up the market to readers previously excluded.

Print diversification catered to and created downmarket, popular readerships. From *les éditions populaires* starting in 1848 to *les journaux-romans* after 1854 the price of fiction dropped significantly, eventually leading to a yearly subscription rate of eighteen francs, or one sous per day, for *Le Petit Journal*. Continuing from the reductions made by the daily presses and Charpentier in the

1830s, publishers printed well-known authors and works, producing new formats for fiction at prices that enabled the realization of a reading nation.

The historical novel remained popular, accounting for about half the *feuilletons* published during the Second Empire (Coward, “Popular” 82).

Accordingly, the publication history and literary impact of *Goriot* continued after 1848 along with such developments in the popular print industry. Mme de Balzac (*née* Hanska) negotiated a new publishing contract after Balzac’s death that continued the downmarket diversification of his works in line with the context outlined: “Le 20 décembre 1850 est conclu un traite avec la librairie Marescq et Cie, pour la publication d’une édition grand in-4 des Œuvres illustrés de Balzac (8 volumes publiés en 160 livraisons de 16 pages chacune, en 1851-1852, marché conclu moyennant 20 000 F . . .” ‘On 20 December 1850 a contract was concluded with the bookshop of Marescq and Co. for the publication of a large in-4 edition of the Illustrated Works of Balzac (8 volumes published in 160 parts of 16 pages each from 1851-52, for 20,000 F . . .’ (Pierrot, *Balzac* 515-16).

Following on the serialized first edition in the *Revue*, two volumes by Werdet, two plays, a single-volume edition by Charpentier, collected as *Balzac illustré* in 1837, in the *Comédie humaine* in 1843 and 1849, *Goriot* was reprinted again in a large, illustrated format. Such print diversification of *Goriot* continued throughout the Second Empire, facilitated by popular changes in production and distribution.

The system of print dissemination in France underwent other significant changes which encouraged the distribution of such popular fiction: “By 1848, France had 3,500 authorised *colporteurs*, who between them sold about 40

million chapbooks per year” (Lyons, *History* 76); these chapbooks were largely of the *Bibliothèque bleue* variety. The distribution of periodical literature from Paris increased with the extension of the railroad system and the growth of book shops. In the 1850s, the bookshop essentially replaced *colportage*, enabling the presses in Paris to sell centrally-produced works to provincial readers: “Between 1851 and 1877-8, the total number of active booksellers in France increased by 110 per cent, to a figure in excess of 5,000, despite the effects of war, revolution, and loss of territory. The bulk of this expansion was achieved in the eight years after 1851” (Lyons, *Reading* 50). The revolution of 1848 was in part blamed on the supposed subversive characteristics of *colportage* literature, supported by the appearance of the songs of Béranger and fiction by Sue; prefects began issuing permits to *colporteurs* in 1849 and in 1852 a censorship commission was established, requiring a stamp of approval for the legal sale of *colportage* literature; these measures effectively destroyed the industry, which was already being overrun by the print industry centered in Paris and supported by a growing national network of bookshops (56). As such, the emergence of a national bookshop network coincides with (and reinforces) changes in the production and distribution of popular print, making Paris the centre of a communications and literary network connected by railroads and fueled by capitalist exchange.

The transition from *colportage* to bookshops that coincides with the growth of downmarket literature produced in Paris is indicative of the transition from traditional forms of community organization to the modern nation state. Not coincidentally, *colportage* literature looked to the distant past and emphasized

continuity, whereas new urban literature such as novels of the *Comédie humaine* focused primarily on the recent past and revolutionary changes affecting the present. More importantly, the literature produced in Paris for cities and towns relied upon (and contributed to) modern changes that reached far beyond the book market. The reproduction of Balzac's fiction, including *Goriot*, was part of this process, which involved many authors, publishers, readers, and publications no longer remembered.

Summary

Following upon the rise of modern publishing practices and popular fiction after the 1789 Revolution, including the transition from *éditeur* to *libraire* as well as the impact of the Waverley Novels, popular literature, and historical fiction, the production and early dissemination of *Goriot* reflects the transition from *ancien régime* to the capitalist liberalization and social transformation of modern France. As a text, *Goriot* enables a complex and far-reaching sociological investigation of individual trajectories relative to dominant social trends affecting all classes and regions of the nation state. Finally, the downmarket dissemination of *Goriot*, dependent on the development of print for the masses, especially dailies, weeklies, cheap reprints, collections, and *éditions populaires*, and to a lesser extent on dramatization, enabled multiple incarnations of *Goriot* to reach a heterogeneous and expanding nation state from 1834 to 1870 and beyond.

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Chapter 3

The Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea

Chapter three describes national expansion, print capitalism, and popular literature in nineteenth-century America, analyzes frontier myths and national progress as represented in James Fenimore Cooper's *Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea* (1840), and considers market diversification and popular reading from the 1840s onwards, including American reprints and transnational dissemination of *Pathfinder*.

National Expansion and Print Capitalism

From 1790 to 1840, territorial expansion, population growth, urbanization, transportation, and industrial production opened regional, national, and international markets to American publishers. The print industry capitalized on and contributed to increased readership and economic markets as well as changes in copyright and communications; downmarket print, British imports, and new American authors further enabled modern publishers to reach a national audience.

Copyright and Distribution

Besides improved transportation networks, copyright and post office legislation opened up new American markets and facilitated growth of the American print industry in the first half of the nineteenth century in important ways. The 1790 Copyright Act gave American authors copyright in the United States for a period of up to twenty-eight years and allowed American publishers to reprint foreign materials; it was a twofold response to transatlantic trade and

the need to protect American literary production: “Combining nationalism and cosmopolitanism, it simultaneously encouraged the rise of American authorship and bookmaking and the burgeoning of a domestic market for British and European writings” (Gross 22). On the one hand, the openness to imports increased the circulation of print materials. On the other hand, lack of international copyright legislation in America until 1890, the popularity of British authors, and the economic advantage of reprinting worked against American authors.

Copyright played a significant role in the early development of the American book trade:

Copyright was understood by the founders to be an important tool of nation building. . . . The Constitution guaranteed that American authors and publishers who held copyrights in their works could control the distribution of such books over the entire expanse of the republic. That right was granted to authors and publishers for *limited* times provided an incentive for investment in book production without risking the consolidation of publishers’ power. As copyright law was drafted by the legislature and interpreted by the courts, it emerged as a powerful instrument for the federal government to use against the development of print monopolies. (McGill 198)

The way in which the 1790 Copyright Act contributed to nation building had more to do with national reading than American literature. Under the informal

courtesy of the trade agreement which gave the first publisher of a work publication rights, various means of securing access to the most profitable British authors emerged: for example, “By the early 1820s, some American publishers had begun to purchase advance sheets of popular British authors in the hope of bringing out a work before other American firms could reprint from an imported copy of the published English edition” (Groves, “Courtesy” 141). Although the fight over popular British authors between large publishing firms such as Carey and Lea and Harper and Sons brought the price of foreign literature down and increased access to print throughout America, in the short term at least, it slowed the production of American literature and the publication of American books. Publishing, communications, and reading networks expanded along with the transatlantic and industrial production of print for an increasingly literate and educated nation while copyright legislation directed publishers, and thus American readers, to foreign authors of fiction.

American forms of downmarket print (e.g., newspapers, magazines), however, were encouraged by the Post Office Acts of 1792 and 1794, which “allowed newspapers and magazines to circulate through the mail at cheap rates, subsidized by high charges on personal letters; books were banned from the mail bags. Subscribers paid a small fee for the delivery of their papers; editors paid nothing at all to exchange issues through the mail, and they were free to reprint whatever they pleased” (Gross 18). Government aided the circulation of print by eliminating stamp taxes, censorship, and border control, but as with copyright legislation, the Post Office Acts favoured mass reading over American books. The

Post Office Acts contributed to national communication networks, as evidenced by the dramatic expansion of the postal system in the years to follow: “In 1800 the network included 903 offices; by 1810, it expanded to 2,300, and by 1820, to 4,500. In 1828, the United States had 74 post offices for every 100,000 inhabitants – far more than the 17 in Great Britain and the 4 in France” (John 216). Restrictions, however, limited personal communication and the forms in which readers could access fiction. Publishers sought alternative means of delivering books, such as the traveling salesman; this increased the time, energy, and cost of distributing a typical novel, and stimulated modern publishing practices later developed by Mathew Carey and others.

National Print

Downmarket print played a key role in the expansion of print markets and national readership. The publication of bibles (often serialized) and religious tracts was massive throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, with distribution in the millions. On the east coast, government factions made excellent use of the burgeoning press, with authors and publishers openly promoting political views to garner popular support. The newspaper was the key to information circulation in the early republic: “The press grew at an astounding rate, nearly doubling its ranks every decade and a half, faster even than the surging population: 365 newspapers in 1810, 861 in 1828, 1,403 in 1840” (Gross 37). Newspapers dropped in price and spread in geographical reach, particularly through the penny press, which began to reach a broad middle section of the population by the 1830s (Brooke 185). Alongside mainstream publications

reaching large readerships, fringe or minority groups used the press as an instrument of influence. As a result of geographical expansion and varied use, then, the print landscape diversified to a significant degree, contributing to increased democratic pluralism at least in part dependent on downmarket commercialization: “The reading public, once assumed to be confined to the ranks of independent property holders, was transformed into an expansive and unpredictable free market in which editors – still intent on gate keeping, but now faced with lots of competition – had to sell their wares” (186). In short, the extent of religious reading, the extraordinary political use of print by government and others, and the rise of a competitive, diverse press speak to changes in print and capitalism, but also American publishing and reading, of direct relevance to the emerging national market for fiction, including travel, adventure, romance, and the historical novel.

The opening of America following westward expansion was followed by descriptions of unknown country as scenic, sublime, and adventurous that interested many readers. Typical of the travel genre that emerged, “The single most frequently published travel book in the United States before 1810 was a little volume titled *New Travels to the Westward, or Unknown Parts of America*, a report of a journey into the Mississippi Valley interior and of the native people encountered there” (Brown 450). The number of travel and guide books on America increased in the following decades as expansion continued and interest in the new nation increased alongside the cultural importance of reading and

education among an emerging group self-identifying as Americans, especially in the cities.

American publishers imported English chapbooks from the late-seventeenth century, many of which emphasized didactic stories that fit well with extensive religious publishing and political use of the press or adventurous tales which complemented the description of dangerous, unknown territories in guidebooks. Some chapbooks were also printed in America as the print industry, national consciousness, and education developed:

Apart from imports or chapbooks directly copied from English originals, American chapbook producers like Chapman Whitcombe or Andrew Steuart address an audience which already seems to have distinctively American cultural interests. They use chapbooks to explore the phenomena of the New World in language which, if not necessarily more sophisticated than that of the English chapbooks, appears to assume a higher level of general education than was to be found in England at the time. (Simons 24-25)

According to Victor Neuberg, “American chapbooks fell into two broad categories: first there were the traditional titles, printed in America from English versions; then there were those of specifically American interest, the most characteristic of these being the ‘Indian Captivity’ titles, of which many hundreds appeared in typical chapbook style” (48). Josiah Priest, a well-known author of such tales, was “an early historian of the American frontier, as well as a writer of

these Indian captivities” (51); early-nineteenth-century publishers included Samuel Wood, Mahlon Day, and Solomon King. While the popularity of the ephemeral chapbook is difficult to quantify, the participation of such downmarket forms in the life of common people prior to the downmarket availability of novels likely played a significant role in American reading and culture.

Literary influence between upmarket and downmarket forms furthered the expansion of print and reading. Indian romances such as Ann Stephens’s *Malaeska: the Indian Wife of the White Hunter* (1839), for example, take up themes prominent in the early Leatherstocking Novels, pointing to thematic confluence, but it is as important that *Malaeska* was first serialized in 1839 in *Ladies’ Home Companion* and then reprinted as the first Beadle and Adams Dime Novel in 1860. Similarly, during a period of urbanization and industrialization, the repackaging of Cooper’s novels responded to the new and growing demand for reading material among those who could only afford downmarket literature, including newspapers, journals, pamphlets, and collections, which catered to and created a popular reading audience at the level of the working classes, broadly defined. In short, the urban masses began to read and the market for fiction fragmented into profitable niche markets within and across class lines.

Authors such as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Henry James took up contemporary social issues, in some cases with the historical novel, but their emphasis on aesthetics, psychology, and individualism runs counter to the history of American literature in the nineteenth century, as do their predominantly upmarket readers. Mark Twain and William Dean Howells address American

social history in different ways: Twain not only took up the crass commercialization of America following the Civil War but openly courted a broad readership through subscription publishing and with historical works at once entertaining and artistic; Howells is commonly regarded as the preeminent realist of the nineteenth century with an interest in the history of individuals in capitalist America, but his later novels indicate a shift from individual to collective perspective in line with the rise of agitation, trade unionism, and socialism in the 1880s and 1890s. Even more, dime novels and other downmarket forms, which included variations of the historical novel, reflected and contributed to the social transformation of America, often quite distinctly speaking to or for the working classes to various purposes. In short, authors of varied backgrounds writing to different purposes for publishers and readers just as diverse used history and fiction to describe communities in motion throughout the nineteenth century. The real story of social transformation in American literature sits at the intersection of upmarket and downmarket forms; it is here that the novel tells the multifaceted history of America, from the War of Independence to the Progressive Era, and it is here that the history of Cooper's novels as both literary expressions and modern publications are of greatest interest.

The Modern Publisher

The War of 1812 and the embargo of 1818 slowed imports, leading to the bankruptcy of many smaller firms. The publishing firms of Carey and Lea and Harper and Sons, however, were heavily capitalized and able to withstand such events, leaving them in a position to extend their reach beyond the east coast to

the south and west. Besides the courtesy of the trade system, which encouraged publishers to get works to press first and thus favoured larger publishers with greater resources, this was an excellent reason for Cooper to switch to Carey and Lea for publication of *Last of the Mohicans* (1826). Even more, Mathew Carey was a modern publisher eager to expand and dominate the print industry in America. Early on, trade routes were across the Atlantic, with most publishers distributing locally; there was little in the way of national trade. Carey, however, made the transition from printer to publisher, letting go his journeymen, presses, and type, and contracting out all printing: he became a merchant rather than an artisan, a businessman free to focus on distribution and marketing rather than technical production (a transition coinciding with that from *éditeur* to *libraire* described in chapter two). As a result of the union of Ireland with England and Scotland in 1801, the reprint trade with Ireland ended, contributing to favourable circumstances for trade and coinciding with the economic growth of America from 1820 to 1840 as well as “improvements in papermaking, typesetting, and printing machinery, along with new means of distribution in the railroad and steamboat, [which] made books both cheaper for publishers and more accessible for readers” (Barnes 443). Carey was also proactive in other ways, particularly in the arrangement of book fairs in 1801 which represented the first formal cooperation at a national level (Green 91). Carey recognized the problems of literary production and distribution in America, which remained fragmented and poorly connected, and responded by bringing together producers and consumers,

linking towns and cities—thus, taking the first steps towards a national book market.

Although book fairs promoted the removal of trade restrictions favourable to large publishers and sellers, “By opening up an unregulated national exchange of books, the fairs exacerbated the inherent tendency of exchange to cheapen books and encourage overproduction” (Green 93). Carey, however, actively worked to both expand and control the trade. For example, to promote the publication of a new bible he “wrote letters to every postmaster in the country in March [1801], asking them to be his agents for the Bible, which entailed gathering subscriptions and forwarding payment” (92); with access to capital and waterways stemming from a major urban centre (Philadelphia), his negotiations to limit competition in specific regions, and his ability to encourage dissemination in novel ways Carey came to dominate the trade in bibles. Carey also began to prepare for future editions of new works rather than just the first edition: for example, “Shortly after *Last of the Mohicans* was published [in 1826], Cooper sold Carey the copyrights of his five previous novels for their remaining terms as well as the right to his next novel, *The Prairie*, for a total of \$7,500” (107); he then had them all stereotyped. Established and expanding networks of distribution, publication rights and stereotyping, large print runs and cooperation between publishing houses enabled Carey to limit the initial production costs associated with new editions, thus allowing for greater distribution and higher profits.

In many ways, the introduction of the *Waverley Novels* to the American market established such modern publishing practices, leading to national rather than regional readerships of fiction. Major east coast American publishers such as Carey and Lea and Harper and Sons involved in the Scott trade, both of which dominated access to interior markets, shifted production to popular works as a result. Moreover, publishers gained better knowledge of what would sell broadly and actively encouraged writers such as Cooper to follow: “As publishers became stronger, and interpreted more accurately the public taste, they encouraged writers to cater to that taste, and to behave like producers of a commodity. Carey and Lea, the ablest of American publishers before 1850, and the shrewdest interpreters of the public, had exercised precisely such influence on Cooper, suggesting again and again that he write this or not write that” (Charvat 56). In this way, the role of the publisher changed considerably as production and profit took centre stage. Cooper was not as receptive to advice as his publishers would have liked. Regardless, Scott provided a form that Cooper could work with, a readership for the historical novel, and publishers such as Carey were fully aware of the situation and in a position to profit. Carey is a key example of the modern American publisher—the rise of the large publishing house and the relationships that developed between publisher, author, and readership establish the basis of professional authorship and the mass consumption of books that would dominate American reading in the nineteenth century.

American Novels and Transatlantic Trade

American novelists of the early republic were not successful in reaching a large audience, in part due to limited colonial expansion, in part due to the overwhelming dominance of British literature: before 1767, “British North America ranked as the leading export market for London publishers, absorbing more English books than all of Europe did, and as soon as peace returned, businessmen on both sides of the Atlantic rushed to resume that profitable trade” (Gross 13). By the 1840s, however, the number of works of American fiction increased fourfold (Barnes 443). The shift from foreign imports to American authorship in the period 1789-1840 was not complete, but it was significant: “In 1820 seven out of every ten titles from presses in the United States were originally written and published abroad, but in the 1830s and early 1840s Americans gained a majority share (55-60 percent)” (Gross 46). Prior to 1820, novels played a small role in American publishing. Increased publication and reading of American novels depended on a number of factors. Besides population growth, copyright and post office legislation encouraged the national diffusion of reading material, including serialized and popular fiction. Major publishers such as Carey with capital, connections, and experience were in a position to capitalize on market opportunities and literary trends. Finally, the growing demand for new novels from Britain, particularly the Waverley Novels, stimulated local production. The change was supported by reader demand and increasing literacy rates as well as the steady expansion of elementary schools and libraries. For example, “some 266 social libraries were founded between 1790 and 1840 in New

England alone” (Carpenter 274). Such institutions flourished due to positive economic conditions, but also because of the reading material offered. Circulating libraries, for instance, succeeded because of “the many current novels, British and American alike, the library ordered annually; in the 1820s and early 1830s, the latest works of historical romance by Scott, Cooper, Irving, Sedgwick, and others accounted for nearly half of all purchases” (281). Novel reading in early-nineteenth-century America emerged as a common, shared activity that impacted the personal habits of many people and the social organization of many towns and cities.

By the time *Pathfinder* was published in 1840, the international book trade was extensive, “with about four books entering the United States from abroad for every one exported” (Gross 28). More particularly, the production, dissemination, and reception of Scott fundamentally changed reading and publishing in America, making the novel at once morally respectable and highly profitable. The Waverley Novels were the biggest literary export to America in the nineteenth century (St Clair 388); each novel was “sought after in book stores and circulating libraries even before their authorship was confirmed” and “Collected editions of the Waverley Novels were published in North America in large editions and in a variety of formats to suit most pocket books” (Black 450). As a result of the prestige and financial gain attached to the publication and sales of each Waverley Novel, “The arrival of advance sheets of a Scott title from England was a high point in the publishing year. Work on everything else stopped while Scott was being printed. When the firm won a race with a rival American house in

reprinting a Waverley novel, it was a glorious victory, because there was such a ravenous demand for the book that the whole edition could be sold off in twenty-four hours” (Kaser 24).

The intense transatlantic trade in Scott was the result of copyright conditions and the competitive American market, but also the financial pressures (or possibilities) of the book trade in Britain that forced (or enabled) publishers to extend distribution and sales. The uncertainty of getting a manuscript from England to press in America, exacerbated by the variable times in crossing the Atlantic, led English agents to send copies of each work by several different vessels and to hire English agents to get copies forwarded from England as fast as possible (Kaser 91). Robinson and Co. of Leeds, later Hurst, Robinson and Co., supplied American outlets with surplus stock from Archibald Constable; in 1817, an agreement to supply early proofs of works by Scott was reached (Hewitt and Lumsden 501). This relationship was partly to secure financial support and partly because Robinson was able to move vast quantities of stock in Britain and America. William Todd and Ann Bowden refer to the important change that occurred between *Rob Roy* (1817) and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818) in the following terms: “The year 1818 marks the inception of a more expeditious scheme for issuing Scott in America, where this author, all unprotected by any copyright, was in ever-increasing demand” (451). As a result, the subsequent publishing history of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* in America, as with other Waverley Novels, included many publishers, including Van Winkle (New York, 1818); Duyckinck, Gilley, Lockwood, and Bliss (New York, 1820); Dickinson

(Philadelphia, 1821); Parker (Boston, 1821-32); Goodrich, Huntington, and Hopkins (Hartford, 1821); and Crissy (Philadelphia, 1826), and collections: “*The National Union Catalog* lists more than 30 American firms that published collected editions of the Waverley novels in the nineteenth century, and many publishers reissued the collected novels several times” (Todd 499).

American publishers such as Carey did not sit idly by: “Carey and Lea were, in 1822, buying early proof sheets of Waverley novels from the Philadelphia bookseller Thomas Wardle, who was in turn purchasing them from Hurst, Robinson and Company of London, which apparently had some source that was inaccessible to other firms. Unwilling to put all their faith in this one source, however, Carey and Lea also instructed their agent, John Miller of London, to send over copy as soon as it should become available to him” (Kaser 95). Even more, from 1823, after having lost races involving *The Pirate* (1821) and *Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), and with the quality of American reprints in question, an arrangement was made directly between Carey and Constable that ensured Carey and Lea as the preferred publisher until 1832. Such distribution networks, and especially Carey’s early involvement, point to key changes in the print industry of relevance to the production and dissemination of *Pathfinder*, the Leatherstocking Novels (1823-41), and Cooper’s many other novels.

Transatlantic trade and the impact of the Waverley Novels shaped publishing and reading practices in America in important ways: 1) the print history of the Waverley Novels involved transatlantic assemblages revealing the coexistence of national fields of interest and an interpellation of social, political,

economic, technological, and literary contexts by way of print capitalism; 2) the initial interest of Carey and the emergence of Carey and Lea as the preferred publisher of Scott in America points to the effective influence of popular reception, large publishing firms, corporate organization, extensive circuits of communication (national and international), financial backing, and movement towards assured priority rights and market dominance; 3) the success of Scott in America encouraged a change in publishing emphasis from small print runs and old stock works to current works, particularly fiction, in large runs. For example, David Kaser notes how “[Carey and Lea] began cutting back on its publishing of stock books – of titles that it would take many years to sell off – and began publishing many more popular books, novels, romances, biographies, books of travel, and even some school books” (50); the resulting shift was from law books, the bible, and the atlas of the 1820s to popular works, including those by novelists such as Cooper; 4) accordingly, the Waverley Novels paved the way for Cooper’s Leatherstocking Novels, the American historical novel, and expanded markets for old and new, foreign and American works of fiction.

The Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea

The Waverley Novels established the way to mass popularity, critical respect, and large sales for American authors of historical novels such as Cooper. The link between Scott and Cooper is well established by contemporary critics: for example, Lion Feuchtwanger writes, “The first genuine historical novels in America were written by James Fenimore Cooper. . . . Cooper consciously picks up where Walter Scott left off” (87) and Wayne Franklin adds, “The kind of tale

[Cooper] would tell was determined, clearly enough, by his wish to emulate Walter Scott, whose masterful novels of the Scottish borderlands, beginning with *Waverley* (1814), had established a new literary mode” (38). Perhaps following Scott (or Jane Austen) a little too closely, Cooper’s first novel, *Precaution* (1820), was a novel of manners set in Britain. American critics disapproved; Cooper set his next novel, *The Spy* (1821), in America. More particularly, he wrote a novel that focused on American political and cultural identity. As James Wallace notes, “Cooper worked to expand his original audience’s horizon of expectations while attracting new readers by adopting the historical romance, transferring his setting from England to America, and adding ethnic and regional characters” (64). With three editions in the first few months, the result was the first successful American historical novel.

From the outset, Cooper aimed to reach a mass audience and to profit from his literary efforts. He essentially leased his works to publishers, retaining ownership. For Cooper, who always had financial difficulties, authorship was at least in part a form of speculation. He went to firms with the means to maximize distribution and sales, for example, switching from Wiley and Halstead to Carey and Lea early on, and later also using large publishers in England and France. Cooper, much like Carey, took a proactive approach to publishing. He took his family to France and remained in Europe from 1826 to 1833, during which time he arranged new deals with English publishers and hired a French printer specialized in English language texts to set *The Prairie* (1827) and produce multiple sets of proof sheets. This allowed Cooper to distribute to his English and

American publishers, and others on the continent, reproducible texts of new books prior to official publishing. As a result, the piracy market shrank and his profits increased.

