University of Alberta

Periodicals in Early Nineteenth-Century Lower Canada: A Study of Samuel Hull Wilcocke's the *Scribbler* in the Field of Cultural Production

by

Geordan Patterson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

English

Department of English and Film Studies

Spring 2012
Edmonton, Alberta

Abstract

This dissertation takes as a case study Samuel Hull Wilcocke's periodical the *Scribbler* (1821-1827) to examine the field of cultural production in Lower Canada into which the *Scribbler* emerged and existed. I study the influence that the government and the merchant class had over print publication in this early period, the existence of British Romantic aesthetics in the periodicals of early Canada, and the ways in which a periodical can propose and perform an understandings of community and nationhood.

In chapter One, I analyse the historical circumstances of the field of cultural production in Lower Canada from 1817-1828, especially in its relationship to the fields of power and economy. I investigate the growing persuasive power and symbolic capital that print accrued during the fur trade companies' pamphleteering war. I explain how both Lord Dalhousie and the merchants were involved in literary production to serve their own ends, and how Wilcocke positioned himself rhetorically against these two posits by first appropriating the pamphleteering style and then the language of diplomacy. In chapter Two, I describe the *Scribbler*'s position-taking through its materiality and form. Specifically, I examine the influence of the Romantic construction of the editorial persona on the *Scribbler* and the Romantic magazines' particular method of maintaining variety while celebrating subjectivity. I posit that British Romanticism had a greater impression on Canadian literature than scholars have hitherto acknowledged. In chapter Three, I argue that Wilcocke cultivates a sense

of belonging in the *Scribbler*'s readership as well as promoting a proto-nationalist identity as part of an attempt to increase his cultural capital. The *Scribbler* performs the active participation of readers in order to inspire and solidify its centrality to the community. I examine the implications of the recognition of local writing and the attention paid in text to Canada as a place worthy of existence beyond its definition as an empirical outpost or a mercantile trading spot. I argue for periodicals as sites of political imaginings and the powerful ramifications that a periodical's attempt to position itself in the field of cultural production can have on the construction of collective identity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people for helping me complete this project. First, let me thank my supervisor, Sue Hamilton, for her encouraging words, immeasurable patience, and inspiration. Thank you also to my committee, Cecily Devereux, Peter Sinnema, and Mark Simpson for taking the time to read carefully through some very rough work with admirable persistence and for providing tough, useful criticism. Thank you also to my reading group, Leigh Dyrda, Charn Jagpal, and Jillian Richardson, whose work inspired me and whose help I could not have done without. Thank you to Margrit Talpalaru, Adrian Dabija, and Alex Duff, all of whom guided and supported me with kindness through the taxing emotional journey that is writing a dissertation. And thank you to Warren Baker, my fellow Wilcockean, for your help, your friendship, and your contagious love of early Canadian literary history.

Finally, I wish to thank my partner, the indomitable Robin Wallace (and the now not so wee bump), who has suffered with me through every step of this process and who has unfailingly stood by my side no matter how much chaos I created: I dedicate this to you, my own Althea.

Table of Contents

Figures

Introduction

The years 1817 to 1828 distinguish a period of exceptional growth in British North American print production. Numerous well-known texts arose in the period such as the first novel in English, Julia Catherine Beckwith Hart's *St. Ursula's Convent* (1824), and the first Byronic poem, George Longmore's *Charivari* (1824). Two volumes of poetry[1] appeared, as did at least ten long poems, including Adam Hood Burwell's *Talbot Road* (1818), and Oliver Goldsmith's *Rising Village* (1825). Outside of these traditional literary genres, there existed even greater print activity. Indeed, pamphlets and periodicals dominated the literary scene, particularly in the Montréal area. The inhabitants of Lower Canada earnestly wrote, printed, circulated, and consumed pamphlets on local subjects such as the future of banking practices, the amalgamation of Lower and Upper Canada, and the progress of the Lachine canal. The greatest local print production by far, however, was in the periodical genre. In Lower Canada alone, over fifty periodicals circulated during this nine-year period (Dionne 287-88). Four English newspapers circulated simultaneously in Montréal in 1824 while the English speaking population was less than 5,000 (Talbot 78). Print had become an integral

[1] These are *Hours of Childhood* (1820) attributed to Ariel Bowman and Margaret Blennerhassett's *The Widow of the Rock and Other Poems* (1824).

part of people's everyday lives. Newspaper editors, patrons, pamphleteers, printers, proprietors, and poets arose both to supply and help craft the desire for locally produced works. Though little studied today, people such as David Chisholme, A. J. Christie, Henry Driscoll, E. V. Sparhawk, Ariel Bowman, James Brown, Thomas Turner, Thomas Fisher, William Gray, Nahum Mower, James Lane, Jocelyn Waller, Thomas Cary, John Neilson, Augustin-Norbert Morin, Michel Bibaud, Chares-Bernard Pasteur, Ludger Duvernay, Mungo Kay, and Samuel Hull Wilcocke produced local writing in Lower Canada. A shift occurred during this period whereby locally printed materials became critical to colonists' attempt to define themselves. Montréal in particular contained a multitude of competing, inchoate understandings of collective identity—through ethnicity, country of origin, language, and political and religious beliefs—many of which colonists crafted, maintained, and struggled to legitimize through the medium of print. It was a time of literary innovation, in which particularly periodicals were launched in a struggle to define cultural legitimacy, a debate that seemed to remain stubbornly open in the colony.

This dissertation takes as a case study Samuel Hull Wilcocke's periodical the *Scribbler* (1821-1827) to examine this rise in print production in Lower Canada. My work is informed by Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the field of cultural production. I examine the field of cultural production into which the *Scribbler* emerged and existed and the rhetorical, formal, and ideological position-taking made by the *Scribbler* in its struggle for dominance in the field. Looking at early Canadian literature through Bourdieu's theoretical lens not only

explains the composition of *Scribbler* by its literary, economic, and political surroundings and the dynamics of field, but it also brings into focus challenges to the established notions of the relationship between British and Canadian literature at the turn of the nineteenth century as well as the role that literature played in nation building. A study of the *Scribbler* forefronts the influence that the government and the merchant class had over print publication in this early period, the existence of British Romantic aesthetics in the periodicals of early Canada, and the ways in which periodicals proposed and performed a variety of understandings of community and nationhood—particularly what I term a settler colonial public—in early nineteenth-century Montréal, forty years before confederation. Although Bourdieu informs the entire dissertation, I leave his strictly materialist model in order to do close formal and hermeneutical readings of the *Scribbler*'s position-takings and of the ways in which these position-takings influence an understanding of what comprises early Canadian literature. In this dissertation, I hope to demonstrate the power of print in an emerging political body, to explicate the variety of discourses available and popular in early Canada, and to further theoretical understandings of the relationships among periodical publications, economic structures, and political ideology.

The period 1817 to 1828 is bookended by nexuses of major political, economic, and literary events. The beginning of my study, 1817, is the year that the pamphleteering war between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, in which Wilcocke was involved, caused the Montréal presses to become of great social and political importance. The year 1817 was also the year

the Bank of Montréal was established, demarcating Montréal as the economic centre of British North America. It also marked the beginning of a stretch of turbulent years in politics. By 1817, after only a couple of years as Governor-General, Lord Sherbrooke had patched up the political rivalry between the British and the French in Lower Canada. However, he had a stroke in early 1818, and turned over the power over to the Duke of Richmond (Burroughs, "Sherbrooke"). French and English relations disintegrated and continued to worsen through Lord Dalhousie's subsequent term, after he replaced Lennox in 1819. My study ends in 1828, the year Lord Dalhousie was recalled from his position as Governor-General of British North America because of his anti-French sentiments. Wilcocke, having retired the *Scribbler* in 1827, shifted his approach to literary production, and by 1828, his last attempt at a periodical, the *Colonial Magazine,* had failed after just a few issues. The year 1828 also saw a new, successful, radical newspaper enter the field of cultural production: the *Irish Vindicator* (1828-1837). It was one of the first radical English newspaper in Montréal, and it significantly altered the dynamics of the field of cultural production.

Though the different British North American colonies were all on the same continent, they communicated primarily through the hub of London. Robert Mackinnon declares that "Each colony formed a discrete economic island with separate linkages to distant markets" (179). Because there was little trade between the colonies, there was little political or social discourse: "[The ports] were not part of a simple system of hierarchy of British North American towns; the towns of different British North American colonies commanded local trades and were

connected to the outside world but were little connected to each other" (Harris 172). Thus, my study is limited to Lower Canada, and primarily to its economic and literary heart: Montréal. In this way, I can focus on the peculiar political and economic influences that were apparent in this colony alone.

Montréal in the 1820s was busily looking in two directions: west to the fur trade and east to the centre of the Empire. As Susanna Moodie notes of a slightly later period, though Montréal had numerous buildings that were noteworthy to travellers and thus shared the sublimity of Québec City, it was also full of filthy streets and open sewers (Moodie 42). It was the frontier where ships ended their journey down the St. Lawrence to drop off emigrants[2] bound for the wilds of Upper Canada, and the place where overwintering fur traders came down the Ottawa river from the hinterlands to deposit their furs; thus its resident base was fluid. It was a hub, a commercial junction, the hinge-point that linked the new unknown world of the hinterland to the old familiar world of Europe. It was a city in flux.

The population of Montréal was an aggregate of several smaller communities, all of which wished to maintain their unique natures. In 1817, Edward Alexander Talbot surmised that Montréal's population of 16,000 souls comprised 10,000 French Catholics, 1,500 English Anglicans, 2,000 Scots Presbyterians, 500 Irish Protestants, 500 Irish Catholics, and 1,500 American

[2] Though we refer to people coming to a country as immigrants today, those who left Europe for British North America considered themselves, and were considered by others, emigrants, demonstrating their close ties to their country of origin in defining their identity. This perspective is evinced in literature of the time directed to new emigrants, such as A. J. Christie's *Emigrant's Handbook* (1821) that provided, among other information, agricultural techniques suitable for the British North American land and climate.

Protestants (Talbot 78-79). Thus, though over a third of the population spoke English, the group was fragmented. In addition, Montréal consistently had a large transient population. New emigrants stopped at Montréal, but unable to settle in Lower Canada because it was protected by the seigniorial system, they had to move on from there to Upper Canada (Wilson 80-85). The censuses recorded by Joseph Bouchette claim the population of Montréal County had an inconsistent growth rate, growing from 37, 538 in 1822 to 45,389 in 1825 and down to 39, 521 in 1827; however, Upper Canada grew steadily from 95, 000 in 1814 to 157,923 in 1825, and would gain another hundred thousand in the next seven years (Ballstadt, "Quest" 3-4). Since all the immigrants who went to Upper Canada landed at Montréal, there were an enormous number of transient people who entered the city. The constant entry and exit of people to and from Montréal, coupled with the fragmented English population, made it exceedingly difficult to maintain a large enough subscription list to secure periodical production.

The *Scribbler* provides a useful case study to examine the field of cultural production in the early nineteenth century and to investigate the types of literary production that were occurring at that time. The *Scribbler*'s thinly veiled depictions of the Montréal populace allow for a reading of the ways in which the *Scribbler* positioned itself amongst other political and economic powers. The *Scribbler* was also a controversial publication that provoked reactions by the posits of power in print production and in the courts, which provide insight into how it was viewed by at least some of the population. We learn at least something outside of the periodical from governmental and legal reports. There are many of

these, as Wilcocke seemed to be consistently getting into trouble with the law before, during, and after he put out the *Scribbler*. The *Scribbler* also ran for over six years; it was the second longest running Canadian periodical in the nineteenth century outside of the newspaper genre (MacDonald, "Literature" 54). It thus enables a prolonged study of its methods of positioning itself in the print world and the changes in this positioning over time.

Description of the *Scribbler*:

Each of the following chapters is in part composed of my detailed, theoretical examinations of the *Scribbler*; however, since the periodical is neither frequently read nor widely available, a general description here might aid readers in conceptualizing the work. Any scholarship that pushes the boundaries of canonical genres necessarily involves some exhuming, dusting, and retelling, for one has to provide the details of the writers and texts in question. I describe the *Scribbler*'s form volume by volume (because like many periodicals, it changed in form over time) and then describe its content.

Physically, the *Scribbler* is a bland-looking periodical, single-columned, smallish in size (approximately 7 ¾ inches high by 4 ¼ inches wide)[3] with no more ornament than its title. Its appearance did not alter from its first issue on 28 June 1821 until its last on 13 September 1827. For the first volume—which comprises fifty-two issues and a number of supplements—each issue is eight

[3] Personal correspondence with Warren Baker 8/14/09.

pages long. After the first volume, Wilcocke lengthened each issue to 16 pages, and gave each a blue cover that contained advertisements.[4] The second volume and all subsequent volumes contain the same number of pages (416) as the first (excluding the supplements), but came out over half a year. This volume—as well as volumes two through six—is bound with a title page and index that was provided after the issues came out. From the beginning of volume four (commencing in July 1823), Wilcocke turned the *Scribbler* into a bi-monthly publication of thirty-two pages and continued at that length and that periodicity until the tenth volume. Thus, though there are 192 issues, and the ten volumes are the same length, they are not each composed of the same number of issues.

Though the lengths of the volumes are consistent, the dates of when volumes start and end are not (Volume five runs from April until September 1824 while volume six runs from October until May 1825) because of disturbances of distribution caused by Wilcocke moving (*Scribbler* I.416; IV.163),[5] a printing press not being available (VI.130), or the issues being stolen en-route (V.125). Wilcocke's last issue was 96 pages long, having to be printed in advance before he was shut down by the Court of Oyer and Terminer in Plattsburgh, NY (X.3.78-80).

Throughout its over six years of publication, the *Scribbler* maintained the subtitle "A Series of Weekly Essays published in Montréal L.C., On Literary,

[4] The blue cover did not exist for the first volume but was introduced in the second (I.463, II.3). Very few covers are extant. Though no explicit reference is made, it is possible that these blue covers are meant to ape British government publications that were originally published with a blue cover and are commonly referred to as "blue books" ("blue book").

[5] All in-text citations to the *Scribbler* will be in the form (volume.page number).

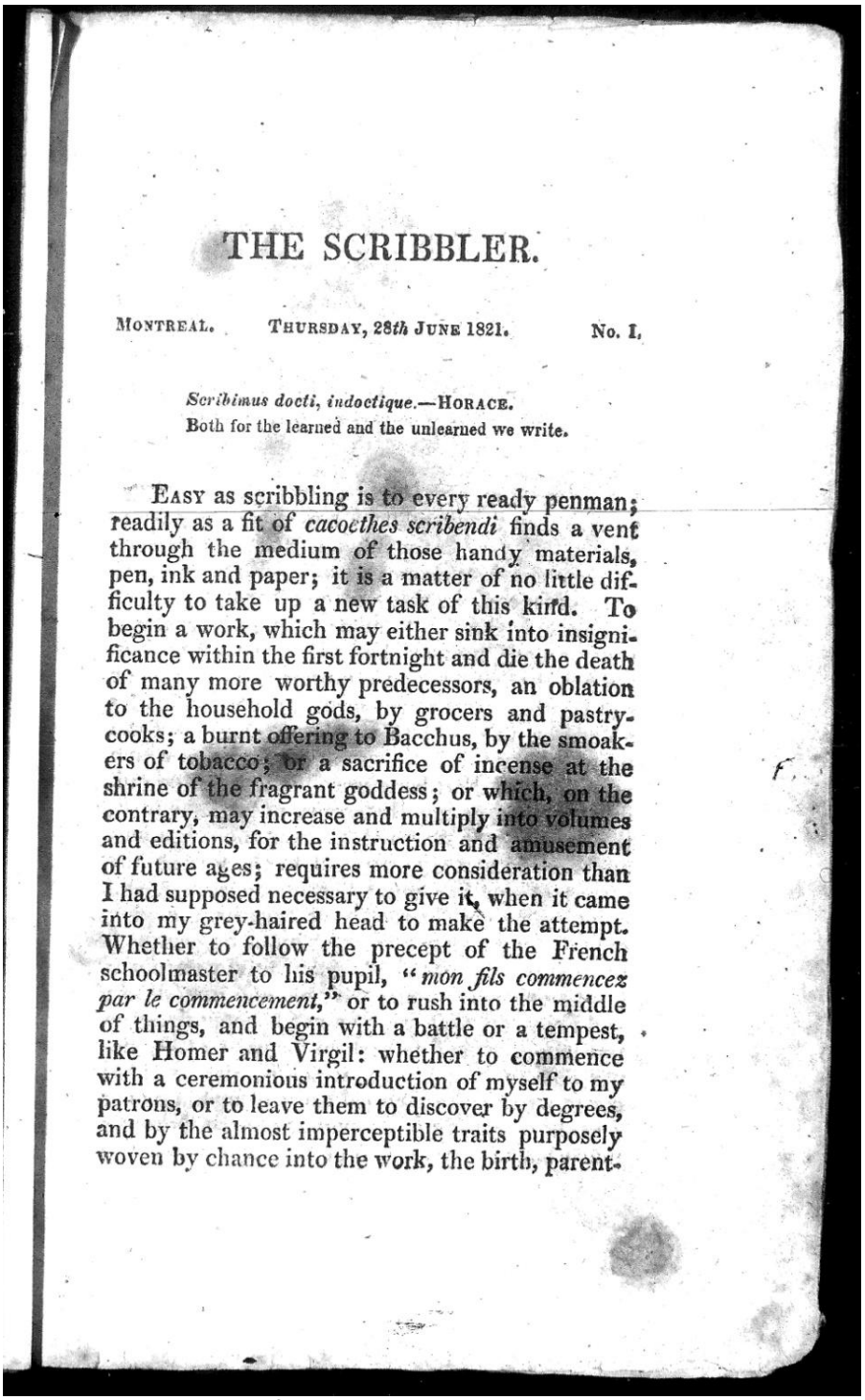
Critical, Satirical, Moral, and Local Subjects; Interspersed with pieces of Poetry." The subtitle broadly describes its content. In the first issue, Wilcocke states the purpose of the *Scribbler* is:

> To produce a weekly paper, assuming the form of essays, light, desultory and amusing, intended also to be instructive and profitable, with now and then a lash at the follies, the inconsistencies, and the abuses of the times, of fashion, and of manners; a paper, occasionally directed to literary enquires, sometimes to matters of public utility, and domestic economy; sometimes also to local matters of praise or of reprehension, but never deviating into personality; and avoiding, as much as possible, all intermixuture of party-politics, and of religious controversy... [and to] shortly and impartially... review any literary publications that may appear in Canada, or that may particularly relate to this country, or be considered as interesting to its inhabitants. (I.3)

His plan combines the topics of the single-essay periodical that focuses on manners and fashion, originated by Addison and Steele in the *Tatler* (1709-1711) and the *Spectator* (1711-14), with a journal of belle-lettres such as the *Literary Journal* (1803-1806) that focusses on reviews of literary production (See Graham 311-314). However, what distinguish the *Scribbler* from these possible antecedent productions is its much more flexible internal structure and its focus on personal satire and gossip.

There is a loose structure to each issue of the *Scribbler*. Each one begins with epigraphs, usually from classical literature or seventeenth- or eighteenth-century verse. For instance, for issue 138, Wilcocke introduces the *Scribbler* with quotations from Horace (from his Epist. 1), Virgil (Ecol. III), and Robert Burns's "On the late Captain Grose's Peregrinations Thro' Scotland" (1789) (*Scribbler* VI.125), all of which either directly or tangentially relate to some part of the issue's content. After the epigraphs, the issue comprises predictable types of material, but not in any particular order. There is usually a combination of some of the following, in no seemingly coherent order: letters to the editor relaying the immoral acts of certain citizens, all given pseudonyms; part of one of Wilcocke's serial productions such as the "Letters from Pulo Penang" or the historical melodrama "Anne of Wirtemberg" (which amazingly stretched from volume five until volume ten); serial essays such as "Observations on some of Massinger's Plays" (VI.75); reflections on such topics as "False Imprisonment" (VI.310); poetry written either by Wilcocke under one of his various pseudonyms or by a contributor; letters from a regular contributor such as Blow-Up or Roderick Random; serialized reviews of recent publications; and simple advertisements for cultural events such as lectures, the theatre, or books and pamphlets available at certain print shops. The poetry ranges from quaint sentimentalism, such as "To Sophia" by Slievegallin (IV.215) or "To Contentment" by Maria (III.95), to the much more bawdy production of Maurice Mask's dialogue between Puck and Titania, where Puck describes peeping through a keyhole at a woman busily

Figure 1: First Page of the *Scribbler*



THE SCRIBBLER.

MONTREAL. THURSDAY, 28*th* JUNE 1821. No. I.

Scribimus docti, indoctique.—HORACE.
Both for the learned and the unlearned we write.

EASY as scribbling is to every ready penman; readily as a fit of *cacoethes scribendi* finds a vent through the medium of those handy materials, pen, ink and paper; it is a matter of no little difficulty to take up a new task of this kind. To begin a work, which may either sink into insignificance within the first fortnight and die the death of many more worthy predecessors, an oblation to the household gods, by grocers and pastry-cooks; a burnt offering to Bacchus, by the smoakers of tobacco; or a sacrifice of incense at the shrine of the fragrant goddess; or which, on the contrary, may increase and multiply into volumes and editions, for the instruction and amusement of future ages; requires more consideration than I had supposed necessary to give it, when it came into my grey-haired head to make the attempt. Whether to follow the precept of the French schoolmaster to his pupil, "*mon fils commencez par le commencement,*" or to rush into the middle of things, and begin with a battle or a tempest, like Homer and Virgil: whether to commence with a ceremonious introduction of myself to my patrons, or to leave them to discover by degrees, and by the almost imperceptible traits purposely woven by chance into the work, the birth, parent-

Source: CIHM #: 8_06240, from Early Canadiana Online, produced by Canadiana.org

pleasing several lovers simultaneously (VI.92-94). Beyond this light and somewhat perverse verse, numerous contributions describe the Canadian landscape. "Erieus" (who has been identified as Adam Hood Burwell, author of the famed *Talbot Road* [1818]) made many contributions to the first few volumes such as his "Ode to the Moon" (I.53) and "A Summer's Evening" (I.118).

Although Wilcocke states in the first issue that he would not be "deviating into personality," by half way through the first volume, he solidifies his inclusion of gossip. Reports of persons in Montréal are usually found under the heading "Domestic Intelligencer" —purportedly compiled by Dicky Gossip, "At the sign of the Tea-Table."[6] The Domestic Intelligencer appears inconsistently, holds no particular place within the pages of the *Scribbler*, and, like the *Scribbler* as a whole, usually consists of numerous types of contributions such as poetry, letters, dialogues, and descriptions. Indeed, it is frequently difficult to comprehend why something such as a letter or an article reporting on a ball is incorporated into the "Domestic Intelligencer" as the material usually does not differ in kind from the letters or short articles that were published regularly outside of this section. However, this section is usually where one found most of the gossip about local personages, including the satirical "expected nuptials" and false advertisements that poked fun at and critiqued the institutions within Montréal, most frequently the hospital, the legal courts, and the gaol. Wilcocke's content, especially his tirades, are written in such a manner, and are surrounded by such seemingly contradictory material—indeed, the entire periodical is so playful—that it is

[6] This is possibly a reference to Hazlitt's "Table Talk" published in the *London Magazine* (1820-29) (Graham 281).

difficult to determine what, if anything, should be taken seriously. It seems, at times, like one long, circuitous joke with plenty of double-entendres and ribaldry along the way.

At the end of most issues is a section "To Correspondents," a quarter to half a page long, that details what Wilcocke has received, what he is rejecting and why and from whom he would like to hear. For instance, at the end of issue 84, an excerpt of the lengthy "To Correspondents" reads:

> Maria's further poetic favours will be very acceptable. Sol. Sneer, will find a letter for him at the address he requested. Hell Molly, is too much a caricature. Peter Grindstone, is dubious.—Paris I will write to, to the address he mentions, and leave it at the Scribbler-Office, to be sent for. A Reader has no key. Montezum's & Robin Goodfellow's replies to Snickersnee &Dubs, will partly appear. Roderick Random, and Nelstor, both give an account of the same ball, and both shall be made use of to cook up an article for next number. (III.96)

"To Correspondents" suggests that Wilcocke had a frequent correspondence with his readership within and outside of the periodical. This excerpt works well to demonstrate the assortment of names and variety of subject matters from readers' contributions that fill the *Scribbler*'s pages. The *Scribbler* is at times the composite construction of contributors—being made up almost entirely of letters and poems—and at other times, it is seemingly the sole production of the editor.

Overall, it is a lively miscellany that balances serious social critiques, biting satire, and light prose. It was also extremely controversial in part because of the bawdy content and in part because of the infamous reputation of its editor who chronicled many of his life events in the text.

Who was Samuel Hull Wilcocke?

With the *Scribbler* and Wilcocke, it is sometimes hard to separate the man from the text. Wilcocke imbued the *Scribbler* with so much of himself that Carl F. Klinck, the scholar who has written the most on Wilcocke, has referred to the periodical as "unconventional autobiography." [7] In chapter Two, I discuss how this autobiographical component provides a thread of consistency throughout the *Scribbler* as well as how this approach appears reminiscent of other formal experimentation in the Romantic period. Here, though, I wish to introduce Wilcocke using sources exterior to Wilcocke's own proclamations about himself in the *Scribbler*. I have added extensive footnotes that provide sources for updates and corrections of previous biographical descriptions since what has been known about Wilcocke until now has been limited.

Samuel Hull Wilcocke was christened on the 30 September 1770 at Princes Street-Independent Chapel, Gravesend, Kent, England.[8] His parents were

[7] Carl F. Klinck Fonds 14N:8 pp. 10-11.
[8] "England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975." index, *FamilySearch* (https://www.familysearch.org): accessed Aug 1, 2011. Entry for Samuel Hull Wilcocke christened, 30 September 1770, citing Church Records, FHL microfilm 1,940,002; Index entries derived from digital copies of originals housed in various repositories throughout England.

Samuel and Priscilla (née Ray) Wilcocke. Wilcocke's father was an Anglican clergyman, who preached for an extended period of time in Middleburg, Netherlands (Klinck, "Wilcocke"), where his family lived with him. Wilcocke was not educated at Oxford or Cambridge, and Klinck conjectures that he was educated on the continent, possibly not within a formal institution, for "his writings have a continental scholastic flavour, with special emphasis on linguistics and enrichment from extensive reading in classical and English literature" (Klinck, "Samuel Hull Wilcocke" 13; Klinck, "Wilcocke"). Wilcocke was married to Sarah Jacoba De Moulin (?-1822) on the 29 April, 1792 in Middleburg, NL. He presumably fled with his family from the Netherlands to Britain in 1794 during the French invasion (Klinck, "Samuel Hull Wilcocke" 20 n.6). In 1795, Wilcocke seems to have been living in London, as his two daughters, both of whom died in infancy, were baptized there.[9] Wilcocke mentions a son who came with him to the new world, Samuel John Wilcocke, and he lists a Henry Ray Wilcocke and a George Peter Wilcocke, the former a gentleman, the latter a minor. I surmise that these latter two were also his sons

---

The date of 1770 is corroborated by a reference in the *Scribbler* from August, 1825 (VII.137), which states that he is currently 55. Until now, it has been guessed that Wilcocke was born in approximately 1766 in Surrey at Reigate (Wallace, "Selkirk Controversy" 46).

[9] Amelia Adriana was baptized at Saint Mary-St Marylebone, London, "England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975." Index, *FamilySearch* (https://www.familysearch.org): accessed Aug 1, 2011. Entry for Amelia Adriana Wilcocke christened, 29 July 1795, citing Church Records, FHL microfilm 580907; Index entries derived from digital copies of originals housed in various repositories throughout England.

Emilia Josephina, who was baptized in 1797—in St. Pancras, London, "England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975." Index, *FamilySearch* (https://www.familysearch.org): accessed Aug 1, 2011. Entry for Emilia Josphina Wilcocke christened, 25 January 1797, citing Church Records, FHL microfilm 597805; Index entries derived from digital copies of originals housed in various repositories throughout England.

because of their ages and living locations.[10] By 1796, Wilcocke had made his first foray into print. He published excerpts of his poem *Britannia* in the *Monthly Mirror*, which was published in full the next year—an epic poem of one thousand lines. In 1797, Wilcocke not only published *Britannia*, but also published a translation of J. G. Zimmermann's *Essay on National Pride*, which is an analytical philosophical study of national pride's false and true pretences. In 1798, Wilcocke wrote the *New and Complete Dictionary of the English and Dutch Languages* as well as translating from the Dutch Johan Splinter Stavorinus's *Voyages to the East-Indies* in three volumes.

The facts about Wilcocke's life between 1798 and 1817 are scarce. By 1805, Wilcocke seems to have moved out of the literary world and into one of trade. In 1804, he was in business with Alexander Dalgavins to supply pitch pine timbers to the Bristol Dock Company.[11] He filed suits against a number of people in 1805 and, in the same year, eventually ended up bankrupt, his case taken up at the notorious Fleet prison in December.[12] It is unclear if he was ever incarcerated there.[13] In 1807, he wrote a *History of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres*, which, according to its Preface, was based on "having been engaged in extensive mercantile pursuits" with South America (i). He moved to Liverpool, and though he was still writing and moving in literary circles,[14] he was primarily involved in

[10] Henry Ray married in 1819, remained in England in Surrey, and had many children, several of whom he named after his predecessors and brothers, including another George Peter Wilcocke and another Samuel Hull Wilcocke.
[11] See Bristol Record Office BCC/D/PBA/Corp/E/3/35 b
[12] See National Archives (Britain) Ref. C 13/54/40; C 13/60/31; C 13/60/43; C 13/60/35
[13] *The Times.* 3 Sept. pg. 2 col A; *The Times* 14 Oct pg. 1 col C.
[14] In 1807, he seems to have breakfasted with William Godwin, novelist, radical, and strong proponent of anarchy. Thus, Wilcocke seems to have been still well connected in the literary

mercantile business. It seems that business did not favour Wilcocke, as he was seeking pecuniary assistance in 1812.[15] He returned to print production in 1814, compiling the *Catalogue for the Liverpool Library at the Lyceum*. From Wilcocke's newly discovered Commonplace books, we can see that he had keen interest in mechanical inventions, prostitution, and historical events.[16]

It appears from a reference in the *Scribbler* that Wilcocke met his second wife, Ann Lewis, in 1805.[17] The recently discovered *Sketch of the Life and Character of Samuel Hull Wilcocke, during his Residence in Canada* (1822) by The Man of Ross[18] suggests that Lewis was a prostitute, and this is corroborated

---

world. "22 December, 1807." The Diary of William Godwin, (eds.) Victoria Myers, David O'Shaughnessy, and Mark Philp (Oxford: Oxford Digital Library, 2010). http://godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk. We will have to wait for Pamela Clemit to publish the volume of *The Letters of William Godwin* (2011-) to see if there was correspondence between the two.

[15] See the Devon Record Office 152M/C1812/OA102

[16] I discovered these notebooks in the fonds for the Literary and Historical Society of Québec (LHSQ) at Laval University in 2009. At that time, they were unprocessed and may still be. Wilcocke entitled them "Miscellaneous Notes, Extracts, Observations." Comprised of five volumes and over two thousand pages of hand-written text, they are fascinating documents that give insight into Wilcocke's personal obsessions and interests. It appears Wilcocke left them to a Doctor Roberts of Montréal in his will (See Vol. 1. i). Klinck when he was trying to prepare a biography of Wilcocke was desperately looking for these papers that were mentioned as being in "a padlocked box in the basement of Morrin College in Québec City" (Klink, *Giving Canada* 184). It is unclear whether these were the papers that were stripped of Wilcocke and which he appealed to have returned to him in his *Letter to the Solicitor General on the Seizure of Papers* (1822). These volumes do not inform my dissertation extensively as much of the material in them dates to a time before Wilcocke came to Canada; however, if there was ever to be a biography of Wilcocke, these would be an essential source. For information on the keeping of a commonplace book and transcription culture, see Ina Ferris's "Antiquarian Authorship: D'Israeli's *Miscellany of Literary Curiosity* and the Question of Secondary Genres" and Stephen Colcough's "Recovering the Reader: Commonplace Books and Diaries as Sources of Reading Experience."

[17] Wilcocke reprints Samuel Butler's poem "Lines with a Present of a Knife," but alters the line "At that makes fourteen years with you" to "At that makes sixteen years with you." He also states that he altered the poem to suit his own life (I.76).

[18] I found a copy of the *Sketch* amongst the papers of John Quincy Adams at the *Boston Athenaeum.* It appears to be the only extant copy, and there are no known references to its existence outside of Wilcocke's cryptic comments in the *Scribbler.* It seems likely that this copy of the *Sketch* was sent to Adams by Stratford Canning in an attempt to convince the then Secretary of State that Wilcocke should not be granted asylum, although there is no mention of it in the colonial records (B-1793: F05 159: MG216-05. Colonial Office, General Correspondence to United States of America).

by Wilcocke's obsession with the legality of prostitution in his Commonplace books. In any case, The Man of Ross presents a contract between Wilcocke and another man (possibly her husband), to share Lewis on particular days of the month (Man of Ross 38). Lewis followed Wilcocke to Canada in 1819, and the first volume of the *Scribbler* is dedicated to her, thanking her for her devoted attention and aid with the periodical. Lewis and Wilcocke were officially married—according to an advertisement in the *Ladies Museum*—in 1825 in Rouse's Point, New York.[19] After 1825, Lewis is lost from the historical records.

In 1817, Wilcocke was brought over from Liverpool to Montréal by the North West Company. He worked as a hired poisonous pen for the North West Company, writing pamphlets and transcribing court cases in order to prove the North West Company's innocence in the Selkirk Settlement debacle. Wilcocke worked as a clerk for the North West Company until October 1820, when he absconded to the United States. During his clerical career, Wilcocke had orchestrated some fancy book-keeping, seemingly sifting off upwards of £800 (over three times his yearly salary),[20] and he fled for the United States with cheques that could be drawn on the company for much more.[21] The North West Company arranged a warrant to search his house, and upon finding a letter that stated he was in Birmingham, VT under the name of Townsend, they sent out a party of men to arrest him, "acting on behalf of the British authorities" (Library

[19] (22 Oct 1825, I.13 p.52 col.3) Although there are records that have them married in Connecticut in the same year.
[20] See *Québec Mercury* 28 November 1820, n. 48 pp. 380-81.
[21] Wilcocke states he was arrested with a writ for a debt of 20,000 dollars mentioned in (B1792 p. 86).

and Archives Canada, B1793 p.19).[22] The group of men found Wilcocke and brought him directly back to Canada. Wilcocke was indicted for three accounts of forgery, five accounts of grand larceny, and one account of obtaining money under false pretences. However, he was absolved of the crime because of legal technicalities on property rights, which will be discussed further in chapter One. He continued to be held in prison for debt.[23] Since the authorities had confiscated all of his property, he had no recourse to post bail.

Being a resourceful man of letters, Wilcocke attempted to write his way out of prison, and eventually succeeded. He wrote to John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State for the United States Congress, claiming that his arrest had been a "violation of territory" (B1792 p. 82).[24] It was also in prison where Wilcocke started the production of the *Scribbler*. Wilcocke had claimed in the *Scribbler* that the American Government forced his release (I.i), but hitherto this claim has been unsubstantiated, and scholars have tended to dismiss the claim (Klinck "Samuel Hull Wilcocke" 17). Wilcocke continued to write to the Secretary of State, it appears, throughout the following year (B1797 p. 282) "urging his claim, and in appealing to principles which have great influence with the people of this Country [The United States]" (B1797 p. 96). Though eventually the external pressure of the United States would decide his fate, it took a long

[22] This in-text citation refers to the microfilm number held at Library and Archives Canada and the page number. All other references to the holdings in this collection will be made following this format.
This is detailed in the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, Montréal, Fonds Cours du banc du roi/de la reine du district du Montréal, and Wilcocke's version is delineated in the thinly-veiled Letters from Pulo Penang published in *The Scribbler.*
[23] It is unclear where this debt was accrued.
[24] Letter November 8th, 1820 from Montréal Prison (B1792 p. 83).

time for the bureaucratic machine to turn its wheels. Dalhousie at first resisted the United States' request to free Wilcocke (B1792 p. 95). Indeed, he refused to release Wilcocke three times (Feb. 1821ish, Nov. 26th, 1821, Jan. 25, 1822). He finally let him free on 12 May 1822. Stratford Canning, the consulate in Washington, finally convinced Dalhousie that "I do not imagine that he would have greater means when at large, of being troublesome, than he now has in prison with the materials of writing and printing at his disposal" (B1797 p. 285). Of course, Canning was gravely mistaken. Wilcocke was just as troublesome, if not more so, to the political stability of Montréal and Lower Canada once he was released and living in the United States.

From the United States, Wilcocke continued to publish and import the *Scribbler,* and he also began another periodical entitled the *Free Press* (Oct. 1822-Sept.1823) that advertised itself as a place for those who were against the controversial, proposed union of Upper and Lower Canada to publish. The *Scribbler* was launched when Wilcocke was in prison in Montréal, and then later published from Burlington, VT. Though the *Free Press* only lasted a year, Wilcocke continued to publish the *Scribbler*, importing it to Montréal until 1827. In September 1823, Wilcocke moved from Burlington, VT to Rouse's Point, NY to take a job in other periodical work as the founding editor of the town's first newspaper: *The Harbinger, And Champlain Political and Literary Compendium*.[25] According to accusations in the *Plattsburgh Republican* (1813-

[25] I found extant issues and partially extant issues at the Nova Scotia Archives Library, not all of which are listed in their catalogue. These issues are I.37 7 Aug. 1824; I.46 9 Oct. 1824; I. 50 6 Nov. 1824; I.52 20 Nov. 1824.

1914), Wilcocke also wrote "most of the original articles" of its rival paper, the *Northern Intelligencer & Clinton County Semi-weekly Advertiser* (1822-1829).[26] Due to disputes over political leanings, Wilcocke's contract to print the *Harbinger* was broken and he was no longer able to use the press. Wilcocke moved the *Scribbler* to Plattsburgh, NY and in 1827 shut down the *Scribbler* because it was under threat of being charged for libel. Before he closed the *Scribbler*, he was advertising his new periodical, the *Colonial Magazine*, printed in Plattsburgh. Four issues came out, two of which are extant.

In 1828, Wilcocke seems to have returned to Canada. Between 1828 and 1833, he did some work for John Neilson (the editor of the *Québec Gazette*), and some clerical work for government land surveys.[27] Wilcocke's last publication was *The History of the Session of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada for 1828-29* (1829). William Stewart Wallace designated the work as "the first approach in Canada to Hansard" (qtd. in Klinck "Wilcocke"). Wilcocke died in Québec City on 2 July 1833, probably of the cholera epidemic of that year, and was interred at the chapel of the Holy Trinity at Québec (which is now possibly the Anglican Cathedral Holy Trinity Church).

Early Canadian and Periodical Scholarship:

I am interested in Wilcocke and the *Scribbler* and early Canadian periodicals in general because I believe they reveal a vibrant and nuanced literary scene,

[26] See *Plattsburgh Republican* 2 July, 1825 no. 15 p. 2 col. 2-3; 9 July, 1825 no. 16 p. 2 col. 2.
[27] He also bought his land back from his son and applied for claims to starting a "hereditary aristocracy." He seems to have run out of money by 1832, as he was charged with failing to pay his rent (Carl F. Klinck Fonds 14N:3, 5).

containing a complexity of position-takings by a number of sophisticated print productions. My study is based methodologically on periodical studies of British and American periodicals. Over the last thirty years, British Victorian periodicals have received a great deal of critical attention as new popular authors are discovered amongst them, and their study changes our understanding of who was writing in the period, which or what kinds of discourses were appropriated for certain causes, and which discourses were available to different segregations of the population. The study of periodicals reveals the connection between economics and literary production. It raises questions about the difference between editorship and collective authorship, the role of the critic in forming literary taste, the ability of the periodical to forge or perform intimacy, and the changing ways in which people consume and interpret text. The study of the British Victorian periodical was headed by the *Victorian Periodical Review* (1979-), which has led to theorizing the periodical as a literary genre or form, the effect of serial production on the writer (e.g. in Dickens), the effect on reading of the rhythms of periodicity, as well as a discussion of the poetics of the periodical. American periodicals have also attracted notice, though to a lesser degree. Monographs on Brown, Poe, and other periodical editors, especially those who have other literary accomplishments, have become increasingly frequent. This exciting scholarship has as its pillar the Research Society of American Periodicals (RSAP) and its journal *American Periodicals* (1991-). British Romantic periodicals over the last few years have become an object of study. Mark Parker's *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism* (2000), David Higgins's *Romantic*

Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity, Politics (2011), and David Stewart's *Romantic Magazines and Metropolitan Literary Culture* (2011) are worthy of note. These studies of the formal characteristics of British Romantic periodicals gave me the inspiration to examine the style of the *Scribbler* from a Romantic, formal perspective in chapter Two.

Though scholars have shown interest in Canadian periodicals at least since W. S. Wallace's essay on Upper Canadian periodicals in 1931, it remains an understudied field. Merrill and Linda Distad noted in 1995 that "neither newspapers nor magazines have attracted the amount of scholarly attention in Canada that their importance warrants" (Distad and Distad 7), a statement that still stands over fifteen years later.[28] The most comprehensive work focuses on French Canadian periodicals. Jean-Paul de Lagrave's *Histoire de l'information au Québec* (1980), and the excellent and exhaustive four-volume *La vie littéraire au Québec* (1991) under the direction of by Maurice Lemire, stand as the most detailed accounts. There are also numerous monographs that have been published on people involved in French print production such as Jean-Paul Tremblay's *Á la recherche de Napoléon Aubin* (1969), Denis Monière's *Ludger Duvernay et la révolution intellectuelle au Bas-Canada* (1984), and Jean-Paul Lagrave's *L'Époque de Voltaire au Canada: Biographie politique de Fleury Mesplet (1734-1794)* (1993). These works, even Lemire's *La vie*, focus exclusively on French-Canadian writing and publishing. The scholars who have studied nineteenth-

[28] Periodicals have long suffered from scholars simply examining them as the vestibules of historical facts or literary morsels, whose husks are tossed aside once they have been plundered; they work as the background or platforms for the study of other subjects and are rarely studied in and of themselves.

century periodicals in English seem to be just as exclusive. The most thorough and scholarly surveys of Canadian periodicals in the nineteenth century are Merill and Linda Distad's chapter on Canada in *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration* (1995) and the "Magazines in English" co-written by Thomas Brewer Vincent, Sandra Aston, and Eli MacLaren in *History of the Book in Canada Vol. I* (2004). Gwendolyn Davies also wrote an excellent comprehensive book on maritime periodicals, *Studies in Maritime Literary History: 1760-1930* (1991). However, other than these surveys, there has been little close analysis of the nineteenth-century and even less of the 1820s Canadian periodical.

Mary Lu MacDonald has done the most work on the literature and the literary scene of the early nineteenth century. Her Master's thesis (1976) and her monograph *Literature and Society in the Canadas, 1817-1850* (1992)—as well as an assemblage of articles—dig deep into the archives and present a social history rich with biographical details, professional accomplishments, and several statistical analyses. MacDonald's work is encyclopaedic and provides a wealth of knowledge of early book history in Montréal; she has brought those involved in print production, such as David Chisholme, A. J. Christie, and George Longmore, to critical notice and has revealed interesting details on Wilcocke as well. I will be using MacDonald's pioneering socio-historical work extensively to plot out my study of the dynamics of power in the print culture world.

There has been little work done on Wilcocke or the *Scribbler*. Carl Ballstadt believes that the *Scribbler* has been neglected because it exists outside of the traceable lineage of Canadian realism that dominates the Canadian canon

("Quest" iii). Mary Lu MacDonald blames the lack of scholarly attention on Wilcocke's reputation and the obscure references in the *Scribbler*:

> [Wilcocke] was largely ignored by early historians of English Canadian literature, probably because they accepted the judgment of the English Montréal power elite that Wilcocke was a felon and his periodical, the *Scribbler*, a scurrilous gossip sheet. It requires a vast and detailed knowledge of English Montréal between 1821 and 1827 to decipher much of the text of the *Scribbler*, a fact which has, no doubt, contributed to the eclipse of the editor's reputation. ("Literary" 48)

I believe the *Scribbler*'s cloaked references aid a Bourdieuvian reading, for they are, though thinly veiled, direct references to how Wilcocke wished to position the *Scribbler* in its print, political, and social environment. It is exactly because the *Scribbler* demands such "vast and detailed knowledge of English Montréal between 1821 and 1827" that it works so well with Bourdieu's approach, which requires a thick and detailed historical analysis of the cultural objects.

Carl F. Klinck, whose research has most significantly shaped our understanding of Wilcocke and on the *Scribbler*, writing Wilcocke's entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* as well as two other articles exclusively on Wilcocke, believed that there was much still about Wilcocke and the *Scribbler* for scholars to examine. He described the state of scholarship on Wilcocke in his autobiography: "I do not feel that I have preempted [*sic*] or completed the subject

of Wilcocke and his *Scribbler*. I believe that many new facts may emerge and that a definitive book will be written about one of our most talented and early writers. Meanwhile I shall leave a carton full of notes for the man or woman who is to write it" (Klinck 185). Informed in part by that carton of notes, this dissertation builds on the work done by MacDonald and Klinck, augmenting and extending their careful research. The new texts that I have discovered, and the facts of the period that I have clarified and accumulated, aid me in theorizing the *Scribbler* and its relationship to other works amidst the field of cultural production.

Theoretical Approach:

To study the *Scribbler* and Lower Canada print production, I am taking a print culture approach, which I see as existing at the intersection of media studies, cultural studies, book history, bibliographic studies, materialist readings, and hermeneutical analysis. This print culture approach ambitiously attempts to take into account the socio-historical, political, and economics conditions under which texts are produced and in which they exist, the agents who produce and consume print products (e.g. publisher, writer, reader), the relationship between texts, and the signs embedded in the text and the paratext. With this combination of studies, I am striving to account for the abstract structuralist/ideological determinants concomitant with strategic subjectivism determinants. In other words, I wish to examine the print scene taking into account the influence of ideology and social structures, yet still allowing for human agency.

To aid me in comprehending these two competing understandings of determinacy, I draw on Bourdieu's model of the field of cultural production. However, there are times where Bourdieu's materialist focus does not allow me to consider the *Scribbler* in terms of its role in the formation of publics that grow out of texts. I thus, undertake to articulate (in Stuart Hall's sense)[29] Bourdieu's theory in dynamic tension with theories such as periodical theory and publics theory (the legacy of Habermas) because I believe that the moment between 1817 and 1828 is a conjuncture of conflicting and contradictory concepts that should not be simplified to fit any specific model. By holding these theories in tension, I can scrutinize how texts create ideologies and contrarily how ideologies create texts.

As Bourdieu's theory of the field of cultural production constitutes the framework for my dissertation, it is worth discussing here at length. Bourdieu's methodology demands that one take into account how other literary, artistic, social, political, and economic factors shape the production of a cultural product. Unlike Foucault's theory of discourse (that sees power struggles only within discrete discourses such as literature) or Bakhtin's theory (that examines the tension of discourse being manifested in intertextual play), Bourdieu's is not limited to text or to a solitary discourse (Bourdieu 33). His theoretical approach accounts for the interrelation of simultaneous struggles for dominance in myriad fields (e.g. the cultural field, the economic field, the field of power). That is, Bourdieu's theoretical approach incorporates not only textual analysis, but also

[29] See David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen's *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (1996).

the larger historical context, the agency of the creator, and the reception of the reader both as an individual and as part of a collective audience.

To understand a cultural product such as a literary text, Bourdieu posits, one must understand the circumstances of its "production, circulation, and consumption" (Bourdieu 140). The products (artistic works, "political acts or pronouncements, manifestos" [30]) are made by a particular "agent" or "posit" (in the case of the field of artistic or cultural production, an author, painter, sculpture, editor, patron, etc.), who through this creation takes a place in the field of other agents who are producing cultural objects. The field constitutes "a space of possibles" (30), in which an agent will act. The position is determined by the structure of the field and possible position-taking within it as well as its particular *habitus*—a disposition or tendency to behave. The *habitus* is not a consciously acquired characteristic, but rather the repercussion of an agent's education, imbued with particular cultural values. It "is the result of a long process of inculcation, beginning in early childhood, which becomes a 'second sense' or a second nature," though in Bourdieu's theory, the agents are also given "agency" to be strategic (R. Johnson
5-6), and thus his theory provides agents with a qualified free will. Bourdieu answers the tricky question of determinacy by steering between subjective agency and ideological structures.

In each field, there is a struggle for power between the dominant and the dominated. To generalize, the struggle within each field is over what constitutes capital—in other words, who gets to define what is imbued with power. In the

field of literary production, for instance, the struggle is over what constitutes literature. As Bourdieu puts it,

> the field of cultural production is the site of struggles in which what is at stake is the power to impose the dominant definition of the writer and therefore to delimit the population of those entitled to take part in the struggle to define the writer...In short, the fundamental stake in literary struggles is the monopoly of literary legitimacy. (42)

A writer holding the dominant position is able to legitimize his or her form of writing (e.g. realism) as the best or most important form of writing, and thus dominates other forms of writing (e.g. magic realism). The struggle is always between the factions in the field who wish "to conserve the established order" and those who are subversive and wish to overthrow this power.

Each field is organized according to its own logic and its own system of exchange of capital. Cultural capital and symbolic capital are exchanged within the literary and artistic fields of production. Cultural capital is accrued by having certain types of knowledge to decode cultural artefacts. Symbolic capital concerns prestige or honour that is recognized in the field (R. Johnson 7). Such systems of exchange are analogous to, but not reducible to, economic capital. That is, the form of capital that is exchanged is possibly inversely related or only minimally related to the distribution of economic capital.

By formulating a model in which the different fields affect one another, Bourdieu moves outside of Foucault's understanding of effects happening in particular discourses (Bourdieu 182). "The degree of autonomy" or the "refraction coefficient" (182) of a particular field in relation to another determines the scale of the effect (44). A struggle for literary legitimacy would have a refracted effect in heteronomical fields (fields in which the balance of power is similarly constituted) (37). The shifts in different fields such as "the passing from a conservative monarchy to a progressive republic" in the political field will affect, to varying degrees, the dynamics of other fields such as the literary field which will subsequently affect particular position-taking such as "the struggle between poets" (182). The refraction effect between fields is the reason why in Bourdieu's model it is imperative to understand the historical events and power struggles in other fields—particularly political and economic fields—in order to understand the dynamics of the cultural field.

Summary of Chapters:

In chapter One, I analyse the historical circumstances of the field of cultural production in Lower Canada from 1817-1828, especially in its relationship to the fields of power and economy. I start by examining the growing persuasive power and symbolic capital that print accrued over the period as Montréal became a place worthy of influencing during the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company pamphleteering war. I explain how both Lord Dalhousie and the merchants were involved in literary production to serve their

own ends, and how Wilcocke positioned himself rhetorically against these two posits by first appropriating the pamphleteering style and then the language of diplomacy. Though the *Scribbler* never truly threatened the state or the merchants, it positioned itself by defining itself against these posits of power.

In chapter Two, I describe the *Scribbler*'s position-taking through its materiality and form. There has recently been excellent work done by David Stewart, David Higgins, Mark Parker, and Paul Keen on British periodicals of the Romantic period. Stewart, Higgins, and Parker look at Romantic magazine construction, whereas Keen looks at periodical essayists and a resurgence of interest in miscellany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I situate the *Scribbler* amongst British magazines to demonstrate how the *Scribbler* appropriated formal changes to the periodical similar to Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. The formal experimentation of the *Examiner* and *Blackwood's* occurred in response to the launching of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 that radically changed the field of cultural production. Though the field of cultural production of Lower Canada was strikingly dissimilar to Britain's, the *Scribbler* incorporates those forms that were available to it to differentiate itself from the dominant form of the newspaper. Specifically, I examine the influence of the Romantic construction of the editorial persona on the *Scribbler* and the Romantic magazines' particular method of maintaining variety while celebrating subjectivity. Because of this formal influence, I argue that British Romanticism had a greater impression on Canadian literature than scholars have hitherto acknowledged.

In chapter Three, I examine how the *Scribbler* depicts the commercial and imperial understandings of British North America and then, having constructed these understandings, defines itself and its readership against them. I argue that Wilcocke cultivates a sense of belonging in the *Scribbler*'s readership as well as promoting a proto-nationalist identity as part of an attempt to increase cultural capital. I scrutinize the formal and rhetorical techniques that Wilcocke used to attempt to bind his readership together. I argue that the *Scribbler* performs the active participation of readers to the periodical in order to solidify this community-oriented depiction of the *Scribbler*. Furthermore, I assert that the Wilcocke's interest in the geography, language, literature, and cultural institutions produced in British North America—which he calls "Canada" (I.3)—is Wilcocke's attempt to define the *Scribbler* by positioning itself and its focus against the transience of commercial trade and the implicit hierarchy of imperialism. The *Scribbler*'s textual community assumed a proto-nationalist appearance in reaction to the prevailing mercantile and imperial narratives of existence. At the end of the chapter, I examine the implications of the recognition of local writing and the attention paid in text to Canada as a place worthy of existence beyond its definition as an empirical outpost or a mercantile trading spot. I postulate on the possibilities of periodicals as sites of political imaginings and the possible powerful ramifications that a periodical's attempt to position itself in the field of cultural production can have on the construction of collective identity.

In the Conclusion, I argue for the potential that exists for further studies of early Canadian periodicals and what such studies would bring to our understandings of Canadian literature. I emphasize particularly the need for more archival work so that Canadian scholars can begin to determine a sense of what reader-response was like in British North America. I also emphasize the need for a re-examination of Canadian literature of the early nineteenth century in light of the recent expansions of the definition of Romantic literature—both British and American—to get a better understanding of the interaction Canadian productions had with these looming movements. Finally, I call for a revaluation of the supposed isolation of English and French print production in nineteenth-century Lower Canada. Though this dissertation was only able to gesture towards the possibilities, I found in my research a rich interaction and an acute sensitivity both in the French and English print production of what was occurring in print in the supposed other "solitude." I conclude by reflecting on the effects of media on a historical moment and what study of the media in that moment can bring not only to our understanding of history, but also to the ways in which forms of communication affect constructions of personal and collective identity.

Chapter One

"Scriblerian labours": The *Scribbler*'s Disruption of the Field of Print Production in Early Nineteenth-Century Lower Canada

The day has finally arrived when I close my Scriblerian labours. My work has stood the buffeting of a period upward of six years. (Scribbler X.374)

Two debates defined the Lower Canadian print scene in which the *Scribbler* existed between 1821 and 1827: the Selkirk Controversy and the Union Debate. The Selkirk Controversy was a war—fought on both land and paper— between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company over Lord Selkirk's Red River colony. The sequence of events that most directly concerned the *Scribbler* occurred between 1817 and 1821. The Union Debate concerned the proposal to unify Upper and Lower Canada put forth before the Imperial Government in 1822. The *Scribbler* emerged at a lull between these two debates, an opportune moment to launch a periodical that purported to disavow party politics. The *Scribbler*'s declaration of impartiality, however, was hardly disinterested; indeed, it was just the first instance of a posturing that continued for the next six years of its existence. This chapter examines the rhetorical positioning of the *Scribbler*'s early years to illustrate the effect of the field of

cultural production on the *Scribbler* as it adapted with the field in its struggle for success.

The printing world of the Lower Canadas between 1817 and 1828 was frenetic, particularly in its periodical production. It was filled with false starts, title alterations, proprietary takeovers, changes in editorship, libel cases, and quick bankruptcy (Hare and Wallot 77). To understand the over fifty attempts at periodical production and the dozens of pamphlets that came out between 1817 and 1828, I draw on Bourdieu's model of the field of cultural production. While Bourdieu's work provides a valuable conceptual model that allows us an entry point into a discussion of the relationship between print and power in the early part of the nineteenth century, its application into a period before large-scale production and distribution is not straightforward. Bourdieu's famous sustained analysis of the field of cultural production is based on the "second half of the nineteenth century, the period in which the literary field attained its maximum autonomy" (Bourdieu 46). In France at this time, the field of cultural production, Bourdieu states, is a capitalist market trading in capital goods. The field of cultural production in this historical moment is autonomous because the logic of dominance in the field is not concordant to the field of power: cultural capital—that which is exchanged in the field of cultural production—is inversely related to economic and political capital. That is, those things that indicate political power and economic wealth do not indicate cultural knowledge (i.e. cultural capital). "The indices such as book sales, number of theatrical performances, etc. or honours, appointments, etc." (37) might demonstrate economic success, but they

do not accrue cultural capital because, in the historical moment which Bourdieu is discussing, the understanding of art by bourgeois artists—that had held the dominant position—had been subverted by the "art for art's sake" movement in the struggle.

In British North America at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the field of literary and artistic production was more heteronomous to the economic and political fields. That is, cultural and symbolic capital were tied intrinsically to political power and economic capital; those who had money and political power, generally, were able to dictate what defined artistic and literary legitimacy. Many periodicals were funded by religious and political bodies via both direct sponsorship and through subscription. Thus, indicators of success included the following: who subscribed and patronized a periodical, the size of its distribution, the subscription numbers, and the periodical's longevity. Likewise, literary superiority was symbolically defined by expense of the paper and its quality. However, the early nineteenth century in Lower Canada demarks the emergence of a nascent capitalist economy and the dominance of those who held political and economic power was under attack. Some periodicals affected disinterestedness and even disdain for the political debates and economic pursuits. In sum, print production in this emerging capitalist market was generally, but not always, aligned with political and economic powers. Indeed, as we shall see, Wilcocke positions the *Scribbler* both in alignment and at odds with the economic and political powers, depending on which will increase his right to legitimacy in the field.

The Selkirk Controversy:

Until 1817, by far the majority of print productions that pertained to British North America catered to a British or American audience. Books about British North America until about 1810 were predominantly exploration narratives of searches for the Northwest Passage. These narratives were published officially by the Royal Navy, capturing the imagination of the British reading public and "securing public and parliamentary support" for the vast amount of money spent on such ventures (MacLaren 36-37). After the publication of George Heriot's *Travels through the Canadas* (London) in 1807, British North America began to be represented in print as a travel destination. Such works as Heriot's, John Lambert's *Travels through Lower Canada, and the United States of America* (London, 1810), and John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local, and Characteristic* (Edinburgh, 1821) disclosed to the British reading public descriptions of scenic tours through the colonies, employing picturesque descriptions of the Native North Americans and Canadiens (MacLaren 40-41). These representations of British North America were crafted either to justify parliamentary decisions or to cater to British reading tastes. None of these works was published in British North America or had a British North American audience in mind.