Cooper's early reception in America and elsewhere was such that upon his arrival in Europe in 1826 he was sought out by writers, artists, and other celebrities. Even Scott came to visit him unannounced in Paris and the two later met again in London. Franklin notes that from 1820 to 1830, "Cooper had authored something like 10 percent of all the novels published by American authors. He was the dominant creative force in American fiction across that period" (43). The output noted is significant, but the extent of readership was no doubt much higher as Cooper's texts were distributed en masse, legally and illegally, in many forms, at home and abroad. When Cooper returned from Europe, however, he was out of favour due to his blunt criticism of America, most notably in *Notions of the Americans* (1828), *A Letter to His Countrymen* (1834), and *The American Democrat* (1838). Not until 1840, partly at the suggestion of Richard Bentley (his English publisher), did he return to fiction and the character Natty Bumppo with *Pathfinder*.

The title (publication date; date of setting) for each of the Leatherstocking Novels is as follows: *The Pioneers: the Sources of the Susquehanna; a Descriptive Tale* (1823; 1793); *Last of the Mohicans, A Narrative of 1757* (1826; 1757); *The Prairie: A Tale* (1827; c. 1804); *The Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea* (1840; c. 1759); and *The Deerslayer, or the First Warpath* (1841; 1740-45). To protect British copyright, *Pathfinder* was first published in Britain on 24 February

1840 by Bentley (3 vols.), then in the United States on 14 March of the same year by Lea and Blanchard (both associated with Carey): “According to the contract with Bentley, Cooper was to receive £500 for the British *Pathfinder* less £200 to help defray the loss Bentley incurred on *The History of the Navy*. The American contract with Lea and Blanchard, dated 24 July 1839, called for Cooper to receive \$3,600 for 5,000 copies of *The Pathfinder* and for 2,000 more copies of *The History of the Navy of the United States*” (Rust, “Historical” xviii). Although reviews were mixed, Cooper was pleased with reception “on both sides of the Atlantic. In a letter of 14 May 1840 to his wife, Cooper exults: ‘Lea has sold near 4000 of *Pathfinder*. It has great success, in the worst of times – Indeed, it is the only thing that does sell. The opposition views are laughed at. They have done me no harm, and themselves a great deal’ (*Letters and Journals*, IV, 34)” (xviii).

Frontier Myths and National Progress

Pathfinder explores modern identity and group formation by setting forth historical options, contemporary trajectories, and future possibilities of relevance to the new reading nation. The struggle for territorial control and political dominance of North America set in the 1750s brings Native Americans, French, British, and Americans into conflict over a contested border land that reveals early social transformation towards an American nation state involving men and women in the negotiation of class and race, colonialism and native rights, natural and civil law.

The formation of American character, relationships, and institutions depends on the idea of a pre-existing neutral ground upon which the unique extension of British colonialism in America takes place. For example, Cooper writes, “It will be remembered that this was in the year 175-, or long before even speculation had brought any portion of Western New-York, within the bounds of civilization, or the projects of the adventurous” (*Pathfinder* 36). It is in this undefined space that America develops as a nation state; the purpose of *Pathfinder* is to outline the socio-political negotiation that underlies such institutional organization. Accordingly, the tensions are acute, “any shift of power that occurs within the neutral frontier becomes of crucial importance – both intrinsically and as a symbolic rendering of historical forces in America” (McWilliams 24). Even minor conflicts, a shooting contest involving American civilians and British officers or the struggle for control between the American Jasper and British officers on the Scud (a British vessel used on Lake Ontario), represent national issues. Cooper writes,

At the time of which we are writing, Oswego was one of the extreme frontier posts of the British possessions on this continent. It had not been long occupied, and was garrisoned by a battalion of a regiment that had been originally Scotch, but into which many Americans had been received, since its arrival in this country, an innovation that had led the way to Mabel’s father filling the humble but responsible situation of the oldest serjeant. A few

young officers also, who were natives of the Colonies, were to be found in this corps. (*Pathfinder* 107)

The understated link between a state of pre-civilization and possession of the continent opens the way for a conflict between colonial powers. Cooper does not leave Native land rights unquestioned, but the transition from wilderness to modern civilization is central. Moreover, as the above-quoted passage indicates, Americans are distinct from British soldiers and ‘natives of the Colonies.’ The fragmentation of an expanding British empire is noteworthy; ‘projects of the adventurous’ will be carried forward on this continent by Americans. Modern progress, then, is built upon frontier myths and complex histories of modern progress at the level of changing colonial projects and rising nation states.

The transition from nature to civilization—the establishment of civilization in nature and the civilization of nature—is outlined by Cooper in the preface to the first edition of *Pathfinder*: “It is a fact not generally remembered, however well known it may be, that there are isolated spots, along the line of the great lakes that date, as settlements, as far back, as many of the oldest American towns, and which were the seats of a species of civilization, long before the greater portion of even the original states was rescued from the wilderness” (2). In the preface to the Author’s Revised Edition (1851), he further emphasizes the underlying historical transition from wilderness to civilization and concludes both prefaces by referring to “the wonderful means by which Providence is clearing the way for the advancement of civilization across the whole American continent” (*Pathfinder* 6). As John McWilliams notes, “Rather than leaping to utopian

portrayals of agrarian communities, Cooper's novels concern the awkward transition between the State of Nature and the State of Civilization" (10). This includes an educated understanding of the wilderness as something to be appreciated aesthetically and used for practical (also colonial) purposes.

The novel begins: "The sublimity connected with vastness, is familiar to every eye" (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 7). Further references to nature in similar terms are numerous, for example: "And, truly, the scene was of a nature, deeply to impress the imagination of the beholder" (8); and, "It was the vastness of the view, the nearly unbroken surface of verdure, that contained the principle of grandeur" (9). The view of nature as sublime, in part derived from Romantic-era notions of nature set forth in Britain by the likes of Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) and other more popular works of the early-nineteenth century, emerges as a perspective from the settlements, or upper-class drawing rooms, to the frontier. Mabel, for instance, gazes upon nature with the eye of a traveller as she exclaims, "How beautiful!" (110), and as someone taught to view nature as something to be captured, as if in a painting: "For the first time since she had left her room, Mabel now turned her eyes beneath her, and got a view of what might be called the foreground of the remarkable picture she had been studying with so much pleasure" (112). Such learned appreciation of nature cannot be separated from expansionism, including questions of property, ownership, and exploitation; a palpable tension exists between the natural, cyclical change of the forest, rivers, and seas stands and the linear, expansive capture and control of territory from east

to west. Even Pathfinder, who exudes a religious reverence for Nature, works for Britain at the frontier.

The struggle for control of Lake Ontario plays out in a decisive manner that says much of Cooper's practical vision of America's future. For example, the fate of Arrowhead and June, described as "native owners of the soil" (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 8): Arrowhead is killed and June is left a widow, isolated from her own tribe. Further, Cap returns to his seafaring way of life and Pathfinder retreats into the forest; Scottish soldiers are massacred, Duncan the Laird returns to Scotland, and of the two villains besides Arrowhead, Lieutenant Muir (Scottish) is killed and Capt. Sanglier (French) is released following defeat. Meanwhile, young Americans Mabel and Jasper marry and move to New York where Jasper becomes a prosperous merchant and Mabel bears several sons. Along the way, Mabel rejects Arrowhead, Muir, and Pathfinder—the native owners of the soil, the foreign owners of the soil, and outsiders who will not participate in the modern future of American civilization. In short, the question of power, and the trajectory, or progress, of the modern nation state, is answered by the select representation of character development, relationships, and events.

Pathfinder repeatedly refers to 'natures' and 'gifts' as particular to race and tradition. The differences between Native Americans, French, British, and Americans, however, have more to do with circumstances, and especially with the contrast between wilderness or frontier and civilization or settlement. Throughout the novel, a clear differentiation is made between gifts or skills particular to forest, river, lake, and ocean, thus separating Pathfinder, Native Americans,

Jasper, and Cap according to upbringing and education. The greatest difference between characters as related to the determination of social trajectories, however, is social position. Pathfinder is of particular importance in this regard; he is situated between forest and fort, moving between the two, acting accordingly in each; he repeatedly refers to himself as a Christian with white gifts and he works for the British against the French and some Native American tribes, but he never goes to the settlements. As such, the central character of the novel exists at the fringe of colonial/American development, in between frontier and settlement; it is in this neutral space, on Lake Ontario, where the path of the American nation state will be decided. Notably, it is when Pathfinder is on the Scud that he is least effective—like Cap, unable to navigate the lake; both are out of their element, unlike Jasper. The point of crisis lies in the transition from and tension between the opening of a border frontier and the establishment of a stable, progressive, western civilization. As William Kelly notes, “For the first time in the *Leatherstocking Tales*, we see him as a confused and troubled figure whose aim is uncertain” (153). Pathfinder is described by Cap as “being neither brig, nor schooner” (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 16), he is of “middle age” (18), and for the first time in his life attends to a woman (Mabel) rather than the needs of the fort. The implications of this sense of displacement are multiple; as George Dekker notes, this

is the only *Leatherstocking* tale in which Natty Bumppo at all resembles the wavering hero of a Scott novel. Here for the first and only time we see him waver between the life he has always led –

untrammelled by property, responsible only to his own strict code and conscience, free to follow his own bent away from white European society – and the life of the a border family man with all that that implies in terms of a wife who must be kept content with her lot, children who must be properly educated, property which must be acquired and protected. (*James* 161)

The fate of Pathfinder in the heart of the wilderness, like Lake Ontario in the heart of North America, describes the fate of America.

Pathfinder's cultural dislocation—a white man raised among Native Americans—allows him to represent cultural and situational understanding of just action from various perspectives, and more importantly, to point out the relative advantages of different forms of social behaviour given particular circumstances. As such, he does not view his adversaries in the same way as the British soldiers, Cap, or Mabel; for example, he says, “Every skin has its own natur’, and every natur’ has its own laws, as well as its own skin. It was many years afore I could master all them higher branches of a forest edication, for red-skin knowledge does’ n’t come as easy to white skin natur’, as what I suppose is intended to be white skin knowledge; though I have but little of the latter, having passed most of my time in the wilderness” (*Cooper, Pathfinder* 27). Pathfinder has a keen understanding of the situational difference between Native Americans and colonial settlers, the need for specific ‘gifts’ relative to situation: “no gift is bestowed without some wise and reasonable ind” (78). Thus, he does not condemn ‘red nature’; difference is situational rather than moral. Pathfinder's

explanation of his dual position as man of violence on the frontier of civilization and peaceful dweller in the forest is indicative:

If you think I pass my days in warfare against my kind, you know neither me, nor my history. The man that lives in the woods, and on the frontiers, must take the chances of the things among which he dwells. For this I am not accountable, being but a humble and powerless hunter and scout and guide. My real calling is to hunt for the army, on its marches, and in times of peace, although I am more especially engaged in the service of one office, who is now absent in the settlements, where I never follow him. No – no-bloodshed and warfare are not my real gifts, but peace and marcy. Still, I must face the inimy as well as another, and as for a Mingo, I look upon him, as man looks on a snake, a creatur' to be put to beneath the heel, whenever a fitting occasion offers. (96)

The cry of the enemy Mingos as Chingachgook scalps his foe leads to varied reactions among the key characters: Mabel “bowed her head, in irrepressible fear, while her uncle, for a single instant, actually meditated flight” and Jasper stopped his ears, “equally in horror and disgust” (79). But Pathfinder has a different view: “’Tis their music, boy; their drum and fife; their trumpets and clarions” (79). Here is a cultural understanding of social behaviour that does not originate in (or lead to) the settlements.

Whether to settle or not, “to acquiesce or to revolt, to remain or to flee” (McWilliams 14), however, is the crucial decision facing Pathfinder. This is the

cruX of the novel. The sense of progress in question, and Pathfinder's difficulty adapting, is explicit as Pathfinder says to Mabel: "I have attended church-sarvice in the garrisons, and tried hard, as becomes a true soldier, to join in the prayers; for though no enlisted sarvant of the King, I fight his battles and sarve his cause, and so I have endivoured to worship garrison-fashion, but never could raise within me, the solemn feelings and true affection, that I feel when alone with God, in the forest" (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 92). Cap agrees and says that he "found scarcely a man in all York" (97) who would think of things as he did, adding that "it is a difficult thing to find a man – I mean a landsman – who views these matters, to-day exactly as he looked at them, forty years ago" (97-98). The following exchange ensues:

Pathfinder. And yet God is unchanged – his works are unchanged – his holy word is unchanged – and all that ought to bless and honor his name should be changed too!

Cap. Not ashore. That is the worst of the land, it is all the while in motion, I tell you, though it looks so solid.

Pathfinder. That is too true, Master Cap, and more's the pity. Ah's! me – the things they call improvements and betterments are undermining and defacing the land! (98)

Speaking from wilderness and sea, Pathfinder and Cap look upon American development (of the land) from a distance and with a religious reverence for undisturbed, transcendent Nature. Most importantly, during this conversation, Mabel asks, "Do you understand this, Jasper?" (97). The question, whispered no

less, suggests an understated but critical difference in understanding, a subtle but irrepressible undercurrent between the two young people particular to a new generation more inclined to the city and commerce than open spaces and hunting. Between the prairies and the sea, America is moving on. The revolutionary changes taking place are generational, national in scope, and distinctly modern (e.g., urban, capitalist, industrial).

Modern nation building plays out through the romance triangle established between Pathfinder, Mabel Dunham, and Jasper Western. Although Pathfinder is the central figure of the story, Mabel makes the decision that decides his fate and indicates that of the nation state. The union of Mabel and Jasper, along with Mabel's rejection of Arrowhead, Muir, and Pathfinder as suitors, points in the direction of American middle-class progress. The replacement of Pathfinder with Jasper as Mabel's preferred husband is especially important. As McWilliams notes, "The asocial hero is replaced by a *middle-class* white frontiersman" (292; emphasis added). Jasper shows himself a worthy captain in difficult circumstances and he is proven innocent of the charge of treason. Moreover, repeated hints of Jasper's inclination towards the settlements, despite his upbringing on the frontier, indicate the key difference: "I would," says Jasper, "go into the settlements and towns" (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 55). Even Pathfinder refers to Jasper's education and suitability for marriage with a woman like Mabel: "Then he is quite a scholar – knows the tongue of the Frenchers – reads many books, and some, I know, that you like to read yourself – can understand you at all times, which, perhaps, is more than I can say for myself" (456). Pathfinder confesses to

Dunham, “I found myself so much beneath her in ideas, that I was afraid to speak of much beyond what belonged to my own gifts” (129), and Mabel reflects, “To me, Jasper Eau douce appears to know more than most of the young men of his class” (174).

Early on, Pathfinder sees Mabel’s choice as one between the forests and the lake, saying, “Here you have both our domains, Jasper’s and mine” (110), but once Mabel rejects his suit he realizes that the choice is between the frontier and the settlements. Dana Nelson notes that Pathfinder is “rejected in favor of a younger man” (139); Mabel’s choice, however, is not based on age, comeliness, or even merit, but according to situational possibilities, that is, position and potential trajectories relative to the direction of the nation state. As Domhnall Mitchell suggests, “this is a novel where directions are just as important as destinations, and which is crucially concerned with a variety of transitions” (109). “Pathfinder and Jasper,” writes Richard Dilworth Rust, “reflect the major physical dualities of the book, land and water, which are reconciled in the title *The Pathfinder, or The Inland Sea* and in the closing chapters of the book” (“Trail” 180). But the more important duality is between two overlapping stages of development—frontier America and modern America. Pathfinder says that if Mabel could fancy a rude hunter and guide he would quit his wandering ways and try to “humanize” his mind “down to a wife and children” (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 129), but such sentiments are immediately replaced by doubts: “Do you think the gal will consent to quit all her beloved settlement usages, and her visitin’s, and church-goin’s to dwell with a plain guide and hunter, up, hereaway, in the woods?”

Will she not in the end crave her old ways, and a better man?" (130). Dunham is right when he suggests that a better man would be hard to find, but he is referring to the frontier and not to the settlements, a distinction which refers back to Pathfinder's understanding of gifts and ways relative to circumstances (including his own). Pathfinder and Mabel are both white Christians eligible to be united in marriage, but the unstated difference (or tension) between them is impossible to ignore: "Mabel and I are so nearly alike, that I feel weighed down with a load that is hard to bear, at finding us so unlike" (131). The more suitable man, in line with America's transition from a frontier territory to a middle-class nation state, is not mythical Pathfinder, but modern Jasper Western.

The definitive direction and complex negotiation of social transformation in America plays out further in important ways. Mabel and Pathfinder appear to reach an understanding when Mabel says, "One feels nearer to God, in such a spot, I think, than when the mind is distracted by the objects of the towns" (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 265). But the transition from wilderness to settlement quickly emerges again when Pathfinder answers, "These are our streets and houses; our churches and palaces" (265). This description of the forest is representative of the urbanization and institutionalization of America pervasive enough to redefine the wilderness in terms of the settlement. Mabel seems to lean towards the frontier life: "I find I'm fast getting to be a frontier girl, and am coming to love all this grand silence of the woods. The towns seem tame to me, and, as my father will probably pass the remainder of his days, here, where he has already lived so long, I begin to feel that I should be happy to continue with him, and not return to the

sea-shore” (266). But as soon as Pathfinder reveals that her father has agreed to their marriage such fanciful musings are forgotten. Mabel’s response is definitive: “While I esteem, respect – nay reverence you, almost as much as I reverence my own dear father, it is impossible that I should ever become your wife – that I – ” (270). The word ‘impossible’ is key: it is indicative of the irrevocability of the gap between two phases of American development and the different ways of life attached, one passing and one emerging, as the following exchange confirms:

Pathfinder. I do not – I shall never think in that way, again, Mabel.
 Mabel. A match like that would be unwise – unnatural, perhaps –.
 Pathfinder. I thought the sarjeant was mistaken for I did not think my gifts were such as would please the fancy of a town bred gal . . .
 . . . But now I see plainly, and begin to understand the difference between us better (271-72)

‘Unnatural’ refers to reversal of the revolutionary progress of America following upon the historical break between past and present that comes to a political head in 1767, again in 1812, and otherwise throughout the nineteenth century with continuous social, political, economic, and technological development. Mabel tells Pathfinder that he will forget, and think of her as a friend, but his response is telling: “This may be the way in the towns, but I doubt if it’s nat’ral to the woods” (272). The unsuitability between them is not merely a matter of preference, but of ways, as Pathfinder says, “your ways have not been my ways” (273). It is a matter of compatibility, as Pathfinder notes, “Like loves like, I tell you, sarjeant, and my gifts are not altogether the gifts of Mabel Dunham” (278), but also of direction.

The disconnection, again, highlights the importance of circumstances, of positions and position takings, of the contrast of and shift from wilderness to civilization, and points to the emergence of modern America. In other words, as in *Waverley*, the romance ends and history begins.

In the wake of the marriage of Mabel and Jasper, and their subsequent move to New York, two other aspects are significant. First, Pathfinder returns to the forest, described as “what Adam might have been supposed to be before the fall” (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 134) and with “no hope of promotion” (142). Pathfinder becomes a mythic frontier figure disappearing silently into the sublime forest; he becomes historic rather than historical. In contrast, Jasper, an upwardly-mobile east coast merchant, and Mabel, the daughter of an American serving in the British army, build wealth and a family in New York. As Kelly notes, “Mabel and Jasper are insulated from loneliness but are bound by convention; Natty is free from, but longs for, context” (156). Pathfinder along with Harry Birch, Long Tom Coffin, the Rover, Jacopo the Bravo, and other male characters in Cooper’s novels end up “Retreating to maintain their own values, or simply to be alone, such men become stoics laced with self-pity, activists with a wide streak of fatalism” (McWilliams 61). Pathfinder’s departure is the end of his wavering between frontier and settlement; Mabel’s choice is as definitive for Pathfinder as it is for her: “By repudiating marriage, property and the civil law, Leatherstocking scorns the social ties that would render his virtues effective. Belonging to no race, rootless and solitary, Bumppo has no place in American life” (290). As Pathfinder himself says, “Yes, I *must* be wild; I’ll not attempt to deny it” (Cooper, *Pathfinder*

453). The split is complete and the resultant direction certain. Pathfinder will remain at the fringe of western settlement, living according to natural law; the nation state based on civil law and modern institutions follow. The disappearance of Pathfinder from the neutral ground following the 1750s sits at the threshold of expansive settlement and the rise of middle-class urban couples departing the forts to build homes along the coast—the organizational basis of the new republic. The social transformation described is twofold: modern progress built upon the achievements (and the mythos) of frontier expansion.

Second, an Americanism determined by responsibility and merit, adherence to middle-class values and American birth emerges as the delineation of a new space between the Native owners of the soil and the British occupiers of the territory. Duncan of Lundie, the Scotch Laird, commands the fort, but Dunham is described as both respectable and capable, far beyond those of higher birth and greater wealth: “Notwithstanding his humble rank, there was something in the mien and character of Serjeant Dunham that commanded respect” (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 118). The American character emerges in between competing forces in a new space. Dunham’s position and potential are described in the following terms: “The sort of neutral position occupied by her father, who was not an officer while he was so much more than a common soldier . . .” (136). Once again, it is from this wavering position that possibilities for new directions emerge, in this case, with Dunham’s daughter. Mabel provides a pointed example of the good qualities which come of American soil: “The girl is like her mother, Major Duncan, and will pass inspection. Neither was brought up on any thing better than

good American flour. The girl will pass inspection, sir!" (139). The displacement of a British centre with organic Americanism can also be seen at the fort: "Most of the soldiers were Scotch, the regiment having been raised at Stirling and its vicinity, not many years before, though, as in the case of Serjeant Dunham, many Americans had joined it since its arrival in the colonies" (154). Thus, individual American character aligns with a transfer of responsibility, and to some degree, power within the national institutions taking shape. Further, such responsibility is shown to be warranted by the skill of Pathfinder in the American forest and Jasper on an "American sea" (Candido 286), but also in the shooting competition victories: first, by an unnamed "youth, who had been born in the colony of New York, and who, coming of Dutch extraction, bore the euphonious name of Van Valtenburg, but was familiarly called Follock" (154), and second, by Jasper. As Mitchell notes, "The shooting contest enacts or dramatizes the thematic contrast between native and foreign authority. The performance of the native born Americans demonstrates their inborn superiority" (103). Along these lines, it is also noteworthy that Dunham refers to the capabilities of George Washington (192), a more direct reference to American nation building that resonates politically and militarily. In contrast, not only are the Indians incapable of taking the block house and Muir a traitor, but Corporal MacNab proves completely incompetent:

In short, he was an epitome, though on a scale suited to his rank, of those very qualities, which were so peculiar to the servants of the crown, that were sent into the colonies, as these servants estimated

themselves in comparison with the natives of the country, or, in other words he considered the American as an animal inferior to the parent stock, and viewed all his notions of military service in particular as undigested and absurd. (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 335)

The depiction of Americans is not without fault: Cap is repeatedly shown to be not only out of his element, but ignorant and prejudiced; Mabel tries to convince June that she should not be happy with her situation as the wife of Arrowhead, but June responds: “Yengeese too greedy – take away all hunting grounds – chase Six Nation from morning to night; wicked king – wicked people. Pale Face very bad” (346). The French, too, are vilified: “To sell any thing – country, soul, body, Mabel and all our scalps; an no ways particular, I’ll engage, as to the purchaser. The countrymen of Capt. Flinty-heart, here, were the paymasters this time” (430). Nevertheless, the Americans are left standing, as Pathfinder says,

Well – well – to my mind there is no great difference atween an Englishman and a Frenchman, a’ter all. They talk difference tongues, and live under different kings I will allow, but both are human, and feel like human beings, when there is occasion for it. If a Frenchman is sometimes skeary, so is an Englishman; and as for running away, why a man will now and then do it, as well as a horse, let him come of what people he may. (430)

In short, American exceptionalism, at once colonial and moral, brutal and hopeful, is part of the foundation for American progress in the new world. The

Americans are left to take care of things, with the Native Americans, British, and French defeated or assimilated.

In an 1840 review of *Pathfinder*, Honoré de Balzac compares Scott to Cooper, stating, “the one initiates you into great human evolutions, the other into the mighty heart of Nature herself” (qtd. in Dekker and McWilliams 199). He also emphasizes the return of the character Natty Bumppo as Pathfinder, “a statue, a magnificent moral hermaphrodite, born of the savage state and of civilization, who will live as long as literatures last” (196). But the transition from Nature to civilization at the heart of the novel is illustrated by the paths of two heroes. Pathfinder is the most obvious “hero” (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 463), but the references to Mabel as “our hero” (451) and “our heroine” (459) are equally important. William Owen suggests, “The reassertion of the romantic plot at the close of the novel is gratuitous moral reassurance that good triumphs and evil receives its just reward” (290), but the two-pronged resolution offers more than melodramatic stereotypes. In the end, “Jasper and Mabel sate, resembling Milton’s picture of our first parents, when the consciousness of sin first laid its leaden weight on their souls” (Cooper, *Pathfinder* 457). The union described, the new beginning as the result of “reason and judgement” (458), indicates an acute sense of social transformation and modernization that coincides with the final view of Pathfinder: “When last in view, the sinewy frame of this extraordinary man was as motionless, as if it were a statue set up in that solitary place, to commemorate the scenes of which it had so lately been the site and the witness” (461). As the sun sets on the mythic frontier figure, historical progress from

wilderness to civilization and from colonial possession to nation state is presented as a real, rational possibility in line with the expectations and experiences of contemporary novel readers.