Given eighteenth-century British audiences' appetite for travel narratives, the adventures of the fur trade would have easily found an audience. However, most of the fur trade narratives that now circulate were published well after the events actually occurred. The Hudson's Bay Company "discourage[d] and

prohibit[ed] publication," not letting up "its stranglehold" until the 1840s (MacLaren 39).[30] Other fur trading companies seemed equally discouraging of print (MacLaren 39). The HBC feared that print would both disclose the insalubrious activities done to accomplish trade and provide information to their competitors. The HBC had long been at war with other trading companies such as the North West Company, but the vicious competition between companies and the violence accompanying or substituting for law within the companies[31] stayed in the hinterland. All the components of war—besieging and burning forts, ransacking supplies, killing people—were events the companies tolerated and even endorsed.[32] Commercial conflict bred violence. However, the events did not concern the British public—or the British North American one—until Lord Selkirk's settlement at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

Lord Selkirk's settlement, commonly known as the Red River Settlement, had been controversial from its start in 1812. The problem with the settlement was that its 300,000 km² included part of the routes that were used to transport fur out of the west and pemmican in. This at first did not cause great alarm to the NWC who primarily used these trade routes. However, short on food for his colony, the first governor Miles Macdonell declared the Pemmican Proclamation in 1814 disallowing the transportation of supplies from the region. The proclamation

---

[30] The HBC did allow Samuel Hearne's *A Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (1795), but only twenty-five years after it was written.

[31] As Tina Loo states, "the conventional wisdom about law and order in the fur trade is that the former was absent and therefore the latter was violent" (18). See also John Phillip Reid's "Principles of Vengeance: Fur Trappers, Indians, and Retaliation for Homicide in the Transboundary North American West."

[32] See J. M. Bumsted, *Fur Trade Wars: The Founding of Western Canada*. Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 1999.

effectively stopped all trade (Bumsted, "Red River"). The NWC employees retaliated, and in the end burned the settlement to the ground. It was after this event that presses became involved.

Initially, like the other publications that had come out about British North America, the pamphlets were directed towards the British public. W. S. Wallace avows that "the first gun in the controversy was fired by Selkirk when he published in London 1816 his *Sketch of the British fur-trade in North America, with observations relative to the north-west company of Montréal"* (45). Rev. John Strachan, an inhabitant of Upper Canada, retorted in another pamphlet published in London. It was after Strachan's pamphlet that the Montréal presses became involved. Archibald MacDonald replied to Strachan's pamphlet in a series of letters in the *Montréal Herald* that were then collected into a pamphlet that was also published in Montréal. Adam McAdam (probably a pseudonym) replied to MacDonald—again originally in the *Herald* and then as a pamphlet published in Montréal.[33] The controversy occurred simultaneously now in three places, all of which were interconnected: in Rupert's Land, in the London press, and finally in the Montréal press. The importance of this publication history lies in where the writers—or those hiring the writers—thought it was critical to publish and whom they thought it necessary to persuade. There is a gradual but definite transition of the discourse from London to Montréal and thus to the Montréal and Lower Canada populace.

[33] For information on these texts, see Wallace's checklist in his short article "The Literature Relating to the Selkirk Controversy."

This movement is clear in the events after June 1816, dubbed "the Massacre of Seven Oaks." In retaliation for the burning of the colony, the HBC attacked and seized the North West Company's Fort Gibraltar. On 19 June 1816, a group of Métis employed by the North West Company, led by Cuthbert Grant, killed the settlement's new governor, Robert Semple, and a group of 14 colonists, after accidently stumbling across them in the bush (Bumsted, *Fur Trade* 97).

It is because of and into this controversy that Wilcocke made his entrance into the print world of British North America. Hired by Henry MacKenzie of the NWC in the spring of 1817 (B1797 p. 73). Wilcocke quickly produced *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America, Since the Connexion of the Right Hon. The Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his Attempt to Establish a Colony on the Red River* (London, 1817).[34] Wilcocke positions the piece as a reply to a review of Selkirk's *Sketch* in the *Quarterly Review* (issue 31) and other notice in "public print and journals" (iv) to which is attached an appendix that contains copies of affidavits, dispositions, letters, and speeches that apparently support Wilcocke's argument. The entire work suitably resembles the records of a court proceeding, foreshadowing the convoluted court cases in which Selkirk and the NWC would become involved. John Halkett released a response to Wilcocke's *Narrative* in London in 1817, entitled *Observations upon a recent publication entitled "A narrative of occurrences in the Indian countries," &c.*

[34] This work was extremely popular it seems, finding its way into the libraries of Walter Scott and James Boswell. See http://www.librarything.com/catalog/WalterScottLibrary and http://www.librarything.com/catalog/JamesBoswell.

The works that were published first in London were released in translation in British North America both in English and in French. Halkett's text was released in a French translation and an American edition in 1818 (Wallace 49). A revised edition was reprinted in Montréal by Nahum Mower in 1818 "and two editions of French translation, by Hughes Heney, were printed in Montréal" the same year (Wallace 49). After these republications, the place of original publication shifts to Montréal. Edward Ellice's *The communications of "Mercator"* in support of the North West Company as well as a French translation of the work were published in Montréal in Montréal in 1817. There was one original French pamphlet by François Firmin Boucher. It was published in 1819 (Wallace 49). Some of the French Canadiens attempted to stay out of the fight. Charles-Bernard Pasteur, the proprietor of the *Le Spectateur Canadien* (1813-29) fired Henry-Antoine Mézière (1771-1846) as his editor because Mézière had been paid off by the North West Company to support their cause (Plante 2). Mézière launched a paper of his own, the *L'Abeille Canadienne* in August 1818, but it had little political influence, as it was composed mostly of reprinted articles from French journals (Galarneau).[35] It was obvious, however, that the French Canadiens as well as the English of British North America were a sought-after audience. J. M. Bumsted remarks in his biography of Lord Selkirk that the colony's founder, upon coming out of Rupert's Land in 1818, "now understood that he was losing badly the press war with the North West Company.

[35] As Mary Lu MacDonald states, there was a variety of French periodicals available between 1817 and 1819 ("Literary Life" 43); the *Spectateur Canadien*, Michel Bibaud's *L'Aurore* (1817-1819) and his *Le Courrier du Bas-Canada* (Oct.1819-Dec.1819), *Le Canadien*, and *L'Abeille Canadienne* (1818-1819) were all circulating.

He also appreciated that his reputation and the future of his settlement would be decided both in the press and in the courts" (358). The North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company realized how important pamphleteering had become. The attacks in Rupert's Land won trade routes, provisions, and land, but only the printed word was able to secure public opinion.

The trials that were a result of the Massacre of Seven Oaks became embroiled in Canadian politics. Disputes erupted over whether Lower Canada or Upper Canada had jurisdiction in Rupert's Land. The trials transferred from one province to another, delaying the proceedings. Selkirk realized that the "Canadian ruling classes held enormous power over the courts," the majority of whom were partners in the North West Company and who were "close friends" with the members of the colonial government (Bumsted, *Selkirk* 361). The results of the indictments were minimal. One of two North West employees brought to trial was convicted, but the sentence that he be hanged was never carried through. The trials resulted in three more publications by Wilcocke that were transcripts of the trials. [36] The HBC hired William Simpson as a lithographer to transcribe the trials. However, Simpson was slow, and Wilcocke was able to produce his work of five-hundred odd pages within the year, while Simpson did not produce his version until the following year (Bumsted, *Selkirk* 370). Thus, the Selkirk controversy

36 These were *Report of the Trials of Charles de Reinhard and Archibald M'Lellan for Murder, at a Court of Oyer and Terminer, Held at Québec May, 1818* (1818); *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North West Company, at the Assizes, Held in York in Upper Canada, October 1818* (1818); and *Report of Proceedings at a Court of Oyer and Terminer Appointed for the Investigation of Cases from the Indian Territories, Held...at Québec...21st October, 1819* (1819). He was working on a document about the death of Benjamin Frobisher when he fled the country in 1820, (See Masson).

provoked original texts to be produced in British North America about British North America. The direction of reprinting shifted with the focus of the argument. The trial transcriptions were later printed for a British audience, but what was clear was that the audience in the Canadas was essential to deciding the dispute.

In struggle for public notoriety and legitimacy both in the courts and in the press, the NWC went severely into debt, as did Lord Selkirk and the HBC. The NWC found access to capital simply by not paying its overwintering partners. In the end, this led to the NWC's demise. In 1820, the overwintering partners forced a deal that was essentially a merger of the HBC and the NWC. Not everyone was happy about the events. In Fort William, as the new company assembled, there was much hostility between the newly minted partners, as they had been bitter rivals for years. Likewise, the merger inspired physical violence in Montréal. In a letter to Lord Dalhousie dated October 19th, 1821, John Halkett, the HBC's most successful pamphleteer, confided that when he arrived in Montréal, two previous officers of the NWC had tried to horsewhip him, one of them was Vanderlys, who had ransacked Wilcocke's home and hunted him down when he had fled to the United States. Though the war between the HBC and the NWC had officially ended, an underlying hostility still existed, especially towards those who were involved in the forefront of battle in the press. The dangerous but exciting controversy still had its hold on the structure of the field of cultural production when the *Scribbler* emerged earlier that year.

The *Scribbler* Enters the Field of Cultural Production:

At the moment when the *Scribbler* forayed into a field of print production, the dynamics of the field were still under the influence of the fur trade company debate and had not yet been hit by the union question. The first issue of 28 June 1821 was a duodecimo-sized, eight-page weekly, purporting to be the work of Lewis Luke MacCulloh, Esq.[37] Its small, single-column format and its eight-page length visually distinguished it from other weekly productions circulating at the time such as the *Montréal Gazette*, the *Montréal Herald*, and the *Spectator Canadien*, all of which were much larger 3-5 column newspaper productions, printed on half sheets, usually comprising four pages. The *Scribbler*, though longer than the newspapers, was at first considerably shorter than any of the biweekly, monthly, or quarterly productions that had existed. However, no such productions—at least in English—had existed for quite some time. *L'Abeille Canadienne* (1818-19) by Mézière was the last longer, magazine-like publication attempted in Lower Canada. In English, the last attempt in Lower Canada had been John Neilson's *British American Register* in 1803, but it lasted only from January to July (Beaulieu and Hamelin 7). It had followed the *Québec Magazine* (1792-4) in Lower Canada and John Howe and William Cochran's *Nova-Scotia Magazine* from 1789-1792 in Halifax (Vincent et al. 241-42). The *Christian Recorder* (1819-1821)[38] in Upper Canada had been driven into existence by its editor John Strachan, but it too had folded by the time the *Scribbler* was first

[37] Wilcocke later explains that this pseudonym, Lewis Luke MacCulloh, is an anagram of Samuel Hull Wilcocke (X.350).

[38] This is possibly the same paper that Gundy refers to as the *Christian Examiner* (1819-1820) in the *Literary History of Canada* (190).

published (243). Vincent et al. suggest that the lack of larger literary productions through the first two decades of the nineteenth century was due to energies being focused on the war with the United States (242). Whatever the reason, there were no local magazine-type productions in circulation in British North America when the *Scribbler* entered the field of cultural production, and Wilcocke's production did not resemble any that had been produced.

Rhetorically, the *Scribbler* positioned itself at first as a neutral production. This positioning had as much to do with Wilcocke's past as it did with the field of cultural production. It claimed that it would avoid politics and religious matters and would only write on polite fashion, public utility, domestic economy, instructive and profitable topics, "variegated with occasional pieces of poetry" (I.3-5). The *Scribbler* also differentiated itself from its contemporary print productions by acting as a review and focussing on reader contributions. Wilcocke states that he intends "to review any literary publications that may appear in Canada, or that may particularly relate to this country" (I.3). He also invites contributions from his "courteous readers":

> Moreover, courteous friends, "My very worth and approved good masters," and mistress too I should add, ye who are or will be, at the same time my patrons and my pupils, I trust likewise that I shall, from time to time, be favoured with our correspondence, and that many a stout pen, from the wing of a goose, and many a slender and delicate crow-quill, in the hand of a fair lady, may be flourished, in addressing a billet to the Scribbler; and selections

> from such communications I flatter myself will make one of the most interesting features of my hebdomadal appearance. (4-5)

Wilcocke invites contributions to his paper, which was an uncommon approach amongst other periodicals that aspired towards miscellanies written in Lower Canada. Wilcocke's dramatization of the event, the "stout pen" of the men and the flourished address to the *Scribbler* from the crow-quill of the "fair lady," perform an intimacy that suggests it is not just a rhetorical request.

In the quotation, Wilcocke seems to be directing his publication towards upper-class readers, the idle rich. He explicitly invites women to both read the paper and to write in it, an activity that only upper-class women would have the ability and luxury to do in the colony. Other papers that aimed towards miscellany, such as the *Sun*, usually advertised that they would include entries on moral, religious, economic, political, and agricultural topics. The *Sun*'s prospectus states it would publish "différentes productions dont le but leur paraitra tendre à fortifier des sentiement religieux et moraux, à favoriser la culture de l'esprit, les progès de l'agriculture et du commerce. Ils ne veulent négliger aucun moyen de réunir dans leur publication l'utile et l'agréable."[39] Papers positioned themselves as the spreaders of "useful knowledge" that were necessary for survival in the province. Beaulieu and Hamelin maintain that Charles-Bernard Pasteur, in his years as proprietor, printer, and editor of the *Le Spectateur Canadien*, aspired to spread useful knowledge throughout the population so that people would understand agricultural methods, as well as the form of government to which they

[39] *Spectateur Canadien* 20 May 1816 3.52 p. 4 col. 3)

were subject and under which they had certain rights (29). Wilcocke seems determined to propose the paper to the upper echelon of society, which, interestingly, was made up of many of the partners of the North West Company, an audience, one might have thought, Wilcocke would consider hostile towards him.

At the time of the first issue, and until the following year, Wilcocke was held in prison for debt by the North West Company and had been indicted with several accounts of forgery and grand larceny, all of which, though he was not charged, he appeared to be guilty of committing.[40] Though he had finally been caught, Wilcocke's mercenary needs seem to have driven him to continue writing for the public, but exposing himself would be disastrous if he was trying to gain an upper-class readership. It is thus not surprising that Wilcocke steered the paper away from party politics, nor is it surprising that he published the paper under the

[40] Wilcocke faced trial in November of the previous year, where he had been indicted for three accounts of forgery, five accounts of grand larceny, and one account of obtaining money under false pretences. Wilcocke was accused, according to the *Québec Mercury*'s full two-page spread on the trial, of cashing several cheques twice, after the bank officers had failed to cancel them (*Québec Mercury* 28 Nov. 1820, n.48 pp. 380-81). Wilcocke embezzled, through this means and others, at least 800 pounds when he absconded to the United States Wilcocke got off on a technicality. His defence argued successfully that for robbery to have been committed, the property had to be either in the possession of the Master (real possession), or in the possession of the servant to whom the master gave the property (constructive possession). Since the cheques that Wilcocke cashed were given to him by an intermediary servant, a Mr. Heltrick, the property became ownerless, and thus Wilcocke was not committing a felony by acquiring it (*Québec Mercury*). Second, the defence argued that the cheques themselves did not have any legal value. Wilcocke's defence counsel argued that the purpose for which the cheques were issued had been answered by their first payment at the Bank, and thus they ceased to be of any value: "The declaration of the officers of the Bank, that they would have paid them in consequence of their not being annulled, was of no avail. The law considers the cheque to be annulled, and if the bank suffers itself to be duped into repayment (unless the drawer, by reissuing it, again gives it value) the bank itself must sustain the loss; the drawer is not liable. Having become extinct in the eye of reason and law, the paper found with the prisoner is of no value, the taking of it cannot therefore be felony. The duplicity of Wilcocke and his ability to trick those through the other popular circulation paper medium, currency, make him and his periodical suspect" (*Québec Mercury* 28 Nov. 1820, n.48 pp. 380-81).

pseudonym Lewis Luke MacCulloh, which is obviously Scottish, and it aligns the periodical, somewhat mischievously, with merchant Scots of the North West Company and Lord Dalhousie. The paper also came from a neutral printer. It was published by James Lane, whom Mary Lu MacDonald describes as a "shadowy figure" in Canadian literary history ("Literary" 43). By the time he printed the *Scribbler*, Lane was known as the printer of Pasteur's moderate *Spectateur Canadien* and a number of pamphlets, as well the editor and printer of the equally moderate *Western Star*. The *Western Star*'s epigraph, "England! With All Thy Faults I love Thee Still," denotes its search for reform as well as its loyalty to the crown. Lane would later own the *Canadian Spectator* and the *Spectateur Canadien* in which he espoused anti-union and pro-Assembly sentiments, but in 1821, he had not revealed such politics.

Until the twentieth issue, the *Scribbler* is full of what it originally promised. There is a review of G. Franchere's *Relation d'un voyage à la côte du nord-ouest de l'amérique septentrionale dans les années 1810, 11, 12, 13 et 14* (1820) printed in Montréal (I.25), a discussion of women's hats (I.30), an essay on death (I.17-24), a description of the festival of St. Ann (I.35), a exposition on nick-names (I.36), a promotion for a theatre (I.46), a review of A. J. Christie's the *Emigrant's Assistant* (I.24), an essay on the virtues of horse racing (I.86), a discussion of the plays of Massinger, whom Wilcocke heralds as being as great as Shakespeare (I.137), all interspersed with original poetry and some traditional ballads. The content is not entirely edgeless: it hints at the politicism, the wit, and the lewdness to come, but they seem harmlessly imbedded in the other material.

Wilcocke relates a tale that alludes to the propensity of husbands to cheat on their wives (I.37), includes a poem about how a woman made her child return from the edge of a cliff by exposing her breast (I.62-63), and even discusses the king's custom of keeping prostitutes permanently at certain roadway houses for his use on his travels (I.103-4). These entries are somewhat lewd, but hardly scandalous.

In issue twenty, dated 8 November 1821, Wilcocke publishes the first of the letters from Pulo Penang, in which he chronicles his own experiences with the North West Company under the guise of events occurring in the East-Indies (I.154). The Pulo Penang letters are concomitant to his slippage into personal satire. He refers to the North West Company, which was predominantly run by McTavish, McGillivray, & Co., as "McRavish, McKillaway & Co." (I.296), obviously offensive nicknames. These attacks only multiplied when Wilcocke introduced the section of his paper under the heading "Domestic Intelligencer," which he proposes in issue thirty-three (7 February 1822) and continues to include in every few issues for the duration of the publication (I.261).

Wilcocke obviously decided to radically refashion the paper after November of 1821, and does so by hinting at and then revealing his identity. It appears that his tactic of neutrality in the field of cultural production had not worked out as he had hoped, so he seems to have returned to what he knew sold from his experience as a pamphleteer writer: scandal. I posit that the structure of the field of cultural production, so dominated previously by the merchants, demanded that he either appease them—which must have seemed unrealistic after trying to steal so much from them—or that he position himself and the *Scribbler*

against them. In essence, he tried to draw them into another press war using himself as bait.

In the twenty-fifth issue, dated 13 December 1821, Wilcocke openly criticizes the recent union of the North West Company and the Hudson Bay's Company as well as condemning commerce in general for impeding the accumulation of knowledge:

> But, although commercial enterprise is the friendly and fostering parent of the exploration of new countries, it is a narrowminded, an invidious, and a sordid step-mother to every species of information, and views with a jaundiced and vindictive eye every effort to disclose to the rest of mankind those avenues to wealth. (I.194)

He refers to the North West Company as "the vile, mercantile, purse-proud oligarchy" (I.281), and insists that they have no interest but wealth, unable to partake in social activities because they are "nailed to counter like a counterfeit dollar" (I.191). In issue twenty-seven, the *Scribbler* includes an advertisement by Wilcocke himself, threatening "the North West Company, and others whom it may concern" (I.223). The advertisement demands that the North West Company print a report of his trial at which he was acquitted or else he will print one "of the same with remarks on ALL THE WITNESS *and their evidence* and HIS DEFENCE AT LARGE" (I.216).

Wilcocke's slippage into personal satire provoked response. In the twenty-eighth issue, he writes of the recent attention he has received in the press and his provocation of it:

> It was matter of great surprise to me that for ten months my essays made their weekly appearance, without exciting or provoking any public printed remark, or criticism. I was almost *au desespoir* for fear that I should continue to walk over the course without a single one venturing to enter the lists; I have purposely inserted in my papers some blunders, and have started some peculiar topics, in the hopes of provoking animadversion; at length, to my great satisfaction, two or three writers have come forward. (I.355)

Wilcocke admits that his paper was meant to be inflammatory, especially for the other newspapers. He has purposefully set himself up, attempting to solicit a response. Wilcocke, who never allows "*any thing* [*sic*] *to go* unanswered" (I.354), responds to letters by JACUSNESUS and Mores in the *Montréal Gazette* and D. H. in the *Québec Mercury* (I.354-5). He also duels in verse with Tresillian in the *Upper Canada Gazette*, responding to Tressillan's "Epistle to a Scribbler" (III.229; III.251). Wilcocke also fills the pages of the *Scribbler* with these verbal spats, printing, for instance, a letter to Mores that he wrote and that was rejected by the *Gazette* (I.385-90), and he usually reprints his attackers' letters in the *Scribbler* as well. Wilcocke drew as much attention to any type of controversy as possible.

In the *Literary Miscellany*, H. J. Hagan describes Wilcocke's shift into personal satire. He writes:

> This extraordinary person, when he commenced his career as Editor of a noted publication, on finding that the dignified style of the moralist and sage would not suit the low humour of the inhabitants of this town, by altering his mode of writing, and making it conformable to their inclination, displayed a rare and happy versatility of genius, which could move with equal grace in the beggarly and sordid rags of Diogenes, as in the splendid and courtly attire of Aristippus. (III.112)

Wilcocke's willingness to wear "the beggarly and sordid rags of Diogenes" is evinced in his reprinting the quotation in the *Scribbler.* Similarly, Wilcocke states that he had made the transformation because he sold more papers. Freely admitting his pecuniary ends was a position-taking at odds with his seething criticisms of commerce; nonetheless, it worked. The *Scribbler*'s viciousness seemed to appeal to the audience in Montréal. By attacking the upper echelon, the *Scribbler* was able to hold its place in the field and continue for six years, unlike many of its contemporaries. No matter how elegantly Hagan wants to phrase Wilcocke's shift, Wilcocke's new attention to personal satire inflamed the North West Company. Wilcocke got the response he was looking for.

In early May 1822, a lengthy pamphlet entitled *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Samuel Hull Wilcocke, during his residence in Canada* by The Man

of Ross[41] was distributed, free-of-charge, throughout the streets of Montréal. It is the only known pamphlet of early nineteenth-century Canada that was distributed this way. No printer, normally, would have wished to print something so risky unless the writer paid handsomely upfront. Wilcocke surmised that David Chisholme wrote the pamphlet for the North West Company (I.459). Chisholme had connections to the merchants as he worked for Turner at the *Gazette* (though after the pamphlet was published), and his letter of introduction to Dalhousie was inexplicably signed by John Richardson and Roderick and Henry MacKenzie, of the North West Company (B1752 p. 50). These facts, in conjunction with Chisholme's defence of the merchants and the style of the pamphlet being written in the same garrulous and supercilious way as Chisholme's *Canadian Magazine*, suggest that Wilcocke was correct. The pamphlet outright defends the North West Company's actions, and given the expense of the production, it must have been solicited by someone who had access to considerable wealth. Indeed, the pamphlet is as much an advertisement for the NWC as it is an attack on Wilcocke:

> for many years back [the NWC] have carried a wide—an extended—and a liberal traffic into climes into which Europe had never impressed a single trace of her boasted civilization; and have scattered the example of their industry and the influence of their riches... —They have dealt with men in the very infancy of social improvement—They have tried the species in the first stages of its

[41] The Man of Ross" is a reference to Alexander Pope's poetic tribute to John Kyrle in his Third Epistle of the Moral Essays, "Of the Use of Riches" (1734). Kyrle, or "The Man of Ross," was an English Philanthropist who instigated and oversaw many improvements in the town of Ross (Harvey 456).

> rudeness, and ferocity—And no less by the clemency and mildness of their public conduct to barbarians than by the liberality and kindness of their private behaviour to their dependeants [*sic*], do they feel justified in... entertaining a conscientious conviction of the integrity of their transactions. (12-13)

The pamphlet does not describe Wilcocke in such laudatory terms. Indeed, it easily outdoes the *Scribbler* as the dirtiest work circulated in nineteenth-century British North America.

The pamphlet tries to strike a deathblow to the *Scribbler* by revealing Wilcocke's previous personal life. It participates in the same type of slander and scurrilous prose seen in the pamphleteering war, and thus proves that Wilcocke did succeed in reinstating the battle. By this time, the structure of the field had changed because the NWC and the HBC merged, thus melding into one posit of power. Wilcocke was now no longer writing for the NWC, and those he had worked for and who he had likely robbed were absorbed into the HBC.

Using private papers purloined from Samuel Hull Wilcocke's apartment after he had absconded to the United States, the pamphlet launches a vicious assault on Wilcocke's person.[42] In the pamphlet, The Man of Ross claims that he

[42] According to Wilcocke in his *Letter to the Solicitor General* published the year before (1821), much of the information from the letters had already been distributed:

> My papers so far from having been considered as private or sacred, have been bandied about, scattered indiscriminately on tables and on floors, left open to the inspection, and subjected to the remarks and sneers of constables, bailiffs, bailiffs' followers, clerks and boys…. [They] have been retailed and propagated, communicated to *friends*; and even, in order to resist actions brought for false imprisonment, put on the fyles of the Court of King's Bench.
>
> (13)

wrote and distributed the pamphlet to warn the public of Wilcocke's true nature in order to persuade them "that the time will come when their fancied admiration of [his] writings, however exquisitely felt or eloquently uttered, is noting [sic] better than the wretched flummery of a sickly and deceitful imagination!" (10-11). In an attempt to stop the reading of the *Scribbler*, The Man of Ross divulges secrets about Wilcocke that he would "*rather have died than have discovered*" (Wilcocke, *Solicitor General* 13). Purporting to quote from a letter by Wilcocke to his mistress Ann Lewis, dated September 1817, the pamphlet reads:

> The times when at Kensington-Gore and at Walworth you used to be sent from me to L____, and sometimes from him to me, were often also extremely delightful, and I enjoyed you with the greatest pleasure when you come to me with your overflowing buttered bun, reeking warm, and drenching wet, from the downright, lusty, long, and vigorous _____ L____ used to give you, and which I hope he does not fall off in—I beg you will tell me now and then how you do the job with him—in what posture—whether he diddles your little dock nicely—whether he licks your delicious slit till you spend—whether you handle his _____, and famous_____, and how often a night you have it. (38)

The Man of Ross's shocking publication of Wilcocke's personal letters betraying Wilcocke's amoral conduct, voyeuristic fetish, and satyromanic bent

---

The accessible nature of the documents because of their distribution, which Wilcocke claims was illegal, and because the pamphlet was distributed for free suggest that the only reason to publish the documents was to suppress Wilcocke's writing.

provide a condemning portrait. However, the exposure of the letters in the *Sketch* is not only shocking because of its content, but because it was thought necessary. The Man of Ross's claim that Wilcocke should be condemned because he dared to "distribute among society the ravings of his brain…the follies of his heart" (11) and failed to abstain "from intermeddling with the purity and righteousness of private character" (11-12) rings hollow as the pamphlet exhibits all the qualities that it purports to condemn. Though Wilcocke undoubtedly provoked the wrath of The Man of Ross, the viciousness of the personal attack embedded in *The Sketch of Samuel Hull Wilcocke* does not seem in proportion to Wilcocke's relatively tame practice of lampooning and chastising public figures in the *Scribbler*. The NWC's decision to engage with Wilcocke, especially by publishing what is essentially pornography, undercuts their own moral stance and demonstrates that they felt the *Scribbler* posed an immediate threat.

A careful reading of the rhetoric of *The Sketch* shows that the Man of Ross uses Wilcocke's sexual transgressions and weak morals as symbolic of a disease that could infect the entire colony, if spread through print. The Man of Ross refers to Wilcocke as "polluted with crime" (11), and equipped with a "sickly imagination" (11). It is these "sickly" items that "intermeddle[d] with the purity and righteousness of private character" (11). He uses the language of sickness to describe Wilcocke's love affair: "[Wilcocke would] rush into the polluted arms of vice, there to inhale the tasteless torpor of its atmosphere, to drink of the poisoned draught of its turbulent and loathsome fountain, and wall in the mire of its pestilential regions—while he festered in the very infection of his crimes" (35-

36). Not only has Wilcocke's *Scribbler* become a public threat, a "dangerous contagion which the shameless subjects upon which they treated might spread amongst the young and unthinking" (75), but they, as well as his polluted body, can infect and corrupt the very foundations of the British rule in British North America. The "loathsome fountain" of sexual transgression is pitted against the "pure fountain of British rights, and British legislation" (6). The Man of Ross suggests that Wilcocke's private sexual indiscretions pollute the public government and even British rights.

Interestingly, the exchange between Wilcocke and the Man of Ross intervenes in the same discourse. Both attempt to demonstrate moral authority over the other and to accuse the other of hidden agendas, licentious behaviour, and the spreading of disease. It is the same type of discourse that Lord Selkirk used to condemn the North West Company in 1816, accusing them of spreading disease and alcoholism throughout the Indian territories (Bumsted, *Selkirk* 210). Somewhat oddly, neither Wilcocke nor The Man of Ross seems desirous of attempting to redefine virtue and thus they do not try to subvert the hegemonic discourse, rather participating in it. The pamphlet did to some extent work. Although it was able to threaten the printer James Lane to abandon the project, according to Wilcocke, before their contract was due, Wilcocke seemed to be the ultimate winner as he was able to capitalize on the attention given to his publication. He found a new printer in Burlington after he was released from prison. Amazingly, he was publishing again within three weeks. The tension between the *Scribbler* and the North West Company did not necessarily subside

by June of the following year, but particular political developments shifted the structure of the field of cultural production.

The Union Question in the Press:

The other dispute that affected the field of cultural production concerned the proposed union of Lower and Upper Canada. The *Constitutional Act* of 1791 introduced an elected Assembly into the government of Lower Canada, giving the French majority representation and legal power. The Duke of Richmond had first introduced the question of the union in 1819 (Ormsby 278). The situation was as follows. Upper Canada had no access to an ocean port. This deprived it of a source of revenue for the government, as most of the revenue for the colonies was derived from custom duties. An agreement had existed, until 1819, whereby the revenue of the port of Québec was shared by the two provinces. The larger problem was the power that the Canadiens had gained in the Assembly because the Assembly controlled the purse. The Governor and the Executive committee could not disperse funds without the Assembly's agreement (Creighton 125). If the two provinces were united, the forty seats that constituted the Upper Canadian legislature representing 120,000 people would have considerable power if conjoined to the fifty seats that made up the Assembly, though they represented 500,000 inhabitants (Ouellet 201). Thus, the Assembly would be weighted heavily in favour of the British, even though they would be representing a far

smaller number of inhabitants. In essence, the French feared that the balance of power would shift into the hands of the British minority.

The merchants also wanted to dissolve the French majority in the Assembly because they "foresaw even greater power falling to a majority which was hostile to economic development and social change" (Ouellet 199). There had been an attempt by the merchants to stop the division of the old Province of Québec in 1791, and they supported the possible re-union (Ormsby 279). Edward Ellice, who orchestrated the union of the NWC and HBC in 1821, was one of its most enthusiastic proponents. The merchants wanted the union because it would allow them to severely reduce costs. The fur trade was failing as an industry and the merchants saw the union as the only possible salvation (Bumsted, *Selkirk* 370). Thus, the merchants suddenly looked to the power of the press to influence the populace for their own political ends. The ruling minority also favoured the union as it would balance if not overwhelm the French Canadian populace with English speaking immigrants and Loyalists. The French population saw the proposal as an attempt to renege on the *Québec Act* of 1774, parts of which had already been repealed in the *Constitutional Act* of 1791, that maintained the French civil law, and French seigniorial system of land organization, and allowed Roman Catholics to hold positions of power.

Though discussions about the union had existed since its division, and the union had been proposed by Governor Richmond "to cure the constitutional ills" (Ormsby 278), the question was not considered in England until March of 1822 and not put before the House of Commons until June (Ormsby 284). This

occurred, by adept manoeuvring by Ellice, without consulting or notifying Lower Canada's government.[43] Historian Fernand Ouellet asserts that "rumours of the union plan and its sponsorship by the British authorities first reached lower Canada in June, 1822" (201). The rumours fuelled the press and restructured the field in Montréal.

In May, Thomas A. Turner, one of the founding nine members of the Bank of Montréal[44] and a partner in Allison, Turner, and Co., bought *La Gazette Montréal/The Montréal Gazette* from James Brown (Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La Presse* 6).[45] In June, Turner announced that the paper, originally a bilingual production, was to be printed solely in English. The *Gazette* had been one of the more non-partisan papers, but under Turner it changed to support British and mercantile interests. Indeed, Turner changed the name of the paper in 1824 to the *Montréal Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, thus signifying its investment in commercial activity (Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La Presse* 6). It seems unlikely that Turner bought the paper because of the union debate—although once he was in control, he did use it to serve mercantile interests. Other papers, however, sprung

[43] For a detailed account of how the union was brought before parliament, see Ormsby.
[44] Merrill Denison states that the founders of the Bank of Montréal—John Richardson, George Garden, George Moffatt, Robert Armour, James Leslie, Horatio Gates, John C. Bush, Austin Cuvillier, and Thomas A. Turner—were referred to simply as the "Montréal Merchants," representing a the Montréal commercial world. Denison points out though, that this powerful conglomerate had several representatives that were allied with the North West Company and the Hudson Bay Company (72-73).
[45] Turner had tried to buy the *Montréal Herald*, but had not been able to persuade Agnes Grey, the proprietor (MacDonald, "Literary" 44). Turner's attempt to buy the *Herald* was probably to save the mercantile voice in Montréal. The *Montréal Herald* had been the most ambitious printer reporting on the Selkirk Controversy, printing Archibald MacDonald's letters, the letters of Adam McAdam in 1816, and Edward Ellice's *Mercator* letters and Simon Gale's response (Wallace 48-49). It had also printed some of the most polemical pieces in its earlier years, including the letters of *Veritas* purportedly by John Richardson, the most powerful merchant in Montréal (Greenwood). The *Herald* had been the mercantile voice in Montréal, but with the death of William Gray in 1822, its future had become uncertain.

up directly because of the debate. *La Gazette Canadienne*, owned and edited by John Quilliam, began on the 14 August 1822. It advertises that it will address topics such as "la politique, l'agriculture, le commerce, et la littérature" (14 Aug 1822 n.1 p. 2 col. 2), but was also firmly anti-union (Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La Presse* 43). Wilcocke started the *Free Press* in October of 1822, declaring its entire purpose is to represent the English-speaking people who refuted the union. The *Canadian Spectator*, newly acquired by James Lane (who was also possibly its editor), also entered the field as an anti-union paper (Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La Presse* 30-31), as did its sister paper, the *Spectateur Canadien,* also published by Lane.[46] If we believe Wilcocke, all English papers were essentially being run by the government and the merchants who were pro union, opening up a space in the field of cultural production for a counter opinion. Wilcocke explains:

> The government party, or those who uphold unlimited power of the metropolitan country to controul [*sic*] and modify the legislature, and the constitution of these provinces, and who maintain the right inherent in the imperial parliament to coerce such provinces or persons as may be either refractory or not sufficiently subservient, have got possession of almost all the public presses of the country, and bear down all opposition. The mercantile interest, as it is called, being entirely thrown into the scale, those English papers that are not directly under the immediate controul [*sic*] of

[46] Beaulieu and Hamelin suggest that Lane simply changed the name on 9 October 1822 (*La Presse* 30), but I have a copy of *Spectateur Canadien* for 19 October that shows the paper's continued appearance under that name.

> government, are swayed completely to the same side of the question, by the preponderating motive of interest. (2-3)

There is actually good reason to believe Wilcocke's sentiments. The three popular, long-standing English papers in Montréal did all seem to be pro-union. Turner, as I mentioned, had just purchased the *Gazette*, the *Montréal Herald* had always been in favour of mercantile interests, and the *Canadian Courant*, though usually described as a neutral paper, was attacked by the *Spectateur Canadien* for inventing speeches made by anti-unionists and devoting itself to "la faction anti-canadienne" (19 Oct. 1822 p. 2 col. 1). Moreover, it printed a pro-union article as early as 19 June 1822 (p. 2 col. 2). Despite this seemingly overwhelming support for the pro-unionists, the *Canadian Times* was launched in Jan. 1823 as another pro-union paper. It so vehemently attacked the anti-unionists and the Assembly that the editors Ariel Bowman and Edward Vernon Sparhawk had to flee the country.[47] The paper was shut down in June 1824. The *Canadian Times*'s prospectus describes the importance of the union question to the positioning of papers within the field of cultural production:

> At the present juncture of affairs in these provinces, perhaps no declaration is so requisite, as to what particular party a public print is adherent. The entire division of the people of the Canadas in their views, interests, and desires, and the total disunion of the public mind, renders an avowal of political principles as necessary

[47] See the *Journal of the House of Assembly* for 3 Feb. 1823 p. 64 and 10 Feb. 1823 p. 89.

> as a statement whether a paper is to be printed in French or English. (14 Jan. 1823)

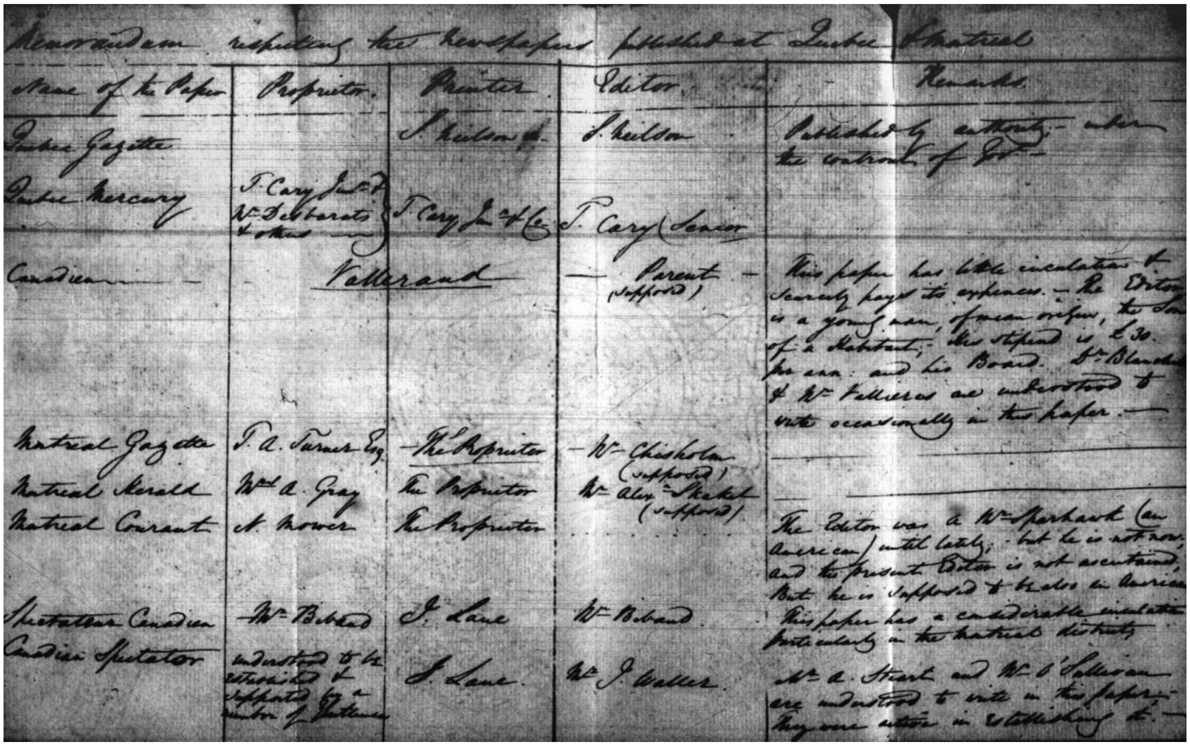
Print production had become dominated by the question of the union. The merchants had their organs, as did the Assembly. The other posit of power, the Governor, also moved to control press production.

Lord Dalhousie, as Governor General, also became personally involved in cultural production. In Lower Canada, the dynamics of the field of power and the refraction into the field of cultural production were so considerably different from Nova Scotia where Dalhousie had been Lieutenant Governor that Dalhousie was forced to change his tactics. In Nova Scotia, the British majority made the governor's position in the field one of unthreatened dominance. Dalhousie's contributions to the field of cultural production were far from subtle. He was overseeing the "finishing touches" made to Province House, one of the two greatest architectural symbols of colonial government in Nova Scotia (Villeneuve 53), and he commissioned portraits of the then reigning King George III and one of King George I for the Legislative Council Room inside the building. John Elliott Woolford, who had been under Dalhousie's patronage since 1798 (Villeneuve 46), produced in 1819 four lithographs (the first to be produced in British North America) of Province House and Government House with an engraved dedication to Dalhousie (Villeneuve 53). This production nicely tied together the symbolic architectural "crown jewels" of British Imperial power, the symbolic scientific progress of lithography, and Lord Dalhousie himself. In

Lower Canada, such a blatant parade of power would not be well received, despite Dalhousie's unyielding chauvinism.

In Lower Canada, Dalhousie became interested in periodical production. The intense debate concerning the proposed union of the provinces, with its flourish of papers, coming directly after the merchant's fierce pamphleteering war (and subsequent union of the two) into which Lord Dalhousie entered, made him acutely aware of the power held by the press and cultural production. By 1822, he was trying to decipher the layout of the field. Figure 2 is an excerpt from his Memoranda, where he has created a table of the newspapers in Montréal and Québec City. Dalhousie is particularly interested in who runs which paper, whom the editors are, what their countries of origins are, which factions support which papers, and what their general circulation numbers. For instance, he lists the *Canadian Spectator*, a newly published periodical by Jocelyn Waller, which he states was founded by members of the Elective Assembly. Dalhousie saw the Assembly as an insubordinate attempting to threaten his ultimate authority as the King incarnate in North America (Burroughs "Dalhousie"). As he states, "the King's Representative in these Provinces must be the guide and helmsman in all public measures that affect the public interests generally" (qtd. in Burroughs "Dalhousie"). It appears he is trying to track the political affiliations of the press in order to plot out the field of cultural production.

Figure 2: Dalhousie's Memorandum Respecting Newspapers published in Québec and Montréal



Memorandum respecting the Newspapers published at Quebec & Montreal

Name of the Paper	Proprietor	Printer	Editor	Remarks
Quebec Gazette		J. Neilson &	J. Neilson	Published by authority under the controul of Gov—
Quebec Mercury	T. Cary Junr & Mr Desbarats & others	T. Cary Jun & Co	T. Cary (Senior	
Canadien	Vallerand		Parent (supposed)	This paper has little circulation & scarcely pays its expences. — The Editor is a young man, of mean origin, the son of a Habitant; — his stipend is £ 30 per ann. and his Board. Dr Blanchet & Mr Valliere are understood to write occasionally in this paper. —
Montreal Gazette	T. A. Turner Esq	The Proprietor	Mr Chisholm (supposed)	
Montreal Herald	Wm A. Gray	The Proprietor	Mr Alexr Skakel (supposed)	
Montreal Courant	N. Mower	The Proprietor		The Editor was a Mr Sparhawk (an American) until lately; — but he is not now, and the present Editor is not ascertained; But he is supposed to be also an American
Spectateur Canadien	Mr Bibaud	J. Lane	Mr Bibaud	This paper has a considerable circulation particularly in the Montreal districts
Canadian Spectator	understood to be established & supported by a number of Gentlemen	J. Lane	Mr J. Waller	Mr A. Stuart and Mr O'Sullivan are understood to write in this paper— They were active in establishing it.—

Source: CIHM #: A529, produced by Canadiana.org

John Charlton Fisher and David Chisholme, both newspaper men and occasional poets, worked as Dalhousie's mouthpieces in the print world. Though the *Québec Gazette* had been the government's semi-official organ since the paper's conception in 1764 (five years after Britain conquered New France), Dalhousie managed in 1823 to institute a new paper, of the same name, that he could control. The paper was known as the *Québec Gazette published by authority*. Dalhousie imported John Charlton Fisher from New York and made him editor of the paper and the King's printer, a title and privilege he had stripped from John Neilson, the editor of the *Québec Gazette.* Neilson had been one of the

representatives to go to England to denounce the proposed union, and Dalhousie did not like his politics, which he feared would enter the periodical that was supposed to represent the government (Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La Presse* 3). Dalhousie's correspondence with Fisher demonstrates the tight control that he was able to maintain over the paper (LAC A531 p. 158. and LAC A530 p.95).[48] Fisher remained a permanent figure in the literary community of Lower Canada over the next two decades, and even became the president of the Literary and Historical Society in 1826. David Chisholme became Dalhousie's hired pen sometime in 1824-5. He was the editor of Lower Canada's first magazine, *The Canadian Magazine*, in 1824 and Lower Canada's first review, *The Canadian Review,* in 1825. Chisholme used the *Canadian Magazine* to promote Dalhousie's projects, such as the "Literary and Historical Society of Québec," and used the *Review,* which was dedicated to Dalhousie, later to advertise the usefulness of such societies. All three papers espoused pro-union stances.

The union question affected the production of the *Scribbler* in a similar manner as the Selkirk Controversy had. Wilcocke satirically appropriates the colonial discourse that defined the union debate. He uses the language of both the militia and diplomacy to declare his rule over Montréal and to emphasize his expanding influence in surrounding areas.[49] At the beginning of issue twenty-nine, Wilcocke states that he has "lately been appointed Inspector General of parties, Quarter-master general of Voltigeurs [*sic*], and one of the Deputy-

[48] This in-text citation refers to the Earl of Dalhousie fonds, the microfilm number, and page number. All following citations will be done in the same format.
[49] See III.177.

assistant-commissary generals of amusement in and for the district of Montréal" (I.225). Wilcocke's "dominion" is a moral one, where he despotically enforces his judgement of others' activities. Letters that had been addressed to Mr. Scribbler or to Mr. MacCulloh are now frequently addressed to the Inspector General (i.e. I.249). Wilcocke writes that he has been "extending by degrees, and in rotation, the circle of my intellectual vision" (I.337), akin in part to Selkirk's vision of the Red River Settlement and the visions that were defining citizens' understandings of political possibilities of union. Wilcocke, according to himself, fills his paper with "Various Scriblerian juridical decisions, and statepapers [*sic*]" (III.177), including a Manifesto and a Proclamation (III.178). In issue sixty-five, Wilcocke instates himself as the Inspector General, and gives himself the ability to appoint his subalterns:[50]

> We, LEWIS LUKE MACCULLOH, by the grace of the public, and our own act, SCRIBBLER THE FIRST, Inspector General, Censor, and Recorder, into over, and of, all characters, manners, persons, and actions, in the province of Lower Canada; premier Essayist, Reviewer, and Satirist, etc. Etc. Etc. To all our loving readers and others, SEND GREETING.... JEREMY TICKLER,

[50] He declares his deputy-inspectors, and he describes the reaction of certain districts to his imposed law, but none of this occurs outside of print. He has as his deputy-Inspector Generals Tom Brown in Québec City (I.365); Jeremy Tickler, Esq. from Lower Canada to "the line that divides the district of Three Rivers from that of Québec" (I.199); and Paul Crimps (who had appeared first in Vol. I. 390) of Cataroqua for Upper Canada (III.357-9). Wilcocke obviously underscores the expanse of his influence with these invented/ imaginary officers. Similarly, he emphasizes that letters come from different locations. Wilcocke creates a separate section of *The Scribbler* entitled "District Intelligence" (I.393) to supplement the "Domestic Intelligencer" by Dicky Gossip that was by this issue in its sixth number (having started on I.263). He also includes letters from Québec City (I.425), Upper Canada (I.291), Chambly (I.323), La Chine (I.329), LaPrairie (I.299, I.315), and Three Rivers (I.401).

> Esquire, hath well and faithfully served as a volunteer, nearly from the commencement of our reign; Now KNOW YE that in consideration thereof, and of the benefit to be derived to the public and to ourselves, from his constant and unremitted exertions, we have appointed the said Jeremy Tickler, Esq. and do hereby appointed [*sic*] him, to be our deputy Inspector-General, Censor, and Reporter, in and over all manner of persons and things, appertaining unto, and subject to, our jurisdiction as aforesaid...
>
> Given under our hand this fifth day of September, 1822.
>
> LEWIS LUKE MACCULLOH.
>
> (II.198-199)

Wilcocke writes partly in jest about his moral dominion, especially since he would seem to hold no authority given the Man of Ross's pamphlet and his arrest for forgery. Likewise, although changing geographical borders, the power of the Imperial government, and the spread of British influence were being discussed in the other papers, no other paper was trying to assert, at least overtly, their control over all of Lower Canada. What Wilcocke's use of the discourse does is both interact with the other periodical productions and disclose through his absurd example what was at stake in the debate: the worry that one culture would dominate the other.

Wilcocke's dominion exists only in text. He refers to his area of influence as his "Scriblerian and Censorial dominion" and to his subjects as Scriblerians

(III.358). Wilcocke's attempt to infiltrate the towns through print is, on the one hand, humorous, but on the other hand, unsettling. He implies that the cultural production of the posits of power intend the same sort of infiltration in an attempt to dominate: They wish to persuade readers of their position and their authority. Wilcocke's satirical reworking of the situation is both humorous and slightly alarming as it seems as if Wilcocke's moral dominion—even with its intrinsic flaw of having an immoral King—acted in the same manner as the apparently legitimately concerned parties.

Wilcocke not only appropriates the language of diplomacy, but he also wants to disclose how other posits of power, especially the merchants and the governor, use it to assert authority and accrue political power. He highlights, repeatedly, the political influence on the other papers, so he can claim a position of disinterestedness. He calls the other editors "dull and fearful," publishing "nothing but old news, vapid sonnets to imaginary maids, pointless epigrams, and elegies whose only merit consists in raising a laugh at the expense of the author" (I.377). He also argues that the editors are driven only by monetary gain, and thus are "agreeable to the powers that be":

> I know the other English papers published in this town are too pusillanimous, and too averse to encroaching upon their usual quantum of sixteen or twenty columns of lucrative advertisements, to admit of any thing that may not be perfectly agreeable to the powers that be, which my productions are not, or which are against the current of public opinion. (I.377)

He also makes specific accusations. He queries whether Tommy Changeling (Thomas A. Turner, proprietor and editor of the *Montréal Gazette* in 1822) has to have everything "of a political nature" approved by Hon. Tory Loverule (John Richardson, the most powerful merchant in the Canadas) and whether he must "subject all his editorial paragraphs to him before publication" (II.190). He refers to Henry Driscoll, editor of the *Montréal Herald*, as Mr. Drybrains (II.4-5). He suggests that "Uncle Toby" (an allusion to *Tristam Shandy*), also known as "Empty Tub, Esq.," but whose real name seems now lost, receives "funds from George IV" while working at the *Montréal Herald*. He also produces dialogues of Lord Dalhousie busily bossing around David Chisholme, dictating his printing of the several papers for which Chisholme was editor (V.179).

Wilcocke's disinterestedness from politics and monetary gain contradicts his other claims, for Wilcocke freely admits, as I have demonstrated, his personal vendetta against the North West Company and his decision to use personal satire because it sold more copies of the *Scribbler*. This disinterestedness is—as Pierre Bourdieu would argue—is itself invested in attempting to accrue cultural capital by claiming to be independent of influence and is thus interested. Wilcocke has no problem simultaneously claiming disinterestedness and a vehement interest. He describes himself as a "despot," but one that will fall once his subjects abandon him. He states that he is in power only because "the power of the sovereign emanates from the people" (See III.183). In his Manifesto, Wilcocke lays out a democratic understanding of authority. He acknowledges "the popular origin of my sovereignty; it is by the "golden opinions from all sorts of men" that I have

been advanced to my present dignity, which I only hold as long as the public continue to pay me the tribute of their support" (III.183). This appeal to the disinterestedness is just another posturing, as it hides, of course, Wilcocke's own crafting of the public's desires through his definitions of others within the field of cultural production. Thus, the *Scribbler* never really commits to any set posturing, frequently contradicting itself. Notably, as I will examine further in chapter Two, this constant tension and unashamed contradiction fits into a large theme and becomes part of the appeal of the *Scribbler* in a field of otherwise earnest productions.

Shutting down the *Scribbler*:

As I stated, Wilcocke chronicled in detail every argument against the *Scribbler* made in the discourse of the media. He also recorded every instance of attempts to interfere with the *Scribbler*'s production and circulation. He uses each example to demonize the government and the merchants and to position himself against them as the hero of the mistreated and downtrodden. His supposed oppressors gave him many reasons to complain about. Even before the pamphlet, Wilcocke was cognisant that people were intercepting his mail (I.398). Wilcocke had already suffered the consequences of such an interception when his location in the United States was found through a letter he had sent to his lover, Ann Lewis, in Montréal (A529 p. 60). He therefore raged in the *Scribbler* that he would "lash with scorpion-whip, all interceptors and openers of private letters whenever they come

in [his] way" (I.398; I.315).[51] On 22 September, 1822, Wilcocke reports that the Deputy-Post-Master-General of Montréal, one Donald Sutherland, refused to forward the periodical through the post-office, an action that Wilcocke called "an arbitrary, illegal, and withal impotent, attempt to impede its circulation" (II.207). According to Wilcocke, Sutherland went beyond refusing to distribute the *Scribbler*, making "his agents to intimidate the stage-drivers who carry the mails, and to endeavour to prevent them from conveying any parcels not only containing the Scribbler *but also such as are directed to me, or persons known or supposed to be my correspondents, whatever such parcels may contain*" (II.415). Wilcocke, quite openly, points out that "by making my writing of such vast consequence, they are only adding to my fame" (II.415); however, he still blasts Sutherland, accusing him of "official tyranny, and subaltern oppression" (II.416) and of "destroy[ing] the liberty of individual opinion, and of individual discussion" (II.265). Wilcocke, again, turns the attempt to suppress him into a positive attribute in his positioning of himself. He ironically dedicates the second volume to Sutherland for the "extension" of the Scribbler's sale and its "wider circulation" (II.iiv).[52]

Wilcocke experienced no end of hostility, which enabled him to position himself repeatedly as an oppressed subaltern. The Grand Jury of the quarter sessions of Québec deemed the *Scribbler* libellous in 1823 (III.81-91; III.111),

[51] See also III.99; I.288; V.208-209.

[52] Post office abuses were a common theme in the *Scribbler*. *See* VII.33, VII.38, See the *Montréal Gazette* 9 Nov. 1822 for Montréal Post- Master James Williams's take on the situation.

even though they knew that they could never bring Wilcocke to justice.[53] In 1824, one of the steamboat owners, a Mr. Dickinson, refused to transport the *Scribbler* to Québec, thus severely impeding Wilcocke's ability to circulate the periodical (Mackey 80).[54] Wilcocke also reports issues of the *Scribbler* being stolen en route.[55] However, Wilcocke took each of these attacks, published them in his paper, and turned them against the aggressors. As they attempted to stop his print production, he used their attacks as advertisement of his success and as a way of positioning himself in the field of cultural/print production. The authorities were now so intent on eradicating Wilcocke that they continuously legitimized his existence. Wilcocke thus capitalized on the fears that were associated with him after the publication of the pamphlet.

Conclusion:

The *Scribbler* after November 1821 defines itself against the merchants by condemning them and the government and empire by attempting to appropriate—playfully—their rhetoric. It is my contention that Wilcocke's rhetorical

---

[53] "Although the person who first introduced '*The Scribbler,*' and who is still its editor, may through fear of punishment for former misdeeds, have fled beyond the pursuit of justice in this province, the Jurors feel that it ought to be made known to his accomplices here who supply him with materials for his fabrication, and to his accomplices who give them circulation and publicity, that they are themselves individually liable, for their offence in so doing, to the inflictions of the law" (III.83).

[54] See Mackey 80 n4 for interesting discussion of other obstructions of delivery and Wilcocke's correspondence with subscriber Philemon Wright.

[55] V.125 Advertisement about a Black Leather Valise, or Mail-bag addressed to Mr. J. Wood that was on board the Steam Boat Phoenix (contained the Scribbler No. 142) for Montréal, Québec, Three Rivers, Bertier and Sorel—forward to Andrew Tipson, British Coffee-House, Montréal. Bag containing No. 146 also highjacked. Offers reward of 10 or 20 dollars—especially with info. V.127 Wilcocke states he cannot reprint the entire runs, but he does have a surplus for those who wish to have a complete set.

positioning arose from the dynamics of the field. The merchants and the government had the most invested in literary production, and thus to define himself against them was to guarantee a reaction. Not only were the merchants and the government the two main forces within the field of cultural production, but they had also set the tone of the debates: Wilcocke's style in the *Scribbler*—once he reveals himself—is akin to the pamphleteering style of the Selkirk Controversy, and his consistent use of the rhetoric of colonization parallels the discussions in the press over the union question. Wilcocke was able to capitalize on his condemned person and he scripted a narrative of North West Company's further abuse to gather cultural capital. As I delineate in the following chapter, the *Scribbler*'s form parallels its confused competing rhetorical positioning, and thus is part of its position-taking in the field of cultural production.

Chapter Two

Mr. Scribbler and his "Miscellaneous Warfare": The British Romantic Influence in Style and Form on the *Scribbler*

> *It is true that in a miscellaneous warfare like mine, depending so much upon intelligence and reporters,*
> *cutting and slashing right hand and left, back stroke and fore, many incautious, and some injudicious, hits, may be made –Scribbler* (II.156)

The positioning of the *Scribbler* in the Lower Canadian field of cultural production was in form as much as it was in rhetoric and content. The *Scribbler*, as I mentioned in the last chapter, appears like a unique production, so much so that it has led Mary Lu MacDonald to claim that it had no antecedents ("Literary Life" 63). This, I will argue, is not quite the case. I agree with MacDonald that the *Scribbler* had no obvious, direct antecedents, but I assert that the *Scribbler*'s style and form is the product of Wilcocke's attempt to differentiate the *Scribbler* from other periodicals in the Lower Canadian field of cultural production by drawing on British models. David Stewart has recently declared the years between 1815 and 1825 the "Age of the Magazine" in Britain (*Romantic* 1). Though the *Scribbler* is not technically a magazine, it seems to participate in a resurrected legacy of Montaigne found in miscellanic and periodic writing of early nineteenth-century Britain. The *Scribbler* incorporates the celebrity persona and the haphazard miscellaneous presentation of such Romantic productions as Leigh

Hunt's the *Examiner* and *Blackwood's Magazine.* In this chapter, I examine the relationship amongst periodicals in the British field of cultural production to explicate the seemingly unique form of the *Scribbler* and the ways in which periodicals were used to gain cultural capital in the Lower Canadian field of cultural production.

British Periodicals during the Romantic Period:

As is generally noted, the entrance of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 changed the British periodical landscape. The *Review*, coming out quarterly, positioned itself in opposition to the magazine's "comprehensive ambitions in favour of a more authoritative presence" (Keen, "Foolish" 202). Previous to the launching of the *Edinburgh Review* (and subsequently the *London Review* and the *Quarterly Review* in 1809), magazines such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1922) and the *European Magazine* (1782-1826) were digests that "combined original poetry and prose with domestic and foreign news, lists of bankruptcies and patents pending, extended letters sections (many of them written by employees of the magazines), along with more limited reviews of new publications" (Keen, "Foolish" 202). The reviews—in part because of the enormous volume of printed material that was being churned out in Britain (Stewart, *Romantic* 3)—abandoned any attempt to be comprehensive and instead transformed the review into something that provided sustained critiques of selected works. The reviews presented themselves as containing and promoting

earnest, professional opinions and expertise in specialized knowledge (Stewart, "Newspaper" 158). Margaret Beetham describes the univocal tendency of the review: "some periodical types are more homogenous than others. The early nineteenth-century reviews, like the contemporary academic journal, were at one end of the spectrum, consisting almost entirely of long review articles, unillustrated and relatively consistent in tone" ("Towards" 24). These authoritative, earnest, less-frequent periodicals dominated the market. The review's approach appealed to the widening British reading audience more than the catch-all, miscellanic magazines, evinced by the reviews selling into the tens of thousands of copies and thus far surpassing magazines' circulations, (St. Clair 574). The review's sudden dominance of the field of periodical production caused formal repositioning by other periodicals. To explain this formal positioning, I turn to scholars who have inquired into the poetics of the periodic form.