Dekker writes that Cooper's "early tales are variants of the historical novel created by Scott" but suggests "*Pathfinder* does not belong to this genre" because it is not concerned with "the fate of rival cultures, rival societies" or "the inexorable movement westward of white civilization" as in other Leatherstocking Novels (*James* 166). The settlement of Jasper and Mabel in New York, however, is at least as important as the opening of the frontier by Pathfinder—a manifestation of British colonialism following upon exploration that eventually turns back upon Britain and leads to American independence. *Pathfinder* represents historical moments and future prospects directly relevant to modern identity and group formation, and as such, is entirely in line with the historical novel initiated by Scott. As a historical novel, *Pathfinder* participates in the social and political conditions of the period, as suggested by Donald Ringe (83), Robert Spiller (32), and Robert Zoellner (413), and is not a form of escapism that veers away from Cooper's more overt social criticism in the 1830s, as suggested to varying degrees by McWilliams (276), D. E. S. Maxwell (127), and H. Daniel Peck (164). The original myth of the frontier is juxtaposed with the conscious understanding of the nation as historical and in progress, constructed in the contested spaces and by modern institutions such as military, marriage, and law particular to national development in the nineteenth century. As Kelly writes, "None of Cooper's characters are really free to choose. Mabel must disappoint

Natty and marry Jasper; Jasper cannot remain at Ontario; and Natty can never transcend his isolation” (157). The novel reaches its conclusion as “The frontier shifts location to the East, and changes period to the historical present. In this uniquely American vision, progress is a programme which merges Christian and commercial elements. Western and Mabel together embody the Jeffersonian ideal, combining Scripture and capitalism simultaneously” (Mitchell 109). The move to New York, as Pathfinder carries on to the prairies, indicates overlapping trajectories, a second wave of change whereby industrial capitalism supports and later supplants national frontier settlement, ultimately combining to describe the path towards modern America.

Market Diversification

Benjamin Spencer writes, “In theory, at least, [Cooper] preferred to commit the national literature to the illustration of republican principles rather than to the expression of the popular impulse. But whatever his theory, his fiction both depicted and interested the ‘people at large’” (112). The ‘people at large’ in connection with fiction was a relatively new concept, largely derived from the success of Scott in Britain, America, and elsewhere as well as international trade in and national reading of literature more generally. The Leatherstocking Novels, however, also opened the way for American readers and writers in several ways. First, “Cooper succeeded in transforming both his art and his audience from awkward imitations of the English into something triumphantly American; in the process, he created the audience which represented the reading public for every

American author through most of the nineteenth century, the audience to which Hawthorne, Melville, Stowe, and Twain tried (at least intermittently) to appear and which determined the commercial success or failure of every American novel” (Wallace vii). Second, building upon changes in copyright and distribution, growth of a national print industry, the emergence of modern publishing practices and transatlantic trade, industrial production and popular reading, reprints and editions of *Pathfinder* in America and abroad contributed to a connected, inclusive, and self-reflexive nation state, developing the American market for fiction in America and the international reception of American literature.

Industrial Production and Popular Reading

America grew drastically in the forty years following the publication of *Pathfinder*: “Between 1840 and 1880, the United States grew from an area of 1,788,006 square miles to 3,022,387, and its population grew from 17,069,453 to 50,155,783” (Winship, “Distribution” 120). Print expanded accordingly to link rural and urban communities, enabled by completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, the first railroads in the 1830s, steamboats and ocean travel in the 1840s, and the telegraph in 1844. A national book trade system emerged through discounted sales to dedicated retailers, credit, and marketing, linking publishers to booksellers across the nation, often through wholesale dealers (Casper 4). The consolidation of major publishing firms enabled greater capital investment and wider distribution. Technological advances encouraged increased output and lower prices: stereotyped plates introduced from England in 1813 were commonly

used by large publishing firms in the 1830s; the cylinder paper-making machine was introduced to America in 1817; steam power was used for the press and water power for machine-made paper; Daniel Treadwell's mechanical bed-and-platen press developed in 1818 was received with hostility by printers, but "by 1835 some fifty Treadwell presses were in operation in printing offices from Boston to Washington" (Pretzer 165); the Treadwell was later replaced by the Adams press, which "became the foundation of the expanding book trade after 1840" (165). In general, "By 1840, books, newspapers, and periodicals were pouring from the press under the aegis of publishers and editors concentrated in the Northeast and reaching readers throughout the republic" (Gross 4). More specifically, new packaging, including cloth casing that allowed for cheapness and permanence, attractive and innovative covers specific to a work, and illustrations contributed to higher sales of prose fiction, particularly novels, from the 1840s.

Information networks, including the rise of *Publishers' Weekly*, more efficient centralized distribution systems, and credit enabled greater distribution, particularly for major publishers with capital and established connections. Modern publishers depended on and encouraged the establishment of far-reaching systems of production and distribution: "A chief characteristic of the mid-nineteenth century was the emergence of a variety of middlemen and businesses – advertising agents, express companies, credit reporting firms – that served generally to foster American commerce" (Winship, "Distribution" 121). As Jeffrey Groves points out, "between 1840 and 1880, the American book trade established a dependable, easily accessible communication system that relied on a

variety of printed works to coordinate the efforts of publishers, jobbers, and booksellers throughout the nation” (“Trade” 131). National structures aided by government legislation and commercial mechanisms, and enabled by modern transportation and new print technology, made it possible for entrepreneurial publishers to supply and further national readerships.

“The absence of an American national literature,” Sarah Corse writes, “was seen as a fundamental failure and a weakness with the potential to undermine the credibility of the American nation-state” (29). The outcry for a truly American literature usually refers to Ralph Waldo Emerson’s *American Scholar* (1837) and Margaret Fuller’s “American Literature: Its Position in the Present Time, and Prospects for the Future” (1846), two examples of criticism that fostered the rise of an upmarket American literature in the face of an overall domestic scene dominated by British literature. The canon, the short list of known and respected authors of upmarket novels, was more transnational than national, and as such, “transatlantic relations and communities blurred distinctions of nationality” (Casper 30). At the same time, what was disseminated through the national system came to embody a growing, upwardly-mobile, and educated middle-class readership to a large, although not exclusive, degree. For example, “from 1840 to 1880 public education and other forms of schooling grew significantly” (31); professionalism, the industrialized separation of labour, and reading and writing gained importance. In other words, middle-class attributes emerged, and “Most important for the history of the book, the middle class defined itself through what scholars have described as an ‘ideology of literacy’

that would be, ideally, available to all Americans. The notion that literacy was essential to moral self-improvement and democratic citizenship was at least as old as the Republic” (33). Middle-class values of upward mobility dependent on literacy and education were well served by the industrial production of books and other print materials.

Throughout the period, publishers, editors, and authors of upmarket and downmarket fiction worked to define a sense of and audience for a distinctly American literature. Three distinct strands of nineteenth-century American literature defined by production and reception according to market possibilities and reader demands are useful starting points. First, now canonical authors such as Hawthorne, Melville, Howells, and James produced long, artistic novels often first published in upmarket periodicals such as *The Atlantic Monthly*. Second, popular middle-class novels of the 1850s (e.g., Susan Warner’s *Wide, Wide World* [1850]; Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin, or, Life Among the Lowly* [1852]; Fanny Fern’s *Ruth Hall* [1854]; Augusta Evans’s *St. Elmo* [1866]; Elizabeth Stuart Phelps’s *Gates Ajar* [1868]; Louisa May Alcott’s *Little Women* [1868-69]) dealt with social and domestic issues of particular interest to women who stayed home to manage the household, although such works were read by men and women. Third, popular fiction from the 1840s to the 1890s, including story-papers, dime novels, and cheap libraries, reached wide readerships; such downmarket dissemination is of particular importance to the extended history and impact of *Pathfinder*.

Following on the popularity of the penny press, the story paper, an eight-page weekly newspaper with serialized stories (among other things) cost five or six cents; the first were *Brother Jonathan* and *New World*, founded in New York by Park Benjamin and Rufus Griswold in 1839. Longer-lasting story papers followed in the 1850s with circulations in the hundreds of thousands, offering a mix of genres aimed at the whole family, including historical romances (Denning 11). According to Richard Brodhead, story papers quickly gained traction in the market: “Within a few years the most long-lasting and widely circulating avatars of the story-paper were founded: Frederick Gleason’s (later Maturin Ballou’s) *The Flag of Our Time* (1845), Robert Bonner’s *New York Ledger* (1855), *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* (1855), Street and Smith’s *New York Weekly* (1859)” (23). Likewise, dime novels, pamphlets of about one hundred pages known as yellow-backs, including stories of frontier adventure, historical romance, and detective fiction, quickly found a large and regular readership; Beadle and Adams published over four million by 1865 (Denning 12; Brodhead 23); many imitators followed. The cheap library, series of nickel and dime pamphlets with sixteen or thirty-two pages of two- or three-columned print were introduced in 1875 by Chicago publisher Donnelly, Lloyd and Co. in their Lakeside Library and again many imitators followed (Denning 12). It was not uncommon for novels to appear in story papers, then dime novels, then cheap libraries (a similar pattern to that noted in France).

The production of downmarket print for the masses was industrial: “the trend was toward industrial production based on division of labor and corporate

trademarks, the pseudonyms of the market” (Denning 23). The way in which such literature was produced reflected the industrialization of the nation. Moreover, the anonymity of authors producing dime novels in assembly-line fashion also reflected the anonymous reading masses who consumed them. The wide distribution was possible due to the monopoly of the American News Company, which “made the post-Civil War nickel and dime libraries a national industry” (19). Although there were no doubt middle-class readers who enjoyed downmarket fiction, economic prospects and social position clearly played a role in the differentiation of markets and the dime novel’s success. Brodhead, for example, notes, “Nineteenth-century reports on the labouring classes find story-papers prominent in working-class culture” (25). Likewise, Michael Denning argues, “the bulk of the audience of dime novels were workers – craftworkers, factory operatives, domestic servants, and domestic workers” (27).

Industrial production and mass consumption did not produce literature devoid of merit. Although sensationalism was repeatedly employed in downmarket novels, realism and social relevance were essential components, as in domestic and upmarket novels, in different ways. Downmarket literature responded quickly to changing circumstances as it had to be of the moment to meet reader expectations. For example, following upon Eugène Sue’s *Mystères de Paris* (1842-43) and preceding George W. M. Reynolds’s *Mysteries of the Court of London* (1849-56), Ned Buntline’s *Mysteries and Miseries of New York: A Story of Real Life* (1848) provides a derivative but noteworthy example of the application of popular form to local circumstance, describing one of the most

prominent shifts in American culture—that from the country to the city, from agriculture to industry. Denning notes, “It was the genre of 1848, the sensational reading of Chartists and revolutionaries; and the dreams of the utopian socialists haunt the pages of these mysteries of the city” (86), pages which also speak to the social transformation of America at the level of the working class. Outside of the differentiation of markets and the possible overlap between domestic fiction and downmarket print, the shift towards mass circulation, including middle- and working-class readers of nineteenth-century American literature, is important because of the literature that resulted, and especially the formal, thematic, and material resources common to novelists publishing downmarket or upmarket.

Albert Johannsen’s *House of Beadle and Adams and Its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanishing Literature* (1950) enables some description of relevant continuities and changes in the publication of downmarket fiction for the period. *Beadle’s Dime Tales, Tradition and Romance of Border and Revolutionary Times* (15 Sept. 1863-10 Aug. 1864) featured stories of border and Indian life, of the American Revolution, of the settlements, and of other American adventures. *Irwin P. Beadle’s American Novels, Irwin’s American Novels, and American Novels* (7 Oct. 1865-Dec. 1868) not only built upon patriotic themes but at the top centre of each publication’s cover was a picture of Cooper. *The Fireside Library* (10 Apr. 1877-29 June 1882) included many reprints of English novels, mostly romance, but including well-known and respected authors such as Charles Reade, Anthony Trollope, Mrs. Oliphant, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Alexandre Dumas, and Charles Dickens. *The Waverley Library* (18 Nov. 1879-17 Aug.

1886, including quarto and octavo editions) included mostly romance and adventure, but is notable for the title at least, indicating the continuing popularity and sales power of Scott. With some exceptions, the emphasis in such downmarket publications is on romance and adventure, but this does not make such works any less political than middle-class novels, which, as noted, were often reprinted. The overlap between upmarket and downmarket fiction in terms of theme or content is evident: “The figures that emerged in dime novels were, in the broadest sense, a coming to terms with the expansion and the crisis of capitalist production in the United States” (Denning 80). In many cases, this meant proletarian fiction, often in the form of historical novels, however modified. Howells, for example, the dean of American letters, began to explore socialism in the 1880s and Twain’s historical novels have much to say about contemporary, popular social transformation.

Reprints and Editions

As a long, artistic novel representing middle-class or republican values, it is of importance that *Pathfinder* goes downmarket in a big way throughout the nineteenth century, coinciding with the rise of popular reading in America (following a similar path to that of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* and *Le Père Goriot*), describing and contributing to the expansion of American readership and culture. *Pathfinder* was reprinted in a variety of upmarket and downmarket forms throughout the nineteenth century in America. Spiller and Philip Blackburn note, “Most of the American, English, French, and German publishers of the first editions of Cooper’s novels and of some of his political prose issued the separate

titles in similar format, but without any announced plan for a collected set” (165). As such, there was no coordinated or predetermined plan to issue a complete collected edition, as with the *Waverley Novels* or the *Comédie humaine*. Rust summarizes the early history of *Pathfinder*: “The plates of the first American edition were reimpressed by Lea and Blanchard in 1841, 1843, 1845, and 1846, and by Town and Stringer in New York in 1849 and during the 1850s simultaneously with the Author’s Revised Edition” (“Textual” 478). Following upon the initial success of the first edition, reprints appeared quickly and frequently as part of various sets published by large publishing firms. American readers, much like working- and middle-class readers in Britain as elsewhere, read what they could afford. Publishers were not unaware of the situation and acted to capitalize on market diversification and the expansion of readership. For example, “Mid-nineteenth-century readers could choose from inexpensive editions, usually called a ‘people’s,’ or ‘household,’ edition, of standard authors costing 75¢ or \$1.00, or more costly sets in half or full calf, with gilt edges, such as the thirty-four volumes of James Fenimore Cooper’s works for \$75.00” (Stevenson 319). *Novels and Tales* (1835-36, 26 vols., 12mo) published by Carey and Lea was the first set of Cooper novels. *Pathfinder* was included in the second set (14 vols., 12mo) in 1841 (No. 4). Spiller and Blackburn note, “the first series is bound in light red cloth with paper labels, and the second in leather, with gold lettering” (168). The shift from cloth to leather indicates two distinct, possibly shifting or overlapping, market categories and suggests consumer interest among various sorts and classes of readers. Cooper’s novels were reprinted by Lea and

Blanchard (1841-1842; 44 vols. and 22 works incl. the first series, second series, and *The Two Admirals*) (Spiller and Blackburn 168); frequent editions and such large sets over a short period of time suggest that the market for American fiction was growing and that Cooper was popular enough to warrant repeated investment.

At the end of Cooper's life, other publishers began to reprint his works so as to profit from such popularity. The 1840 Lea and Blanchard edition of *Pathfinder* was slightly revised and published by George Putnam as part of the Author's Revised Edition (1849-51; 12 vols., 12mo) in 1851 (No. 6). Rust notes that the most prominent change for this edition was "an increase in dialect forms" ("Textual" 477), which likely played to growing American readership as well as the popularity of regional novels and the eccentricity of the character Natty Bumppo. Spiller and Blackburn add, "Much of Cooper's editorial work on this set is reprinted from the Bentley Standard Novels editions, but he wrote a new introduction for the Leather-Stocking series and authorized the set as a whole" (168). As such, although the binding is usually downmarket cloth, standard for the period, ongoing negotiation of market niches and between popularity and canonization is evident. Editions in leather with gilt lettering and the addition of introductions in author's editions, for example, tend to approve or dignify literary works (and justify a higher price). An interesting dynamic between upmarket distinction and downmarket access emerges.

The Author's Revised Edition "was reissued throughout the 1850s by Stringer and Townsend and then by W. A. Townsend and Company" (Rust, "Textual" 478). For Cooper's Novels Edition (1849, 1852-54; *Pathfinder*, No.

13), “There are new title-pages, but the old copyright entries are reprinted, and the shelf order of the volumes is indicated nowhere but on the spine. The binding is cloth, usually with gold lettering” (Spiller and Blackburn 169). The People’s Edition (1857-60; *Pathfinder*, No. 5) “contains all of the titles included in the ‘New edition’ of Stringer and Townsend and is printed from the same plates. *The Ways of the Hour* has been added. It is bound in cloth” (170). The 1859-61 edition (*Pathfinder*, No. 7) includes illustrations from drawings by F. O. C. Darley, among other changes for the first ‘de luxe’ edition, including new type on heavy paper, heavy cloth binding with a gold embossed design on the front cover, gold lettering on the spine, and a special steel engraved title-page for each volume (171). The trend is towards greater capitalization through the negotiation of content and form, aided by technological innovations such as stereotyping, to generate profit by reaching wider audiences and/or more select readers willing to pay for a high-end production. Accordingly, this set was re-issued “with new title-pages and slightly variant bindings by J. G. Gregory, New York, 1861-1864, and again by Hurd and Houghton, New York and Cambridge, 1871-1873. D. Appleton and Company issued a cheap reprint of the same edition in 1872-1873 and continued to reprint it in various forms, sometimes with two novels in each volume, until 1901” (171). The alterations from one set to another are often slight but important: Cooper’s Novels combines cloth, gilt lettering, and new title pages; the People’s Edition quite obviously plays to a downmarket readership; the use of illustrations by Darley, using more expensive steel engravings and heavy paper, is an innovative novelty to distinguish a new set of well-known works; and later

reprints with minor alterations in form merely aim to profit from well-established popularity. The trend towards ever greater dissemination through association with the people or the common reader continues with the Household Edition (1876, 1881-84; *Pathfinder*, No. 10), which includes introductions by Susan Fenimore Cooper:

This is a popular edition, very cheaply printed from new type and without the Darley drawings and much of the early prefatory matter. . . . The Leather-Stocking Tales were published as a unit, with the new introductions, in 1876, and the set was printed thereafter in such various forms as the “Globe edition,” 1880, two volumes in one; as the “Household edition” and as the “Fireside edition.” The new introductions to the other volumes were added, 1881-1884, and the Leather-Stocking Tales reprinted as the “Riverside edition” in 1898-1899. . . . The bindings are variously black or brown cloth. (172)

Repeated repackaging under different titles speaks to the use of marketing to maintain and increase the readership of aging works while a publication with new introductions and without illustrations tends to emphasize the canonization of an American author. More importantly, the Leatherstocking Novels were published ‘as a unit,’ suggesting that beyond just leaving out the overtly political and unpopular works such as *Notions of the Americans*, Cooper’s novels were arranged in particular ways for the purpose of ensuring or increasing sales. It is notable, for example, that sets were often arranged according to popularity and

not chronologically, with works such as *Last of the Mohicans* and *Pathfinder* placed earlier, which was important as readers generally purchased works sequentially, as they were published. Even more, the unification of the Leatherstocking Novels creates a more direct link between Cooper and Natty Bumppo, but also between the reader and Cooper. As Ann Rigney notes, cultural remembrance works on a principle of scarcity, tending “to converge on a limited number of figures of memory, which are then continuously re-invested with additional meaning” (118). Identifying with the diverse works of an author published in thirty volumes is difficult, although extensive reading of a single author was not unknown; the connection is simplified by the emphasis on five novels featuring a single, dominant character at the centre of recent American historical development. The implications of such editorial choices are many, especially relative to the production or management of cultural memory and American identity.

Other downmarket editions (mostly based on Townsend) prior to 1900, including *The Seaside Library* (1878-85), *Lovell’s Library* (1878-85), *The Works of J. Fenimore Cooper* (1891-93, illustrated with wood engravings), and *The Mohawk Edition* (1895-96, 1900), continued downmarket reprints and collections started in the 1830s, similarly dependent on the ascendancy of the industrial book, the emergence of a national book trade system, a growing sense of the ‘American book,’ and the national distribution of literature that came to embody a varied middle class. The overwhelming centralization of the book market in New York and the success of large publishing companies are particularly noticeable in such

later editions. Further, the issuing of downmarket collections or sets directly marketed to the common or middle-class reader continued to be popular. Besides the use of stereotyped and durable cloth covers to keep prices down, publishers titled series to appeal to large, even national, groups of readers, as they were or as they saw themselves, in convenient single volumes, often employing interesting illustrations by well-known artists. The varied repackaging of Cooper represents the wide appeal of his work, strong national identification with the Leatherstocking Novels, the impact of popular reading, and the growth of American print, publishing, and literature.

Transnational Dissemination

The wide distribution of reprints and editions in upmarket and downmarket forms progressed with and contributed to the development of the print industry, American literature, modern identity, and group formation by making select authors, works, and characters available to most readers over several generations. National development, however, remained transnational in important respects, even as the balance between foreign imports and American exports began to change: “Between 1846 and 1876, American book imports grew almost tenfold, exports by a factor of just over thirteen, though imports always exceeded exports by several times. The trade was chiefly transatlantic – the trade with Great Britain strongly predominated – but over the period, exports to Canada and various South American countries increased substantially” (Winship, “International” 148). The popularity of Cooper’s novels depended on and fostered the growth of an American-based literature that reached beyond national borders.

Reprints and collections, in English and translated, were popular in countries across Europe. The movement from America back to Europe placed American authors and works as well as America itself in a new position. In 1856, George Sand wrote:

l'Amérique doit à Cooper presque autant qu'à Franklin et à Washington, car se ces grands hommes on crée la société de l'Union, par la science législative et par la gloire des armes, lui, le modest conteur, il en a répandu l'éclat au-delà des mers par l'intérêt du récit et la fidélité du sentiment patriotique. ("Fenimore" 268)

America owes almost as much to Cooper as to Franklin and Washington: for if these great men created the Union, by skill in legislation and force of arms, it was Cooper, the unassuming storyteller, who broadcast the news of it across the seas by the interest of his tales and the fidelity of his patriotic feelings.

("George" qtd. in Dekker and McWilliams 266)

Or, as Wallace puts it, "Quite simply, Cooper created the community of readers whose taste would dominate the market for fiction in America (and for American fiction abroad) throughout the nineteenth century" (171). The transnational turn which contributes to a 'community of readers' describes a cyclical return from the New World to the Old World by way of the historical novel and modern, capitalist publishing. As William Charvat says, "When Cooper became popular in Europe, and was actually imitated in such works as Dumas' *Les Mohicans de*

Paris, the cycle was complete – the historical novel, born in the Old World, had been imported by the axis [Philadelphia and New York publishers], acculturated by Cooper, popularized in the interior [of America] by Carey, and returned to the Old World” (24). Cooper’s success in America and Europe relied upon interconnected national and international networks of production and distribution, including the material communication circuits involving a multinational group of printers, publishers, authors, and readers.

The reprinting of Cooper’s novels in Europe benefitted from the established popularity of British literature, the profitability of piracy, and the existence of established print markets. Although Cooper added descriptions of the New World of interest to European readers in a form well known through the works of Scott and others, his success depended on an already established attention to British literature; the works of William Shakespeare, James Macpherson, Lord Byron, and Scott were established on the continent, and many others such as Maria Edgeworth and Charles Dickens were included in collections that brought foreign works in English or translation to European readers. Works in English made available in foreign countries were successful in part because they were printed almost immediately. This depended on a lack of copyright, which also made such works cheaper to produce, thus adding profit into the bargain for publishers. By the mid-nineteenth century, France and Germany also had well-established print markets that could support the publication of works in English, which were niche products in comparison with the wider dissemination of national products and translations.

The reprinting of Cooper in Britain started early and progressed quickly. As Willard Thorp notes, “The British reading public adopted Cooper as one of the great novelists of the day” (n. pag.). Bentley used a uniform or similar format for most of his first editions, but did not collect them. His later revisions, which he issued in the Standard Novels series, were numbered, but they cannot be strictly regarded as sets because works by authors other than Cooper were included. The Works of James Fenimore Cooper (1827-50), consisting of ninety-two volumes, included the 1840 edition of *Pathfinder* reissued in 1843 (No. 90, Bentley’s Standard Novels) with no re-settings of the text. The later editions in 1850 and 1851 were popular one-volume reprints, lightly edited with new notes and introductions; the 1851 edition was a cheaper form. Of the 120 titles by that time included in the Standard Novels series, eighteen were by Cooper. The bindings of both the early and the late editions were usually cloth. Another complete set by Routledge and Sons (1883-89; 32 vols., 16mo; *Pathfinder*, No. 17) was “a reprint of the ‘Household edition’ issued in America by Houghton, Mifflin and Company (No. 6, Collected Works, *American editions*) and has the introductions by Susan Fenimore Cooper It was bound in cloth, cut, with gold stamping on the front cover, and gold lettering and ornaments on the spine” (Spiller and Blackburn 177).