Periodicals have characteristics that are common to all types. Margaret Beetham argues in her influential article "Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre" that periodicals inherently have two seemingly contradictory identities. The periodical is both "evanescent" as each number is meant for a particular moment in time, and "enduring" as the periodical continues on to the next issue; it also is meant to be enjoyed in the moment, yet once bound, it is meant to be read repeatedly. It is both a singular unit and part of a longer work; and thus a volume is a number of single issues grouped together, and it is at the same time something itself. As Beetham puts it, the periodical "is both open-ended and end-stopped" (99). Laurel Brake defines these diametrically opposed

identities in the terms of Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogism.[56] The periodical has a "structural correlative" in "Bakhtin's notion of dialogism and the related idea of intertextuality, whereby respectively all texts internally contain a range of discourses which interact, and some texts appropriate and digest other texts" (Brake 54-55). A periodical simultaneously contains a tendency towards fragmentation and towards unity. Cynthia Bandish further explains this dialogic tension that exists in all periodicals:

> the heteroglossia of competing voices – part of the open forces at work in the periodical – threatens to overwhelm the magazine, and a periodical so fragmented by heteroglossia could never sustain this audience; thus, an essential characteristic of a successful periodical is that it can set parameters on these interpretations through the construction of a meta-narrative – one of the closed forces at work in the texts. (Bandish 241)

Thus, to be successful, a periodical must maintain a tension between the open and closed tendencies; however, each genre of periodical holds them in a different ratio. Beetham moves towards a typology of form in her article that clarifies how these two identities can manifest themselves. She writes, "Specific periodicals can be located on a spectrum between those which emphasize the open, serial qualities of the form and those in which each number is more self-defined" (99).

[56] For Bakhtin's theory, see his *Dialogic Imagination.* Other critics have provided alterative models for understanding the periodical. Lyn Pykett remarks that some press productions (in this case she is discussing reviews) can be seen in Althuserian terms "as an ideological state apparatus which reproduces and reinforces ruling class hegemony" (13).

Because periodicals are remarkably mutable—as they are given the chance to reinvent themselves each issue—they can slide along this scale to position themselves.

In Bourdieuvian terms, the reviews managed to subvert the magazine's claim to comprehensiveness and diversity as what consolidates cultural capital, replacing it with homogeneity and subjectivity. David Stewart argues that "what the reviews gained in professionalism, they lost in personality" (Stewart, "Newspaper" 158-59). Stewart examines the ways the *Examiner* as a weekly followed by *Blackwood's* as a monthly did the opposite of the quarterly reviews by moving away from objectivity to subjectivity—yet maintained a plurality of these subjective voices. Thus, I argue, the periodicals that were competing in the same market had both to adopt the homogeneity of the reviews in order to accrue cultural capital, while concurrently defining themselves as different from the reviews by incorporating the personality of a persona, an intimacy or familiarity with the reader, and a stubbornly miscellanic tendency. It is these qualities—that the *Examiner* played with from 1810 into the 1820s and that found their "most complete expression in the monthly magazines," particularly in *Blackwood's* (Stewart, "Newspaper" 155)—that I see being used in the *Scribbler* in its struggle to position itself in the field of cultural production in Lower Canada.

British North America:

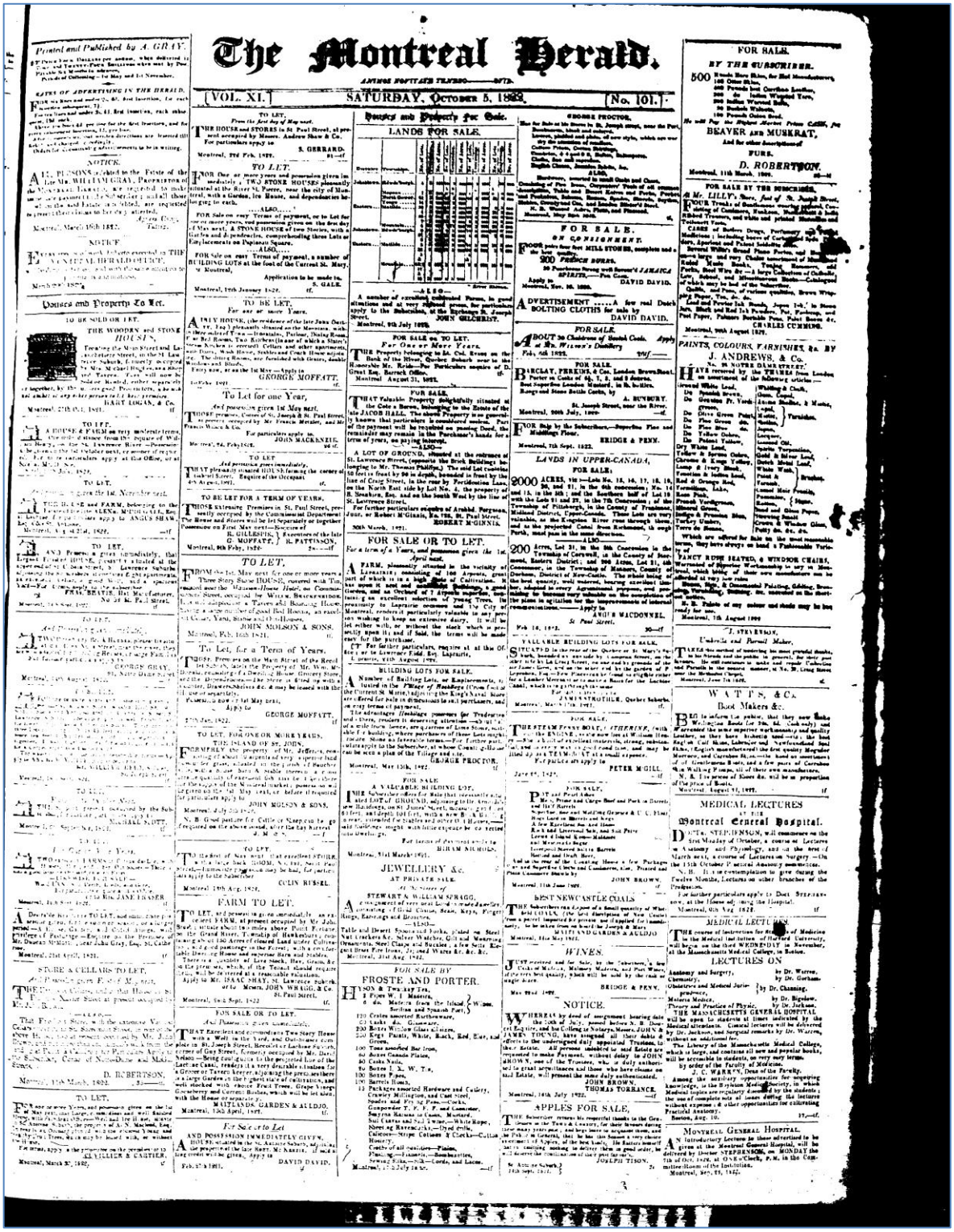
The print environment into which the *Scribbler* emerged in Lower Canada was predictably but strikingly different from that of Britain. The two most

noticeable and significant differences were the lack of any magazine-like periodical and the small subscription sizes. As I mentioned in chapter One, the last magazine that was attempted in English was Neilson's failed *British North American Register* in 1803.[57] There were, however, four circulating newspapers in Montréal—the *Montréal Herald*, the *Montréal Gazette*, the *Canadian Courant*, and the *Spectateur Canadien.* These papers were largely miscellanic in their content, consisting of advertisements, ship arrivals, notices, foreign news, and reprinted poetry with a short, usually partisan, editorial and possibly a few letters to the editor. All of this was spread over two to four pages of from three to five columns each. An example of the jumbled, piece-meal nature of these papers can be seen in Figure 3, the front page of the *Montréal Herald* on 5 October 1823. Despite the diversity of the newspapers' visual appearance, there was a certain consistency and linearity to the productions. For instance, the same advertisements and notices were published week after week, often in the same place, and the editorial in a four-page production was consistently found in the second column of the second page.

The other significant difference between the print scene in Britain and the print scene in Lower Canada was the possibility of a large audience in the former. The overhead costs of the stately reviews could be overcome by a greater production. Indeed, the reviews managed to sell 10,000 to 14,000 copies of each

[57] Dionne does mention a *Monthly Magazine* existing from 1819-1820 in her *Inventaire Chronologique de livre* (56), though there is no other record of it, and no copies seem to be extant. Likewise, the *Enquirer* had been launched a number of weeks before the *Scribbler* in Québec (*Enquirer* 4), but it was originally distributed in Québec City only, and does not seem to be noticed in Montréal until a few Months later. (*Scribbler* I.64).

Figure 3: The Front Page of the *Montréal Herald* 5 October 1823



The Montreal Herald.

[VOL. XI.] SATURDAY, October 5, 1822. [No. 101.]

Source: CIHM #: 4_53532, produced by Canadiana.org

issue, *Blackwood's* could acquire 4,000 readers for its first issue, and daily newspapers and daily productions in London such as the *Times* could sell 5,000 copies a day (St. Clair 574-76). A weekly newspaper in Lower Canada would be lucky if it had a readership of 400, and for a larger periodical, a readership of 300 (MacDonald "Literary Life" 32). This meant that producing a monthly periodical could not procure enough money to support itself, let alone make a profit in 1821. Any attempts at magazine publishing during this time were usually akin to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but also usually failed within a year. Examples of such are the *L'Abeille Canadienne (*1818-19) and *the Canadian Magazine* (1823-24). Michel Bibaud's production the *Bibliothèque Canadienne* was introduced in 1825; it lasted for five years and marked the first successful magazine of this kind (Doyon 250). Wilcocke hit on a periodicity that worked with the *Scribbler* in 1821 as a short weekly miscellany—but that aspires to hold the prominence of a magazine. Indeed, Wilcocke consistently emphasizes the difference between his periodical production and the "ephemeral newspapers," insisting that his production will have a wider circulation and be of longer duration, as if to claim the position and authority of a magazine in the field of cultural production (I.148). Thus, it is not surprising that since no larger productions could exist, the *Scribbler* incorporated aspects of the monthly magazines in Britain.

Mr. Scribbler:

The most conspicuous and salient quality in the *Scribbler* that parallels the new Romantic magazines (as Stewart dubs such productions as *Blackwood's, the*

New Monthly, and the *London Magazine* (*Romantic* 2) is the use of a persona as editor. Of course, the editorial persona pre-dated the Romantic magazines, famously appearing as a construct of such writers as Addison and Steele in the early eighteenth century. In the last chapter, I wrote about how the *Scribbler* resembled such productions as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* when it first came out. There is no doubt that the personae of the eighteenth century single-essay periodicals influenced the editorial personae of the Romantic magazines. The appropriation of the lively persona by the Romantic magazines (unlike the two-dimensional Sylvanus Urban of the *Gentleman's Magazine*) was an attempt to gain some verisimilitude within the chaotic nature of the magazine form. As Kathy Ivey writes, "What each of these talented writers realized was that the effective presentation of a consistent self within the loose pages of their periodicals could help them establish the necessary authority, interest, and accessibility to attract, hold, and convince readers" (Ivey 11). However, there are two major differences between this single-essay editorial persona and the one used by the Romantic magazines. The first difference is the actual autobiographical nature of the Romantic magazine personae and the second is what I am calling the theatricality of the Romantic personae. Both of these characteristics are also present in the *Scribbler*. Thus, though the fictitious or pseudonymous writers/editors of periodicals as personae can be at traced at least as far back as Addison's and Steele's creations, there was a renewed positioning in periodical writing of the informal, subjective fictional editor in Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the next section, I will explain how Mr.

Scribbler is similar to the personae found in the *Examine,* and in *Blackwood's*, in particular.

As scholars have noted, Leigh Hunt's style of writing was to insert personal details into his discussions of daily events, current political events, and reviews. Hunt consistently transitions into the personal essay, one moment discussing a theatrical performance, the next moment his wife's love of the smell of the fire (Stewart, "Newspaper" 161). Hunt also made himself and his imprisonment for libelling the Prince Regent a headline story in his paper. According to Nikki Hessell, "direct diatribes about prison dominated the first month of the newspaper after Hunt's incarceration" (83). Hunt became his "own biggest story" (Stewart, "Newspaper" 161). Hunt used his life story and his details to position his paper, making his personal life—as well as his political life—a major component of his periodical. Similarly, the *Scribbler*, especially its first volumes, is filled with autobiographical reflections. After the thin veil of the pseudonym of Lewis Luke MacCulloh slips away, Wilcocke also starts to bring his prison experience into the *Scribbler*. In issue nineteen, he includes Richard Lovelace's poem "To Althea from Prison," and from then on refers to his lover Ann Lewis as his Althea (I.147). Wilcocke's "Letters of Pulo Penang," as I have mentioned, narrate both his and Ann Lewis's persecution, and Wilcocke writes a series of essays dedicated to the deplorable conditions of the prisons in Lower Canada (and much of the first volume includes Wilcocke's thinly veiled poetic tributes to Lewis). The text is filled with poems addressed to "Ann" and "Nancy"; it even includes a chronicling of St. Ann's day in Montréal (I.38). He even refers

to her as the "Scribleress" (V.349). This focus on Wilcocke and Lewis has led Carl Klinck to claim that the *Scribbler* "is the record of one of Canada's most intriguing love stories" (Klinck, "Wilcocke") and elsewhere, an "unconventional autobiography" (Klinck Fond 14N:8 pp. 10-11). After the first few volumes, the *Scribbler* was held together by stories of the persecution of the editor, narrating his own escapades in the United States: his move from Burlington, VT to Rouse's Point, NY, to Plattsburgh, NY, and eventually to Albany, NY. Similarly, any attack he received from detractors was recorded into the *Scribbler* (I.384), as if to underline his centrality as editor to the paper.

Wilcocke's descriptions of himself and his life in the *Scribbler*, like Hunt's descriptions in the *Examiner*, seem to arise out of the early nineteenth-century periodical essayist's assumption of Montaigne—traced through Addison and Steele—as the originator of the art they practiced[58] fused with the Romantic period's obsession with personality and celebrity, especially of writers. Montaigne, Wilcocke states, was one of his very first influences (X.314), and, as Montaigne famously wrote at the beginning of the *Essays*, "I want to appear in my simple, natural, and everyday dress, without strain or artifice; for it is myself that I portray" (23). As J. M. Cohen puts it, "Montaigne's Essays are, in effect, an extended autobiography... His aim is... to build up from a number of partial sketches the essential man; not as an unchanging being, but as one who retained a core of identity more important as a subject than the events that befell him" (Cohen 9). The periodical essayists' appropriation of Montaigne turns their

[58] See D'Israeli's *Miscellanies* and Hazlitt's "On periodical essayists."

periodicals into quasi-autobiographies, which complement and augment the notion of writer as celebrity. David Higgins writes in his *The Cult of Genius: Magazines, Readers, and the Creative Artist, 1802-37* that "The case of Byron exemplifies a widespread tendency in the treatment of literary figures during the Romantic period" (5). Leo Braudy describes this tendency. Braudy asserts that Byron was

> celebrated not for his position or his poetic ability so much as for his literary display of himself – a swirling whirlpool of almost sexual allure in which his audience might glimpse an image not of their public selves so much as those desires and aspirations that had seemed socially unfit or irrelevant, now writ large and grand. (qtd. in Higgins 4-5)

Though Wilcocke might seem an unlikely hero, his forgery activities, and the paper's (and his) survival despite constant attempts to shut it down, do give Wilcocke the allure of the criminal and the literary figure. Wilcocke's personality inserted and celebrated in the text holds the *Scribbler* together.

Wilcocke had a unique relationship to his audience in Lower Canada. At first in prison and then exiled, he produced texts—much of which shared relations of his life, and, indeed, the intimate details of others' lives as well—in a small community of which he could not physically be a part. Tom Mole argues that Byron's cultivation of a celebrity status was an attempt to address a new "modern audience—massive, anonymous, socially diverse and geographically distributed"

(10). This caused Byron, and others, to pose—or appear—as spectacles because they no longer had a close relationship with their readers.[59] To describe the audience of Lower Canada as "massive" and "anonymous" would be absurd. Moreover, Wilcocke knew for the most part who subscribed to the *Scribbler* because he distributed it to them and received payment from them. Accordingly, Wilcocke did not create like Byron an image of himself to be consumed outside of text. However, the geographic distance created a situation where Wilcocke as Mr. Scribbler existed to his readers entirely as text. This scenario only cemented the tendency to identify the *Scribbler* as a surrogate for Wilcocke's physical self. We see this blurring in the text when the *Scribbler* is re-released after a three-month hiatus:

> Yes, and thus do I, the Scribbler, after a three months eclipse, rise again, in a fresh and new suit, and break out 'glowingly again, and with,' I trust, 'as great a lustre, motion, and majesty,' as before, to scourge the follies, and reprehend the voices, as well as to endeavour to instruct and amuse the community in Canada.... I revive with greater strength, each time I appear to be prostrated on the ground.
>
> (IV.162-63)

Here the pages of the *Scribbler* become the very dress of Mr. Scribbler, glowing with "a lustre, motion, and majesty." Thus, this conflation of the man and the text

[59] See Jon Klancher for this shift in the writer-audience relationship.

makes Mr. Scribbler (or Wilcocke) a celebrity made of text and in text, so that he can, playfully, exist amongst the people of Montréal. Wilcocke, as much as he can, attempts to claim as writer the celebrity status of his periodical.

A similar blurring of the writer with text occurs in *Blackwood's* "Noctes Ambrosianae," where, in print, and presented to the reader through dialogue, personae of the writers and editor gather and self-reflexively discuss the writing of the magazine and the process of writing it. The events of nights after work at the fictional Ambrose's Tavern and the chatting, debating, eating, and much drinking that went on are relayed to the readers through a transcription. Stewart regards "Noctes Ambrosianae" as the culmination of what Hunt was trying to accomplish with the *Examiner* because it is the ultimate insertion of personality into text (*Romantic* 16). The dramatis personae are loud and argumentative, and it is this almost hostile and definitely controversial style Wilcocke seems equally to participate in with his obstreperous and raucous prose. Wilcocke shares the "merry ruffianism" that John Scott saw in *Blackwood's* (qtd. in Parker 20), and that we do not find in the early single-essay periodicals. Some of the personae are the alter egos of real writers and editors of *Blackwood's*, such as Morgan Odoherty, who is based on William Maginn. Other personae such as Christopher North and Tickler are pseudonyms for a style of writing; Byron and Hunt make appearances in the "Noctes" as fictionalized caricatures. The magazine crafted and promoted identities of the different agents in the literary scene. As Mark Parker puts it, "Noctes" "persistently blurs the line between literature and criticism, and in doing so it calls into question the very critical authority it

asserts" (106). There is nothing quite as radical as "Noctes" in the *Scribbler*, but the playful blurring of boundaries between the real and the textual and the questioning self-reflexivity is there. As soon as Wilcocke, with his criminal and apparently sexually devious past, announces that he is the editor of the periodical, the entire production is called into question, particularly the authoritative stances on morals and manners. This playful posturing that undercuts as it asserts is an essential quality that lasts until the end of the *Scribbler*, and, as I will argue, was there from the very beginning.

The blurring between the physical being and textual representations occurs in the very title of the *Scribbler* and reoccurs in its first few lines. The title of the *Scribbler* recalls Pope, Swift, and Aburthnot's creation, Martinus Scriblerus,[60] the tongue-in-cheek proponent of so-called modern writing, which Pope, Swift, and Aburthnot abhorred. The Scriblerians, as the group called themselves, invented Scriblerus as a fictitious character under whose names they could write satirical articles about subjects and in a manner that they wished to ridicule (Kerby-Miller 29). The Scriblerians wrote *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus* that details Scriblerus's life and philosophy (Kerby-Miller vii). From the beginning, Wilcocke cleverly adopts a moniker that signifies both the fool, Scriblerus, and the critics, The Scriblerians (a name that Wilcocke would call his readers). The title is doubly ironic because the term scribbler also referred to a paid hack writer, whom Samuel Johnson defines as "a petty author; a writer without worth" (S. Johnson 457). Although in Britain

[60] An allusion to Martinus Scriblerus is made on X.314.

Wilcocke had moved in literary circles, in Lower Canada he had actually been a hack-writer for the North West Company. Thus, the name "scribbler" could be read as confessional, yet in the periodical Wilcocke never admits to being a hack, and speaks with authority on literary works. The name is also reminiscent of the single-essay periodical—such as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*—whose form and style the *Scribbler* at first mimics, disguising all of this confusion in a seemingly simple title with unthreatening antecedents. [61]

Wilcocke furthers the confusion by presenting two definitions of writing, both from Latin sources, at the beginning of the periodical. The first of these is an epigraph: "*Scribimus docti, indoctique*.—Both for the learned and the unlearned we write." The epigraph suggests democratic sympathies, as it appears to refer to writing as an educational tool that can enlighten both the educated and the uneducated; however, Wilcocke makes an obvious and basic error in his translation, one which "the learned" would easily see. The quotation is from Horace's Epistles (II. 1. 117) Horace actually writes, "scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim." Translated by Pope, it reads "But those who cannot write, and

[61] The title is reminiscent of the two traditional types of descendents—or "progeny," as Jon Klancher calls them (20)—of the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, and the *Rambler*. Some follow the tradition of the *Spectator* and use names that indicate observation or scrutiny, an essential quality of Mr. Spectator himself, such as the *Microscope*, the *Telescope*, or the *Examiner*. Others indicate a sense of speech akin to the *Tatler* such as the *Parrot* (Graham 112), the *Grumbler* or the *Old Maid* (Graham 131) wandering, whether it be akin to the *Tatler*'s wandering in speech such as the, wandering of the mind such as or metaphoric or literal wandering such as the *Rambler*, the *Wander*, the *Citizen of the World* (1760–1761), or the *Bee* (1759). In the *Bee*, Goldsmith declares that he will follow no particular path:

> I intended to pursue no fixed method, so it was impossible to form any regular plan; determined never to be tedious, in order to be logical, wherever pleasure presented, I was resolved to follow. Like the Bee, which I had taken for the title of my paper, I would rove from flower to flower, with seeming inattention, but concealed choice, expatiate over all the beauties of the season, and make my industry my amusement. (3)

The *Lounger* and others similarly named fit into this category because, though they proclaim—even advertise—their lack of bodily movement, they highlight their mental wanderings.

those who can,/All rhyme, and scrawl, and scribble, to a man" **(**Pope 143**)**. Wilcocke's misquotation subverts the quotation's meaning; he turns the disparaging lines about authors on their head and makes it seem as if his intentions are virtuous. The result is witty but also unsettling as the opposite also could be true: he could take something virtuous and make it disparaging, which, in the end, correctly describes the *Scribbler.* The quotation also draws attention to the possibilities of misinterpretation, and thus the instability of writing, which Marker Parker suggests is an essential quality of the "Noctes" and *Blackwood's* in general.

Furthering the unsettling depiction of writing, Wilcocke, correctly this time, quotes Juvenal's seventh satire in his first line. It refers to scribbling as a sickness: "a fit of *cacoethes scribendi*," which roughly translates as "a mania for writing" ("cacoethes scribendi"). The complete line from Juvenal reads "Tenet insanabile multos/ Scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit: Many suffer from the incurable disease of writing, and it becomes chronic in their sick minds" ("Juvenal" VII. l. 51). Though the line is satirical, meant to highlight again the number of people who write without thinking, the line still re-inflects the paradoxical nature of the *Scribbler*: a production that advertises itself as a chronic sickness. The title, the epigraph, and the first line make clear that the *Scribbler* is a periodical that is participating in a literary game, and thus is differentiating itself from the other periodicals in British North America and aligning itself with the Romantic magazines.

Miscellany:

A corollary of the Romantic periodicals' pursuit of personality is miscellany. The Romantic periodicals are resolutely anti-Enlightenment, defining themselves against the logical, univocal Reviews. The organizing principle of these periodicals is not reason or logic but rather the Romantic understanding of subjectivity, and, I posit, particularly the subjectivity of the editorial persona.[62] William Hazlitt asserts that periodical essayists write about "all that of human affairs" (177). The miscellany arises from the haphazard nature of its subject: the navigating of everyday existence. The periodical essayist, according to Hazlitt,

> makes familiar with the world of men and women, records their actions, assigns their motives, exhibits their whims, characterises their pursuits in all their singular and endless variety... takes minutes of our dress, air, looks, words, thoughts, and actions; shews [*sic*]us what we are, and what we are not; plays the whole game of human life over before us. (178)

The periodical essayist must follow the "actions," "motives," "whims," and "pursuits" of humanity, which are endless and thus seemingly devoid of structure. Hazlitt provides Montaigne's externalization of his interiority as the model of the periodical essayist, and thus the written text becomes symbolic of the writer's

[62] This concept might be better understood from the standpoint of narratology, though no term seems to exist for a projected fictive editor that mediates the experience of reading a periodical. I extrapolate at length here on the distinction between miscellany and variety in periodicals because Romanticists tend occasionally make this claim without substantiating it (such as Paul Keen's claim that single-essay periodicals is a form "distinguished by its conversational style and multifarious [rather than universalizing] focus" [Keen 203]), and because I think this difference is important to understand the positioning of the *Scribbler*

mind. Montaigne, Hazlitt declares, "may be said to have been the first who had the courage to say as an author what he felt as a man" (179). The merit of Montaigne and this writing style, Hazlitt argues, is that "the reader is admitted behind the curtain, and sits down with the writer in his gown and slippers" (186). The English descendents of Montaigne, such as Addison and Steele, not only let the reader into their own private lives, but "good-naturedly let you into the lives of others" (186). What Hazlitt not only explicates but also demonstrates is that although the periodical essayists give us the details of everyday life, the entire experience is mediated through the eyes (or in the *Scribbler*'s case, the pen) of the persona, moving from subject to subject, as the events change before his eyes. He describes Bickerstaff's writing as follows:

> A young lady, on the other side of Temple Bar, cannot be seen at her glass for half a day together, but Mr. Bickerstaff takes due notice of it; and he has the first intelligence of the symptoms of the *belle* passion appearing in any young gentleman at the West-end of town. The departures and arrivals of widows with handsom [*sic*] jointures, either to bury their grief in the country, or to procure a second husband in town, are punctually recorded in his pages. (187)

The connection between all of these events, then, is the persona, Bickerstaff, his—admittedly rather far ranging—eye, and his recording of the details. When this persona used by the periodical essayists is extended as the organizing

principle of an entire periodical, the result is miscellaneous but avoids universality or variety because it hinges on the dictates of the editorial persona.[63]

Hazlitt keenly sees the editorial persona at work in the *Examiner*, claiming that this is what he finds so alluring about the publication. He declares that

> An agreeable rambling scope and freedom of discussion is so much in the author's way, that the reader is at a loss under what department of the paper to look for any particular topic. A literary criticism, perhaps, insinuates itself under the head of the Political Examiner; and the theatrical critic, or lover of the Fine Arts, is stultified by a *tirade* against the Bourbons. If the dishes are there, it does not much signify in what order they are placed.
>
> (qtd. in Stewart, "Newspaper" 163)

Though Hunt includes headers supposedly defining the topics of the *Examiner*, the logical categories of the headers cannot dictate or contain the "rambling scope and freedom of discussion" that is part of Hunt's editorial style. It is this haphazard style, I believe, that Stewart sees as Hunt's "reinvention of the miscellany"; it is this quality that makes *Blackwood's* "shockingly novel" ("Newspaper Gaps"158), and what he is trying to describe when he claims that

---

[63] This explanation, I believe, unpacks what Stewart means in the following quotation as "a protean character" and "inexplicable":

> Magazines like *Gentleman*'s would boast of a similarly vast coverage, but *Blackwood's* boasts not so much of the breath of its knowledge, but of a protean character that renders the magazine 'inexplicable.' Whereas the *Gentleman's* is simply various, *Blackwood's* makes variety a question of style.
>
> (Stewart, *Romantic* 21)

the fictional editor Christopher North's "presence in the magazine associates all its contents with his own personality" (Stewart, *Romantic* 25). It is this style, I argue, that Wilcocke uses to situate himself in the field of cultural production in Lower Canada.

The *Scribbler* as a Miscellany:

The *Scribbler*'s form was opposite to the newspapers that dominated the Lower Canadian field of print production. Where they were, as I showed above, visually diverse, the *Scribbler* was miscellanic in content and style. The *Scribbler* contained a melange of disparate topics, never in any particular order, all housed in one tidy-looking column (See Figure 1, Introduction). The *Scribbler* is filled with asides, letters, dialogues, poetry, and fragments. From the beginning, Wilcocke states that he will include reviews of Canadian works, poetry, and a variety of other items: "Variegated with occasional pieces of poetry, selections, translations, or originals, I hope to make my miscellany a kind of parterre to gratify the taste of beauty and the eye of science" (I.5).

The content of the *Scribbler* is never predictable. Wilcocke announces in his "Notes to Correspondents" that he would be including letters or a serial item in the next issue, but then would not include the piece until several issues later. Reviews are serialized and later parts would sometimes not appear until as much as three months had passed. Other serialized pieces, which more frequently than not did not finish, were scattered across volumes. Likewise, fragments of poetic

verse and commentary existed throughout the periodical. At times he deems his work "whipt syllabub, macaroni, and blanc-mangé, instead of more substantial fare" (I.123).

Despite this seemingly accidental nature, the work was merely mimicking the style of the Romantic periodicals. Where the Romantic magazines in Britain could position themselves by style without directly inciting a discussion of economics and politics, in the field of cultural production of Lower Canada, this style was fused with politics. In the *Scribbler*, as I discussed in the last chapter, Wilcocke went to great lengths to define himself against the commercial adventurers in Lower Canada, as well as the periodicals that he accused of being under their direction. He also accuses the editors of only striving for monetary profit. Indeed, Wilcocke declares he will not include anything that had to do with commerce, including ship arrivals, or advertisements, or "price-currents of butter, eggs, onions, carrots, and gooseberries" in the periodical (I.122). He attacks the other papers, stating that "the other English papers published in this town are too pusillanimous, and too adverse to encroaching upon their usual quantum of sixteen or twenty columns of lucrative advertisements, to admit of any thing [*sic*] that may not be perfectly agreeable to the powers that be" (I.385-86). In this quotation, Wilcocke refers specifically to the form of the newspapers as if the columns themselves signify the newspapers' greed. It is an attempt to accumulate cultural capital by pointing to his one-column—and at this point advertisement-free—production. By producing a one-column publication, Wilcocke not only differentiates himself visually from the newspapers, he also distances himself

from the conflated position of the newspaper editors and the merchants that own the papers.

The *Scribbler* uses form to indicate and buttress its philosophical positioning. Variety in periodicals is often advertised and understood by scholars as the result of attempting to appeal to a wide audience. Indeed, D. M R. Bentley suggests that what he terms the "aesthetic of variety" in early Canada found in periodicals such as the *Nova-Scotia Magazine* was the creation of editors who were "greatly concerned with the question of how to cater lucratively to the various needs of a wide—and, therefore, diverse—readership in a relatively small population" (Bentley, "Trees" 22). What I have been distinguishing as miscellany in the *Scribbler* is arranged according to a different logic. Wilcocke is able to have variety, but it is tied together in a way that the newspapers are not through the one-column format and the editorial persona. Indeed, the different parts of the *Scribbler* are cohered by Mr. Scribbler's attention to the variety of human existence:

> You are pleased to say that there is not in the Scribbler "any one contribution to useful knowledge." Probably by *useful knowledge*, you mean that of the multiplication-table, or the manuals, "How to grow rich," "Every man his own broker," and "The art of bookkeeping by double entry," (which some say means charging twice for the same article,) but, gentlemen, no disparagement to your ideas of useful knowledge—a wiser man than either you or I, has said

> "The proper study of mankind is man;"
>
> And mankind are [*sic*] not to be studied in closets—(I beg your pardon, I mean, countinghouses [*sic*],) but in their various relations in society, in all their acts, pursuits, inclinations, virtues, and vices, foibles, and excentricities [*sic*].
>
> (III.85-86)

Thus, variety arises in the *Scribbler* because a worthwhile production needs to examine the multitude or "various" relationships that arise in society. Wilcocke here tries to demonstrate that his attention to society and humanity is a legitimate and proper subject of study and the articles in other magazines that focus on wealth, such as "how to grow rich," are inferior. This focus on "pursuits, inclinations, virtues, vices, foibles, and exentricities" is strikingly reminiscent of Hazlitt's definition of the proper study of the periodical essayist and the attention paid to the personal. Whereas in Britain, the Romantic Magazines introduced the personal to differentiate themselves from the reviews, Wilcocke uses the personal to define his miscellany against the newspapers and the associated merchants and mercenary mentality, while maintaining the variety of material needed. Mr. Scribbler's study of this material creates the logic of the paper. The plurality of identities for which the *Scribbler* and Wilcocke at its head represent is evinced in another part of the *Scribbler*. Wilcocke collapses all his readers and contributors into himself as the archetypal "Scribbler" that is slandered by critics:

> Notwithstanding the most potent and redoubted shafts aimed at the head of us poor Scribblers, we, i.e. I by itself I the Scribbler by profession, and all the poets, poetasters, bantlings of the muses, and tyros in the art, whom I have encouraged to pester the Canadian public with their rhymes...are incorrigible; and are not to be checked in our career. (III.229)

Mr. Scribbler, "I by itself I the Scribbler by profession," heads the conglomerate "poets, poetasters, bantlings of the muses, and tyros in the art." This singular "I" of "I the Scribbler by profession," is the editorial personal Mr. Scribbler. The text collects these poets whose rhymes pester the Canadian public, and along with their leader and forms them, particularly through the criticism of them as a collective, into a unit. The phrase "we, i.e. "I by itself I the Scribbler by profession" with its emphasis through reiteration of the singular "I" suggests that Wilcocke has begun to see—and wants his audience to see—Mr. Scribbler as a figurehead—even the embodiment—of his readers. Mr. Scribbler is the embodiment of miscellany, an individual figure made up of collective identities.

Wilcocke also uses the miscellanic to position himself against the colonial government. In an open-letter diatribe to the *Québec Mercury*'s editor, Thomas Cary, Wilcocke describes the *Scribbler*'s mission as "miscellaneous warfare": "It is true that in a miscellaneous warfare like mine, depending so much upon intelligence and reporters, cutting and slashing right hand and left, back stroke and fore, many incautious, and some injudicious, hits, may be made" (II.156). Wilcocke was not one to miss the political implications of miscellany and its

inversion and seemingly obstinate resistance against order. The jarring style of the *Scribbler*—jumping from one topic to the next—might be similar to commerce, but it directly opposed the unity of Imperial discourse that the colonial government wanted to cultivate, especially amongst the English-speaking population. By including other voices, by using parody to overturn serious discourse, and by disguising barbs and lewdness within seemingly otherwise inoffensive discourse, Wilcocke and the miscellany resist the authority of Britain or any other centralized and institution. Emily Wilkinson has examined how miscellanic works of the eighteenth century were considered threatening to "the old neoclassical rules of art that dictated order, balance, and simplicity" (iv). Miscellaneous writing, however, has implications outside of the realm of art. Miscellaneous writing, as Wilkinson puts it, seemed to threaten a "return to the Hobbesian state of nature, the war of all against all" (49). The miscellaneity in art and literature represented moral and political disintegration, and "the age enamoured of method, reason, and right understanding distrusted ragout, grotesque, and the miscellaneous as forms whose lawlessness suggested more terrifying forms of chaos like madness, social upheaval, and political revolution" (39). Wilcocke's form and its patchwork style, though not usually visibly chaotic, does lend itself to such a reading. This threatening sense of the miscellany in the *Scribbler* is made more easily apparent by scrutinizing Wilcocke's poetry.

Illustration: "The Charrivarri"

The miscellanic runs deeper than the *Scribbler*'s periodical form, becoming embedded in the form of its poetry. An excellent example of the

Scribbler's miscellanic writing contained within the text of the *Scribbler* is Wilcocke's "The Charrivarri," [64] a poem that runs serially through volumes Three and Four. The Charivari was and still is a French custom of parading around a newlyweds' house when an older man marries a younger bride, or an older woman a younger husband. The parade of masked or otherwise disguised participants makes discordant noise by yelling, banging items, and firing guns. They keep up the raucous noise until they are remunerated by the couple with money that they can spend in the tavern. The symbolic nature of this custom has been examined extensively by theorists such as by E. P. Thompson and Natalie Zemon Davis. [65] The "rough music," as Thompson calls it, and the custom itself are a form of social judgement upon what is seen as unnatural, and it is kept up until some balance is restored through payment or violence.

Wilcocke's "Charrivarri" does not underscore the need to enforce natural justice. Rather, Wilcocke seems intent on defending the French-Canadien custom and demonstrating that chaos results when the British interfere. The British had been attempting to ban charivaris in British North America because they occasionally became violent. The Charivari[66] that Wilcocke describes happened on 23 May 1823 in Montréal, and it ended in death, mostly because of attempts at interference. According to Mary Lu MacDonald, the brother-in-law of the man

[64] Wilcocke insists on his different spelling and the etymology of the name. See I.35.
[65] See Thompson's *Customs in Common* (1993), and Davis's *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (1975).
[66] One of the most applauded poems of the 1820s – by both its contemporaries and later critics – is George Longmore's *Charivari; or Canadian Poetics: A Tale, After the Manner of Beppo* (1824). Longmore's version is a "lighthearted" romp, full of Byronic digressions, but it is hardly radical. Indeed, much of it condemns recent radical uprisings for reform in England such as the Peterloo Massacre (Bentley *Charivari*).

being charivaried accidently shot and killed his own servant during the festivities (MacDonald, *Charivari* 4). The travesty, according to Wilcocke, was that the British were allowed to storm the streets and arrest people without reason that in turn caused a cultural tension that almost exploded into violence (IV.110).

Wilcocke's narration of the events came in the form of his "The Charrivarri: *A mixto-poetico-proso-comico-tragico-melo-dramatico-farrago*" (III.413) that lives up to its subtitle. Wilcocke's "farrago," which the OED defines as "a confused group" ("farrago"), translates the rowdy masquerade and the raucous noise that it describes into its form: its presentation is just as chaotic as the wildness it describes. The piece commences in the style of an epic: "Reader, I sing the most renowned Reader, I sing the most renowned Charr'varri,/ In Montréal, in eighteen hundred twenty three"—but quickly abandons verse for prose that is reminiscent of nonsense poetry. Wilcocke describes the Charivari thus:

> And they made what is called a Charrivarri—but I can't stop to tell you what that is—only that is like—it is like, a procession, or a coronation, or a puppet show, or a play, or a masquerade, or any other of those hubbaboos that grown up boys and girls take so much delight in.
>
> There were Indians, and Turks,
> Spaniards, Negroes, and Tartars,
> With all manner of works,

Horns, laces, and garters... (III.414)

Wilcocke's "Charrivarri" rambles on through two volumes (3 and 4) of the *Scribbler*. It takes on the form of biblical lessons (IV.14), dialogue (IV.17), "a fragment of a police-examination" (IV.17-18), a transcription of the magistrates' secret meeting (IV.60), a play (IV.65), a chorus "sung by Magistrates, Murderers and special constables" (IV.110), letters to the editor (IV.172), and even an advertisement detailing the whereabouts of a corpse for interested anatomists and surgeons (IV.73). Near the beginning, Wilcocke includes a dialogue between a Prompter and the Author: "Prompter. Harkee, Mr. Author, this seems to be quite episodical, as we poets say./Author. True, friend, but episodes give an insight into character and so forth..." (IV.17). Its "episodicial" quality, its fragmented sections, and its taking in of forms such as the letter to the editor which would usually be outside of it demonstrate its movement towards disorder.

Wilcocke's "Charrivarri" is interesting because it employs all the techniques used in "Noctes." Wilcocke has the author of the piece reflect on its creation (IV.17), he creates fictional caricatures of those he is criticizing, and he inserts such an assortment of genre that the "Charrivarri" blends into the *Scribbler* itself. Wilcocke's commitments, though, are much more politically driven. By unleashing his "miscellaneous warfare," Mr. Scribbler and the unity he represents step into the background, allowing the unsettling structure of the "Charrivarri" to distance the *Scribbler* from any association with the colonial government.

Conclusion:

Early Canadianists do not usually discuss the influence of British Romanticism[67] in Canadian literature in English (with the exception of the Byronic long poems of George Longmore's *Charivari* and Levi Adams's *Jean Baptiste* in the 1820s) until the Confederation poets in the 1880s. Rightly, D. M. R. Bentley points out that the influence of Romanticism inherent in the poetry of Bliss Carman and Charles G. D. Roberts was mediated through a Victorian lens (*Confederation* 19). Poetry in the first half of the nineteenth century written in Canada seems to have been much more influenced by the sentimentalism of Thomas Moore and Robert Burns (Toye 654). Indeed, grace, wit, and sentiment dominated poetic aesthetics. Yet a transatlantic influence can be seen in the formal construction of periodicals. Wilcocke draws on the editorial personae of British Romantic magazines to create his Mr. Scribbler and to organize the miscellany within the periodical. The *Scribbler*'s form was not meant to participate necessarily in the struggles that were happening in the field of cultural production in Britain; however, the formal structures were accessible and assumable, and Wilcocke adapted them to suit his particular position in the field of cultural production in Lower Canada. Wilcocke's incorporation of these formal components, regardless of the reason, still conveys the same meaning as the Romantic productions. By mimicking the Romantic Magazines, Wilcocke inscribes and begins to proscribe the the politically charged tendency towards the chaotic. Yet despite Wilcocke's miscellaneous attacks, and the periodical's chaotic construction, as I demonstrate

[67] The influence of French Romanticism is examined in Lemire's *Le Romanticisme au Canada* (1993).

in the next chapter, Wilcocke dedicated much of his work to unifying his audience, attempting to identify them as a cohesive body.

Chapter Three

Scribbling towards Belonging: Periodicals and Publics in British North America

If you can scribble any of our citizens out of their blind faces, or effect any other change that will
promote the unity, concord and sociability of the place, expect to have regular reports.
(I.53) Timothy Single to Mr. Scribbler

The *Scribbler* from its beginning invites readerly response by soliciting contributions of poetry or prose, reports on the activities of the immoral, or descriptions of cultural events. Though most periodicals solicit contributions, what made the *Scribbler* unique in the print world of Lower Canada was its willingness to include these contributions. In a sense, it was a smart business plan, for the insertion of a few letters filled a considerable amount of each issue, and thus he did not have to find material: Wilcocke was enabling his readers —and possibly fostering a desire in them—to consume what they produced. This design not only made good business sense, but it also facilitated "a social space created by th[is] reflexive circulation of discourse," otherwise known as a public (Warner, *Publics* 90). The term public is akin to readership or audience but necessitates a grouping of strangers to become aware of themselves as a collective through their common attention to some form of circulating discourse that mediates all of their interactions (Warner, *Publics* 90). There is presently not enough empirical evidence to determine who read the *Scribbler*, but as Michael Warner has

asserted, a public is as much "notional as it is empirical" (Warner, *Publics* 67). In this chapter, I examine the notional components of the *Scribbler*'s public as witnessed in its text. I argue that Wilcocke solicited and cultivated a public and a sense of belonging in the *Scribbler* as a form of position-taking. The pervading commercial and imperial narratives in British North America described it as derivative of Britain, inferior in nature or simply as a place of exploitation. In either case, these narratives describe it as without—and not needing—a local[68] culture or attachment to place. Wilcocke, I argue, performs a public in the *Scribbler*—through, for example, letters to the editor and descriptions of reception—in order to convince his readership that they are part of a dynamic community that values community involvement and cultural participation. That is, the *Scribbler* construes a sense of belonging in the text to present itself as something that can provide an alternative identity to the one enforced by the dominant commercial and imperial narratives.

The *Scribbler* fosters this sense of belonging in four ways. First, it attempts to shift the understanding of worth from economic capital to virtue and cultural capital; second, it convincingly portrays Wilcocke as having authority as a critic; third, it reverses the colonial insistence that its landscape—and by association its culture—is inherently worthless, thus nurturing proto-nationalist sentiments; and forth, it uses literary techniques to foster an image of a discourse

[68] I frequently use the term local in this dissertation to avoid confusion. I am attempting to convey an indigenous culture of "Canadian" origin, but not one that is appropriated or related to aboriginal cultures or necessarily to French culture.

of readerly reciprocity. At the end of the chapter, I query what occurs if a public[69] is notionally constructed (that is, existing as an idea but necessarily a reality) and what the ramifications of such a public are because of position-taking in the field of cultural production.

The Merchants:

In the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke repeatedly reinforces two criticisms of merchants in Montréal: that they have divided society into feudal-like, clashing coteries; and that they are not invested in the cultural development in the New World. In issue seven, "Jack Saunter," in a letter to the editor, [70] conveys his bewilderment at the way in which Montréal society is organized. Saunter claims that he was provided with excellent introductory letters, and was treated at first with civility, but upon visiting too many people, was rejected by them all. Saunter is mystified at what social code he has broken, but he does seem to intuit that he has crossed some invisible boundaries. Turning to Mr. Scribbler for advice, Saunter states that the principle that lies behind the division of these "coteries," as he calls them, "is very difficult to unravel" (I.49). He purports that "it is not family-connection, it is not party-spirit, it is not religious conformity, that produce

[69] I am using the term public instead of audience or reader because I believe it best highlights the dynamic reciprocity that Wilcocke was trying to perform as well as it alludes to the possibilities of constructing a public sphere from a readership, something I explore in detail at the end of the chapter.

[70] It is unclear whether the letter was written by a contributor or by Wilcocke to himself, as was commonly the practice of editors of periodicals.

[*sic*] these coteries" (I.50). It is also not country of origin that ties these "coteries" together, which he believes would be the logical division:

> From various countries, professing different religions, speaking distinct language, and of mixed manners, it would not be to be [*sic*] wondered at, that the Scotch, the English, the Irish, the American, and the French populations, should keep up in Society the distinctions of their several countries; but those distinctions are not the prominent ones. The two last denominations are social enough amongst themselves, but the Scotch do not associate with the Scotch, nor the English with the English, nor the Irish with the Irish. (I.49-50)

The fractured subgroups of the British—the Scottish, the Irish, and the English—crashed into the already existing social world of French population and the powerful and substantial population of Americans living in British North America. Saunter claims that Old World societal divisions and hierarchies of nationality, religion, and politics disintegrate in the colonial context, and reform by an organizing principle that determines allegiances in British North America. It is not hard for the reader to pierce through Saunter's letter to see that "the great people... the Dons," (I.50) who put on the "affectation of patronage" (I.50) are the partners of the fur trade companies in Montréal who were at that point, as I explained in chapter One, still at war, creating deep divides in the Montréal social landscape. The letter from an outsider of Montréal works well for it hints at the problem while allowing the criticism to come from someone other than the editor.

This early in the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke was unlikely willing to attack the merchants directly; later, after his identity is revealed, he is quite willing to refer to the Dons of the coteries as "the vile, mercantile, purse-proud oligarchy that bears sway in Montréal" (I.281). Wilcocke uses Saunter's letter to argue that the effect of the merchants' power in British North America created the colonialists to be fissured, made up of isolated, discordant groups predicated on commercial enterprises.[71]

The problem that Wilcocke identifies with the social construction of Montréal is not only its despotic nature that can leave people like Jack Saunter and Wilcocke shut out, but also that the merchants, interested in the accumulation of wealth and destined to return to Britain, had no interest in helping foster a cultured, civil society. In his *Free Press*, which uniformly upheld the same sentiments as the *Scribbler* but was much more vocal, Wilcocke describes the situation thus:

> It is, however, a preposterous anomaly in civil polity (alluding to Lower Canada) that an insignificant proportion of the population, a transient, migratory, [*sic*] flock of birds of prey, for such may with great propriety, the bulk of our mercantile men be called, who have not, who can not have, any affection for, or concern in, the permanent welfare of the country beyond what their own miserable temporary interest may create, aspire, and assume, to dictate to, and controul [*sic*], an immense majority of their fellow–subjects,

[71] According to Tina Loo, the fur trade companies did hold such power as Saunter describes. Tina Loo delineates the paternalistic structure of the HBC, where "in return for deference and obedience of its servants, the HBC, through its officers, took responsibility for all aspects of their social and economic welfare" (19). It was an insular, self-sufficient corporate organization.

> consisting of the ancient nobility, the landed proprietors, the gentlemen, the farmers, and settlers who are permanent resident natives, and who have no other country, no other interest, upon which to bestow their affection, and their attention than that which they inhabit, than that which gave them birth. (2-3)

These "transient, migratory, [*sic*] flocks of prey," according to Wilcocke, do not invest in the "permanent welfare of the country." Wilcocke's accusations have a notable nationalist ring to them, as he decries the their rendering those powerless who "have no other country...upon which to bestow their affection." Wilcocke argues that the merchants have not only stripped control from the "resident natives" but also prevented them from acting on their apparently natural nationalistic tendencies. The neglect of the merchants is not that they do not invest in infrastructure for the burgeoning colony, but rather that the merchants' avarice makes them neglect their civic duties and thus "nothing can be expected to prosper that requires either talent, knowledge, or public spirit" (I.281). The merchants are hindering the cultural growth of the colony and its "public spirit."

Wilcocke further argues that merchants hinder community and participation in traditional activities. Wilcocke writes of the Canadiens' ancient custom on New Year's Day of visiting other people in their houses:

> The objection chiefly urged against it, is that it takes away a day from the pursuits of business, and here shine out those avaricious feelings, those deadening maxims, which characterize the trading

> part of society, and make the Canadians too justly look upon the generality of their British fellow subjects in this province as adventurers who come out solely with views of making a sufficiency of money to enable them to return, and live at home in a better style than they could have otherwise afforded. (I.218)

The merchants, Wilcocke suggests, will not participate in any kind of social activity because they are too enamoured of making money. Wilcocke's description of the New Year's celebration, similar to his description of the Charivari that I discussed in the last chapter, has a political agenda. Wilcocke wants to disparage the merchants and what they deem important: economic capital. Thus, Wilcocke paints an ugly picture of the exploitive nature of commercial trade, and attempts to convince much of his readership that they have a different value system than the merchants, one that values tradition, public spirit, and the arts.

The Moral Dominion:

Wilcocke promotes this vision of Montréal and the devious merchants so that he can define the *Scribbler* against it. Positioning itself as the opposition to "the devotee of wealth, the countinghouse-drudge" (I.58), the *Scribbler* describes and prescribes an alternative evaluation of worth using the discourse of civic humanism: the criticism of taste of the liberal arts and social graces. One of the many contradictions that pervade the *Scribbler* is Wilcocke's attempt to solicit

and foster a sense of community in Montréal founded on a moral code when his own sexual transgressions and his probable guilt of forgery were notorious and the organ of his moral vision, the *Scribbler*, often slipped from the titillating into the licentious. Yet by appropriating this discourse of virtue, he is intervening in the discourse of civic humanism rather than economic discourse to assert his claims of authority and to assume power. Again, Wilcocke—as he did with his accruing of cultural capital in his discussion of literary productions—is attempting to dislodge power from economic capital and transfer it to "moral capital," and thus relocate the basis of social hierarchy in civic humanism. John Barrell and Stephen Copley have argued that the discourse of civic humanism conceives of virtue as an elastic rather than a static term, allowing inconsistency to exist. The qualities that Wilcocke ascribes to virtue exist "whether comfortably or in conflict, with other discourses within the same text" (Copley qtd. in Barrell 9).[72] Understanding discussions of virtue as a discourse explains how Wilcocke can use the discourse, which seems to contradict his own behaviour and much of the *Scribbler*'s content. Nonetheless, Wilcocke is an unlikely candidate to make such an attempt, and it is not surprising the lengths to which he attempts to confirm his authority.

[72] Pocock and his followers' articulation of the subtlety of this shift in ideology explain the ambivalent attitudes towards and contradictory statements about "bourgeois" humanism made in the early eighteenth century. For instance, Copley believes that "in the works of Defoe, Addison, Steele and their contemporaries, the value of the aristocratic governing élite in society remained unquestioned, but traditional humanism is redefined to accommodate commerce in its vocabulary of civic virtues" (Barrell 9).

As I discussed in chapter One, Wilcocke adopts the rhetoric of war and empire to assume the legitimacy he wishes to convey. In volume Five, Wilcocke is still using this rhetoric:

> I am now stationed within a stone's throw of Canada, and have fixed my Royal Standard, as it were, in the very centre of my conquests, looking to Montréal to the north, the shores of Lake Champlain, and the State of Vermont, to the south, westward to Kingston and the rest of Upper Canada, and far to the east stretching away to Québec. So that when my lines of communication are all established, my batteries raised, and trenches dug, I can assail each rebellious or refractory district, with celerity, and double force. (V.163)

Wilcocke's appropriation of the language of war tries rhetorically to accomplish two things: it lends writing the authority and force of warfare; and it distinguishes his readers as a political unit in the war. Whether Wilcocke actually ever managed to convince anyone that he was a moral authority is uncertain; it seems unlikely. However, what Wilcocke is promising is a continuation of his attack on the upper echelon in the form of printed gossip, which he claims is in the name of virtue. More important, I argue, is that through Wilcocke's consistent and persistent use of the language of warfare and domination, he is able to define those he has conquered as a political entity, his dominion. Wilcocke identifies his readers as Scriblerians (II.96), and urges through his rhetoric for them to self-identify with the periodical and conceive themselves as a virtual social body, even if it is

through their common mirth. Thus, through the discourse of civic humanism, wedded with the language of war and domination, Wilcocke attempts to dislodge the understanding of worth that seems so heavily entrenched in economic capital.

Wilcocke never provides a clear definition of virtue in the *Scribbler.* Indeed, mostly his definition is negative, expressing what he condemns in the merchant class. The best that he accomplishes is in his defence against the accusations of "Jacusnesus" in the *Montréal Gazette*. Wilcocke retorts, "Who does he mean by my superiors in the next questions? Are they my superiors in talent, in honour, in virtue, in learning, in education, in gentlemanly manners? Or are they my superiors in pride, profligacy, ignorance, vulgarity, and *wealth*?"(March 27th 1822 p. 1 no. 1389). Given Wilcocke's need to differentiate worth from wealth, it is not surprising that he claims to find his readership in the lower and middle classes. In jest, he dubs them the "*Swinish Multitude,"* "comprehending the labouring classes, inferior tradesmen, and generally all who do not pretend to move in the upper circles or look down upon the canaille" (III.i), and dedicates his third volume to them. Wilcocke explains that he first sent the *Scribbler* to the "great men in Montréal," but it was "through the middle and even the lower ranks of life, I found an immediate eagerness, a liberality, and a cheerfulness to subscribe" (III.ii). Wilcocke explains that through reading the *Scribbler*, his readers can improve themselves in society. The middle and lower class, through reading the *Scribbler* and heeding its apparent lessons on morals and manners, will obtain the coveted positions of the upper class:

> From your ranks many rise to the first; and at all events, in the vicissitudes of generations, it is almost a moral certainty that your posterity will change places with the posterity of the proud and the wealthy, who wish to be your swineherds. Hence if attention be bestowed upon the correction of your faults, the amendment of your manners, and to instil into your minds as much love of learning, as your occupations will allow you to indulge in, it will make you and your children fitter for the higher stations which some of you may attain, and which many of your children must inevitably occupy after. (III.i)

By attempting to strip worth from wealth and relocate it to civic humanism, Wilcocke positions the *Scribbler* as the natural alternative for those who are unable to obtain the wealth of the fur trade partners.

The Critic's Chair:

Wilcocke claims that he was "the first that regularly assumed the critic's chair in Canada, the founder, as it were, of a court for the judgment of literary efforts" (IV.364). Wilcocke inaugurated himself as the critic and cultivator of culture in Lower Canada, setting himself up in direct opposition to the merchants who he had claimed were not interested in cultural activities. Historically, this was not entirely true. Many of the merchants had invested heavily in projects such as the Montréal Library, the Montréal General Hospital, and what would become

McGill University. Notably, the first texts that Wilcocke chooses to review are those related directly to commerce. Wilcocke attacks the Montréal Library's catalogue, of which Wilcocke gives a disparaging review, not entirely surprisingly since it was a cultural institution started and supported by merchants such as Frederick William Ermatinger (Momryk), Samuel Gerrard (Deslauriers), and Thomas McCord[73] (Senior). Wilcocke states that the catalogue "reflects disgrace on all who have been concerned in its preparation and publication" and that "the directors will not fulfill their duty to the public, nor to themselves, if they do not call in and burn the whole impression" (I.55). Similarly, Wilcocke's first review was of Gabriel Franchere's *Relation d'un Voyage à la Côte du Nord Ouest de l'Amérique Septentrionale dans les années 1810, 11, 12, 13, et 14* (1820) in which he suggests that the fur traders "discourage, or suppress, the publication of any details connected with the lucrative pursuits which bring their traders in contact with the wonders of nature" and thus suppress knowledge and hinder cultural progress (I.26).

Wilcocke, of course, does not just review works in which fur traders are involved so that he can attack their motivations. He consolidates cultural capital by presenting himself as a legitimate critic in possession of the knowledge to do so. It is not then surprising that when others challenge his position as critic by launching other reviews, he underscores his original rights and also questions their authority to criticize effectively. He doubts David Chisholme's *Canadian*

[73] Wilcocke's pseudonym for McCord, who had been police magistrate when Wilcocke was imprisoned (Senior), was Mrs. Slipslop McRope (I.304).

Review will succeed because Chisholme lacks the talent and knowledge to hold such a role (VII.163). Wilcocke states that during one of the hiatuses of the *Scribbler* "even the editors of sundry papers have, during my interregnum, taken upon themselves to be critics and to pronounce in an authoritative manner upon the merits and demerits of publications!" (IV.170), but he dismisses them as "puffs" because all the reviews are favourable (IV.171). Thus, Wilcocke consecrates himself as the dominant player in the evaluation of literary production.

Wilcocke devotes much of the *Scribbler* to preserving the literature of the colony, which he states he is recording for posterity. Wilcocke was determined to make the distinction between his periodical and the ephemeral productions of the newspapers. In the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke repeatedly asserts his desire to preserve the material printed in ephemeral publications of his day. For instance, he justifies his reprinting of a poem by Erieus (Adam Hood Burwell) in the first volume, by stating the following:

> These lines have before appeared in a Montréal paper, but as with the vanity of an author, I am willing to believe "the Scribbler" will have a longer duration and more extensive circulation when –- *futuros/crescit in annos*, than the ephemeral sheets of a news-paper, I have availed of a congenial subject to introduce them. (I.148)

The contents of other periodicals, such as the *Canadian Courant* and *Montréal Gazette*, would almost entirely be of ship arrivals, stock prices, news from Europe, and other temporally dated material. Longer periodicals would discuss topics that might aid the readers such as agricultural techniques and basic political discourse, all in an attempt to foster a future, but never with the assumption that one was so confidently attainable. By the time Wilcocke was writing, there still had not been a history of the Canadas written despite there being several histories of the commercial fur trade. Indeed, it took the first historian, William Smith, eleven years to convince the publisher to bring out his work.[74] The *Scribbler*, on the other hand, gathers and archives "Canadian" cultural accomplishments. It provides a place to record the literature and history of British North America—not as a satellite of Britain but as a place of intrinsic character and worth.