The Works of James Fenimore Cooper (1825-32; 30 vols., 12mo) was the first English version in France. The Works of James Fenimore Cooper (1831-49; 34 vols., 8vo)

was initiated in 1831-1833 by the publication of the three novels on European themes, and was issued simultaneously by Baudry and Galignani with variant title-pages. These publishers continued to issue the novels as they appeared, superseding the three-volume editions and republishing the earlier titles in the new format, until two years before Cooper's death. . . . "Baudry's European (sometimes called 'Continental') Library" was published as a numbered series, called "Collection of ancient and modern British authors"; the volumes of an individual author's work were not separately collected. . . . They are usually bound in half-leather with gold lettering. (Spiller and Blackburn 179)

Baudry's European Library Edition of *Pathfinder* (1840) was based on the Bentley first edition: "The Baudry and Galignani editions are identical except for the imprints on their title-pages. They seem to have been issued by some arrangement with London publishers whereby they could be set from advance sheets prior to other continental editions" (178). The pirated editions issued by Baudry and Galignani from Paris were numbered, but as with Bentley's Standard Novels series they cannot be strictly regarded as sets because works by authors other than Cooper were included. Following a period of great interest in British authors and the great popularity of early works such as *The Spy*, *The Pioneers*, and *Last of the Mohicans*, Cooper's stay in Europe from 1826 to 1833 (Paris was his primary place of residence), and his great popularity with other writers and artists in the 1820s and 1830s the profitability of Cooper's inclusion in sets of

classic authors in France was likely obvious. The publication of multiple works and varied editions of Cooper in English, despite the limited readership of foreign nationals and domestic readers with sufficient knowledge of English, indicates a publishing context that could support and profit by such production. Regardless, the real and lasting influence of Cooper abroad rests with the translation of his novels for popular reading within the largest linguistic groups and economic markets in Europe.

As with reprints in America, the dissemination of Cooper in French in France was inclusive and varied. Thorp writes, “Beginning with the translation of *The Spy* in 1822, editions in English and French of Cooper’s novels arrived on the Paris stalls as rapidly as the translators and publishers could prepare them, in almost every instance within the year of their publication in English” and that although “There was some falling off in French enthusiasm for Cooper after 1830 . . . his vogue was renewed late in the decade, especially with the publication in 1840 of *Pathfinder*, called in French *Le Lac Ontario*, or *Le Guide*” (n. pag.). The first French translation of *Pathfinder* was *Le Lac Ontario* (1840; 4 vols.) by A. -J. -B. Defauconpret (described in the long title as the “traducteur de la collection complète des romans historiques de Sir Walter Scott” “translator of the complete collection of historical novels by Sir Walter Scott”) in *Œuvres complètes de M. J. Fenimore Cooper, Américain* (1822-49; 91 vols., 12mo) published by Charles Gosselin. Given the date of publication, “There seems to have been an arrangement between Gosselin and either Cooper or his English publishers for the translation of many of the works from advance sheets of the English or American

editions” (Spiller and Blackburn 180)—another reflection of the communication circuits that brought Scott to America. *Lac Ontario* (1841) was reprinted in *Œuvres de J.-F. Cooper* (1830-1852; 30 vols., 8vo), translated by Defauconpret, published by Furne and Co., Gosselin, and Perrotin. Spiller and Blackburn note, “This set, using one title in each volume, is to be distinguished from the preceding, with each title in three or four volumes” (182). Initially, thirteen titles were published from 1830 to 1834 by Furne and Co. in association with Gosselin, publisher of the three- and four-volume editions. The set of thirteen was reissued in 1839-40 as a new edition with translations of the prefaces to Bentley’s Standard Novels added, including *Lac Ontario* (No. 17). There was also an edition in twenty-seven volumes (1847-49). Between 1852 and 1859, the more popular volumes were issued separately. The reissues of 1859-62 and of 1862-66 contain all of the thirty listed volumes. *Romans par Fenimore Cooper* (1849-55), translated by Émile de la Bédollière, including illustrations, and published by Gustave Barba, was a series of cheap reprints of the works of popular authors, including *L’Ontario* (1850; No. 6): “It was printed in large quarto, double-column, with wrappers, and was issued in four forms: 1) By separate numbers, appearing twice each week, and containing various works; 2) By single works in complete form; 3) By series of “romans populaires illustrés,” each number including five or six titles by various authors; 4) By series of the ‘complete’ works of authors” (183-84). Subsequent collections of the novels were published by Barba from 1851 to 1854 in six volumes—*L’Ontario* in the second: “The la Bédollière translation was issued in other forms by Barba and others, and the

Romans populaires illustrés series was reprinted under other titles frequently during the nineteenth century in Paris and elsewhere” (185).

Although Cooper was also translated and reprinted elsewhere, including Spain, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Russia, and especially Germany, dissemination in France was varied and on a large scale, providing ample evidence of Cooper’s popularity and impact on the continent. In France, the variety of forms employed is notable: single and collected; 8mo and large quarto; one volume, one title and one volume, multiple titles; illustrated and non-illustrated. As with publication in America, upmarket and downmarket editions coincided, although the overall trend throughout the nineteenth century across Europe as elsewhere was distinctly downmarket. Finally, this select history of transnational dissemination points to the unregulated, capitalist, and transnational print industry, and more pointedly, to the importance of both form and translation in the dissemination of foreign works to international audiences. Accordingly, it is worth noting that frequent, downmarket publication in French made such works available to audiences across Europe able to read in the dominant languages of the period. The great popularity of authors such as Scott and Cooper as well as the wide dissemination of the historical novel across national lines are clearly of the first importance to the history of print and reading, reading nations and nation states in the nineteenth century.

Summary

American expansion and print capitalism, copyright legislation and the national distribution of print, including American as well as British novels, by modern publishers such as Carey furthered popular reading in America and enabled the description of frontier myths and national progress in *Pathfinder* to reach a broad readership in the nineteenth century. Cooper's conservative projection of the social transformation and modernization of America making the transition from wilderness exploration and frontier settlement to a capitalist and urban nation state spoke to middle-class readers by addressing America's unique path from colonial dependence to prosperous national community. Market diversification, downmarket print, and popular reading in English and in translation further enabled such works to address literate, educated, and upwardly-mobile readerships interested in national politics, modern progress, and American culture.

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Chapter 4

Les Anciens Canadiens

This chapter describes the book trade, popular reading, and international novels in British North America prior to Confederation in 1867, analyzes formal and thematic resources in Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé's *Anciens Canadiens* (1863) relevant to the development of French Canada, and considers the associated politics of cultural production in French and English Canada to the end of the nineteenth century.

International Trade and Popular Novels

Leading up to Confederation in 1867, the book trade in Canada adjusted to international market conditions and expanded locally to enable the distribution of print materials to increasingly literate and educated populations in English and French Canada. The rise of popular reading, historiography, and the novels of Walter Scott shaped reading habits and writing practices. The historical novel in French Canada built upon French-Canadian historiography, the Waverley Novels, and local folklore relative to social, political, economic, and literary conditions in Canada, culminating in Aubert de Gaspé's *Canadiens*.

The Book Trade in British North America

From 1760 to 1840 the book trade in British North America changed little, but in the next few decades the trade changed enormously: specialization and segmentation affected all aspects of the trade, with emphasis on productivity in a capitalist market motivated by profit. By 1840, new communication and

transportation technologies made the wide dissemination of information possible:

“The spread of the telegraph during the 1840s and the development of a national railway network eventually freed publishers from total dependence upon local, urban markets, while the increased speed of communication and a growing economy provided incentives for more frequent publication” (Distad 295).

Changes in the printing trades also contributed significantly to such expansion: for example, “By 1863 and possibly before, the Montréal Type Foundry was producing both stereotypes and electrotypes” (Dewalt 93). Steam, technology, the transatlantic cable, population growth, urbanization, and literacy contributed to the growth of periodicals, and later, other forms of secular literature. The colonial post office reduced rates for newspapers and periodicals in 1844 (Parker, “English-Canadian” 150). Political events, including the 1840 Act of Union, responsible government in 1848, and Confederation stimulated reader interest and new writing.

According to Fiona Black, “no cohesive book trade existed in the British North American colonies prior to 1840. Rather, a web of separate regional networks, several of them overlapping, determined the distribution of books, and no one place had pre-eminence” (117). Transnational trade, however, between Britain, France, and the colonies as well as America was fundamental to all aspects of the trade. American, British, and French publications dominated the markets and made it difficult for local publishers to profit. In English Canada, “The development of publishing was, in broad outline, slow and unspectacular from 1751 to 1900; it was a relatively small, dispersed industry, gradually

centring in Toronto, but without great capital behind it, hampered in its growth by severe business depressions in the 1850s and 1870s and . . . by copyright anomalies which so trammelled publishing houses that even the fittest found it hard to survive” (Klinck 175). For example, the 1842 Imperial Copyright Act protected works published in Edinburgh and London while preventing the colonies from reprinting copyright works or importing unauthorized reprints. Also, the 1847 Foreign Reprints Act, in force until 1894, permitted the importation and sale of pirated British copyright works at a duty of 12.5 per cent.

Books from France were especially significant to French Canadians as “they brought together the collective inheritance of New France, in part by maintaining undeniable cultural links with the home country and in part by preparing the stage for the emergence of a shared public sphere that would further strengthen the passage to British rule” (Melançon 46). The lack of a printing press early on necessitated reliance on French presses and “hindered the development of a colonial literature around and through which a learned collective identity distinct from that of the metropole could have taken shape” (47). Paris was the centre of publishing in France and in the French colonies. New France was isolated linguistically and culturally, located between the thirteen colonies to the south and British North America to the east and to the west, and thus the connection to Europe remained strong. Books were had from the European market and the local resale market; both demand and choice were low: “The religious and administrative institutions were the main seats of written culture and books in the colony” (51). Books were largely found in urban areas and were most common

among the lettered elite. Early literature was overwhelmingly religious; professional interests played a small role in expanding reading material; interest came third. Interest was tied to curiosity about the world and one's place in it, particularly for those transplanted to a 'new' (contested) world. This was at least partly responsible for the gradual increase in vernacular and secular literature, the novel especially, although political events were likely influential. Regardless, the ethics of reading was simple: "Ethical choices were based on a rudimentary principle of dichotomy: on one side, the good books; on the other, the bad" (54). The divide was clearly between devotional and secular forms of reading; novels and comedies were deemed a threat to faith and morals.

Popular Reading and Historiography

Literacy increased over the course of the nineteenth century (Verrette 168), as did the spread of printed materials beyond urban settlements, including downmarket print (mainly newspapers), in part based on improved access to education. Elite and popular literatures competed for readers:

Thus was drawn up a battle between a firmly entrenched, elitist agenda and the growing public appetite for fiction and lighter reading. Although commentators continued to deplore 'the vicious appetites of the many,' increasing numbers of private readers found romances and novels to be both more amusing and more accessible than the traditional genres. Critics might emphasize the incontestable value of poetry as literature and the trustworthiness of history and science, but readers sought out historical romances

and contemporary novels because they were emotionally engaging.
(Peterman 399)

Genteel literary taste, however, was well represented in periodicals, including *The Literary Garland* (1838-51), *The Canadian Literary Magazine* (York, 1833), *Victoria Magazine* (Belleville, 1847-48), *The Anglo-American Magazine* (Toronto, 1852-55), *The Maple Leaf* (Montréal, 1852-54), *The Family Herald* (Montréal, 1859-60), and *The British American Magazine* (Toronto, 1863-64).

Poetry was often a key component of such publications. With the novel still regarded as a lesser form, verse remained the primary literary form for most authors. Moreover, Carl Klinck notes in reference to *The Literary Garland* (1838), “Whether these authors began with home thoughts, fashionable manners, foreign history, biblical situations, war, Indians, love, loss, sacrifice, flowers, in illimitable works of God, they ended up with lessons in religious and social propriety” (147). In short, it was upmarket, socially conservative British literature transplanted for elite readers across the Atlantic.

The trade in periodicals, however, increased rapidly: “Ten places in Upper Canada had their first newspaper before 1830, and almost thirty a decade later” (Leroux 75). This made it difficult to stop the spread of all sorts of literature. One hundred and twenty periodical publications appeared in Québec and Lower Canada between 1764 and 1840 (Laurence 233). The newspaper was the most prominent with sixty per cent of the total. It carried most of the usual sort of information, practical and topical, but “literature, in the broadest sense, was an indispensable element of the newspaper; it filled the roles of entertainment and

instruction for the literate bourgeoisie” (234). In the period 1805-40, the political press also grew dramatically: “This second period in the history of Québec newspapers was marked by the rapid and massive emergence of partisan publications; from 1805 to 1840, at least 66 political papers were founded, more than half (38 in total) in the 1830s alone” (235). Bilingual papers disappeared after 1820 (235), but there was a shift towards more and cheaper dailies. Although it was rare for a newspaper to print more than one thousand copies, the trend towards greater access to print is clear.

Popular reading was varied, including juvenile literature (stories, readers), music, almanacs, cooking and household literature, and government publications; textbooks, religious works (bible, devotion, prayers, hymns, psalms, sermons, catechisms), and histories were the most prominent (Parker, “Evolution” 18). All forms of popular reading, but school books in particular, capitalized on the rise in educational opportunities: “A framework for public education had been established throughout British North America by 1840, reading and basic skills were still taught informally at home, on the job, and in the community” (Verrette 172). From 1840 to 1918, controversy over school book publishing in Canada, particularly the use of American textbooks, led to “the official authorization of textbooks in every jurisdiction, the importation of British textbooks, and the development of an indigenous publishing industry centred in Toronto” (Clark 340). In Québec, similar growth in the development and spread of school books followed: “Between 1840 and 1918, 3,400 school books, including both first editions and reprints, were printed in Québec. A total of 198 titles were published

in the decade 1840-9; from 1870, the production per decade almost always exceeded 500 titles, reaching a peak of 662 for the period 1910-18” (Aubin 340).

Bible and tract societies were active in the dissemination of religious materials throughout the nineteenth century: “The three predominant associations were the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK, est. 1699), the Religious Tract Society (RTS, est. 1799), and the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS, est. 1804)” (Friskney, “Christian” 139). Church officials, missionary organizations, and Bible and tract societies recognized early that the printed word was an effective means of spreading their message, particularly among a dispersed population: “Bibles, Testaments, tracts, and Sunday-school publications enjoyed more pervasive circulation in Canada between 1840 and 1918 than most print genres” (Friskney, “Spreading” 365). Just as importantly, “they developed a distribution network that by the end of the nineteenth century reached from the outport fisherman of Newfoundland to miners seeking their fortunes in Yukon” (365). The number of print artifacts in circulation ran into the millions over the course of the century, at the same time advancing distribution networks and fostering reading habits.

Historical works in Québec following “l’Acte d’Union et, surtout, le Rapport de Lord Durham, avaient poussé les Canadiens français à s’interroger sur leur passé” “the Act of Union and, especially, the Report of Lord Durham, led to increased French Canadian interest in their past” (Lemire 26). The movement to recover *Canadien* history in the 1830s is epitomized by François-Xavier Garneau. His first articles on the history of Canada appeared in 1837. In 1844, he

completed the first volume of *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* (vol. 2, 1846; vol. 3, 1849), his most important work. He did not profit from it, but the adaptation that followed (also by Garneau), “a catechism of the history of Canada, with questions and answers,” titled *Abrégé de L'Histoire Du Canada Depuis Sa Découverte Jusqu'À 1840: À L'usage Des Maisons D'éducation* and published by Côté in 1856, was “approved by the archdiocese and the Council for Public Instruction and eventually went through many editions. Thirty thousand copies had been sold by 1882, according to Garneau’s first biographer, P.-J.-O. Chauveau” (172-73). As Jean-Marie Lebel writes, “Garneau proved, at the time of Lord Durham’s *Report*, that French Canadians had a past and a history; knowledge of both was the key to the future. The country his *Histoire du Canada* called on readers to continue building was a nation in which French Canadians were to remain ‘faithful to themselves’” (174).

The impact of Garneau on the development of Canadian historiography was impressive and important:

Following Garneau, over the next forty years, seventeen other histories dealing with topics such as New France before the Conquest, Canada under English domination, famous French families of Canada, parishes, famous New France religious personages, First Nations people, institutions, law, and even popular history were published in an attempt to define the specific human, geographic, and historical identity of French Canadians before and after the Conquest. (Perron 136)

The “entreprise de réhabilitation historique et politique des Canadiens” ‘enterprise of rehabilitating the history and politics of the Canadiens’ (Cardinal 13) continued in various forms, including Michel Bibaud’s *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens, sous la domination anglaise* (1844) and Abbé Ferland’s *Cours d’histoire du Canada* (1861) as well as the periodicals *Les Soirées canadiennes* and *Le Foyer canadien* in the 1860s. By “publishing works by historians (Ferland) and folklorists (François-Alexandre-Hubert La Rue), chronicles of a sociological nature (Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, Joséph-Charles Tache, Hector Fabre), and a prescriptive piece by Henri-Raymond Casgrain, ‘Le mouvement de la littérature au Canada’ (1866), [French-Canadian publishers and authors] sought to contribute to knowledge concerning society and literature” (Cambron and Gerson 128). More particularly, a group of historians and writers emerged to preserve and advance the interests of French Canada, largely through culturally-specific historiography.

As a result of the growing collection of historical and creative works, Aubert de Gaspé, among others, had access to a body of cultural resources particular to French Canada that proved inspirational and productive for both French-Canadian and English authors during an intense political period. As Carole Gerson notes, “The decade of Confederation saw the publication of the first of Francis Parkman’s books on the history of New France and the first of James LeMoine’s series called *Maple Leaves*; thus, content for national historical fiction became available coincidentally with the rise of political nationalism” (70). Other works in French based on or using oral tradition in some way and

preceding or coinciding with key historical novels in English and French Canada include Casgrain's *Légendes canadiennes* (1861), Ernest Gagnon's *Chansons populaires de Canada* (1865-67), and Napoléon Bourassa's *Jacques et Marie: souvenirs d'un peuple dispersé* (1866). In short, the writing of French-Canadian history, and especially the transition from academic history to popular history, was an important precursor to the production and reception of *Canadiens* and other literary or cultural works combining history and fiction for the purpose of nation building.

International Novels and Walter Scott

As in Britain, circulating libraries and reading rooms made fiction available in French and English Canada for those who could afford to pay. Most of the titles available were novels, romances, poetry, plays, and tales popular elsewhere. Yves Dostaler, for example, notes, "Plusieurs œuvres de Balzac furent diffusées au Canada très peu de temps après leur parution en France: *Le Père Goriot* parut en feuilleton dans *L'Ami du Peuple* du 29 août au 19 septembre 1835, soit l'année même de sa publication en France" "many works of Balzac were disseminated in Canada shortly after their publication in France: *Le Père Goriot* was serialized in *L'Ami du Peuple* from 29 August to 19 September 1835, the same year of publication in France" (23). American works included Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1793), Catharine Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* (1820), Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok* (1824), Ann Stephens's *Malaeska* (1839), and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853); other popular international authors included Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Fanny Burney, Henry Fielding, Mme de

Genlis, Mrs Opie, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, and Sir Walter Scott (Lamonde and Rotundo 136).

Scott was especially important because the widespread dissemination (in English and in French) and critical acceptance of the Waverley Novels made fiction more available, respectable, and profitable. David Hayne notes that Scott was introduced to French Canada as early as 1817 (68) and George Parker adds that the firm Armour and Ramsay later “advertised Sir Walter Scott’s ‘People’s Edition’ of the Waverley novels to be issued in sixty parts by Robert Cadell of Edinburgh, and John Murray’s Home and Colonial Library series” (“English-Canadian” 150). The Waverley Novels were available downmarket in French translations and American reprints. Such dissemination was possible due to the maturation of transnational circuits of communication, but also because the Waverley Novels were deemed appropriate reading material: “Sharing literary distinction with Shakespeare was Sir Walter Scott, whose poetry and Waverley romances pleased many of the elite not only because of his attention to Scottish heritage but also because his historical narratives were couched in worthy idealism and ‘unimpeachable morality’” (Peterman 400). Accordingly, “With few exceptions each of the short-lived Canadian literary periodicals in existence during Scott’s lifetime paid him significant attention” (Gerson 68). Periodicals aimed at upper-class or upwardly-mobile readers could entertain without being accused of publishing low material: for example, “Excerpts from Lockhart were published in *The Literary Garland* (1838-51), a journal which consistently entertained its readers with news of recent editions of the Waverley novels and

their sensational sales, and printed engravings based on *The Heart of Midlothian* and *Old Mortality*” (Kröller 37). As such, “Before 1860, during the colonial period, Scott was esteemed for having made fiction respectable and directly or indirectly received the homage of scores of imitators who filled the pages of Canadian literary periodicals with historical romances set in Europe” (Gerson 67). In short, to read in Canada was to read Scott, and to write in Canada was to write in the shadow of Scott: “Not only was every cultivated man of his time conversant with Scott’s works, but, more particularly, what Scott had done to elevate and ennoble the past of his country, its common – and uncommon – people and events, is very obviously the dynamic force behind the literary works of Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé” (Thomas xii). By Confederation, generations of readers in Canada had grown up with Scott, making the *Waverley Novels* the standard for both popular and critical reception. The representation of Scott as the prototypical man of letters and the popular reception of the *Waverley Novels* shaped contemporary writing and reading.

The influence of successful foreign authors was particularly acute in English Canada: “Authors in the English-speaking colonies envied the local and transatlantic success of their major British and American counterparts and were well aware that during the 1840s and 1850s the most popular writers in the United States were British – Sir Walter Scott and Charles Dickens – while the best-selling novelist in Britain was the American abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe” (Cambron and Gerson 126). As such, the precedent and the networks necessary for Canadian authors to participate in national and international dissemination

were in place, although the relationship was not entirely a reciprocal one. The impact of Scott on literary expectations in Canada was general in terms of overall approval, but also specific in terms of the formal and thematic resources expected from Canadian writers by prominent critics. In 1871, at the celebration of the Scott centenary in Toronto, Goldwin Smith set out seven principles to guide authors in the adaptation of Scott; the so-called “Lamps of Fiction” included reality, ideality, impartiality, impersonality, purity, humanity, and chivalry (61-66); these were considered the conservative cornerstones of the Waverley Novels, if not the Canadian novel, in the nineteenth century. Such emphasis on Scott as model was, however, clearly the prerogative of an elite reading class content with stability and conservative values, concerned with the maintenance of a hierarchical colonial culture. In this light, it is notable that the reading of Scott across Europe varied considerably with political circumstances and perspective; for example, the Waverley Novels were seen as seditious by authorities in Austria and as revolutionary by patriots within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Regardless, adaptation of the Waverley Novels, or use of the historical novel, was consistently conservative and similarly particular in Canada, relative to circumstances and aims specific to English and French Canada.

French Canada and the Historical Novel

Despite the popularity of Scott and other international authors, the novel remained secondary to poetry (and religious reading) for much of the nineteenth century in French Canada. Paul Perron notes

the lack of a publishing and distribution infrastructure, including the paucity of lending libraries or book dealers; the prohibitive cost of producing bound volumes; the difficulty and expense of putting out fascicules and distributing them to a highly dispersed population of potential readers; competition from imported novels or translations from France, especially from 1850 onwards; or even the lack of literary journals that could legitimize writing in the province. (132)

Upper-class taste and moral imperialism clearly played roles, as well. Regardless, as a gothic tale of a search for the philosopher's stone, the first novel by a native of Lower Canada, *L'influence d'un livre* (1837) by Philippe Aubert de Gaspé fils, is a good example of a novel, like John Richardson's *Wacousta, or, the Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas* (1832), that was deemed more sensational than sensible and as such representative of an ill-advised form of reading for both young and serious people. Also important, "Imported from France, or translated into French from other literatures, novels were seen as depicting either societies radically different from the French-Canadian community of the times or imaginary worlds that the inhabitants could not identify with" (133). As such, both domestic and foreign novels could seem a poor fit to local circumstances.

Continuing critical disparagement of the novel aside, the popularity of novels increased and use of the novel for didactic or national purposes became more common: "With a few notable exceptions the prevailing view was that the purpose of literature was to instruct: morally by presenting examples of proper

conduct and pedagogically by providing useful information” (Gerson 30).

Agrarian and historical novels emerged from mid-century onwards, notably following Durham’s *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839) and the rise of historiography, which emphasized the history of people and place. The rise of history as a topic of general interest made the nation itself a fictional topic of interest.

Hayne writes that prior to 1862 “no genuine historical novel was written” (75), but historical novels coinciding with the early histories of Garneau and others might include *Les Fiancés de 1812: essai de littérature canadienne* (1844) by Joseph Doutre and *Charles Guérin: roman de mœurs canadiennes* (1853) by Chauveau as well as many others: “Of the fifty-three novels published in Québec in the nineteenth century, twenty-six can be defined as historical novels, dealing mainly with subjects such as New France before the Conquest, the Conquest, the Canada-U.S. War of 1812, the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, and the Acadian diaspora” (Perron 136). The strong move towards the consolidation of a new identity in Québec based on history, traditions, and cultural difference from the *ancien régime*, or deriving from it, and in relation to British North America and the United States, overlaps with the shift from imaginative novels (romance, gothic) to national novels (historical and realistic). The shift appears to happen earlier in French Canada, for example, with Patrice Lacombe’s *Terre paternelle* (1846), prototype of the *roman du terroir* concerned with fathers, sons, and the fate of the land, emphasizing “conservative values, moral edification, and the heroism of French Canada’s struggle for survival” (Scholl 103). Regardless,

history and fiction begin to merge as a constructive means of addressing social transformation and modernization in Canada.