By emphasizing a sense of historical worth, Wilcocke further ensures a sense of permanence to combat the overwhelming sense of transience in the colony. Wilcocke establishes this sense of permanence by simply stating that the material produced in Lower Canada is worthy of recording and frequently repeating that he has taken on this role. Of course, Wilcocke emphasizes the difference of his paper from the others because he wishes to carve out a space for himself in the field of cultural production. This is, in part, a rhetorical technique. His paper, especially in its early forms, was just as likely to be lost to posterity as

[74] The first real history of Lower Canada was not published until 1826. It was written by William Smith, the son of the Chief justice of Québec (Wallace 45). By 1840, Lord Durham would infamously state that the French Canadians were "a people with no history and no literature" (Wallace 45).

its contemporary newspapers (which he happily admits in the Preface of volume Two). However, this emphasis on posterity seems to have garnered him success and it is a constant theme throughout the volumes. By the fourth volume, Wilcocke claims that "The Scribbler was the only periodical publication, in Canada, that had acquired the dignity of appearing bound in volumes on the shelves of a library, and which dignity it enjoyed alone during the time my three first volumes were publishing" (IV.364). Wilcocke refers to the *Scribbler* as "a store-house in future ages" (I.171), and later, near the end of volume one, claims in his bold style "I have the confidence that men of some genius can not [*sic*] fail to feel, that my work will descend to future times" (I. 386). Thus, Wilcocke makes the weekly strain against its own form—making its audience simultaneously the library and the weekly audience.

Wilcocke, hardly modest, had the hubris to assume that he would attract the attention of Britain and posterity. When *The Scribbler* appeared, no Canadian periodical was directed to an audience outside of the immediate weekly readers. Wilcocke, however, always had this larger audience in mind. His object is to preserve the artefacts of literature and culture for future ages as well as record them for the centre of the Empire, Britain. He boasts that *The Scribbler* "may be considered both by its contemporaries in England, and by posterity in Canada, as a fair specimen of Canadian literature, talents, and manners, in the first part of the nineteenth century" (Preface Vol. I. iii-iv).

Grounding the Text and a Sense of Proto-nationalism:

Though the *Scribbler* tackled the more general questions of virtue and taste, it also was unashamedly local. In opposition to commercial and imperial narratives, the *Scribbler* anchors identity for its reading pubic in a proto-national understanding, tied inextricably to the local landscape, literature, and cultural institutions. The *Scribbler* suggests that those who are "Canadians"—that is, those who consider Canada their home—have something in common, despite differences in countries of origin or religious beliefs. That is, the *Scribbler* nurtures a proto-nationalist sentiment because of the need to position itself as something different from products created by the major posits of power that conceived of British North America as a place inferior to Britain or a place to be exploited.

This notion of inferiority is exemplified in the magazines that were attempted in Lower Canada. As I have stated, attempts at magazines other than the *Scribbler* drew extensively on material from Europe. This was the case with Mézière's *L'abeille canadienne* and David Chisholme's *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*. Chisholme writes that "it will form one of the most prominent parts of our labours to select and transfer into our pages, from the most estimable sources of our standard literature as from the most reputable periodical publications of the day, such articles as we may deem important" (Ballstadt, *Search* 3). The imperial narrative, similar to these magazines, insisted that British North America was a place that needed the importation of moral, aesthetic, and cultural values because the country was inherently of a lesser quality than Britain.

Much of the explanation of the colony's inferiority was made through tropes of wilderness and cultivation. Dalhousie, the embodiment of the British Imperial authority in Lower Canada, equated cultural production and agricultural production in his writing. Of the "Literary and Historical Society of Québec," which he famously patronized, he writes, "I fear that if not pushed with spirit now in the outset, that it may droop & die as almost all foreign or European plants do in this Province at the present day" (A5331 p. 85). In his frustration at the name of the institution being "of Québec" and not "of Canada," he states, "But such is the true picture of Canada in our day; such is the canker which destroys every seed that is sewn [*sic*], every plant that is attempted, to do good to this Province" (A530 p. 24). In these quotations, Dalhousie discloses his belief that British cultural institutions needed to be imported from Britain as well as his view that the British North American climate was unreceptive—indeed hostile—to such importations. Dalhousie sees the colony as causing healthy institutions to become diseased, causing them to "droop and die" because of destructive "cankers" derived from British North America.

In a more literal understanding of the trope, Dalhousie viewed the natural environment as equally devoid of good and in need of replacing. A patron of agriculture, Dalhousie encouraged the writer John Young, who wrote the *Letters of Agricola* (1821). Young portrays the natural environment in British North America as not only inhospitable to cultivation, but also aesthetically foreign with its true beauty hidden:

> We consider ourselves strangers and aliens in a foreign land, and will always do so, till cultivation has swept off our forests; has laid naked the genuine features, and brought out the native charges of the landscape, and in short, won our affections by the display of hill and valley; of bubbling stream and rolling river; of grassy mead and tuft upland, and all those natural objects, which link the sympathies and associations of the human heart into the mystic tie, embellished by the poets, and endeared by the name of country. (108)

Not satisfied with the wilderness as it is, Young suggests that it must be changed to obey British aesthetics. He believes that "genuine features" of the landscape such as "hill and valley," "bubbling streams and rolling rivers," and "the grassy mead" will be revealed by removing the forested landscape. This transformation of the natural environment into a pastoral setting will turn British North America into a place that can evoke sympathy and cause a "mystic tie" between the land and the people.

The Man of Ross in his *Sketch of Samuel Hull Wilcocke*, like Young, uses the same trope of nature to explain the inferiority of British North America and thus its worthlessness. He explains that the corrupt Wilcocke can exist in the colonies because it is inherently a derivative of Britain. In the Man of Ross's explanation, there is no future for British North America because it is simply an imperfect copy of the original:

> The inhabitable Constitution of British America is not of an ordinary description, [*sic*] She does not, like European Countries, contain within her own limits the slow but certain means of enabling her to become either a powerful—a learned or a moral country. When scion of a branch is not itself of a pure and uncontaminated description, it must never be expected, that the blossom which adorns it, or the fruit which it produces are formed of a sound and lasting quality, and that, though they may for a time afford both satisfaction and hope to those who have planted the root and mean to live by its produce, it is impossible that everyone whom chance or fortune may have placed within the influence of its shade, to experience all those sanguine expectations which fancied bliss had promised them. (5)

According to the Man of Ross, the metaphoric scion—a cutting from a tree to be grafted onto another tree —taken from to create North America was of questionable purity. British North America, existing at the dubious periphery of the Empire, can only produce a diluted strength because it lacks the history of "the slow but certain means" that has established civilization in Europe. The Man of Ross never considers British North America to be a place where culture could take root and last. It can never be anything but an inferior copy of the original and thus has no future except as an outpost of Britain, a place to be exploited.

Wilcocke uses the same trope as Dalhousie, Young, and the Man of Ross but he reverses the value of the local natural environment—both in a literal and

metaphoric sense—promoting it and its bounty as worthy of notice. In this attention to the local landscape and culture, the *Scribbler* enters into a proto-nationalist discourse. Wilcocke was well versed in Romantic understandings of nationalism that had arisen in Europe and had seeped into the British colonies. For instance, reports of Byron's death fighting in the Greek battle for independence in 1824 pervaded the Lower Canadian newspapers (Gazette 1824). Moreover, Wilcocke had translated Georg Zimmerman's *Essay on National Pride*, and he had written a nationalist epic, *Britannia* in 1797. According to Herbert Tucker, it participated in a revival of the national epic that predicted a "future that an heroically configured past could help a United Kingdom imagine" (93). Wilcocke seems intent on conjuring up a unified Celtic past—partly following Ossian—to unite the British Isles under an intrinsic nationalist cause (94). Yet in the eclectic population of Lower Canada, the Romantic understanding of nationalism predicated on a long, glorious past could not be used, or not by the British. Thus, Wilcocke seemed determined to promote the local and anything that pertained to British North America. Wilcocke's decision to limit that which he will pay attention to by political borders appears a modified Romantic proto-nationalism.

Because Wilcocke is not partaking in a traditional Romantic sense of nationalism, he is not as concerned with a national literature that parades the glories and honours of its people, but rather with descriptions and knowledge of British North America. He uses this landscape as a commonality of the people in British North America to promote some kind of unity in opposition to the imperial and mercantile agendas. Unlike Dalhousie, the Man of Ross, and Young,

Wilcocke promotes local productions. For instance, Wilcocke hails the Natural History Society of Montréal "as one that promises to be the germ of future improvement, and eventual excellence, in the numerous ramifications of which it is susceptible, and the branches of which can not fail to produce abundant and golden fruit, in a country like Canada, rich in all the productions of nature congenial to its varied climate, in the grand features of geology, cosmolgyny [*sic*] and elemental science, and in materials for the study of unborn philosophers, and yet unsuspected philosophy" (X.370). Wilcocke promotes this same trope of literature and cultural institutions as vegetation, but he reverses it, making the local not diseased or weak but infallibly fertile. In this way, he makes what is available to him as subject matter—local literary productions—appear of value. He claims what the imperial and commercial narratives discard, and he imbues this with cultural capital. In a prospectus—published in the *Scribbler*—of a no-longer-extant periodical called the *Flowers of Fancy: Or the Canadian Literary Garland*, local literary productions are equated with cultural blooming:

> In commencing a Work of this nature, and soliciting the public to extend its patronage and fostering protection over the tender blossoms of their yet infant Garden the Editors are anxious to remove any impressions that might be entertained of their wishing to oppose the artless blossoms of their imagination, to the rich and laboured hot-beds of exotic rarities, or of their conceiving that the unpretending and humble character of the productions of their *parterre* could compete with the splendid exhibitions of more

> skilful and experienced florists. But they consider that many a lovely flower blossoms in the wilderness unnoticed and unknown; and that if a portion of that assiduous attention which is given to the gorgeous children of a more favoured soil, were extended to the lowly but scarce less beautiful offspring of Nature, if it can not [*sic*] render them superior—would at least entitle them to rear their heads by the side of their more prized and cherished rivals. (X.175)

It is not the "exotic rarities" or "the more gorgeous children of a more favoured soil" that will be the attention of this periodical, but rather those "lovely flower blossoms in the wilderness unnoticed and unknown." By changing the parameters of value—by giving value to the local—Wilcocke endeavours to steal authority away from those who are invested in the imperial and commercial rhetoric. He glorifies what others consider the inconsequential, stating

> it is the duty of every public writer, especially periodical ones, to awaken, encourage, and approve, all, even the most imperfect and jejune, attempts to diffuse information and amusement of the kind we are treating of. I have, not unfrequently [*sic*], suggested and requested the communication of such remarks as may have been made by travellers, or others either in the remote, or proximous [*sic*]. (VIII.235)

It is difficult to discern where this trope of begins and ends. It certainly is meant to represent cultural products and institutions such as in his assertion above that

the Natural History Society of Montréal will bear "abundant and golden fruit" (X.370). However, for Wilcocke to make the reversal of the trope compelling, he has to present the landscape as appealing.

Wilcocke acknowledges and highlights the landscape in the poetry that he includes in the *Scribbler* and in the subject matter he requests for submissions. In the first volume, Wilcocke includes a poem by Erius (Adam Hood Burwell) "A Summer Evening." Unlike "Talbot Road," Burwell's famous long poem, "A Summer Evening" glorifies nature and humanity's harmonious interaction with it in British North America. Where "Talbot Road" charts the carving out of a road through the Upper Canadian wilderness, "A Summer Evening" gives vistas of the natural landscape of Upper Canada in all its glory. Thus, Wilcocke includes poetry by Burwell that does not participate in the imperial narrative found in his more famous poem (Bentley, *Mimic* 94).. The poem begins by tracking the evening breeze through the great lakes:

> The evening sighs its latest breeze, and floats
> On silenced wing the roaring of the surge
> That, restless, beats on Erie's rugged rocks,
> Roused by the gale of noon, or tumbles rough
> Round the projecting point where Huron's shores,
> Winding along, stretch with indentures deep;
> Or where Ontario spreads his blue expanse,
> Begirt with rugged stones. (I.118-19)

Erius pays particular attention to local content in this poem. He provides a topographical description of the great lakes that define the Upper Canadian landscape, and then focuses in on minutiae that are unique to North America: the sound of bullfrog and the whippoorwill and the sight of the firefly (I.119). Thus, the poem pays attention to and celebrates that which makes British North America unique. Despite the repertoire of poetic tropes being stock Romanticism, Erius built his poem on specifically British North American qualities of the landscape and nature, and it is its "image in verse...true to nature" (I.120) that Wilcocke sees as the poem's success.

The *Scribbler* by no means includes only poetry that described the Canadian landscape; indeed, it is filled with verse about love, but these poems are for the majority by local contributors. A poet named Skimmerhorn published titles such as "A cure for a feeling Heart" (I.247), "Money versus Love" (I.311), and "My Absent Love" (I.375). However, when the local scenery is described, Wilcocke is certain to highlight it, again drawing the attention to what is noteworthy about British North America. For instance, in a poem entitled "Winter" by G. C., Wilcocke makes particular note of the lines that refer to a typically British North American landscape: "The desolated, hollow, leafless, wood/ Stands dress'd in mournful white-robed winterhood" (I.351). Likewise, when reviewing Longmore's Byronic poem *The Charivari or Canadian Poetics*, Wilcocke excerpts a section which "displays a perfectly novel, but poetically and appropriate idea: Talking of the rigours of a Canadian winter, (which the author seems very little partial to, notwithstanding its healthful qualities, and delightful

round of amusements)" (V.170-71). Similarly, Wilcocke's commentary on an excerpt from the poem is mostly about the use of particularly Canadian language such as the "tommy-cod" in the simile "stiffly frozen as a tommy-cod." Though Wilcocke explains what a tommy-cod is to all his possible non-Canadian readers, he is, at the same time, emphasizing the Canadianness of the expression—and the fact that such unique cultural expressions exist.

Trade, Wilcocke believes, leads to the suppression of wilderness description. In positioning himself against trade, Wilcocke thus takes particular notice of descriptions of the Canadian wilderness. He frequently laments that travellers do not provide descriptions of their voyages through the country that surrounds Montréal. As mentioned previously, there were a few published travels recorded, but these were published in foreign places and were not as accessible as the *Scribbler*. In volume Eight, Wilcocke reflects on the lack of attention paid to describing the land in Canada. He writes, "It has often been a subject of regret that descriptive topography has been nearly altogether neglected in Canada. No country offers more varied means of gratifying the curious, the natural historian, and the admirers of local scenery, from the quiet, humble, vale, and lowly cottage, to the stupendous cataract, the snowy mountain, and the expanded lake...." (VIII.234). Again, Wilcocke condemns commerce as detracting from this local attention. Most immigrants are "absorbed in trade; the great debaser of the human mind" (VIII.235). He writes in volume One in his review of Daniel Williams Harmon's *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the interior of North America*, "that we have no more of natural history than a very small portion of zoology, whilst

ornithology, ichthyology, and entomology are totally neglected, for sooth to say, all these 'ologies [*sic*] have nothing to do with the fur trade" (I.198).

Wilcocke's depiction of the commercial and imperial viewpoint is not entirely without foundation. If we compare Wilcocke's review of *Bigsby's Notes on the Geography and Geology of Lake Huron* to David Chisholme's reviews of the same, the rhetoric is strikingly apparent. Wilcocke's attempt to promote social activities through his discussion of the work becomes clearer when contrasted to Chisholme's focus on justifying the imperial narrative:

> Considering our gross ignorance of the mineralogical and geological treasures of so vast an extent of country as Canada, a work of this description may be looked upon in the same light that we are accustomed to behold the first settler on a desart [sic] and unexplored coast. Like the settler, it will open a path to extensive regions of country which have formerly been known, but as the dreary and lonesome haunts of wild beasts and savage men; and reconcile us to a country, which, though at first waste and barbarous, must in a few years surrender its treasures and its fertility to the irresistible power of civilization.
>
> (*Canadian Review and Magazine*, 1826 2.4 p. 319)

Chisholme regards the landscape as "waste and barbarous," filled with "wild beasts and savage men" and needing to "surrender" its "fertility." Chisholme's rhetoric assumes a sexual language that positions him as rapist of the unwilling

and undeserving landscape. Wilcocke does not partake in this language of exploitation. Instead, he positions himself as invested in this protonational interest that advocates for the accumulation of knowledge for the betterment of his readers, not economic gain. He can claim that he provides excerpts and reviews of such works as *Bigsby's Notes* in the *Scribbler* in order to satisfy his "conviction of the necessity of stimulating, with respect to Canada in particular, the curiosity of the public, and the researches and observations of individuals" (VIII.362). As he states, Wilcocke wants such works to stimulate "the curiosity of the public" of "Canada in particular" about itself. Wilcocke's protonationalist rhetoric pits him in direct opposition to the commercial and imperial vision of the British North America. Thus, Wilcocke is able to differentiate himself from the merchants, relocating value in this protonationalism and thus allowing for the possibility of a public to exist. That is, Wilcocke's protonationalist vision and emphasis on the local opposes the mercantile view of British North America as a place from which only money is to be made.

Performing the Public:

Along with his use of the discourse of civic humanism and his attention to the landscape, Wilcocke attempts to cultivate a sense of belonging through the performance of the Scriblerian reading public. The *Scribbler* performs a public—rather than a readership or an audience—because it emphasizes the readers' participation in the discourse. Recent critics such as Paul Yachinn and Michael

Warner explain how understanding reader conglomerates as publics helps explicate the communal understanding and behaviours of the virtual cohesive bodies that can surround certain forms of media. Periodicals, as Jürgen Habermas famously noted, are excellent venues for such public creation (33).[75] Warner carefully describes the tendency of periodicals to assume the agreement of a large public that does not exist, and, by addressing it, to knit together that audience and cause it to conceive of itself as a community or public. It is a group of strangers whose sense of togetherness is predicated on some common, on-going form of media (67).

Not all circulating forms of media create publics, for the media has to be available to the public. A personal letter, for instance, cannot form a public unless it is published: that is, brought into a public domain (Kennedy, *Origins*). Similarly, an audience or group that interacts through a text that already know each other do not form a public but rather a guild or a society because there is no room for the imagining of an interaction of strangers. A key component for the creation of a public is the ability of a private individual to imagine him or herself as part of an indeterminate collective that exists as a virtual entity (Yachinn 204). A public, which we must think of as including these imagined strangers as well as actually participants, depends on private imaginings for its existence. This is why mediation of the circulating discourse is such a crucial component to the concept of a public; without it, private individuals would converse directly with one

[75] The notion of a public originates with Habermas's understanding of the public sphere, though after such critical analyses of the concept as found in Craig Calhoun's *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (1992), it is generally agreed that there are a plurality of overlapping publics, and the logic of their formation does not have to be reasoned discourse.

another thus remain strangers, which would destroy the imaginative component of the public—and thus would become a club, group, or some such entity that is familiar with all of its members.[76]

To determine the existence of a public, one needs to be able to actually witness the ways in which it self-identified with the text and how they participated in reflexive reciprocating discourse Warner 90). None of the regular contributors to the *Scribbler* has been identified, leading Mary Lu MacDonald to proclaim that the work was chiefly if not entirely the creation of Wilcocke himself ("Literary Life" 143). Although I believe that the "Notes to Correspondents" are too convoluted and too consistent to have been fabricated by Wilcocke, and thus I do believe that a public existed around the *Scribbler*, there is no data outside of the text that demonstrates the public actually existed. Moreover, there is no evidence that the public self-identified and imagined itself in the same terms as Wilcocke attempted to dictate in the text. Thus, I am examining the indications and expressions of public activity in the *Scribbler* as solely a further position-taking in the field of cultural production. Whether this public actually existed cannot be claimed at present with certainty. The lack of historical research on the limited records from the early nineteenth century makes the empirical study of the *Scribbler*'s public mostly conjecture. I believe this conjecture could be fruitful, and I will examine the possible repercussions of the existence of the *Scribbler*'s

[76] Jon Klancher's understanding of audiences in his *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832* (1987) is akin to this more recent discussion of publics. Klancher describes audiences as being "not simply the aggregates of readers. They are complicated social and textual formations; they have interpretive tendencies and ideological contours. Studying them requires us to ask what kind of collective being they represent and how an individual reader becomes aware of belonging to a great social audience" (6).

reading public in the next section, but here I wish to discuss only the crafting of the notion of this Scriblerian public in text.

In the pages of the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke attempts to dictate readers' understanding of experience in this virtual community through the metaphor of a stagecoach. He uses the stagecoach to describe the relationship between readers, performances of the reflexive circulation of discourse, or feedback loops (Warner 90), in the form of letters to the editor, "Notes to Correspondents," and theatrical descriptions of the reception and reading of the *Scribbler.* Much of the *Scribbler* is dedicated to the presentation of this discourse of reciprocity, as Michael Warner puts it, that allows readers to participate and belong to a particular public centred on a text (121).

In the first issue, Wilcocke uses the metaphor of a stagecoach to represent the bonding of his readership. In the stagecoach metaphor, the carriage represents the periodical in which the writers and readers seemingly jostle each other in their attempts to find their place. Their literary journey parallels the geographical journey of strangers united only because they happen to be travelling in the same direction at the same time. Wilcocke swiftly packs himself and his readers into the intimate confines of the metaphoric stagecoach, which will carry them through the geographical, moral, and literary territory that he so carefully defines:

> as authors, especially periodical essayists, and their readers, have been very commonly, and very aptly, likened to fellow-passengers in the same vehicle; we will, with your leave, gentle readers, like

> stage coach companions, after a short introduction, similar to the observations usually made by travelers as to the route they are going together, and the probability of fine or bad weather during the journey, accompanied by a nod, or a squeeze to sit closer, an offer of the best seat, or those glances of intelligences which are a kind of short-hand introduction, jog on quietly together, and let the occurrences on the road, the prospects a [*sic*] we go along, and the reflections and anecdotes they may call forth, furnish the means of our becoming better acquainted, and enjoying an intellectual treat together. (I.2)

Wilcocke quite vividly describes the initial awkwardness that occurs when strangers come together. He refers to the often repeated, trite small-talk that occurs at the beginning of such journeys for politeness's sake, but hopefully will result in deeper knowledge through "reflections and anecdotes that may come forth" in the act of becoming better acquainted. He seems acutely aware that the beginning of any such periodical production needs both initial and continued support. That is, Wilcocke must get the travelers to buy their tickets (subscriptions) for his literary journey. He defines, in the passage, the "periodical essayists" as writers who bring strangers together into a forced intimacy, and ask them, through time, to become acquainted and united.

Wilcocke's metaphor of a stagecoach, though he claims it is conventional, seems forced, for reading in the modern period, as Benedict Anderson and other scholar have noted, is a private activity that can allow for the imagining of a

community that goes beyond the physical intimacy that the stagecoach imposes (Anderson 39). Yet, Wilcocke speaks particularly of the periodical essayist, who, Leigh Hunt declared, was able to form a "peculiar intimacy" with readers through conversational tone and familiarity (Hunt), and by whom, William Hazlitt thought (as I noted in the last chapter), "the reader is admitted behind the curtain, and sits down with the writer in his gown and slippers" (Hazlitt). Wilcocke's stagecoach analogy seems to only further this rhetoric of the power of the periodical essayist to break down the barriers of space through their writing. The metaphor is not meant to be as much descriptive as it is prescriptive. Wilcocke wants his readers to see themselves as a collective.

Wilcocke uses the stagecoach metaphorically not only to suggest the intimacy amongst its passenger-readers, but also to emphasize the movement towards the dawning of clarity and knowingness that reading his periodical will provide. Wilcocke launches into his first essay, again using the imagery of the stagecoach ride. He emphasizes the freshness and the local nature of this literary journey that is the *Scribbler*:

> And now, ladies and gentlemen, without any more prefaratory [*sic*] conversation, we will set out on our journey.
>
> 'Tis an early and bright morning in June. A haze growing out of the short twilight we have in these latitudes, still hangs on the horizon, and is the harbinger of a cloudless and sultry day. Observe now the glorious rising of the sun, the majesty of his

> broad orb of fire breaking from behind the distant range that extends its blue outline to the eastward of Chambly mountain, dispelling the mists and awakening all nature to renovated life and joy. (I.5)

Wilcocke, in this passage, reaffirms the localness of his production and readers. This periodical is not an import from Britain or the United States, nor is it laden with news from abroad nor the details of shipping news and prices that are caught up in trading with distant places. Instead, he ties the periodical's commencement and the journey's beginning to Montréal geography. He brings to the mind's eye a physical portrayal of a well-known part of the landscape, Chambly Mountain. He makes the journey temporally as geographically specific by referring to the unique haze that occurs at that particular latitude and only at that time of year. This specific local detail promises that this periodical will be about Montréal and the Canadas.

In Wilcocke's initial description of the stagecoach, he intimates that the relationship of the readers to the writer is one of reciprocity. Wilcocke does drive the stagecoach, leaving the passengers inside, but rather he refers to them being fellow passengers together: "we will, with your leave, gentle readers, like stage coach companions... jog on quietly together" (I.2). The analogy suggests Wilcocke's desire for readers' contributions; the *Scribbler* will not only provide reading material for its audience, it will also act as a mouthpiece for its readers. He reminds his readers of the dialogic relationship between the writer of periodical essays and the reader: his readers are both patrons (and thus should

have a voice) and pupils (and thus should heed his advice). He declares that correspondence from his readers will "make one of the most interesting features" of his periodical (I.4).

Indeed, the *Scribbler* becomes increasingly correspondent-centred. In issue seven, Wilcocke begins to feature regularly the "Notes to Correspondents" section at the end of the paper (that I previously mentioned), which announces whose submissions will be in the next issue, as well as explaining why some submissions are rejected (I.48). By issue thirty this communication becomes a regular feature of the paper (I.240). Thus, the reader community that Wilcocke is attempting to construct both in the analogy and in the formal additions to the paper involves the active participation of the readers. The "To Correspondents" section of the *Scribbler* works as a place where Wilcocke can perform repeatedly the kind and the quantity of readerly participation he wishes to have. It is a place that advertises the success of the *Scribbler*, solicits more contributions, and defines it as an intersection not only for readers but also for writers. An air of mystery surrounds some of the more private, cryptic messages such as "To Trip---Yes! At the Post-Office, Montréal. T. W." (II.16). Wilcocke even pushes the limits of the dialogue beyond the confines of the periodical. He requests addresses from Tom Brown and Bion Grapheus so that he can send them private letters (I.424). Corresponding with contributors through the *Scribbler* is, of course, an economical way of corresponding, but also serves to demonstrate the attention the *Scribbler* is receiving, to pay particular attention to those who are actively

participating and maintain them as loyal readers, and to perform this participation in an attempt to have others join the community by subscribing to the periodical.

The letters to the editor participate in the same reciprocity on a larger scale. They become an increasingly dominant feature of the paper. Until about just over half-way through the first volume, Wilcocke is seemingly the author of almost the entirety of the periodical. Wilcocke's "The Letters of Pulo Penang" (I.154) feature regularly after issue twenty, and there are several periodic essays, usually at least partially cribbed from somewhere else. By issue twenty-nine, the paper seems to be taken over by correspondents' letters and correspondents' poetry. In April 1822, Wilcocke adds a supplement published on Saturdays every two weeks (rather than the usual Thursdays) to the *Scribbler* that added the length of six extra issues (48 pages) to volume One (I.320). Wilcocke fills these supplements mostly with letters from correspondents. In the supplement to number forty-four, Wilcocke explains his reasoning for the overwhelming correspondence: "I prefer giving as many of their letters as I can, in a form as nearly approaching to the originals as my plan and propriety will admit, because they exhibit both more variety and more individual character than if they were marshalled in rank and file, and embodied in dissertations of my own" (I.369). Wilcocke suggests that the "individual character" and "variety" attracts readers and correspondences to his publication. Wilcocke describes the variety and individuality of his correspondence as he describes his metaphoric stagecoach, and here, as in the stagecoach, he wills them to become familiar with each other.

Wilcocke continues to use the comparison between the stagecoach and the periodical through later volumes of the *Scribbler*. In the fifty-third issue, which begins Volume II, Wilcocke reflects on the title's literary travel. He writes:

> so now, I hope, my good friends, we have like travelers who keep together during a long pergrination [*sic*], become thoroughly acquainted with each other; that we can put up with each other's foibles, and peculiarities, and perhaps enjoy our journey the more from the variety which a diversity of opinions and feelings create [*sic*]. If we have trod on each others [*sic*] toes in the stages, or have been accidentally jostled too hard against each other, still those little rubs ought only to make us jog on more cosily and good-humouredly together. (II.2)

Thus, he suggests that now the strangers have become much more familiar with one another through their bumps along the road of reading. Here again he stresses the variety that I mentioned in chapter Two, which we can see is integral to his understanding of community. He does not suggest that everyone now is or should be get along, but that they are now a constituted whole. In a magnificent moment in the text, he evinces this familiarity by bringing his most frequent correspondents to life in the social world of the text. He calls upon them to join him in the coach: "Hey, boys! Hey! Get along there, Captain! Billy, come up! That's your sort my hearties! Hey! Tickler, stick to it! Don't flag, Tom! And so we bowl away" (II.3). Wilcocke then is acting out what he stated would occur in the first volume: his readers have become old acquaintances.