The historical novel provided a powerful and complex means of representing the past, addressing ongoing social and political changes, and projecting new directions suitable to French Canada: “French-Canadian society saw an inner division between those wanting to protect and preserve traditional values and those stressing the need to adjust to the changed conditions and to enter a new era of capitalist ‘modernity’” (Scholl 91). Past events and contemporary choices were contentious issues, particularly from the 1830s onwards. For example, nationalist-minded groups emerged, most notably leading to the revolts of 1837-38 under the leadership of Louis-Joseph Papineau, who fought against integration with Britain. Garneau is generally considered the basis of a national literature in French Canada, and an important precursor to *Canadiens*: “La publication de l’*Histoire du Canada* de F.-X. Garneau avait lancé l’idée d’une littérature nationale, inspirée avant tout par les hauts faits des ancêtres” ‘Publication of the *History of Canada* by F.-X. Garneau had launched the idea of a national literature, inspired above all by the true facts of the past’ (Lemire 34). The ‘true facts’ as presented by Garneau were amenable to separatist politics and French-Canadian independence. Bibaud’s *Histoire du Canada*, however, provides an equally important, although more conservative and far less popular, view of French Canada: “Bibaud condemns the resolutions of the Patriots and their leader Papineau, whom he portrays as a madman, and diagnoses a moral and cultural decline resulting from misdirected separatist politics” (Scholl 96).

Published in the same year, Bibaud's version of history was treated with disdain or ignored; Garneau's was celebrated. Regardless, such divergent histories opened up the possibility of politically charged popular representation in fiction.

Accordingly, following upon such historical representation and the rise of popular reading, especially Waverley Novels such as *Waverley* (1814) that depicted conflict between two nations (Scotland and England) united as one state (Britain), French-Canadian historical novels began to combine history and romance to describe and direct the future of nation and state.

Les Anciens Canadiens

Extracts from *Canadiens*, "Une nuit avec les sorciers" and "La débâcle," appeared in the new literary periodical *Les Soirées canadiennes* (1862), which featured historical and creative writing; "Légende de madame d'Haberville" was published in *L'Echo du cabinet de lecture paroissial* (1863) and "La débâcle" in *Journal de l'Instruction publique* (1863). The first book edition published by Desbarats in 1863 had a print run of 1,100 and sold for one dollar; it was announced in *Le Journal de Québec* on 2 April 1863. The second edition published by Desbarats had a print run of five thousand. The first English translation followed in 1864: *The Canadians of Old*, translated by Georgiana Pennée, also published by Desbarats. According to Maurice Lemire, "Les journaux se montrent aussi enthousiastes" "The newspapers also showed enthusiasm" (33). Other reprints and translations followed, suggesting that *Canadiens* proved of importance to several generations of readers and writers in French and in English.

One State, Two Nations

Following upon and contributing to the rise of cultural historiography from the 1830s to the 1860s, Aubert de Gaspé was part of “An intellectual and literary renaissance [that] was beginning for French-Canadians” (Brierley, *Canadians* 10), and more particularly, along with Garneau, a member of *Club des Anciens*, dedicated to preserving French Canada’s cultural identity and history. The stated aim of *Canadiens* is “Consigner quelques épisodes du bon vieux temps, quelques souvenirs d’une jeunesse, hélas! bien éloignée” ‘To set down a few episodes of bygone days, a few memories of youth, alas! long past’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 86; Brierley 20). Perhaps as a result, for most of the twentieth century *Canadiens* was seen in terms of popular manners and folklore, that is, in terms of the first eleven chapters (and the notes). As such, the course of the novel as a whole and the ultimate resolutions and directions were largely ignored. In an essay titled “Philippe Aubert de Gaspé d’après les Anciens Canadiens” (1909), Camille Roy puts forward the main idea that other critics followed: “Ce roman est, en vérité, une première série des *Mémoires*” ‘This novel is, in truth, a first series of the *Memoirs*’ (qtd. in Lemire 37). Accordingly, E. Margaret Grimes writes, “The plot of the novel of *Les Anciens Canadiens* is the least interesting” (14). Similarly, Clara Thomas suggests, “The plot is only the skeleton of the book; the flesh of *Les Anciens Canadiens* is a wealth and a depth of incident, description, reminiscence, and folklore” (ix). The plot, however, much like earlier histories, clearly outlines social and political trajectories that

define the progress of French Canada from the Plains of Abraham beyond Confederation.

Bernard Andrès argues that with defeat at the hands of the British on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 “New France thus passed from one empire to another, but even more from one space of reference (Europe) to another (North America). . . . The challenge of the American colonies to the British Crown, the challenge of French revolutionaries to the monarchy, the calling into question of the Canadiens by both – all these added up to a reconfiguration of states and states of mind” (383). In the seventeenth century, New France was ruled like a province of France directly from Paris. The Indian and French Wars (1754-63) popularized by James Fenimore Cooper in works such as *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and *Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea* (1840) were the last of four inter-colonial wars beginning in 1689, resulting in the establishment of British control. The transition from New France to the Dominion of Canada, however, continued until Confederation. As such, the publication of *Canadiens* in 1863 follows upon over one hundred years of struggle between the French, the British, and many other groups that do not fit neatly into the two overarching spheres of social and political influence determined by the dominance of France and Britain. British victory on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 led to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Canada (formerly part of New France) was renamed the Province of Québec. More importantly, the relationship between France and New France was, if not completely severed, at least changed significantly.

The most prominent issue was then the political, social, and economic position of the *Canadiens* with respect to France, British governance (and culture, including an English-speaking, Protestant majority), and American influence. British attempts to assimilate French-speakers to colonial rule failed, resulting in the 1774 Québec Act, which lifted restrictions on Catholics in Québec, extended the boundaries of the province, authorized French civil law, and established rule by governor and appointed council without an elected assembly. Events connecting France, Britain, and America were important during this period: in 1776, the Declaration of Independence was issued in America and an American invasion was repulsed at the Battle of Trois Rivières; the 1783 Treaty of Paris created the original thirteen colonies of the United States of America; the French Revolution in 1789 and the following Reign of Terror in 1793 concerned many in British North America, particularly among the land-owning, French-speaking population; Ireland joined Britain in 1801; from 1802 to 1815 most of Europe was at war with France; the War of 1812 between Britain and America which came to a close with the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 was of direct importance to English and French-speaking people throughout North America.

Although the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act and the 1832 Reform Act in Britain were of significance to politics in Canada, such socio-political changes came after similarly important efforts at reconciliation in Canada. The 1791 Constitutional Act which created Upper and Lower Canada did not appease French Canadians wary of British rule. The 1837-38 Rebellion in Lower Canada, although unsuccessful and unpopular, was significant as a symbol of the

possibility of revolt and lingering discontent. Durham's *Report*, famously referring to the *Canadiens* as a people with no history and no literature and to two nations warring in the bosom of a single state, made British intent to anglicize communication and centralize government known and proved a rallying point for a French-speaking population concerned with cultural and political survival.

British North America, Lower Canada in particular, was divided:

Lower Canada was a divided society, divided between merchants, usually Anglophones, and usually from Montréal, and rural interests, generally francophones. It was divided between Protestant and Catholic, and divided regionally, especially between Montréal and Québec. Finally, it was divided between an older elite – seigneurs, placeholders, officers, and clerical dignitaries – and a newer group of politicians who wished to displace them, and yet some of the would-be reformers were themselves seigneurs, or rich men, or officers. Most important, both languages were found on both sides of politics. (Bothwell 170)

Durham sought responsible government, but also a merger to overcome the French-speaking majority in Lower Canada; the goal was to submerge the French-speaking population in a British, English-speaking sea, and to eliminate the privileged status of the French language in government as well as the French civil law and the seigneurial system. The 1840 Act of Union created one province of two parts with equal representation—Canada West and Canada East, largely representing English- and French-speaking territories, but also differentiating

according to law (English common law and French civil law). Perhaps most significantly, in 1854 the feudal seigneurial system dating back to 1627 in New France, previously retained by the 1774 Québec Act, was ended; as such, changes were made according to Durham's *Report* and British objectives likely to alienate many with power or otherwise in Canada East.

Such events followed on or coincided with dramatic changes from the Seven Years War onwards. In 1760, "there were only three settlements of any size, Québec, Montréal, and Trois-Rivières. Québec alone had eight thousand people, and Montréal five thousand. . . . On the other hand, three-quarters of the population (estimated at around seventy to seventy-five thousand in 1760) lived in the countryside, and, for the most part, contentedly" (Bothwell 53). Over the next one hundred years, everything changed. British explorer James Cook landed at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island in 1778 and Alexander Mackenzie reached the Arctic in 1789 and the Pacific in 1793. British immigration to Canada expanded dramatically from 1800 to 1850. Roads, stage coaches, canals, railways, steam engines, and power boats as well as factories, mills, and the telegraph improved communications and economic output while encouraging population growth, which "virtually exploded" (167) in Upper and Lower Canada in the 1820s and 1830s: "In the 1810s the collective population of the British possessions in North America was roughly 700,000, including perhaps 100,000 Indian inhabitants. In the 1860s it was slightly more than 3.5 million, while its Native component was, perhaps, 150,000" (190). Following the Act of Union, British North America did not become less British. Instead, British ties were

strengthened through transportation, communications, economy, and a shared political arena. Perhaps also of importance, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with the United States coincided with an economic boom; there was a depression in 1857 but thereafter the situation improved, particularly with the American Civil War providing markets to supply. Economic growth was tied to American and European markets, the prosperity of the fur trade, particularly in Montréal, and to the expansion of the country as a whole beyond political boundaries. Such changes were not particular to British North America—the British Empire as a whole changed dramatically in this period.

At the same time, the possibility of autonomous, largely self-sufficient colonies within the Empire emerged. In the midst of the American Civil War, just prior to the Confederation of Canada, following upon a long century of military wars and political struggles, *Canadiens* spoke to French Canadians of nation building in Canada. The conclusion arrived at by Camille Roy, as with other critics, is that Aubert de Gaspé contributes to the mission of *Club des Anciens*, which was to recall a nationalist history of the people, thus distinguishing French Canada from English Canada relative to the history and situation just outlined. Charles G. D. Roberts extends this emphasis when he writes, “In Canada there is settling into shape a nation of two races; there is springing into existence, at the same time, a literature in two languages” (xiii), continuing in 1890 Durham’s view in 1839. More particularly, Roberts’s description of *Canadiens* in terms of patriotism is similarly limited: “Patriotism, devotion to the French-Canadian nationality, a just pride of race, and a loving memory for his people’s romantic

and heroic past – these are the dominant chords which are struck throughout the story” (xiv). The definition and assertion of a culturally-specific national identity in French Canada went beyond the preservation of language and folk tales for patriotic purposes, although both were important. *Canadiens* describes multiplicity and production and not merely opposition and preservation. Moreover, the plot enables, even demands, an understanding of modernity, of the survival and prosperity of nations in relation to the nation state in the nineteenth century. The historical novel is not simply something to hang memories on, but a projection of the social and political basis by which national communities are formed.

As elsewhere, the primary purpose of the historical novel in French Canada, then, was control of the transition from past to future, from *ancien régime* to the Dominion of Canada within a modern context. Perron writes, “Although not the first historical novel written in Québec, Philippe Aubert de Gaspé’s *Les Anciens Canadiens*, which appeared in 1863, constituted a radical break from previous novels and was by far the most popular and widely read novel in nineteenth-century French Canada” (137). The radical break builds upon the *Waverley Novels*: “If *Les Anciens Canadiens* is truly the first genuine historical novel in French Canada, it is also further indication of the importance of Scott’s influence for the young genre” (Hayne 77). Scott set forth the combination of history and romance that enabled Aubert de Gaspé and others to address the transformation of French Canada within the new social and political reality at hand. Not surprisingly, in the same year *Canadiens* appeared, Lemoine published

the first extended study of Scott in Québec, *Essai sur Sir Walter Scott, poète, romancier, historien* (76). *Canadiens* attends to the political strength and cultural unity of French Canada within the nation state (first British North America, then the Dominion of Canada); in this light, following Scott, Aubert de Gaspé uses the historical novel “a définir une identité canadienne” ‘to define a Canadian identity’ (Lemire 7). John Lennox writes that Aubert de Gaspé “recognized in *Waverley*, for example, a template of remembrance and reconciliation that allowed him in *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863) to come to terms as best as he could with the limitations and possibilities of his own culture’s history” (40). Both Scott and Aubert de Gaspé were born about thirty years after traumatic national events—Culloden and the Plains of Abraham; each author addresses a revolutionary period of transition from feudal to modern forms of social organization culminating with the nation state. The key in each case is the negotiation of continuities and changes in modern identity and group formation particular to historical circumstances.

The Conquest proved a moment of great significance in the history of French Canada, interpreted positively by some:

As the Bishop of Québec put it, there was now a clear break between French Canada and its French past. The conquest of 1760 had been a blessing in disguise, saving Québec from the horrors of revolution and atheism. The message was reinforced by royalist and Catholic refugees, including fifty priests, from old France. Highly educated and fervently persuasive, they had a strong

influence on the literary and religious culture of French Canada. They brought the message that old France had abandoned true religion and that the conquest of 1760 had not been a deplorable historical accident, but the workings of Providence. (Bothwell 138)

Such a division was reinforced by key events at home, such as the American invasion of Canada in 1775-76, and abroad, including the French Revolution in 1789 and the Reign of Terror in 1793. Other military and political events in the nineteenth century, from the War of 1812 to the 1837-38 Rebellion, contributed to a long period of conflict and uncertainty. In the 1860s, despite (or because of) the Act of Union, Canada was still divided in many ways, and as described in John Lespérance's *Bastonnais: Tale of the American Invasion of Canada in 1775-76* (1875), the *Canadiens* were still negotiating a direction between Britain and America as well as French Canada and English Canada. In short, one hundred years after the Conquest, the future of French Canada remained a question.

Canadiens describes the dramatic break from past forms of social structure in part as the story of the mother that must let go of her dead child: "Une voile sombre couvrait toute la surface de la Nouvelle-France, car la mère patrie, en vraie marâtre, avait abandonné ses enfants canadiens" 'A sombre shadow hung over all New France, for, like the wicked step-mother in the fable, the motherland had abandoned her Canadian children' (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 261; Brierley 150). *Canadiens*, however, also links past to present and New France to Canada by emphasizing historical progress carried forward in distinct stages: "Spontanément, l'auteur situe ses propos à trois niveaux temporels différents:

1757, date à laquelle il fait commencer son récit; 1790-1800, qui correspond au temps de sa propre jeunesse; l'actualité des années 1860, c'est-à-dire le moment où il rédige son œuvre” ‘Spontaneously, the author locates his remarks at three different temporal levels: 1757, the date at which he begins his account; 1790-1800, which corresponds with the time of his own youth; the topicality of the year 1860, the moment when he writes his work’ (Deschamps 6-7). This Enlightenment sense of progressive change, as in the Waverley Novels, is framed by recognizable events and places that allow readers to place themselves within the historical trajectory described. The feast of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, for example, indicates how “Les Canadiens de la champagne avaient conservé une cérémonie bien touchante de leurs ancêtres normands” ‘Rural Canadians had preserved a very impressive ritual handed down from their Normandy forefathers’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 214; Brierley 114). Further, descriptions of the Upper Town Market and the Jesuit College connect the French-Canadian reader to a society in motion (extended in the notes and explanations), which contributes to an understanding of modern progress as historical and material. As such, the Conquest is re-contextualized as a key event in a longer history.

The importance of historical and material change to modern life, however, was shaped for a particular set of readers. Paul-Emile Roy suggests, “Le personnage qui présente le plus de crédibilité dans *Les Anciens Canadiens*, ce n'est ni Arche, ni Jules, ni l'oncle Raoul, qui ont fait leur cours classique, c'est José, l'illettré, le naïf” ‘The character who has the most credibility in *Les Anciens Canadiens*, it is not Archie, Jules, or uncle Raoul, who take their traditional

course, but José, the illiterate one, the naïve one' (398). José is important as representative of the common people and as a link to folklore and custom. Nevertheless, the continuity Aubert de Gaspé sets forth for French Canada is not based on oral history or democratic inclusion. The working-class characters José and Dumais enable the frequent use of folktales and songs representing nostalgic memories of stereotypical or common French-Canadian character and custom during French rule, but the direction of the novel is towards modern progress and Aubert de Gaspé's audience was not composed of peasants. The Gaspé family was politically conservative and loyal to Great Britain: Aubert de Gaspé was an official French translator for the government; married Suzanne Allison, whose father was a British officer and mother was a member of the distinguished French-Canadian Baby family of Upper Canada; and was part of the eminent *Club des Anciens*, including other prominent historians and writers. Michel Biron writes, "La question du lecteur, omniprésente chez Aubert de Gaspé comme chez Crémazie, est centrale dans toute la littérature canadienne-française au dix-neuvième siècle" 'The question of the reader, omnipresent for Aubert de Gaspé as for Crémazie, is central in all nineteenth-century French-Canadian literature' (23). In this period, when literacy was low and first edition print runs were expensive and limited (usually no more than one thousand copies), reader and writer belonged to a select group with every reason to present a closed and continuous path from one political situation to another, thus maintaining an established elite in spite of social upheaval. As Fritz Peter Kirsch notes, "Because resistance on political or military ground had proved ineffective, the forces that finally gained

the upper hand in French-Canadian society were those that fought for an assimilation with the British ruling system and simultaneously for a conscious closing of ranks between clergy and citizenry” (128). Assimilation, however, takes a very particular direction in *Canadiens*. Jane Brierley writes, “Loyalty is the keynote of this novel: loyalty to one’s code, to one’s oath, to one’s kind, homeland, friends, and ideals – above all, the ideal of friendship” (*Canadians* 15). It is interesting that the word ‘class’ is not used here because it is in so many ways a novel about the preservation of class privileges. For Aubert de Gaspé, creating the basis upon which new beginnings for French Canada may be prosperous and authentic involves elite political integration and national cultural difference, the continuation of a prosperous noble class across national divisions and the cultural preservation of a separate nation.

The first chapter is titled ‘The End of College Days’ and the story begins in April. It is a time of transition, of new beginnings. The transition is from passive education to active participation, from pranks and lessons to the real world, from childhood to adulthood: the college doors open and “deux jeunes gens, en habit de voyage” ‘two young men in travelling garb appeared’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 90; Brierley 23). The introduction of two leading characters (as with Jeanie and Effie in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* or Pathfinder and Jasper in *Pathfinder*) allows Aubert de Gaspé to depict two interlocking national histories through similarities and differences in character and action. After Culloden, Scottish-born Archibald Cameron of Locheill is brought to Canada from France by Jesuits to attend a seminary in Québec. He becomes friends with Jules

d'Haberville, the son of a prosperous seigneur, and spends his holidays with the d'Haberville family in the country. Around 1757, Archie joins the British army and Jules joins the French army; both leave Canada to begin their military careers. Jules is expected to return to New France as he is a *Canadien*, whereas Archie bids farewell to his classmates "peut-être pour toujours" 'perhaps forever' (93; 25) because he is of "une origine étranger" 'foreign birth' (90; 23). This difference between Jules and Archie plays out through the novel in different ways, but initially it allows for a contrast of national character. Whereas Archie is cold, practical, and logical, Jules is passionate, free-spirited, and comedic. Both are honourable, but while Archie demonstrates shrewd calculation and physical daring to save Dumais, "Jules d'Haberville n'avait eu aucune connaissance de cette tentative de sauvetage de son ami de Locheill. D'une nature très-impressionnable, il n'avait pu soutenir, à son arrive sur la plage, le spectacle déchirant d'une si grande infortune. Après un seul regard empreint de la plus ineffable compassion, il avait baissé les yeux vers la terre, et il ne les en avait plus détachés . . . tout lui semblait l'illusion d'un rêve affreux !" 'Jules had no idea that his friend was trying to rescue Dumais. His highly sensitive nature had found the heartrending sight on the shore unbearable, and after one glance of unutterable compassion he had lowered his eyes and stared fixedly at the ground. It all seemed like a horrible dream to him . . .' (150; 67). The difference in character does not alter their love for each other, for both are noble and generous. And yet, Aubert de Gaspé repeatedly describes the difference, sometimes rather bluntly. Jules, lamenting his upcoming departure from Canada, exclaims, "Et penser qu'il

faut quitter! peut-être pour toujours! Oh, ma mère ! ma mère ! quelle séparation !” ‘And to think I must leave all this – perhaps forever. Oh, Mother, Mother, what a separation!’ (189; 94). Archie responds by comforting his friend, then turns his attention to more practical interests, inquiring about the mechanism used to tap the trees of sap: “Ne dirait-on pas que ces troncs d’arbres sont d’immenses tubes hydrauliques avec leurs chantepleurs prêtes à abreuver une ville populeuse?” ‘Wouldn’t you say the trunks are like immense hydraulic tubes with taps ready to provide refreshment for a populous town?’ (189; 94).

Archie’s practical way of thinking is attached to a personal and national history that speaks directly to French Canada: Archie lost his mother at the age of four; his father fought with Prince Charles Edward and died at Culloden; his family was on the wrong side of history; Archie escapes to France with his uncle following Culloden (at the age of 12), and is eventually admitted to the Jesuit College of Québec. The key is that the Scot moves on, takes advantage of new situations, and while he looks back, embracing the past and his cultural origins, he does not take his eye off the present—past and future must be reconciled in the moment. Aubert de Gaspé then shifts towards a larger picture that connects the histories of Scotland and French Canada, describing the events of Culloden as “le dernier rôle de l’agonie d’une nation héroïque” ‘the death rattle of a brave nation’ (*Canadiens* 96; Brierley 27). The following is quickly added: “L’Ecosse, partie intégrante, maintenant, d’un des plus puissants empires de l’univers, n’a pas eu lieu de déplorer sa défaite” ‘Scotland, now part and parcel of one of the world’s most powerful empires, has had no cause to regret defeat’ (96; 27). *Canadiens*

traces a similar history of war, loss, reconciliation, and ultimate prosperity for French Canada, highlighted by the further comparison of Scotland to Ireland: “leurs frères de la verte Érin, les Irlandais, au cœur chaud et généreux, frémissent encore en mordant leurs chaînes, eux, les Écossais, jouissent en paix de leur prospérité” ‘their brothers in green Erin, the warmhearted and generous Irish, [who] still struggle against their chains, [while] the people of Scotland enjoy their prosperity in peace’ (97; 27). This switch between personal and national histories is exactly the shift in perspective Aubert de Gaspé employs and promotes throughout *Canadiens*, situating the trajectory followed by Jules and his family within a complex national history particular to French Canada. In short, the tale is personal, but the results are of national significance. Moreover, “L’histoire répond à cette question” ‘History provides the answer’ (97; 28), and to make sure the point is not lost, Archie’s history is recounted a second time later in the novel as the history of Scotland and England told by Dumais—a sort of modern folk tale.

The shift towards a more practical, distanced view of popular history begins with a portrait of the d’Haberville family firmly entrenched in the old ways of New France, when French authority was established. Each of the d’Haberville men begin the tale as inflexible, passionate, and unforgiving advocates of New France: Jules “avait pour principe de ne jamais s’avouer vaincu” ‘worked on the principle that one must never admit defeat’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 98; Brierley 28); Seigneur d’Haberville “pardonnait rarement une injure vraie ou même supposée” ‘rarely pardoned a real or even a supposed injury’ (191; 95); for Raoul: “. . . les Anglais, qui lui avaient cassé une jambe à la prise de Louisbourg:

tant cet accident, qui l'avait obligé a renoncer à la carrière des armes, lui était sensible” ‘The perfidious Britons had broken his leg at the taking of Louisbourg, and because of this he had been forced to give up his army career, a point on which he was very sensitive’ (195-96; 99). The curé brings up the approaching conflict with the British at the Plains of Abraham: “Savez-vous, messieurs, que l’horizon de la Nouvelle-France se rembrunit de jour en jour. Nos voisins, les Anglais, font des préparatifs formidable pour envahir le Canada, et tout annonce une invasion prochaine” ‘Do you realize, gentlemen, that New France’s horizon is darkening with each day? Our English neighbours are busy with formidable preparations for the invasion of Canada, and there seems to be every indication that it will happen soon’ (247; 140). After listening to further practical observations regarding the lack of French military strength in Canada, Seigneur d’Haberville responds, “Ce qui montre la confiance qu’a notre bien-aimé roi Louis XV dans notre courage pour défendre sa colonie” ‘Which goes to show how confidently our beloved King Louis XV believes we have the courage to defend his colony’ (248; 141). He is blinded by patriotism and over confidence. When Archie interrupts, he does so in a very particular and important way:

Il sied peu à un jeune home comme moi de me mêler à vos graves débats ; mais, à défaut d’expérience, l’histoire viendra à mon aide. Défiez-vous des Anglais, défiez-vous d’un gouvernement qui a toujours les yeux ouverts sur les intérêts de ses colonies, partant sur les intérêts de l’empire britannique ; défiez-vous d’une nation qui a la ténacité de *bull-dog*. Si la conquête du Canada lui est

nécessaire, elle ne perdra jamais cet objet de vue, n'importe à quels sacrifices : témoin ma malheureuse patrie. (249)

Perhaps a young man like myself shouldn't take part in your grave discussion, but history makes up for my lack of experience. Be wary of the English and of a government that is always wide awake to its colonies' interests, and therefore the interests of the British empire. Beware a nation with the tenacity of a bulldog. If the conquest of Canada is a necessary goal, it will never lose sight of this objective, no matter at what sacrifice. Witness the fate of my unfortunate homeland. (141-42)

In reply to such a measured response—based on personal experience and historical record—Raoul dismisses the Scotch out of hand and Jules says, “Tu reviendras avec moi, mon frère Arché, et tu prendras ta revanche sur cet hémisphère de tout ce que tu as souffert dans ta patrie” ‘You’ll come back with me, brother Archie, and revenge yourself on the sassenchs this side of the Atlantic for everything you’ve suffered in your homeland’ (250; 142). Raoul is ignorant of the history and Jules is naïve regarding the situation, as Archie seems to know: “je servirai comme volontaire dans ta compagnie, si je n’obtiens pas un brevet d’officier; et le simple soldat sera aussi fier de tes exploits, que s’il lui en revenait une plus grande part” ‘I’ll serve as a volunteer in your company if I don’t get a commission, and the simple soldier will be as proud of your feats as if he had a greater share in them’ (250; 142). Archie’s practicality, along with that of the curé, which seems to go unnoticed and unappreciated in the face of present

realities, is quickly effaced as enthusiasm mounts, drinking ensues, and Seigneur d’Haberville exclaims patriotically, “Au succès de nos armes! et puisse le glorieux pavillon fleurdelysé flotter jusqu’à la fin des siècles sur toutes les citadelles de la Nouvelle-France!” ‘To the success of our arms! And may the glorious fleur-de-lys fly over all the citadels of New France till the end of time!’ (250; 143).

The shift from such unreasonable comments given the gravity and the reality of the situation to a more practical approach begins with a call to remember well—the basis upon which the future rests. In defense of the Canadians of old, Aubert de Gaspé writes: “Vous avez été longtemps méconnus, mes Anciens frères du Canada ! Vous avez été indignement calomniés. Honneur à ceux qui ont réhabilité votre mémoire ! Honneur, cent fois honneur à notre compatriote, M. Garneau, qui a déchiré le voile qui couvrait vos exploits !” ‘You have long been misunderstood, my Canadian brothers of old! You have been falsely besmirched. Honour be to those who have restored your good name! Honour, a hundred times honour, be to our compatriot, Monsieur Garneau, who has torn back the veil that hid your exploits!’ (*Canadiens* 262; Brierley 151). The call to remember, with reference to Garneau, is a call to popular history, and even more, to the *Club des Anciens* and the making of those memories, to create “l’œuvre de réhabilitation” ‘the story of our heroic past’ (262; 151) in order to overcome ignorance and establish the basis for a collective way forward: “Confus d’ignorer l’histoire des Assyriens, des Mèdes et des Perses, celle de notre pays était jadis lettre close pour nous” ‘We were abashed at our ignorance of the

history of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, yet we know nothing of the history of our homeland' (262; 151). The subsequent turn is from the making of history to action in the present—what can be done: “le Canadien peut dire comme François I^{er}: ‘Tout est perdu fors l’honneur.’ Je suis loin de croire cependant que tout soit perdu” ‘The Canadian can now say, as did Francois I, “All is lost save our honour.” However, I, for one, am far from thinking that all is lost’ (262; 151).

Chapter twelve is a critical junction, for just as Aubert de Gaspé is about to describe the battle at the Plains of Abraham he outlines the benefits that resulted from the loss, stating boldly, “la cession du Canada a peut-être été . . . un bienfait pour nous” ‘we may have benefitted from the cession of Canada’ (*Canadiens* 262; Brierley 151). The benefits include escaping the horrors in France in 1793, gathering honours fighting under England’s banners, and saving heritage and culture in numerous ways through perseverance, which leads to a call for collective bravery in the face of domination: “Courage et union, mes compatriots !” ‘Be brave and stand together, O my compatriots!’ (263; 151). Patriotism, as such, begins to take on a strategic look. Aubert de Gaspé provides a moderate, balanced tale of *two* battles on the Plains of Abraham—one victory for each side, both nations brave, resolute, fierce, and uncompromising. Even more, he describes the result in the following terms: “Le 13 septembre 1759, jour néfaste dans les annales de la *France*” ‘September 13, 1759 – a black day in the annals of *France*’ (296; 177; emphasis added)—not for Canada, or Québec, or the French-speaking people of British North America. The British succeed in gaining control of French Canada, but only following a glorious victory by French

Canadians and in spite of the indifference of France: “la Nouvelle-France, abandonnée de la mère patrie, fut cédée à l’Angleterre par le nonchalant Louis XV, trois ans après cette glorieuse bataille qui aurait pu sauver la colonie” ‘Three years after this glorious battle that could have saved the colony, New France was abandoned by the mother country and ceded to the English by an indifferent Louis XV’ (300; 180). It is in the space that opens up between France and Britain that Aubert de Gaspé rewrites the history upon which French Canada will rebuild.

This sort of spring cleaning continues as the French Canadians begin to work proactively towards a new future. Following defeat at the hands of the British, the new home of the d’Haberville family is spare, pared down from the former extravagance of the manor house, and made of Canadian materials, with only a few remnants, or souvenirs, from France. The change is a positive one: “Il y avait partout une odeur de propreté, qui ne faisait pas regretter des ameublements plus somptueux” ‘The house smelled so clean and fresh that one couldn’t regret the lack of more sumptuous appointments’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 339; Brierley 207). Clearly, the attitude of the French Canadians has shifted with the political and material reality before them, and in fact, the British and the French Canadians seem to reverse roles. Archie argues for concessions with General Murray: “Ce leur rendre justice, général, que de reconnaître qu’ils ont combattu courageusement pour la défense de leur pays, comme nous l’avons fait pour le conquérir ; et c’est avec confiance que je m’adresse au cœur d’un brave et vaillant soldat, en faveur d’ennemis braves et vaillants” ‘You do them the justice to admit they fought as valiantly to defend their country, General, as we

did to conquer it. I appeal to your feelings as a brave soldier, on behalf of enemies who are themselves brave' (329; 200). Notably, he wins his case by appealing to the General's *feelings*, not his reason, contrary to the early characterization of Archie and to the sort of cold, rational decision-making epitomized by Montgomery that enabled the British to win the war.

Jules, Seigneur d'Haberville, and Raoul make an even more remarkable change. Aubert de Gaspé notes, "De toute les passions qui torturent le cœur de l'homme, la vindication et la jalousie sont les plus difficiles à vaincre : il est même bien rare qu'elles puissent être extirpées" 'Of all the passions that torment the heart of man, jealousy and the desire for vengeance are the most difficult to conquer. Rarely can such feelings be rooted out' (330; 201). And yet, Jules, unlike his father, can say, "Je n'ai jamais pu conserver rancune à personne" 'But then I've never been one to harbour a grudge' (367; 228), and even gives Archie the following advice: "Fort de ta conscience dans l'accomplissement de devoirs auxquels un soldat ne peut se soustraire, tu ne dois plus songer au passé. . . . Il t'a maintenant rendu toute sa tendresse ; nos pertes sont en grande partie réparées, et nous vivons plus tranquilles sous le gouvernement britannique que sous la domination française" 'You should put the past behind you now, satisfied that you acted honourably in carrying out a soldier's inescapable duties. . . . We've recovered most of our losses, and our life is more peaceful under British rule than under French domination' (380; 238-39). In short, he speaks of the prioritization of economic prosperity, or practical and self-interested action. Seigneur d'Haberville's position for most of the novel is clear: "vous savez que je n'oublie

jamais une injure : c'est plus fort que moi ; c'est dans ma nature. Si c'est un péché, Dieu m'a refusé les grâces nécessaires pour m'en corriger" "you know I never forget an injury. I can't help it: that's my nature. If it's a sin, God hasn't seen fit to bless me with the ability to overcome it' (327; 198). But after the war, when he meets Archie, the man who burned down his estate and caused the ruin of his family, Seigneur d'Haberville walks away, ponders the situation, and is able to forgive: "Et il pressa cordialement la main de Locheill. Le lion était dompté" "And with this he cordially pressed Locheill's hand. The lion was tamed' (338; 206). Even Uncle Raoul, who rails against the English, does so with his cane in hand, then limps to his armchair—the charges are as lame as he is. Further, although hesitant, he accepts Jules's English wife and embraces their son: "Le petit gaillard aura le bouillant courage des d'Haberville, avec la ténacité et l'indépendance des fiers insulaires dont il est issu par sa mère" "He'll have the fiery courage of the d'Habervilles combined with the tenacity and independence of the proud islanders on his mother's side' (392; 248). The negotiation of modern progress is under way.

Nation states and nations, like individuals and groups, preserve divisions and enable practices to distinguish power relations and social patterns. The process and relationships negotiated in the wake of the war, particularly after the British take full control in 1763, determine the identity of the group(s) involved. The conservative continuity Aubert de Gaspé describes for French Canada in 1863 is based on two key aspects: 1) *la survivance politique* 'political survival,' the necessity of preserving traditional class structures while integrating with

ruling power structures to prosper economically and socially, and 2) *la survivance culturelle* ‘cultural survival,’ which includes patriarchal perpetuation and *le grand refus* of penetration from outside social structures. In the first case, the emphasis is on the preservation of a noble or aristocratic class. The d’Haberville family is introduced “suivant leur rang hiérarchique” ‘according to rank’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 190; Brierley 95). More to the point, “La prise de position d’Aubert de Gaspé dans son roman vise à justifier les seigneurs à l’époque où ils détenaient le pouvoir” ‘The standpoint of Aubert de Gaspé in his novel aims to justify the *seigneurs* at the time they held power’ (Lemire 43). The seigneurial system was widely discussed following Durham’s *Report* and the Act of Union, and although officially ended in 1854, is depicted by Aubert de Gaspé as the pristine feudal past of New France before the Conquest and re-established afterward in a slightly revised form. According to Lemire, “Le nouveau discours social non seulement dévaluait le rôle social du seigneur, mais le traitait de profiteer. En prenant la plume, Gaspé cherche moins à faire une revue des us et coutumes Anciens qu’à réhabiliter un passé marqué par la domination des seigneurs” ‘The new public discourse not only devaluated the social role of the *seigneur*, but treated him as a profiteer. By taking up his case, Gaspé seeks less to make a review of the customs and habits of old than to rehabilitate the domination of the *seigneurs*’ (52). Or, in other words, Aubert de Gaspé combines Bibaud and Garneau, establishing conservative continuity and cultural preservation. Amidst a mass of cultural references, the seigneurial system is made palatable to the modern reader through the d’Haberville family, as is the British aristocracy by way of Archie.

Following on the generous picture of New France and the seigneurial system, the novel moves towards an understanding of the means and sacrifices necessary to preserve social hierarchy. A commissioned officer in the victorious British army, Archie is referred to as *Monsieur l'Anglais* by the French, but he is a Scotsman and on the battlefield he too must bend to the will of his British superiors in order to get on in life, acquiescing to the harsh commands of Montgomery. He must sacrifice his (personal) attachment to the d'Haberville family and follow (state) orders. In short, besides the fact that political and cultural tensions run in all directions, ongoing negotiations between order and freedom, collectivity and individuality perpetually redefine identity and group formation. Notably, while Archie falls in line and carries out his duty, thus ensuring his later promotion, he is also able to find common ground with the French, not only on the basis of language, but by the fact that he is a Catholic. Politically, he makes sacrifices to succeed within British structures, and culturally, he maintains his sense of difference from the British. This is exactly the sort of compromise that Aubert de Gaspé lays out for French Canada. Seigneur d'Haberville will not serve the new government or fight against France, but agrees to let Jules, “qui commence à peine la vie. . . . Qu'il consacre donc maintenant ses talents, son énergie au service de ses compatriotes canadiens !” ‘who is just starting out in life . . . devote his talents and energy to the service of his Canadian countrymen’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 346; Brierley 213). Having paid his debt to his ancestors, able to retire from military service with honour, the father recommends that the son take the oath to the British crown.

Only a few years before, this was unthinkable. Just as important is the basis of the decision: “il était trop juste pour tuer l’avenir de son fils par une susceptibilité déraisonnable” ‘he was too fair-minded to ruin his son’s future for the sake of an extreme sensitivity’ (347; 213). This is indicative of a signal shift from fiery, unforgiving, and rash to thoughtful, generous, and prudent.

The integration of a land-owning, French-Canadian upper class with British power structures is further enabled as Jules is named Knight of the Grand Cross of the most Honourable Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, which puts him on equal footing with Archie. Even more, *Canadiens* makes it clear that the *Canadiens* and Britons are treated equally, each according to rank *prior to* the Conquest. Such *survivance politique* at the level of the nobility is supplemented by working-class acceptance of the status quo. José, who lost his right hand in battle, says, “Après tout, c’est pour le mieux, car que ferais-je de ma main droite à présent qu’on ne se bat plus?” ‘Well, it’s all for the best – what would I do with a right hand, now that the fighting’s done?’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 344; Brierley 211). He explains how he killed the Highlander who took his hand, that they are more or less even, and adds that with the British in control “Pas plus de guerre que sur la main” ‘There’s not so much as a whiff of war’ (344; 211). As Enn Raudsepp notes, “*Les Anciens Canadiens* must, in the final analysis, be seen as a polemical work which is historically valid only in so far as it casts light on the motives and aspirations of the Québec gentry” (112). Lemire concurs, adding, “C’est donc ce dénouement bizarre qui confirme qu’il s’agit bien d’un roman de classe sociale et non d’un roman de mœurs populaires” ‘It is thus this odd

outcome which confirms that it is indeed a novel of social class and not a popular social novel' (62). In other words, popular social transformation (nation) is class biased (state).

The festival of Saint Jean Baptiste and José's oral storytelling, the long journey through custom and cottage that precedes the war, enable a benign understanding of social practices on the level of food and drink, family and tradition, including portraits of a '*Rembrantesque*' kitchen and a Canadian breakfast in loving detail, demonstrating what is lost and what might be preserved or re-invented. *Survivance culturelle*, however, is most dramatically depicted by Jules's marriage to an unnamed English woman and Blanche's refusal of Archie. As Raudsepp writes, "Aubert de Gaspé's handling of the 'ever after' life of the two d'Haberville children, Jules and Blanche, seems almost to have been designed to provide a blueprint for the conduct of Québécois men and women under British rule" (111). With Jules's marriage Aubert de Gaspé allows others *into* French-Canadian social structures: "Jules' wife is absorbed into his family and will be guided by his traditions in the socialization of their children" (112). Patriarchal and cultural incorporation safely preserves social structures and homogeneity. As Gerson points out, "Such a union predicates the absorption of the female partner into the dominant culture of the male, the sexual submission of the individual symbolizing the political submission of the group" (120). The result is perhaps not so clear, for the child will learn English from the mother and British structures will be influential, but the direction is obvious: French Canada cannot exclude British relationships or influence—the point is to manage the

situation, in this case by patriarchal structures and cultural norms (which reminds of *Goriot*), to promote a stronger French-Canadian base in light of the political submission and modern transformations dictated by historical and contemporary circumstances.

Blanche's refusal of Archie's proposal is the necessary complement to Jules's marriage: "Par son refus, Blanche d'Haberville préfigure la mère canadienne-française, féconde et sacrifiée" 'By her refusal, Blanche d'Haberville prefigures the French-Canadian mother, fertile and sacrificial' (Deschamps 12). Blanche denies herself the man she loves, even though she clearly encourages such cross-cultural relationships in light of political realities: "Il est naturel, il est même à souhaiter que les races française et anglo-saxonne, ayant maintenant une même patrie, vivant sous les mêmes lois, après des haines, après des lutes séculaires, se rapprochement par des alliances intimes" 'Since the French and the Anglo-Saxon races now share the same homeland after centuries of hatred and warfare, it's only natural and even desirable that they should be governed by the same laws and establish closer ties through such intimate relationships' (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 384; Brierley 241). The nature of 'des alliances intimes,' however, is defined by Blanche's sacrifice: "She becomes, in essence, a role model for all succeeding generations of Québec women, for whom, along with religion, language and land, the family is to be one of the inviolable cornerstones upon which the survival of French Canada is based" (Raudsepp 112). Personal sacrifice is tied to the fertility of the *French-Canadian* family. After much talk of childhood, old times, careless moments in youth, Archie proposes; Blanche's

response (much like Mabel's in *Pathfinder*) is definitive and telling: "jamais une d'Haberville ne consentira à une telle humiliation !" 'No d'Haberville woman will ever consent to such humiliation' (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 352; Brierley 217). To describe marriage to Archie as a form of humiliation is to capture the deepest regrets and fears of a nation as well as to outline the difference that cannot be overcome given historical events: "vous aviez tout, de Locheill, tout ce qui peut captiver une jeune fille de quinze ans . . . mais, *capitaine* Archibald Cameron de Locheill, il y a maintenant un gouffre entre nous, que je ne franchirai jamais" 'Archie, you had everything to captivate a girl of fifteen But now, *Captain* Archibald Cameron of Locheill, there is a gulf between us that I will never cross' (353-54; 218; emphasis added). History has intervened, and like Jules, Seigneur d'Haberville, and Raoul, Blanche must play her role in an adult world requiring political decisions of social consequence. The difference between Archie and the French Canadians is now based on political history rather than birth; the result is no less decisive. Archie asks if he may hope, but Blanche's answer, however endearing, is emphatic: "Jamais, jamais, mon cher Arché" 'Never. Never, my dear Archie' (354; 219). As in *Pathfinder*, and many other historical novels, it is the marriage decision of the central female character that defines the future.

Archie perseveres but his passion cannot overcome Blanche's cold reasoning (another stark reversal from the comparison of Scottish and French-Canadian character at the beginning of the novel). The preservation of French-Canadian borders requires control over the nature of production, which runs along

patriarchal lines. Dennis Duffy writes, “[Blanche] will not dilute the blood-lines of French Canada” (5). It is not blood, however, which matters most. The lines are drawn in terms of cultural preservation and political options. In short, it is about power. Jules brings a British woman in and Blanche keeps a British man out: “A patriarchal model of society can handle the threat of dilution when it comes from the female side, for Jules’ English wife, like all good wives, will be absorbed into her husband’s ways. The outsider male cannot be easily accommodated. Hence Blanche’s refusal, and the willingness of the novelist to permit romantic love to leap the barriers of history and culture” (6). Jules conquers, the d’Haberville family grows, and Blanche maintains a sense of purity, protecting her name and stopping the penetration of her family by a foreigner, a conqueror: “Est-ce une d’Haberville qui sera la première à donner l’exemple d’un double joug aux nobles filles du Canada ?” ‘Am I, a d’Haberville, to set the example to the noble daughters of Canada by being twice conquered?’ (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 384; Brierley 241). In short, the Conquest ends on the Plains of Abraham. Jules not only accepts Blanche’s decision, but adds, “Âme sublime !” ‘Your soul is sublime!’ (384; 242). The situation has changed, and the attitudes and actions of the French Canadians are particular to the situation at hand: “Unlike other novels, especially those of English Canada, where romantic love bridges old hatreds, history and national necessity here divide the lovers” (Duffy 6). Thus, the modern myth, the Romantic soul of Québec is born—the eternal difference, the sacrifice that must never be forgotten—*je me souviens* ‘I remember.’

The decisions made by Jules and Blanche clearly indicate Aubert de Gaspé's representation of French-Canadian progress. Individual actions are directly linked to the fate of the nation. Just as Archie learns the lesson of Culloden and retreats on the battlefield in 1860 in order to fight another day (unlike Montcalm in 1759), the d'Haberville family and French Canada must step back and make adjustments given the circumstances and not according to desires attached to days gone by. As the good gentleman tells Jules, "d'ailleurs, au dernier vivant la succession" 'the survivor inherits all' (Aubert de Gaspé, *Canadiens* 229; Brierley 125). This is practical rather than defeatist as the history of Scotland and continuing British control of French Canada in 1863 demonstrate. Moreover, the friendship that emerges between Archie and Blanche over the years speaks to coexistence, or other possibilities, in spite of political subordination: *Canadiens* suggests "a policy of separate social development within a common political framework" (Raudsepp 111). Aubert de Gaspé was not a democrat by any means: "Quant à moi je suis peu enthousiaste d'un genre de liberté qui ne profite qu'au va-nu-pied [sic] ; car mes sympathies sont toutes acquises aux gens respectables : c'est peut-être erreur de jugement chez moi dans ce siècle d'indépendance, mais il n'est pas donné à tout le monde d'avoir l'esprit républicain qui domine sur notre continent" 'For myself, I have little enthusiasm for a species of liberty that can only profit vagabonds. My sympathies are all on the side of respectable men. Perhaps, in this independent age, it is an error in judgment on my part, but it is not given to everyone to feel the republican spirit that dominates our continent' (*Mémoires* 558; Brierley, *Sentiment* 397). Accordingly, in the second footnote to

chapter fifteen Aubert de Gaspé emphasizes his concern for “la noblesse canadienne” ‘the Canadian *noblesse*’ (*Canadiens* 317; Brierley 322), or as Lemire writes, “de marquer son appartenance a un groupe privilégié qui transcende les frontières” ‘the demarcation of group privileges which transcend borders’ (61). *Canadiens* is historical and self-interested. Aubert de Gaspé negotiates conservative progress and popular representation to further a unified Canada (state) and a unique French Canada (nation) by weaving history and memory strategically, according to circumstances and interests, to empower French-Canadian elites and preserve French-Canadian identity.

The Politics of Cultural Production

The afterlife of *Canadiens* and other uses of the historical novel in the 1860s and thereafter in Canada reflect the complex politics of cultural production particular to one state housing (at least) two nations. Reprints and translations made various forms of *Canadiens* widely available in French and English Canada to the end of the nineteenth century. Historical novels in the 1860s and 1870s outline alternative, self-reflexive views of Canadian/*Canadien* progress.

Theatrical adaptation of *Canadiens* emphasized a narrower view of Aubert de Gaspé’s political and social perspective on French Canada.

Reprints and Translations

The second edition print run of five thousand copies published in 1864, revised and corrected by the author, and subsequent editions by Coté (Québec, 1877), Cadieux and Derome (Montréal, 1886), and Beauchemin (Montréal, 1899,

1913) indicate popular reception for the period. *The Canadians of Old*, translated by Georgiana Pennée and published at Québec by Desbarats in 1864 was followed by anonymous reviews in *The London Review* (Oct. 1864) and *The Dublin Review* (Jan. 1865; London). The first translation by Roberts published in New York by D. Appleton and Company in 1890 (without notes and explanations) was reprinted in 1891 as *The Canadians of Old. An Historical Romance* by Hart and again in 1897 and 1898. Given the interest in New France and the period before the Conquest it is not surprising that the translation of *Canadiens* “reached a wide English-speaking audience in Canada” (Brierley, *Canadians* 9). A new edition titled *Cameron of Locheill*, with a frontispiece by H. C. Edwards, again without notes and explanations, was later published in Boston by Page in 1905 and reprinted in 1910. A later edition, *Seigneur d’Haberville (The Canadians of Old)*. *A Romance of the Fall of New France*, using the Pennée translation, was published in Toronto by Musson in 1929.

Differences in the political reality of readers in English and French Canada are reflected in the translations and dramatic representations. The English editions, for example, do not include the notes and explanations, which provide historical facts, stories, and opinions to further ground the work in the past and extend the tale in important ways. The length of the full publication and the possibility of publishing an international best-seller would have induced publishers to cut the notes; readers of popular fiction in English, as in other languages, were interested in exoticism and entertainment. There is, however, also a political aspect to the reduction. Historical novels in English, such as *The*

Golden Dog, tend to take an Anglophone perspective of social and political events that supports the status quo British position in North America. Eliminating the notes from *Canadiens* shapes the social, political, and historical complexity of the work for an English-Canadian readership inclined to see the quaint and romantic in a tale of New France rather than what is really as much a political document of cultural and historical significance as it is a romance. As such, *Canadiens* was used in both languages to reiterate particular themes or interpretations of events relative to national position and market orientation.

The success of *Canadiens* in French and in English translation to the end of the nineteenth century was based on a number of factors. First, the increased importance of creative works and the development of professional authorship contributed to the relative popularity of the historical romance: “Creative writing achieved the status of an autonomous field of cultural production throughout Canada between 1840 and 1918” (Cambron and Gerson 119). This was obviously not particular to English Canada and in fact was more pronounced in French Canada given political circumstances: “From its earliest days, the existence of a national literature was important to Lower Canada. It was a matter of being not just a writer but a *Canadien* writer, the term used until Confederation, after which writers gradually began calling themselves French-Canadian” (121). Fiction played a particularly prominent role in the depiction and negotiation of national culture—Canadian and French-Canadian—and the successful publication of *Canadiens* just prior to Confederation put it in a prime position to become a key national text—in French certainly and in English differently.

Second, according to Tracy Ware, “The period from Confederation to the First World War saw the slow emergence of a strong national economy and a vibrant national literature” (89). The increasingly wide dissemination of historical novels in English and in French as well as between English Canada and French Canada is indicative of economic and cultural growth during this period. The development of print along nationalist lines in both languages relied upon the many revolutionary changes in print, publishing, and reading in nineteenth-century Canada related to such growth:

The mid-nineteenth-century industrial revolution accelerated the production and marketing of books, with the introduction of steam power, rapid transatlantic and railway services, and, by the end of the century, electric-powered machinery, new papermaking processes, and lower postal rates and tariffs. The local market expanded after 1850 as a result of the requirements of provincial school systems and a reading public that was augmented by waves of immigrants from Britain and Europe. Increased literacy led to a growing demand for inexpensive reading materials. Partly to counter foreign competition, reprint publishers in Montréal and Toronto turned out thousands of magazines and cheap books, many of them in pirated editions. By the end of the Great War, the reading public itself now included practically all socio-economic groups, for books were moderately priced, accessible, and, indeed,

essential to an educated twentieth-century democracy. (Parker, “Evolution” 17)

Improvements in literacy, partly due to improved access to education for a larger proportion of the population towards the end of the nineteenth century are important. However, the predominance of an increasingly downmarket periodical press and the growing prevalence of fiction in libraries of various sorts are of particular relevance.

Third, the number and circulation of dailies grew significantly from the 1830s to the end of the nineteenth century: “British North America supported approximately 380 newspapers in 1865, although the bulk of these were spread among the urban centres of Toronto, Québec, Montréal, Saint John, Charlottetown, Halifax, and St John’s” (Gallichan 307); “The combined circulation of all Canadian weeklies and dailies grew from under 300,000 in 1872 to more than 1,200,000 by the end of the nineteenth century” (Distad 295). After 1880, a second-class mail rate was established that encouraged the production of magazines in Canada (295). American intervention in the Canadian market was also common and widespread: “Cheap, general-interest American magazines such as *Munsey’s*, *McClure’s*, *Collier’s*, *Harper’s*, and others played an important role in creating new markets for mass-produced consumer goods” (302). In Québec, dailies dominated the print periodical market: “from 1884 to 1914, dailies monopolized from 29.3 per cent to 51.7 per cent of the circulation of periodicals” (Gallichan 305). Overall, the overwhelming supply of dailies, weeklies, and

monthlies supported a growing, increasingly literate population interested in local, national, and international news and issues, political or otherwise.

Fourth, as the nation state developed so too did the library, the industry that supplied it, and the materials that filled it. From 1850, the library becomes an essential national institution and novels were popular: “For example, in 1865, creative literature (excluding poetry and drama) accounted for more than 70 per cent of the collection of the Toronto Mechanics’ Institute” (Lamonde et al. 262). Fiction made up a prominent proportion of collections, but was even more popular when circulation was counted: for instance, “in 1899 the collection of the Westmount Public Library was 16 per cent fiction, which accounted for 93 per cent of the circulation” (263). There was a strong shift from utilitarian literature to reading for pleasure (although it should not be assumed that novels did not teach while they entertained). Public libraries also used outreach, including book deposits and travelling libraries (271). The number of books in circulation or available from libraries grew dramatically: “Between 1887 and 1921, the aggregate holdings of Canadian college and university libraries quadrupled from 429,470 to over 1.8 million volumes” (282). Libraries in Québec were no exception: “If there could be any doubt about the nature of the literature, the contents of these libraries show that novels, especially contemporary novels, made up the majority of the books offered to the public” (Lamonde and Montreuil 459-60). The novel, in French Canada as in English Canada, was in high demand: “Readers could also find these titles easily in Montréal bookstores. An analysis of the catalogues of the Bossange, Fabre, Rolland, and Beauchemin bookstores

reveals that, in spite of the Catholic Church's Index of forbidden books, the novel, with the exception of realistic and naturalistic words, had carved out an enviable place in the supply of literary reading in the nineteenth century" (459-60). In Mechanics' Institutes, public lending libraries, or bookstores, censored or not, upmarket or downmarket, novels played an important role in the history of reading and writing across Canada, in French, in English, or both, as a form that participated meaningfully in the lives of readers.

Le Roman du Colon

The historical novel was an important form of political and cultural imagination throughout the nineteenth century in English and French Canada (Pacey 68; Stacey 96): "Like their English Canadian counterparts, from John Richardson in the mid-nineteenth century to William Kirby almost a half-century later, French Canadian historical novelists (Aubert de Gaspé, père, Bourassa, Boucherville, Marmette) struggled variously to fuse or disentangle nationalist and imperialist mandates in order to imagine a bicultural Canada within the British Empire" (Cabajsky 74). English and French novelists, however, did not use the form in exactly the same way. In fact, the political priorities and cultural preferences that emerge in the literary works produced within, and usually for, one of the two spheres are quite different. For example, Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *Clockmaker: Or the Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville* (1836) and Lacombe's *Terre paternelle* both fit into the general description of Canadian readers from the middle of the century onwards given by Gerson: "Victorian Canadians wanted their recreational reading unmarred by the grittier

realities of sexuality, marital discord, labour unrest, social justice, unrepentant criminals, and common depravity” (74). *The Clockmaker* is, however, most notable for the representation of individualism and go-aheadism, whereas *La Terre paternelle* paves the way for French-Canadian novels which give readers something more along the lines of “life as it should be, not life as it was” (74). Similarly, whereas Richardson’s *Wacousta* is a story of European conflict removed to Canada, Gérin-Lajoie’s *Jean Rivard* (1863) depicts the construction of unique, independent French-Canadian community. Perron identifies the fundamental problem in the French-Canadian novels that emerge after *La Terre paternelle* as “the articulation of humanized topoi in which socialized and historical subjects can realize their potential with respect to the survival, the continuation, and the development of the group, the race, and the nation” (153). This sort of novel focuses on a projection of social organization continuous with the social position and political possibilities of French Canada.

Of *Jean Rivard*, for example, Camille Roy exclaims: “Voici le roman du colon!” ‘Here is the novel of the colonist!’ (84). It is so in a very particular and constructive way. A working-class voice did not take shape in Québec until the end of the nineteenth century, or later: the first phase of industrialization took place mid-century, largely in Montréal; the second phase in the 1880s and 1890s was more widespread, in part a response to the mass emigration from Québec to the United States as people sought factory jobs. The question of the nation, however, in the wake of Confederation, remained a hot topic. As in English Canada, the historical novel in French Canada enabled the depiction of various

paths and resolutions. *Canadiens* emphasizes cultural preservation and conservative, transnational political integration of the upper classes. In contrast, *Jean Rivard* focuses on practical courage and social progress in the face of contemporary changes through settlement of the land and the construction of communities. Moreover, the path set forth depends on the successful rise of the lower-class Jean Rivard from uneducated peasant farmer to the rich, land-owning founder of Rivardville. Gérin-Lajoie's historical account is a pragmatic and hopeful, creative and inclusive projection of how things might be in French Canada.

Jean Rivard is often quite reasonably referred to as an agrarian novel following on the heels of *La Terre paternelle*. In relation to *Canadiens*, however, and as a historical novel, it is much more. Both *Canadiens* and *Jean Rivard* accept a British framework to varying degrees; they are not novels of revolt, but of negotiation/survival and reinvention/success. The key difference is that *Jean Rivard* provides a step-by-step plan for settlement and modern progress that begins with reclamation of the land and governance by the (upwardly-mobile) working classes. *Canadiens* deals with the nobility and as such the preservation of a privileged land-owning class during a period of political change (the lower classes, such as José, are carried along). Rivard's success in establishing his own estate and eventually serving in parliament describes the potential rise to responsibility open to all French Canadians with the will to work and learn. As such, it is a manual for two things: how to settle and how to build modern communities. Accordingly, the first part of the novel is titled "*Jean Rivard, le*

défricheur” ‘Jean Rivard, settler’ and the second “*Jean Rivard, économiste*” ‘Jean Rivard, economist.’

Gérin-Lajoie does not hesitate to spell out in detail the path to modernity for French Canada, a path worth describing in more detail as it differs from *Canadiens* and is in many ways typical of the ideal of modern progress in Britain, France, America, and English Canada in the nineteenth century. The lesson is didactic, but progressive and productive: agriculture and industry, organization, efficiency, and cleanliness must be learned: “La science du gouvernement ne s’acquiert pas comme par magie” ‘The science of government is not acquired by magic’ (Gérin-Lajoie 275; Bruce 208). The transition from dependence on France to British rule provides few opportunities to learn governance and management—such opportunities must be made. During the settlement phase, Rivard repeatedly reads four classics indicative of the process, *Robinson Crusoe*, *History of Napoleon*, *Don Quixote*, and *The Imitation of Christ*: “Robinson Crusoe m’a enseigné à être industriel, Napoléon à être actif et courageux, Don Quichotte m’a fait rire dans mes moments de plus sombre tristesse, l’Imitation de Jésus Christ m’a appris la résignation à la volonté de Dieu” ‘Robinson Crusoe taught me to be industrious, Napoleon taught me to be active and courageous, Don Quixote made me laugh in my moments of deepest despair, *The Imitation of Christ* taught me submission to the will of God’ (330; 256). As a settler, Rivard is heroic, carving out his own plot of land from the wilderness, even if Gérin-Lajoie tends to minimize the hardships involved. More importantly, the whole process is one of education and management: once the land is cleared the farm prospers, in

part due to hard work, but also because Rivard keeps a journal, account books, an office, and a library in his home. He reads instructive, middle-class literature: religion, classics, history, science, agriculture, encyclopedias, languages, law, and governance—emphasizing the pillars of the new society. The message is as Perron notes: “Positively invested agents can realize and fulfil their destiny from a social, political, ethical, and religious perspective only within a specific space” (152). The ‘space’ is that of modernity, the ‘destiny’ that of the middle-class nation state; Jeanie Deans and Mabel Dunham would thrive in Rivardville.

Jean Rivard ends with a tour of the model farm, house, garden, and town, emphasizing education, agriculture, and industry as fundamental interests of the country. It is Voltaire’s garden in the age of modernity, or perhaps a French-Canadian Roseneath: “Toute la paroisse me sembla un immense jardin” ‘The whole parish seemed to me like an immense garden’ (Gérin-Lajoie 343; Bruce 263), at once personal and collective at the level of family and community as well as situated nationally and even internationally (due to the export of agricultural product). At Rivard’s house, “Deux grands drapeaux flottaient aux fenêtres: l’un était le drapeau britannique, et l’autre le drapeau national. Sur ce dernier étaient inscrits, en grosses lettres, d’un côté : RELIGION, PATRIE, LIBERTÉ, de l’autre côté : EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRIE. Ces seuls mots expliquaient toute la politique de Jean Rivard” ‘Two big flags hung from the windows: the British flag and the national flag. On the latter was inscribed, in large letters, on one side, Religion, Homeland, Liberty, and on the other, Education, Agriculture, Industry. These words by themselves explained Jean

Rivard's entire politics' (309; 231). They also illustrate the blueprint for the peaceful and productive coexistence of nation and state.

Jean Rivard includes top-down integration with larger political structures (e.g., province, state). These structures, while institutionally similar to those in English Canada or other nation states in the nineteenth century, can only be productive for or overcome by French Canadians if such institutional organization is built or challenged from the ground up. Accordingly, self-reliance is an essential component: "nous tenons peut-être de nos ancêtres, c'est de ne pas nous reposer assez sur nous-mêmes; mais qu'on répande l'instruction parmi les masses, qu'on développe l'intelligence de toutes les classes de la population, et soyez sûr qu'elles marcheront bientôt seules, sans secours étranger" 'We are not sufficiently self-reliant. But if education reaches the masses, if all classes of people develop their intelligence, you can be sure they will soon walk alone, without the help of strangers' (357; 270). The transition Gérin-Lajoie describes from forest to wood to stone, from reliance and exclusion to assertion and cultivation, builds upon the heroism attached to the settlers while illustrating a social and political trajectory that begins with the soil and depends on the modern progress and accumulation (e.g., knowledge, property, income) of common people in French Canada. The result reminds of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, the path is not dissimilar to that depicted in *Pathfinder*, and the emphasis on self-reliance is consistent with *Canadiens*.

Jean Rivard does not seem to have set an example for Canadian novelists writing in English in the nineteenth century. Instead, the mingling of the upper

classes across national lines depicted in *Canadiens* continues in a number of prominent historical novels. For example, Rosanna Leprohon's *Antoine de Mirecourt; or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing* (1864) is "a postconquest Montréal romance of clandestine marriage that illuminated the cultural divide between the occupying British military and resident upper-middle-class French-Canadian families" (Davies 82). As such, it speaks to wider social tensions of the period particular to the upper classes, again falling in line with the emphasis in *Canadiens* on class privilege and continuity. *Antoine de Mirecourt* depicts the French leaving for France or retiring to the countryside to regain their fortunes after the Conquest; this leaves British officers to run amok in the town. As Mrs. D'Aulnay notes, this puts the society women of Québec in a difficult position: "Those English officers may be tyrants, ruthless oppressors, what you will; but they are men of education and refinement; and – conclusive argument – they are my only resource" (Leprohon 5). The entire novel centers on marriage and how to make an appropriate choice. The story of Antoinette, a young French girl who makes the mistake of marrying a handsome, conniving dissembler, a British officer named Sternfield, illustrates the trials and tribulations of the young French-Canadian nation in relation to the nation state under British control. Mr. De Mirecourt is adamant in his rejection of the British: "I hope that my daughter has not forgotten herself so far as to enter into any secret love-engagement with those who are aliens alike to our race, creed, and tongue" (92). He is, however, later won over by Evelyn, Sternfield's commanding officer, a noble and sensitive gentleman, also a wealthy Catholic (like Archie), thus signalling that successful

inter-marriage is possible based upon class and manners, religion and station. The poor Protestant Sternfield, on the other hand, is a mean liar and finds his just reward in a prolonged and painful death at the hands of the French-Canadian Louis, a generous and loyal life-long friend of Antoinette's. Interestingly, however, Louis is not only unsuccessful in pressing his suit for Antoinette's hand, but ends up banished as a result of the Sternfield affair. Antoinette will not perform another *grand refus*. The connection between marriage and British/French relations in Canada depends on upper-class alliance, but in this case, the British officer incorporates the French-Canadian woman into his political and social sphere of influence.

Although more complex, Lespérance's *Bastonnais* is also a tale of upper-class marriage, in this case including the French and the Americans. The British soldier Roderick Hardinge marries the exotic French-Canadian beauty Zulma and the American soldier Cary Singleton marries Frenchwoman Pauline Belmont. The British and the Americans are more or less equal: Roderick wins one battle, Cary wins another. Moreover, the son of Roderick and Zulma marries the daughter of Cary and Pauline and the novel concludes: "Thus, at last, the blood of all the lovers had mingled together in one" (Lespérance 359). Nevertheless, patriarchy ensures that the British and American family names will continue—the French-Canadian woman is again subsumed by dominant political and social spheres from north and from south.

In line with such thematic distinctions, there is a complex internal-external dynamic to the publishing and writing of historical novels in English and French

Canada. Many major Canadian authors left Canada or were published outside of Canada. Changes to Canadian copyright legislation in 1868, 1872, and 1875 improved matters to some degree, although mostly for Canadian publishers rather than writers, which in part explains why by the turn of the century many of Canada's most successful writers were expatriates: Haliburton, Parker, Roberts, Fleming, James De Mille, and Sara Jeannette Duncan, to name a few. French-Canadian literature was more often published locally in downmarket forms such as newspapers and periodicals (Cambron and Gerson 128). Accordingly, there was a strong internal push to create a national literature and book market specific to French Canada. This, in part, explains the difference between novels like *Canadiens* and *Jean Rivard* with a strong emphasis on nation building and adventure-romance novels in English stretching from Richardson to Fleming and De Mille, who, in writing for an American or Anglophone market, "deliberately eschewed identifiable Canadian settings in order to appeal to a universal audience seeking romance, adventure, travel, and the exotic" (Davies 87). For many English-Canadian authors, French Canada was an important source of material: "By playing up Québec's colourful history and idealizing both early and contemporary French-Canadian life, Victorian Canada sought to fulfil its yearning for national romance" (Gerson 111). Further, although *The Golden Dog*, for example, makes use of French Canada to sell books and as a means of nation building from an English-Canadian perspective, "Kirby's Tory social vision projects onto New France an irretrievable, idyllic feudal past" (117). The phrase 'project on' Gerson uses is particularly apt, pointing to another key difference.

However much *Canadiens* emphasizes the land-owning class, it is a tale that clearly emerges from French-Canadian soil, making the most of folk tales and songs, local dialects and social practices, with an eye to the successful continuity of French Canada as a unique and prosperous cultural unity. Even more, *Jean Rivard* literally emphasizes the soil as well as the toil and intelligence of the common people making a unique, prosperous, and modern French Canada possible. *The Golden Dog*, much like *Antoinette* and *Bastonnais*, does not so much cultivate new beginnings out of the past, culturally or physically, but sets down a template upon or through which limited negotiations are possible—for others. It is a matter of origination and direction; Kirby writes from English Canada of French Canada, perhaps with Durham's *Report* in mind, in English and with hopes of attracting an international audience interested in romantic tales of Old Québec. In contrast, Aubert de Gaspé writes from French Canada in French of and for French Canadians (possibly with Durham's *Report* in mind), as does Gérin-Lajoie, each with their own perspective on the means and results of modern progress. As Robert David Stacey suggests, novels such as *Canadiens* and *The Golden Dog* “express radically divergent views of historical process and the role of the nation within that process” (91). Kirby's portrayal of the corrupt governance of New France creates melodramatic and continues stereotypical interpretations of the past that favour modern progress under a British regime. Moreover, whereas *Canadiens* reflects some uncertainty of historical process, Kirby need not be so ambivalent in 1877, ten years after Confederation, writing in English.

The comparison between English and French writers, and the historical novel in each language, in the nineteenth century often focuses on ideology relative to nationality. Duffy, for example, writes, "In both languages, the historical novel has served as a vehicle for the imaginative representation of nationalist ideologies" (v). As the novels discussed indicate, it is not simply a matter of exclusion to protect collectivity. In fact, political and social practices, in French and in English, often promote integration and inter-marriage, usually along class lines. Even *Jean Rivard* allows that the Irish might settle successfully and integrate in French Canada, perhaps given their Catholic background, although there is no mention of the British, English, or Scottish. Duffy, however, makes an interesting distinction in relation to the political and cultural understanding of survival: "In English-Canadian fiction, the threat is posed by psychological predispositions that flourish in a lawless wilderness; in French-Canadian novels, the threat is posed by history" (11). Lennox, however, suggests that history is equally important in both languages, although understood differently: "While English-Canadian writers wanted to develop a national identity by mythologizing a neglected history, Aubert de Gaspé was all too aware of his people's omnipresent, known and cherished history of loss and of the need to articulate a compensatory vision of accommodation" (45). English-Canadian authors such as Kirby mythologize New France, using it as a means of preserving British rule; French-Canadian authors such as Aubert de Gaspé recuperate a lost past, using it as a means of transition to French-Canadian power and solidarity. Each points forward, but particular to history, interest, and imagination: "The

anglophone literature of Canada only slowly managed to release itself from British models because of continuing colonial ties. The francophones' feeling of isolation, in contrast, accelerated the new orientation of Québec's literature" (Kirsch 128). The resulting difference is palpable:

A nationalist French-Canadian writer takes as a starting point a view of the *Canadien* nation as an organism trapped within a larger, alien organism that threatens it; exclusionary choices must be made to preserve the *Canadien* integrity. Outsiders are incorporated only after they have passed various trials or under special circumstances. English-Canadian writers, on the other hand, must invoke a version of history that has been moralized or mediated by erotic conquest. (Duffy 17)

Nationalism was also a topic of interest in English Canada; Smith, for example, argued in *Canada and the Canadian Question* (1891) for political union with the United States. But there does seem to be a notable difference between the representation of or emphasis on individualism and collectivity. From *The Clockmaker* to *The Golden Dog*, many English-Canadian novels seem to emphasize individual success, or at least struggle, perhaps in part because British dominance in Canada already ensured a sense of establishment, an overarching framework within which to pursue one's own goals. On the other hand, French-Canadian novels often dwell on the preservation, continuity, and making of groups particular to French Canada; even *Jean Rivard*, a story of individual success, moves towards a prescription for community and national development.

The similarities and differences across Canadian historical novels in English and in French from the 1830s to the end of the century present means of imagining the negotiation of modern progress relative to individual, class, and national interpretations of social and political progress.

Drame en trois actes

The dramatic representation of *Canadiens* provides further evidence of a distinct national culture in French Canada and the importance of the historical novel to the negotiation of social transformation. In English Canada, most towns had a theatre of some sort by 1870 and new halls, stages, and theatres were built over the next thirty years: “approximately forty theatres with a capacity of 1,000 or more were opened between 1873 and 1892” (Plant 151). The number of touring companies dominated by American and British troupes performing “well-trying plays from abroad as the standard repertoire” (Benson and Connolly 11) increased, reflecting the growing interest of Canadian audiences and leading to “Many original Canadian farces, comic operas, and melodramas . . . [which] offered audiences an alternative to the standard British fare favoured by the relentless touring companies from Great Britain and the United States” (14). In French Canada, theatre also emerged as a prominent cultural force in the nineteenth century, but due to linguistic and cultural factors was less directly affected by British and American theatre. College theatre returned to French Canada as early as the 1770s “with ambitious semi-public performances of works chosen from the large repertory of French school classics” (Doucette, “Drama” 171). From the early-nineteenth century, garrison performances at major cities in

central Canada, including Montréal and Québec, entertained soldiers. At the same time, increased population and literacy encouraged the growth of theatre in Montréal and Québec throughout the century. Drama in French from the 1840s onwards became increasingly local; Pierre Petitclair's melodrama, *La Donation*, first performed in Québec City in 1842, the first public play by a Canadian-born author to be published and performed (*Theatre* 126) and "by 1867 a tradition of theatrical activity, including that of composition, had been established in French Canada" (176).

Drama produced in French for Québec audiences could be highly political. Gérin-Lajoie's *Jeune Latour*, performed in 1844 at the Collège de Nicolet, also a first as a historical tragedy in verse on a Canadian topic, was based on Bibaud's *Histoire du Canada* (132). Petitclair's *Partie de champagne* (1865) provides another example as "a critique of Anglophone excesses" (Doucette, "Drama" 172). "But," as L. E. Doucette writes, "the most visible development of the period is that of religious-pedagogic theatre" (172). The colleges were under the supervision of the Church and the dramas produced at such schools for a young, educated class of young men preparing to enter elite society (*Theatre* 137). Religious-pedagogic theatre, at once socially conservative and patriotic, reached "a culmination in college theatre" ("Drama" 172) with *Archibald Cameron of Locheill ou un épisode de la Guerre de Sept ans en Canada*, a melodrama in three acts adapted by Joseph-Camille Caisse and Pierre-Arcade Laporte first performed at the Collège de L'Assomption in the town of Assomption, Québec on 19 January 1865 and published as *Les Anciens Canadiens. Drame en trois actes tire*

du roman populaire de P. A. de Gaspé (1894) by J. G. W. McGown (*Theatre* 148-49).

The popularity of melodrama was always in part due to the use of high drama, physical stunts, and music. Nevertheless, the conservative influence of the Catholic Church and the patriotism of the colleges are more indicative of the particular use to which *Canadiens* was put in Québec as well as the resulting popularity. Caisse and Laporte highlight a dramatic twenty-four hour period in the original story, beginning in the French camp the night before the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. The two protagonists are Jules d'Haberville and Archibald Cameron of Locheill. Following the orders of his commanding officer, Major Montgomery, Archie has burned down French-Canadian houses, including the d'Haberville family home, which makes Jules his enemy. Both characters distinguish themselves at war and after a chance meeting are reconciled. In this way, the plot follows the novel. In *Archibald Cameron*, however, all female characters are removed and as such the complexities of the resolution in *Canadiens* are entirely absent. Caisse and Laporte, both instructors at the college, isolate the reconciliation of Jules and Archie, Québec and Canada, creating a limited, patriarchal, and socially conservative view of national progress. An anonymous account of the initial stage performance in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (1903) highlights the patriotic feeling associated with *Canadiens* and the memory of New France: "Un sentiment d'indicible émotion s'empare du cœur et de l'esprit à la représentation de ce drame national; nous croyons revoir ces Canadiens du premier âge, dans toute leur simplicité sublime et

le charme de leur héroïsme” ‘A feeling of inexpressible emotion seizes the heart and the spirit at the representation of this national drama; we believe in the portrayal of these Canadians of the first age, in all their simplicity, sublimity, and the charm of their heroism’ (250). As Doucette describes, “A national drama was indeed what the play seemed to represent, and that is part of its success” (*Theatre* 148). Adding to the sense of national fervour, Aubert de Gaspé was in attendance at the initial performance, where he received a medal of honour and gave a short speech: “A la première apparition de M. de Gaspé dans la salle, les spectateurs, qui attendaient avec anxiété, cédèrent aux élans de leur cœur et le reçurent par une salve étourdissante d’applaudissements” ‘With the first appearance of M. de Gaspé in the room, the spectators, who waited with anxiety, yielded to the dashes of their heart and accepted it with a dazzling volley of applause’ (*Bulletin* 252). Regardless, representation and success clearly depended on the limited—patriarchal and patriotic—interpretation particular to venue, audience, and cultural moment.

In line with the intensification of political debate in Canada throughout the 1860s, including the stage in various forms, and the adaptation of popular literary works, *Archibald Cameron* was repeated dozens of times on college stages (Doucette, *Theatre* 148), that is, at all-male schools that served as the hot bed of national patriotism. To further outline this sort of chronotopic transformation specific to venue, audience, and cultural moment *Blanche d’Haberville; drame en cinq actes en vers* (1931) by Georges Monarque, although outside the timeframe of this study, is useful. It fits in with French-Canadian grievances and nationalistic

sentiments common to the period, in part due to the economic and social impact of the Great Depression, and resulting in, among other things, the formation of the political party Union Nationale. More important here, whereas *Archibald Cameron* eliminates Blanche to speak of *Canadien* nationalism, *Blanche* puts Aubert de Gaspé's figure of sacrifice and Québec nationalism front and centre. As such, early and later adaptations speak to the preservation of Québec according to historical moment. As Doucette succinctly notes, "For all nations, as we know, literary history is also social history. In the case of political theatre examined here, the reverse is just as true: political history is literary history" (*Theatre* 206). The adaptation of *Canadiens* for the stage provides yet another example of the selective transformation of historical fiction to speak to and shape contemporary realities. Further, just as *Canadiens* appears during the period when historiography and cultural memory in print become prominent aspects of Québécois literature and society, *Archibald Cameron* hits the stage at the moment when drama and theatre culture begin to take root in Canada, and more broadly, when Canadian history and politics emerge as central topics of importance to both Canadians and *Canadiens*.

Summary

The international book trade and popular reading, especially of the Waverley Novels, and historiography in British North America made the historical novel a useful means of addressing social transformation and cultural differentiation in French Canada. *Canadiens* effectively applied popular literary

and historical resources to the political and cultural moment in a way that appealed to the understanding of national progress among middle- or upper-class readers. The reprints, translations, and stage adaptations that followed, alongside similarly political novels of the period, indicate not only the importance of such forms to the development of national communities but the politics of cultural production that at once connected and divided social, political, and cultural spheres within Canada.

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Conclusion

Historicity, Actionability, and Modernity

The historical novel became one of the core structuring features of modernity and the modern nation state because it addressed social transformation and modernization at a fundamental level with practical implications for individuals and groups. Walter Scott's unique version of the ancient romance form integrated historical time and local space towards the realization of "national-historical time" (Bakhtin, "*Bildungsroman*" 53). The result was a separation of time and space enabling the juxtaposition of past events and contemporary circumstances in a concrete and inclusive manner with the potential to facilitate popular change. The *Waverley Novels* (1814-31) set society in motion by making history individual and collective, material and abstract through the manipulation of time (e.g., recollection, revision, continuous memory, and discontinuous history) and space (e.g., places and spaces, borders and territories). The process of giving national transformation shape and direction by connecting the distant past to the contentious present in a practical way that made sense to modern readers set the historical novel apart from other forms of fiction.

The recombination of time and space made possible "the use of history to make history" (Giddens 243); historicity became a means of standardizing (or challenging) representation of the past, creating a coherent (or disruptive) personal and collective narrative, and providing an applicable (or fantastic) framework for understanding the future. After Scott's *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814), for example, the year 1745 was an identifiable marker in the

history of Britain for many nineteenth-century readers. That which could no longer be seen or directly experienced became part of a progressive British narrative that aligned with contemporary circumstances, connecting past to present as a re-presentation of collective history distinct from personal or even regional memory (both of which may have their own sense of historicity). The historicity of the Waverley Novels, then, works on at least three levels by bringing forth what is absent (in most cases), presenting what is possible, and doing so as a modified traditional literary form (romance), effectively establishing a recognizable, shared trajectory for a nation state attempting to understand and manage revolutionary social transformation.

Scott's transition from the skeleton of history to the historical romance (Godwin) or from chronology to romance of the people (Lukács) depended on the unique combination of time and space that "makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins" (Bakhtin, "Chronotope" 250). More particularly, the successful representation of the nation state as a progressive political reality and a conscious group activity depended upon actionability; the representation of progress had to be believable and it had to enable people—individually and collectively—to act. The transition from individual memory to collective history involved selection and reflected a process of socio-political othering fundamental to the coordination of beliefs and the centralization of power. As Anthony Giddens writes, "Modernity, one should not forget, produces *difference, exclusion and marginalisation*" (6). Narratives can be "constructed by elites or commoners, using selective evocations of history to

project or impose an image of prior legitimacy, and purposefully forgetting inconvenient images or experiences of past or present internal division” (Marx 13). A popular history, which is always selective, must be an inclusive and motivating narrative that connects a recognizable majority with social mechanisms (e.g., nation, marriage) enabling individuals to self-identify with the group and act upon the trajectory set forth.

Accordingly, “It is the content of the story that matters” (Lukács 284); plot sets out the way in which individuals get on in life relative to the chronotopic movement of society as a whole. Ann Rigney suggests, “readers of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* do not seem to have been overly concerned with the historical basis of the plot—or indeed with the plot as such since the focus was on character” (36). Plot, however, is clearly significant in the way it describes and shapes understanding of modernity specific to time and space, outlining individual trajectories and collective choices. The aim in such a novel is “to portray the kind of individual destiny that can *directly* and at the same time typically express the problems of an epoch” (Lukács 284). In short, beyond the negotiation of memory and history, there is a strong practical aspect to the Waverley Novels, an application of the historical direction of the nation state that reflects directly upon the lives of everyday people. In *Waverley*, for example, the Jacobite rebellion provides a historical crisis point and a cultural touchstone for the future negotiation of individual identity and wider social relations in Britain because Edward Waverley’s situation and trajectory touch upon key personal and national issues. The ‘classical’ historical novel features world historical individuals;

historical novelists “*invent* popular figures to represent the people and their predominant trends” (317), situate such individuals in changing and uncertain environments, and depict resolutions experienced by or available to many readers. Each character is moulded by the great crisis of the age, just as every journey, meeting, conflict, and marriage speaks to the social transformation of the nation state. Such situational realization depends less on the truth of representation than on the extent to which it is believed; belief is a matter of selective representation (or exclusion), the mediation of perception and reality, memory and practice, the re-presentation of the self (as well as events, people, places, etc.) in everyday life. The reader must believe that Edward’s journey to Scotland is realistic, the end of conflict between England and Scotland as well as Edward’s marriage to Rose are possible, and the resulting changes and directions are important or of benefit, personally and in terms of group formation, however understood.

The combination of historicity and actionability, resulting from the fundamental separation of time and space particular to the historical novel, provided the means for chronotopic (re)application of the form across national contexts to specific historical moments: *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818) addresses changing relationships between England and Scotland, Highland and Lowland, Protestant and Catholic, urban and rural settings, upper- and lower-class people after 1688; *Le Père Goriot* (1835) emphasizes the struggle between aristocracy and bourgeoisie in Paris following 1789; *The Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea* (1840) involves Native Americans, French, English, Scottish, and Americans in the early establishment of national territory, political dominance, and class

structures following upon the French and Indian Wars; *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863) returns to the late 1750s and early 1760s to describe the colonial conflicts and historical relations relevant to English and French Canada after the Conquest. In each case, the past is brought to bear on the present by recreating a key (or representative) historical event or period in a way that directly concerns social transformation and modernization of the nation state in the nineteenth century.

The repeated adaptation of the historical novel to the development of the modern nation state in the nineteenth century points to aspects of modernity common to social transformation and modernization on both sides of the Atlantic. As noted, the *Waverley Novels* bring together individual trajectories and wider contexts, combining the particular and the general, thus enabling people to identify with the story on various levels. But Scott's great innovation was more specific: the representation of modern forms of intervention between individuals and between individuals and groups. Richard Jenkins defines identity as "the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference" (5). 'Systematic establishment and signification' might also be described as *what happens*. Alec McHoul writes that communities "are assemblages of common ways of getting things done or of making things happen" (92). From the early-nineteenth century, 'getting things done' at the level of the nation state increasingly involved new forms of institutionalization and organization: "Institutions are established patterns of practice, recognised as such by actors, which have force as 'the way things are done.' . . . Organisations are

organised and task-oriented collectivities: they are groups. They are also constituted as networks of differentiated membership positions which bestow specific individual identities upon their incumbents” (Jenkins 23). The *Waverley* Novels address identity and group formation by setting forth the concrete realization of popular historical change in the modern period; beyond emphasizing action rather than introspection, this required the representation of middle-class institutions such as military, church, and government as well as axes of modernity such as capitalism, industrialism, and surveillance that redefine social experience and organization. As Giddens suggests, a general feature of modernity is “the regularized control of social relations across indefinite time-space distances” (16). The structures that describe and direct individual choices and collective movements enable recognition, belief, and a sense of progress. Scott’s identification and representation of such structures as progressive and definitive in terms of the development of the modern nation state made transnational adaptation a powerful means of addressing readers experiencing similar changes in unique circumstances and of directing the way in which readers viewed such changes.

The development of modern institutions and organizations, although common across national contexts, was understood in different ways. Sandra Bermann writes, “Through its focused attention on a national past, its new interest in the material conditions of life, and its frequent choice of protagonists from the middle and even the lower classes, the historical novel easily became a vehicle for strong political and social statements” (29). The political and social impact of the

Waverley Novels was far from homogeneous, with numerous unique adaptations relative to interest and context. Each case study in this work illustrates use of the historical novel as a literature of power. Further examples in other national contexts are abundant: the Waverley Novels in Europe were read as conservative and as revolutionary—as a threat to established power (e.g., in Austria) and as a means of re-establishing political relationships (e.g., by Hungarians in relation to Austria; by Slovaks with respect to Hungary).

In Austria, although heavily censored (17 novels banned), Scott's works were popular; three sets of complete works were published (1825-30, 1825-31, 1827-34) and he was the leading author in circulating libraries in the capital through the 1840s (Bachleitner 81-83). Scott was imitated for conservative, domestic readers: in Caroline Pichler's *Belagerung Wiens von 1683 'Siege of Vienna: A Tale of 1683'* (1824), for example, a key historic event is used to describe "the relation between the core provinces and the Eastern (Slavic/Hungarian/Islamic) periphery and neighbours," Hungary is turned into something akin to the Highlands, and the resolution leads to Austrian control (89-90). In Hungary, Scott was popular among the upper classes because of his emphasis on costume and manners, and was often used as the basis of *tableaux vivant* (Sznaffer 141). Hungarian writers such as Károly Kisfaludy, Ignác Nagy, and Miklós Jósika (for decades called the Hungarian Scott) held up Scott as a model (146-54). The Waverley Novels in Hungary also enabled the negotiation of conservative national progress; similar to Pichler in Austria, it was not uncommon for Hungarian authors to follow Scott (or others less directly) by turning

Transylvania into the Highlands, incorporating local settings, scenes, and themes that built upon nationalism from the 1820s and 1830s; in Mór Jókai's *Szegény gazdagok* 'The Poor Plutocrats' (1861), for example, "history was formed in to myth and Transylvania into a 'land of romance' (like the Scottish Highlands for Waverley)" (155). The historical novel was also used for social change and political purposes by people and groups within Hungary. Ján Kalinčiak's *Reštavrácia: Obrazy z nedávnych čias* 'County Elections: Pictures from Recent Times' (1860), for instance, combines politics and romance to describe an emerging Slovak middle class responding to Hungarian rule, internal political struggles, and other circumstances. Further examples throughout Europe could be added, but the main point is that the Waverley Novels provided the means to re-interpret the past and question the future, to direct or challenge cultural hegemony and political power; the combination of history and romance enabled the imagination of things otherwise, the power to re-establish control over the historical narrative of people and place relative to modern conditions and cultural particularities specific to the relationship of the group in question to recognized authority.

The capitalist dissemination of popular print over time and space connected diverse readers and created national and transnational readerships, legitimating modern forms of social organization represented in the historical novel. Literary representation combined with wide dissemination could effectively identify and enable self-awareness and group recognition as well as describe the means to achieve collective political change. The diverse

interpretations of the historical novel across Europe and North America reflect power struggles along class, ethnic, linguistic, and socio-economic lines. But in each case the overall trajectory towards modern forms of social organization remains dominant. What changes to a remarkable degree is the understanding of the nation state as increasingly inclusive, which coincides with the expansion of the print industry and mass reading throughout the nineteenth century. The actionability of the historical novel in the nineteenth century is internal (literary, individual) and external (material, popular), with the print industry playing a key mediating role. The form of dissemination (e.g., book, magazine, newspaper) and extent of reception of the historical novel both initially and over time contributed to modern identity and group formation as well as the progress of the historical novel in important ways.

The interplay between literary text and print artifact, between the novel written of 'the people' and the novel published for 'the public,' is particularly important. As György Lukács stresses, the classical historical novel addresses the social transformation of the people; at issue is the historical development of nation states and how such periods alter the lives of individuals and groups in real spaces. Accordingly, the *Waverley Novels* include characters from across the class spectrum, various groups (e.g., Highlanders, Scottish, English, etc.), and numerous historical markers embedded in recognizable places. More importantly, the predominant transition is towards an upwardly-mobile middle (reading) class exemplified by characters such as *Jeanie Deans* and by institutions characterizing the modern nation state. At the same time, the downmarket history of the

historical novel (classical and otherwise) in the nineteenth century describes increasingly expansive reading publics, including a range of individuals interested in the political direction of the nation state and their role in it.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the 'reading nation' came to include the working classes and the print market was dominated by downmarket reading and other similarly accessible cultural forms (e.g., illegitimate theatre in London). Extensive communication networks, including collections, chapbooks, and melodramas as well as advertisements, music, and opera made the story of the Deans family available in some form for all Britons after the 1832 Reform Act. Print for the masses, especially downmarket reprints, collections, and *éditions populaires*, were effective in ensuring the popularity of *Goriot* leading up to and following the revolutions of 1848. Industrial print production and increased reading of popular fiction enabled reprints and editions of *Pathfinder* in America as well as transnational dissemination in Europe after the Civil War. *Canadiens* was reprinted, translated, and adapted, like other historical novels later in the period, appealing to (relatively) popular readerships in English and French Canada before and after Confederation. In short, in the nineteenth century the meaning of 'the people' changes as the reading public widens; as the print history indicates, the reach of the classical historical novel also shifts, and subsequently, so too does the form and use of the historical novel more generally.

Critical discussion of the historical novel as a means of describing and directing the process of making history, however, occupies a strangely circumscribed literary ground. On the one hand, William Godwin seems an early

predecessor for many critics who describe the historical novel, and particularly the Waverley Novels, in terms of making history through the weaving of history and romance. On the other hand, critics frequently follow Lukács by pointing to the decline of the historical novel after 1850, but reasons for this decline are hard to come by or difficult to believe: for example, Brian Hamnett has no explanation as to why the historical novel was seemingly “consigned to the no-man’s land between [history and literature]” (177) and Ernest Bernbaum describes the decline in relation to “the wide permeation of the presuppositions of naturalistic philosophy” (439). Such problems arise at least in part because critics recognize Lukács’s description of the historical novel as ‘setting a society in motion’ (a phrase often applied to the *Comédie humaine*) but less so his focus on the historical novel as responsive to social transformation or historical context (which should include print as well as political history). In other words, when the emphasis is on textual analysis or philosophical trends it is difficult to say exactly why reading tastes or the impact of literary works change without speculating, or misleading, to a high degree.

Lukács’s offhand refusal to differentiate between the historical novel and the novel generally (242), other than by stating that specific forms of the novel arise from circumstances (or, according to chronotope, to use Bakhtin’s terminology), provides a useful starting point from which to consider the historical novel and modernity to the end of the nineteenth century: he describes the history of the novel in Europe as moving from social novels (eighteenth century) to the classical historical novel (early-nineteenth century) and then back

to social novels (late-nineteenth century). The historical novel, as such, is revolutionary in that it deals with historical and popular change; in contrast, the decline of the historical novel results from “making private of history” (199), epitomized by later-nineteenth-century novels in which “the psychological-moral element prevails over the historical-political motifs” (225), resulting in “the conscious violation of history” (251). The decline is twofold, involving a lack of social and historical realism as well as emphasis on representation leading to naturalism; the first leads to abstraction and the second to the isolation of facts from context. Overall, the turn towards psychological-moral exploration combined with exacting physical detail moves away from the historical and material circumstances of modernity, and therefore also avoids social transformation at the point where general and particular, community and individual, past and present meet. The rise of historiography, realism, naturalism, or popular novels in the late-nineteenth century, however, does not adequately explain the disappearance of a literary form that served up until 1850 as an important means of identifying and describing social transformation and modernization, which clearly continued throughout the nineteenth century.

This study has attempted to build upon previous critical analysis of the historical novel and to add new knowledge of the form by investigating the production, dissemination, and reception of specific works in national and transnational contexts, including literary, historical, and material aspects relevant to writing, publishing, reading, and culture in the nineteenth century. In doing so, it has become clear that further analysis of the use of historicity and actionability

for popular and progressive political representation throughout the nineteenth century needs to be addressed. The usefulness of the formal and thematic resources considered in each case study did not disappear with the establishment of Britain, France, America, and Canada. Social transformation beginning in the eighteenth century (or earlier) and culminating in important ways in the nineteenth century was dramatic: traditional forms of individual and collective identity were altered or destroyed; new forms of collective identity particular to modern conditions emerged. Scott, Balzac, Cooper, and Aubert de Gaspé describe the transition from traditional or past forms of social organization and the conservative negotiation of collective progress at the level of the nation state—the establishment of a middle-class nation state based on modern institutions and organizations, including a national military, centralized government, and civil law. Besides preceding and contemporaneous use of the historical novel by others, including women and working-class writers, to imagine things otherwise, the historicity and actionability of the historical novel continued in interesting and important ways as nation states matured along capitalist-industrial lines and popular representation changed to meet the needs of readers. In short, the resources of the classical historical novel, the use of historicity to make history and shape community development, which might include various or co-existing types of historicity relative to circumstances, were extended and altered according to the continued chronotopic response of readers, writers, and publishers to modernity. In this way, Lukács's general assessment of the novel as a changing form relative to circumstances and interests, with the classical historical novel as

an important instance, is useful, not least because it allows for a way to understand the historical novel as it changed and continued to be a valuable means of addressing social transformation and modernization.

Although beyond the timeframe of this study, Diana Wallace's *Woman's Historical Novel: British Women Writers, 1900-2000* (2005) is worth mentioning at this point. In her introduction, Wallace criticizes several aspects of the 'circumscribed literary ground' mentioned previously, including a "masculine tradition" (13) of criticism that limits study of the historical novel to Scott, a train of male followers, and Lukács's representatively gender-blind treatment of the genre. Wallace's study of popular historical novels written by women in the twentieth century is unique, impressive, and useful. However, while glossing over the achievement and impact of the Waverley Novels as a new (nineteenth century) and continuing (twentieth century) means of addressing social transformation and modernization (in favour of predecessors such as *The Recess* [1783] by Sophia Lee), it could be argued that Wallace actually re-deploys Lukács's understanding of the classical historical novel as outlined here, describing use of the form by women to address popular social change in the twentieth century of particular importance to women writers and readers as well as western society more generally. As such, her suggestion that "adherence to Scott's novels as a model for the 'classical historical novel' works to exclude women's novels from accounts of the genre" (15) may be questioned, particularly with respect to novels such as *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*; the Waverley Novel as a literary blueprint employing historicity and actionability to address revolutionary social change, as

attested to by this study of nineteenth-century novels, Wallace's own study of twentieth-century novels, and the continuing impact of the historical novel, has proven flexible enough to reconsider popular representation and social transformation for nearly two hundred years. The overabundance of male critics and inattention to historical novels (however defined) by women (before and after Scott) should not take away from the unique and lasting qualities of the *Waverley Novels*, which were and continue to be adapted by men and women (directly or indirectly) to address new manifestations of social transformation in the modern world. Rather than condemning Lukács or avoiding Scott (both of which need to be questioned), a more nuanced approach to the use of historicity prior to, coinciding with, and following the *Waverley Novels*, to further develop understanding of the literary transitions from one historical form of the genre to another, would prove fruitful.

In the nineteenth-century, for example, proletarian novels (by and for men and women of various classes) continued to employ formal resources of the historical novel to address social transformation and modernization. Following upon the struggle between monarchy and popular representation, the advance of industrialization in each nation state at different times throughout the nineteenth century significantly altered the relationship between capital and labour. Working-class consciousness, conditions, expectations, and actions led to proletarian novels of various sorts employing historicity and actionability to new and dramatic forms of change in nineteenth-century Britain, France, America, and Canada. Examples in Britain include industrial novels in the 1830s (e.g., Harriet

Martineau's *Manchester Strike* [1832]); Chartist novels in the 1840s (e.g., Thomas Martin Wheeler's *Sunshine and Shadow, a Tale of the Nineteenth Century* [1849-50]); middle-class social reform novels from the 1840s to the 1860s (e.g., Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet* [1850]; George Eliot's *Felix Holt, the Radical* [1866]); socialist and other sorts of proletarian novels from the 1880s to the end of the century (e.g., Mark Rutherford's *Revolution in Tanner's Lane* [1887]; D. F. E. Sykes and George Henry Walker's *Ben o'Bill's, the Luddite: A Yorkshire Tale* [1898]). In France, following upon the popularity of Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris* (1842-43), which demonstrated the commercial viability and wide appeal of a lower-class hero figure, Sue's *Mystères du peuple: ou, Histoire d'une famille de prolétaires à travers les âges* (1849-56) responded directly to the revolutionary events of 1848; George Sand explores social alternatives and working-class situations in novels such as *La Ville noire* (1859); most importantly, Émile Zola's history of France from the July Revolution to the Paris Commune in the twenty novels of *Les Rougon-Macquart* includes descriptions of the working classes in urban Paris (*L'Assommoir* [1877]), industrial unrest in the country (*Germinal* [1885]), and the plight of agricultural workers (*La Terre* [1887]). In America, *The Silent Partner* (1871) by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, based on the Pemberton Mill disaster of 1860, addresses widespread ignorance of the factory system; Edward Bellamy's *Duke of Stockbridge: A Romance of Shay's Rebellion* (1879) depicts an armed uprising in eighteenth-century Massachusetts led by a poor farmhand against wealthy urban businessmen; John Hay's *Bread-winners: A Social Study* (1883) is based on

labour strikes in 1877; William Dean Howells's *Annie Kilburn* (1888) describes immigrant poor and working-class experience; Bellamy's *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* (1888) contrasts social conflict in the year 1887 with perfect social organization in the year 2000; Frank Norris's *Octopus: A Story of California* (1901) is based on the dispute between settlers and the Southern Pacific Railroad at Mussel Slough on 11 May 1880. In Canada, Ebenezer Clemo's *Canadian Homes; or, the Mystery Solved. A Christmas Tale* (1858) ties the question of poverty to national economic development; John Edward Jenkins's *Ginx's Baby* (1870) is a personal history depicting larger social issues such as largely families, minimal education, and lack of economic prosperity; Agnes Maule Machar's *Roland Graeme: Knight: A Novel of Our Time* (1892) considers labour reform, advocating the program of the Knights of Labor; Robert Barr's *Mutable Many: A Novel* (1896) describes multiple aspects of the relationship between capital and labour; as does Albert Carman's *Preparation of Ryerson Embury: A Purpose* (1900). Many of these novels were distributed or reprinted across national borders, thus further connecting nation states while reinforcing similarities and differences in paths of development.

National transformation at the level of and literary representation by and for the people—primarily the urban and industrial worker—began before Scott, Balzac, Cooper, and Aubert de Gaspé wrote their novels, but reached a significant level of popular recognition and political impact later in the century, especially after 1848. Middle-class, psychological, or bourgeois novels in the second half of the nineteenth century do not point to a definitive decline in the historical novel,

but to a decline in the classical historical novel geared towards the middle-class reader and the establishment of key institutions and organizations of the modern nation state. Changing conditions required new responses—as indicated, there were many. The great expansion and diversification of national and transnational print markets catered to and created diverse readerships, enabling middle-class and working-class adaptation of the resources of the historical novel for readers with their own material and political concerns. The proletarian novel is important, particularly in relation to the case studies covered, because it demonstrates alternative use, often along class lines, of formal and thematic resources within continuous and between discontinuous national, cultural, and linguistic contexts. And as Wallace describes, such alternative use continued in new, interesting, and important ways throughout the twentieth century.

Lukács's central point is that the historical novel of Scott emerges in response to revolutionary changes and speaks to the social transformation of the nation state at a popular level, which in the early-nineteenth century primarily meant the middle-class readers for whom such works were originally written and published. Following Bakhtin's understanding of the novel as chronotopic, later historical novels deal with post-1832 Britain, post-1848 France, post-1860s America, and post-1867 Canada, which means addressing new challenges or issues arising from the ongoing transition to modernity, including industrialization and social reform. The only way to consider the historical novel as either a completely new (post-1814) or declining (post-1848) form in the nineteenth century is to insist on an inflexible definition likely derived from a limited reading

of Lukács, the Waverley Novels, or a select set of canonical nineteenth-century historical novels. Novels prior to and following 1814 (including Scott's own lesser-known novels) employed historicity and actionability in various ways relative to particular circumstances and interests. The four historical novels considered in this study were unique, effective, and influential treatments of social transformation and modernization of the nation state in the nineteenth century, particular to national conditions, indicative of transatlantic connections, and as such, representative of the malleability of the novel to changing and varied expressions of modern identity and group formation.

Finally, besides the need to further consider the varied uses of historicity and actionability across time periods as well as between authors and works, additional gaps or challenges which have not been addressed in this study are worth noting. The number and length of historical novels tends to limit analysis to a repetitive set of works, often by canonical and male authors; access to downmarket or out-of-print historical, proletarian, or less-easily-identifiable works can be problematic, although digital technologies are furthering access. Describing novels in relation to national contexts tends to obscure differences of region, race, and gender; for example, questions of nation formation, social transformation, and modernization must be open to writing by and for women and minorities, in rural regions as well as cities. Transnational histories of the historical novel and other forms are emerging, but many historical novels beyond a limited western context, and particularly in smaller countries and minority languages, remain to be explored in greater detail and in relation to better-known

works; the transnational print history of nineteenth-century novels remains a potential growth area. Similarly, the consideration of downmarket forms and adaptations of the historical novel could be extended significantly. In short, much exciting work remains to be done.

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