Wilcocke draws caricatures of his readers as well as his writers. A letter nicely demonstrates Wilcocke's use of dramatization of reception to reinforce further the popularity of the paper. "Rob Roy" writes in from La Prairie, giving an account of the reception of the previous issue of the *Scribbler*, where the readers, gathered around at the squire Larry Goat's house, laughed at what they assume to be descriptions of others only to find out they are descriptions of themselves (I.316). Likewise, in a play called *Scribblermania: A farce in several Acts*, the periodical depicts itself arriving in Québec by steam-boat and the Québec City populace impatient to read it:

> *Omnes.* That's the steam-boat,--the steamboat—now for the Scribbler!
>
> *A stranger.* Why what the devil's the matter; the town's in an uproar.
>
> *Mr. Marchalong.* Oh it's the steamboat.
>
> *Stranger.* The steamboat, why that's common enough!
>
> *Mr. M.* But this is the day we expect the Scribbler;
>
> *Mr. Bellyfriend. (running on the stage,)* The Scribbler, is the Scribbler come?
>
> (III.10)

Wilcocke also plays up the *Scribbler*'s clandestine nature in order to increase its popularity, depicting readers denying lending it and denying reading it (III.12). The supposed play claims that it will be continued at the end of the entry (III.13), but never is. As I emphasized in the last chapter, this is typical of Wilcocke's miscellaneous style, where he weaves different genres together, starting things

never meant to be finished, giving only fragments, to create a different sense of wholeness. Wilcocke's dramatic depictions, though obviously fabricated, convey to readers that they are not alone if they eagerly await the *Scribbler*, find the paper amusing, or even if they find something in it about themselves. Wilcocke thus describes an inchoate community of readers to itself, thus reinforcing the validity of the community's existence.

Wilcocke fictionalizes the personages of the town as well as his correspondents to give them life in the text. He turns the citizens of Montréal, literally, into actors upon a stage. He parallels the people he has nicknamed with characters from different plays. Wilcocke inserts a letter by "A Dramatis Persona" that suggests that the members of society volunteered to be actors to support the theatre in Montréal according to their personal traits (I.251). Wilcocke presents Henry Driscoll, the editor of the *Montréal Herald*, as "Mr. Drybrains" playing the part of Puff, a foppish reviewer, in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Critic* (1779) (I.251). Thomas Thain, the person most responsible for Wilcocke's imprisonment, becomes that dreaded Thane of Condor, Macbeth (I.254). These names reoccur throughout the later volumes of the *Scribbler*, featuring in letters to the editor and in descriptions of fictive banquets (II.138). We should think of all those who seem to act a part in the *Scribbler*, whether it is a contributor or a victim of chastisement, as a member of the same community. At the beginning of the second volume, Wilcocke prints Rob Roy's "An Alphabetical recapitulation of the principal personages who have figured in the Scribbler," where he mixes both. "Dash-em-all," a contributor, and "Drybrains," victim, exist in the same

line, as do "Loverule," "Lightfoot," and "Lamb" (II.13). Thus, the identities of the prominent citizens of Montréal are appropriated, dressed up, and made to act upon the stage of the *Scribbler.* The performance of real characters who Wilcocke has fictionalized adds to the performative quality of the text as it takes people whom readers can easily identify and places them next to other characters that were acting out the reception or reading of the *Scribbler*, making the latter seem more probable. Though these citizens may not wish to participate, their dramatization in the *Scribbler* includes them in the metaphoric stagecoach. Thus, in the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke uses the techniques of letters to the editor, notices to correspondents, and the dramatization of its writers, readers, and its reception to build a notion of its reciprocity and thus the notion of a public.

In the last issue of the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke returns to the metaphor of the stagecoach. Here, though, he acknowledges the other side of his role, his existence inside and outside of the coach, for he is both passenger and driver. Wilcocke admits that he has both paternal and fraternal feelings for his "subjects" and "friends," his "pupils" and "brethren" (X.376). In the quotation, however, Wilcocke gives a sense that he has been the director all along, though he seems depressed about what progress has been made and where he has actually taken his passengers. Here he has abandoned his allusions to the progress of the carriage, the knowledge gained by his pupils, and their growing cohesion:

> In the public, though peculiar, career which it has been my lot to traverse, we are like the conductor of a vehicle for public accommodation on the road, subjected to numerous incidents,

> bound to drive on at a given rate, and in a given time, liable to please or displease our passengers and customers, according as the humour of the moment, or the changeability of the atmosphere may dictate or induce, and at the termination of our journey, perhaps to receive our fare, perhaps to be grumbled and sworn at, but at all events doomed to go on the next day, to travel over the same ground, to incur the same risk, and abide by the same results.
>
> (X.376-77)

In this last issue, Wilcocke's depiction of his previously happy travellers is decidedly bleak. He no longer has to perform a sense of cohesion, and instead seems to be expressing how distraught he is at the fickleness of humanity. Yet despite this, in this last issue Wilcocke is still caught up in his imaginings of the future of British North America and the *Scribbler*'s role within it.

Political Projections and Imagining a Public:

In the final issue of the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke imagines British North America seven hundred years in the future. The article Wilcocke presents is supposedly from the journal *Archaeolgia Americana* in Saskatchewan, the capital of North West Canada in the year 2527, which details the discovery of all ten volumes of the *Scribbler* in the year 2527 (X.361). The article explains how these were the original pamphlets on which the famous work entitled *Remains of an ancient Scribbler* was based, a work that still in the year 2527 was in "universal use and repute, throughout these regions" (X.363). He refers to the discovery as "a treat to

the antiquarian" because the periodical "display[s] in some parts, numerous advertisements and singularities, characteristic of the times in which they were issued" (X.363). Wilcocke goes so far as to imagine the "bibliopolists" Messrs. La Science & Co., who intend to publish a facsimile of the entire work.[77] The reviewer emphasizes the cultural work of the *Scribbler*, mentioning its role in the promotion of cultural institutions: "Those celebrated and noble institutions, the Montréal Museum, and the Canadian Botanic Plantation, from which so many scions and branches have been spread through the North West Continent, seem to owe their foundation partly to the forcible and zealous manner in which the writer of the Scribbler appears throughout his book to have urged the formation of such establishments" (X.367-68). Wilcocke, being such a playful, pompous fool, even writes in "no less than seven" of his ancestors as early Presidents of the learned bodies.

This article is, in a sense, a playful, hubristic testimony of the *Scribbler*'s worth. Yet, Wilcocke spends a great deal of time imagining specific political details of the future world. For instance, the issues of the *Scribbler* are found in between walls at the senate house of Central Canada in "Cateroqui (formerly known as Kingston)" (X.368). Wilcocke's decision to include this name change (a movement from an imposed colonial name to an indigenous name) suggests changes that would occur after empire. Indeed, He refers to three sections of Canada (North-Western, Central, and Eastern) as now being independent, "unlike

[77] He also invents a Dr. Penloquitur**,** who was the compiler of the *Remains* two centuries after the original work existed.

those countries, which like Hindostan, and the West Indies, are still appendages to ancient Imperial Britain" (X.369). The cultural institutions that Wilcocke promoted, such as the Botanical Society and the Montréal Museum still exist and are heralded across Western Canada, and yet the fur traders and commercial trade are not even mentioned. Wilcocke presents even the deep North West—the territory of the fur traders—as now having a capital city and an archaeological journal. In the ashes of the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke imagines a future where the proto-nationalist sentiments he fostered in his periodical became realized, and in which a collected works of the *Scribbler* played a part. Wilcocke's determination to describe his own legacy suggests his desire for the public that he had nurtured to continue. Just because Wilcocke fostered such a public to accrue cultural capital in the field of cultural production in a struggle for power does not mean that he did not also bring such a public into being.

As I have repeatedly asserted, there is no empirical evidence at present for such a proto-nationalist public. However, as my study shows, the idea of a proto-nationalist identity was one that Wilcocke was promoting and thus it was, as an idea, floating around Lower Canada as alternative narrative from conceiving of British North America as solely an economic resource. I thus believe that a conjecture about this public is warranted, as is some tentative vocabulary for its study. The public that Wilcocke presents, as I have argued in this chapter, is one that locates worth in the discourse of civic humanism and in a pride of local achievements and the unique qualities of nature. The *Scribbler*, though espousing some civic republican values in terms of the exchange of information, does not

seem invested in these republican values in a mimicking of the United States. I argue that such a public could be defined as a "Settler-Colonial Public,"[78] a category that seems to capture the nascent quality of its nationalist sentiment: it remains colonial but has established a culture of settlement.[79]

A number of questions that the existence of such a public would beg are as follows: What happened to such a nascent nationalism? Was it just a passing fad? Did it disintegrate when the periodical that maintained it stopped circulating? If this proto-nationalist public could be created as the by-product of position-taking in the field of cultural production, what other publics were created by periodicals in early nineteenth century Lower Canada and what role did they—both the periodicals and the publics—play in the eventual development of Confederation? These questions demand further thought and investigation in the study of early Canadian print production specifically with respect to the relationship between periodical production and the creation of publics.

---

[78] By using this term, I am drawing on work done by Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson. See in particular 'Settler Colonies', in Schwarz, Henry and Ray, Sangeeta (eds.) *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*.

[79] I am also using the term "settler colony" rather than settler-invader colony preferred by some scholars because I think it better suits the urban focus of Montréal and the *Scribbler*. I do not wish to erase or ignore the violence of colonization; however, since this project is not post-colonial, the focus of it is on the colony as a reflection and reinvention of its motherland rather than the counterpart of such a "Second World" study that could examine the colony as a defining itself against the "Other" of the "Third World" or the indigenous population (see Alan Lawson "A Cultural Paradigm for the Second World"). The settler colony, according to Alan Lawson, makes up, or is part of, "The Second World," that which exists between the homeland and the new world cultures.

Conclusion

The Remains of an ancient Scribbler: Summation, Further Research, and the Legacy of the *Scribbler*

In the mean time I must be permitted to return my thanks for the unexampled patronage and applause I have experienced, during so many years; and, in retiring from my occupation as a periodical essayist, personal satirist, and caricature recorder of the manner and propensities of the community in this part of the world, to express my regret that I leave the field unoccupied. No Elisha has as yet stepped forward to catch the mantle of Elijah. (X.375)

In our twenty-first century, technologically saturated world, we are surrounded be forms of public media. Television, blogs, newspapers, radio programs, and podcasts are all busily pushing material to circulate in the public arenas so that strangers can pick it up for consumption. From this perspective, it is hard to conceptualize the power of the widest circulating public media of the nineteenth century, the periodical. Periodicity and its rhythms, of course, are still essential to these media, but the comparatively sober- and severe-looking, dog-eared periodicals that now stand on the shelves of special collections or exist for the researcher only on blurry microfilm hardly seem, at first, intriguing. In this dissertation, I have tried to convey the intricate and complex nature of a periodical production, the *Scribbler*, amidst its field of cultural production and to explain the

different forces at play that can influence and alter a periodical's creation. I hope I have revitalized the exciting world of periodical production for the reader.

In this dissertation, I took as a case study Samuel Hull Wilcocke's the *Scribbler* and explained its rhetorical devices, its formal and stylistic adaptations and appropriations, and its attempts to solicit an interactive reading public as ways in which it reacted to its surrounding field of cultural production. In this conclusion, I summarize my preceding arguments to emphasize my overall conclusions about the *Scribbler,* the Lower-Canadian field of cultural production in the 1820s, and periodical production in general. There were many facets of the field of cultural production in early nineteenth-century British North America that I was unable to include in this thesis, and thus I point to several specific topics that I consider in need of scholarly attention. Furthermore, I discuss the end of the *Scribbler* as a moment that exposes limitations of my study. I conclude by introducing, in the spirit of Stuart Hall's theory of articulation, theories that conflict with my Bourdieuvian reading—specifically the idealist conception of publics and Derridean thinking—that I believe accentuate questions that evolve from my study but that it was not within the scope of this project to answer. These questions, I hope, will aid the understanding of early Canadian periodicals and ostensibly the understanding of the poetics of periodicals generally.

In chapter One, I argued that the dynamics of the field of cultural production into which the *Scribbler* entered had been set by the pamphleteering war between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. This war in print stimulated Montréal print production, normalized the use of vitriolic prose

as a method of argumentation, and imported writers into Montréal such as Samuel Hull Wilcocke. The *Scribbler* entered the field of cultural production in 1821 by positioning itself as a neutral production; however, it quickly modified to re-instigate the environment of the pamphleteering wars by integrating personal satire and attacking the merchants, eventually eliciting The Man of Ross's filthy and vindictive *ad hominem* attack on Wilcocke. In 1822, when the disputes concerning the union of the Lower and Upper Canada erupted into a flurry of new periodicals and print production, the *Scribbler* began to ape the language of diplomacy and colonial discourse imbedded within the debates, setting up a dominion of "Scriblerians." As the debate continued, so did the *Scribbler*'s use of the rhetoric in positioning itself in opposition to the two major posits of power printing in English: the merchants and Governor Dalhousie.

The *Scribbler* also positioned itself in the field of cultural production by appropriating the formal innovations of Romantic magazines. Building from the recent work of David Stewart, David Higgins, and other scholars of British Romanticism, I argued in chapter Two that the *Scribbler* incorporates formal characteristics drawn from Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, particularly the editorial persona and a miscellanic ordering and selection of material predicated on the assumed subjectivity of that persona. The *Scribbler* used these formal appropriations not to differentiate itself from the Reviews—as the *Examiner* and *Blackwood's* had—but rather to differentiate itself from the periodicals that dominated the Montréal field of cultural production, the

newspapers. That is, the editorial persona was used to distinguish the *Scribbler* from the Montréal newspapers.

In the third chapter, I argued that the *Scribbler* attempted to solicit an audience and a public centred on the *Scribbler* by disparaging other forms of allegiance in British North America, such as the coteries surrounding mercantile companies, and by performing belonging in the pages of the *Scribbler*. The *Scribbler* advocates for civic humanism—the knowledge of art, literature and the social grace—as that which is imbued with worth instead of economic capital. In the *Scribbler*, Wilcocke ordains himself the critic of British North American cultural productions and morals, thus giving himself the power to dictate what is imbued with cultural capital. The *Scribbler* attempts to sway its audience into adopting this alternative form of currency and in doing so, to self-identify as a virtual collective body. The *Scribbler* emphasizes the difference between the public that it presents from other understandings of identity in British North America by partaking in a proto-nationalist discourse. This discourse declared the worth of the British North American landscape and its (fuzzily defined) indigenous cultural activities and productions. Though it is unclear whether such a public ever existed, such a public is certainly promoted and performed in the pages of the *Scribbler* as a way of the periodical defining itself against other productions in the field and the large posits that created them. Thus, the *Scribbler* can be read as being constructed by its material interactions with other texts and the ideological intentions behind those texts as witnessed in its position-taking through rhetoric, form, and the performance of belonging. Such a reading shows

the integrated and causally complicated nature of print production in British North America.

I have demonstrated through my study the sophisticated and complicated nature of early Canadian print production, especially periodical print production, even if—or because—it cannot lay claim to originality. The intriguing quality of such works lies precisely in how print productions react to and use other print productions in their struggle for dominance in the field of cultural production. It is only through scrutiny of the trajectories of the periodicals that dominated British North American print production certainly in the 1820s and in most of the first half of the nineteenth century that we can begin to understand the print culture of the time—and the reciprocity of influence between print production and the social, political, and economic fields. Historical, political, and economic examinations of this pre-confederation period have not taken into account print production in their understandings of the struggles for power, yet, as I have demonstrated, print was inextricably linked to these struggles. Thus, for a better understanding of this period, works such as the *Scribbler* need to be considered.

Further Research:

I hope I have demonstrated the need for extensive further research into early nineteenth century Canadian print production. Though Wilcocke's *Scribbler* is, I believe, a fascinating example of periodicals of early Canada, my thesis is limited. As a case study, it artificially places the *Scribbler* as the centre of the field. During the course of this dissertation, the availability of texts online has increased

exponentially. Google Books, Amazon's Kindle, and numerous other creations have made the study of texts—especially those out of copyright—suddenly easier. Canadiana.org has put an astonishing number of early texts online, including all the periodical magazines available on microfilm through their previous incarnation, the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM). Indeed, the first two volumes of the *Scribbler* are now available through Canadiana.org. This ease of access of some material is encouraging, and I can only hope that a future project for *Early Canadiana Online* or a project of one of their now affiliated groups (e.g. Allouette Canada) through *the Canadiana Discovery Portal* will be to make available and searchable early Canadian newspapers. The access, though, to some material is misleading, for there was much that has come to the surface after CIHM microfilmed early Canadian works in 1965, including the Colonial *Magazine* and *A Sketch of Samuel Hull Wilcocke*, both of which were discovered during my work on this thesis. I strongly believe that there are other texts that will be exhumed if scholars return to the special collections, archives, and museums[80] where texts seem to become lost from scholarly and public notice. There are numerous directions to take the study of early Canadian print culture beyond mere recovery. Below I will briefly point to some of the ones I find the most compelling. They are divergent in nature, and tangential to one another, and thus I will list them here under subheadings.

[80] For instance, Museum of Civilization, Québec City now holds the extensive holdings of the Québec Seminary Library.

The French-English Divide:

In my study of the field of cultural production in Lower Canada, I was struck by the interactions between French and English print production. These are usually regarded as two isolated areas of study because, scholars have argued, the two literary traditions had no effect on one another. The decision to view the two languages in isolation might be the product of the tendency to study periodicals using the survey model, which tries to try to track influence as they are chronologically ordered. Such studies as Cyrille Felteau's "Aspects de l'histoire de la presse canadienne de langue française au XVIII^{e} et au XIX^{e} siècles. II" declare their narrow focus, whereas other surveys such as Jean Paul de Lagrave's *Les journalists-democrates au Bas-Canada (1791-1840)* and Claude Galarneau's "La presse périodique au Québec de 1764 à 1859" simply exclude English writing in Québec from their study. English literary historians have been equally neglectful of exposing the link between the French and English periodical literary traditions. Vincent et al. in their "Magazines in English," Merill and Linda Distad in their chapter on Canada in *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*, and Noel Barbour in *Those Amazing People!: The Story of the Canadian Magazine Industry 1778-1967* focus solely on the English context. Even Mary Lu MacDonald, who has written most widely about the literary scene in Lower Canada, boldly states in her conclusion to her M.A. thesis that by 1817 "the two solitudes had commenced their co-existence" ("Literary Life" 183). Interestingly, English and French are studied together in bibliographical studies as seen in Beaulieu and Hamelin's exhaustive *La presse Québécoise: Des origins à*

nos jours, as well as in their *Les journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964* and *Brochures Québécoises, 1764-1972* and N. E. Dionne's *Inventaire chronologique des livres, brochures, journaux et revues publiés en langue française dans la Province de Québec*, which, despite its title, also includes English works.

Though it demands that one be fluently bilingual, there is much work to be done in examining how the two languages and two cultures attempt to combat each other in the press, and particularly when they merge for political reasons. There was much support by the French speaking population of the *Canadian Spectator* (1822-28), and, likewise, the English found a voice at times in *La Minerve* (1826-37). One interesting comparison would be between Wilcocke's *Scribbler* and Napoléon Aubin's *Le Fantasque* (1837-45), both of which included scathing personal satires of the Montréal public.

American Satirical Periodicals:

In this dissertation, I have examined the possible British antecedents for the *Scribbler*. There are, however, some American productions that might be grouped with the *Scribbler*. Wilcocke refers to Gamiel Optick's the *Microscope* (1819-1824) published in Albany, NY as a "literary and satiric paper of considerable merit" (I.189) and quotes from it or mentions it several times (See II.159, III.151, III.204, VII.212).[81] Wilcocke also mentions the Lucius Sarcastic, Esq.'s *Castigator* (1822-28) published in Boston, MA by John C. Scobie and Lorenzo T. Hall; *Plain Truth* (1822-29) in Canandaigua, NY by Lynman A. Spalding and

[81] For further information on the *Microscope*, see William E. Rowley's "*The Albany Microscope:* Gadfly for Jacksonian Democracy."

Thomas B. Barnum; and the *Hornet* published in Richmond, VA (III.204). Though I searched extensively, at this time these papers are extremely difficult to find. I believe that grouping these satirical papers with the *Scribbler* and Aubin's *Le Fantasque*, to study the form and the effects of early nineteenth-century satirical papers on creating political entities, might add extensively to our understanding of the *Scribbler* and to our understanding of a transborder literary influence and audience.

Religious Print:

The parameters of this dissertation and its focus on the *Scribbler* resulted in a number of gaps in my rendition of the field of cultural production in the 1820s.[82] The most noticeable gap is the exclusion of a sustained discussion of religious print production. This was in part because there was not much of it and in part because they had no seemingly direct interactions with the *Scribbler.* In general, the Roman Catholic authorities opposed print circulation rather than used it. Archbishop Joseph-Octave Plessis and the Roman Catholics generally, who made up nineteenth-twentieths of Lower Canada, relied heavily on education, preaching from the pulpit, and letter writing rather than the press to indoctrinate. Only two of Plessis's sermons were published in his lifetime, and though he was forced to act in a brief pamphlet war with Sulpicians, and printed a new version of the New Testament to counter the Methodists, overall the Roman Catholic production of print was minimal (J. H. Lambert). Plessis did, at least, secretly distribute works published elsewhere, but officially he maintained a non-

[82] Bourdieu admits the difficulty if not impossibility of including and assessing every aspect of the field of possibles (65).

proselytizing approach. Even after Plessis's death, the new Archbishop would not approve of a religious periodical such as all the other religious groups had decided to publish. Instead of promoting writing, Plessis was concerned with Enlightenment thinking and the theatre, both of which he effectively censored (J. H. Lambert).

The Protestants were more active in print production. Branches of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the Religious Tract Society (RTS), and the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) all existed in Canada by the 1820s, but they published little themselves, relying heavily on the parent groups' imports. The SPCK was Anglican affiliated, but the other two organizations were non-denominational. All three societies were interested mostly in distributing the "silent preacher" of the bible to remote areas (Friskney 139). The Montréal Auxiliary Bible Society, a branch of the BFBS, was patronized by Lord Dalhousie and commenced in August of 1820, and it produced a report, which was its primary "tool to advertising their cause" (Finard qtd. in Friskney 143). In Upper Canada, John Strachan launched and single-handedly helmed the *Christian Recorder*, but it failed after two year because of a lack of contributors (Vincent 243). Further research in this area is needed and will be greatly assisted by Beaulieu and Hamelin's *Brochures Québécoises, 1764-1972* and the online database ""Canadian Imprints to 1840" database of the History of the Book in Canada Project. The database presently has only 199 entries, but will in the future contain Sandra Alston and Patricia Lockhart Fleming's entire database of over

6900 records.[83] Further research needs to be done into the religious pamphlets of the time in order to interrogate the general present assessment that they are uninteresting because their writing and ideas were usually imported.

Editorial Persona:

I believe that the role of editorial personae, both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, needs to be further explored. My work here points to the uses of such a device, but the differences of the different incarnations of the editorial personae in Britain as well as in the United States deserve theoretical examination.[84] American periodicals that might serve well in this study would be Joseph Dennie's *Port Folio* (1801-1812), Washington Irving's *Salmagundi* (1807), and Charles Brockden Brown's *Literary Magazine* (1803-1810).[85] Michael Cody asks of American periodicals, "Does Brown develop a persona in his magazine that overtly marshals its contents into a single monologic text in the same way that the Federalist republicanism of Joseph Dennie's "Oliver Oldschool" rules *The Port Folio*? Or is Brown's persona subordinate, allowing the miscellany to be more dialogic in the hands of its readers?" (9). Though Cody's text does not answer these questions, further trans-border and transatlantic research might begin to provide a language to discuss editorial personae.

---

[83] Personal Correspondence. Sandra Alston. May 26, 211.

[84] In Canada, the form of *Blackwood's* may also be seen in William Tiger Dunlop's work, though maybe not as an editorial persona. See *William* "*Tiger*" *Dunlop*, "*Blackwoodian Backwoodsman*"*: essays by and about Dunlop*, ed. C. F. Klinck (Toronto, 1958).

[85] For work on American editorial personae, see Michael Cody's *Charles Brockden Brown and the Literary Magazine: Cultural Journalism in the Early American Republic*, William C. Dowling's *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and The port folio, 1801-1812,* and Jared Gardner's "The Literary Museum and the Unsettling of the Early American Novel."

Additionally, I believe that the narratological terminology set out in Marisa Bortolussi and Peter Dixon's *Psychonarratology* might be translated into discussions of editorial persona. A terminology could be constructed that would allow for a discussion of editors in the precision of narratologists (63-64): for example, the homodiegetic editor, who is included in the narrative of voices but is not the protagonist; and the autodiegetic editor, who is the authoritative voice in a periodical.

Broader Theoretical Questions:

Of the broader theoretical conjectures about periodicals and print production that I see arising from this thesis, I wish here to conclude with a discussion of two. Both are related to questions of influence, and both move away from the materialist reading I have been offering by articulating it with idealist notions of determinacy (particularly publics theory—the descendents of Habermas). Such theories conflict, but I wish to force them together to see what this exposes. The first conjecture is about the relationship between meaning and intent in the field of cultural production, and it has two parts. Part one relates to form, meaning, and appropriation. Does the relationship between form and meaning remain constant, despite that form or language being appropriated for a different use? As I have shown, innovations in British magazines affected the formal construction and style of the *Scribbler*. Thus, we cannot think of British North America in isolation. However, I have also demonstrated that the appropriation of form and style from a different field of cultural production does not necessarily mean that the fields of cultural production were similar or that the appropriator agrees with

the possible ideological determinants that initially caused that form or style to come into being. That is, the mimicking of British magazines by the *Scribbler* does not mean that it now espouses their understanding of Romanticism. Thus, scholars must be extremely careful when attempting to understand this transatlantic influence, as the ideological principles that we generally associate with form—or any other quality of print production—in Britain may not be applicable in British North America.

The question is whether Wilcocke's use of the form of Romantic magazines would actually cause his readers to understand the world in British Romantic ideological terms—similar to those that Wilcocke appropriated the form from—or is the form devoid of meaning in and of itself, and thus would simply distinguish the *Scribbler* from the newspapers? This question arises out of the lack of any discussion about a Romantic movement in British North America. Can we consider the *Scribbler* as participating in British Romanticism? And further, does the popularity of the *Scribbler* suggest there was a hitherto unexamined attraction to British Romanticism that trickled into the consciousness of the British North American populace?

The second part of this conjecture questions the influence of a proto-nationalism. The way in which a periodical understands or tries to create a relationship with its audience can also be viewed as position-taking. Periodicals, by virtue of their periodicity, recurrently have the opportunity to address their readers, and thus they are able to reiterate certain points until they are, hypothetically, understood as natural. The *Scribbler* adheres to proto-nationalism,

I have argued, in an attempt to position itself as unique from other productions rather than evincing a deep longing in Wilcocke for such a nationalism or nation to exist. Yet does its use of proto-nationalist rhetoric—its critical attention to native literature and its interest in the native environment—actually translate into the creation of an unintended nascent nationalism? If this is the case, did the *Scribbler* contribute to the rise of nationalism seen in early Canada in the 1830s? In addition, if the *Scribbler* can produce a sense of nationalism, what are other periodicals capable of generating simply as a by-product of positioning in the field of cultural production? For instance, in Wilcocke's last periodical, the *Colonial Magazine*, he addresses all colonists around the world as a single body. That is, he suggests the conditions of the colonial experience would create similar experiences despite the differences in geography, climate, language, and that these similarities would create common empathy and interest.[86] If the periodical had not folded after four issues,[87] could it have fostered a proto-colonial identity linked across continents?

[86] The advertisement reads,

> It is intended that this work shall be a Repository of Literature, Science, and Amusement, adapted for general readers, and general circulation—to embrace, in particular, every article of novelty or interest, in voyages travels, and discoveries, and that may relate to the History, natural and civil, Geography, and inhabitants, of all those countries and places, which, under the general denomination of COLONIES, have, in all ages assumed a conspicuous situation in the chronology, and in the map, of the world—and to include such other varieties, miscellanies, and poetic pieces, as may be deemed worthy of publication or selection, and contribute to the universality of its interest. (X.64)

[87] No further issues have been advertised and it was only the discovery of extant copies of issue three and four at the New York Library and Archives that I was able to determine that it lasted this long.

I conclude with a discussion of the second conjecture. This dissertation has primarily focussed on questions of determinacy that affected the *Scribbler* and its position-taking; however, the material effect of the *Scribbler* on other texts and Montréal society is unclear. There are presently no details on the reception of the *Scribbler* beyond the animosity it provoked in the merchants, the colonial government, and others who disrupted its circulation, as I mentioned at the end of chapter One. The gaping holes in our knowledge of early Canadian literature hinders our specific knowledge of how early Canadian literature worked, but they are fruitful in provoking thinking in the Bourdieuvian model. I have been offering in this thesis has been informed by Bourdieu's understanding of the field of cultural production. Bourdieu provided me with both a model and a language in which I could discuss determinacy that considered the larger historical context of Lower Canada, other productions that came out and shaped the contours of the field, and Wilcocke's own tendencies. This thesis has offered a reading of the immediate influence in the field of cultural production of the *Scribbler,* but I am afraid that my adherence to materialism leads one to believe that the *Scribbler*'s influence disappears with the *Scribbler* itself. In this conclusion, I wish to provoke a study the *Scribbler* having a legacy after it physically ended, and thus possibly beyond its materiality when it existed. In accordance with Bourdieuvian thinking, what I am suggesting is that the *Scribbler* could hold a position in the field of cultural production even after it stopped producing; that is, as a residual idea or legacy (Bourdieu 60, 108, 111).

I suggest this notion of a residual idea that could act as a material object in the field of cultural production because I believe the idea particularly pertinent to the study of periodicals. A periodical's periodicity creates what Mark Turner has called rhythms of reading (Turner 184). It forms habits around it and begins to organize the rhythm of everyday existence. It cannot be over-emphasized that the *Scribbler*'s six-year run was extraordinary for a magazine-like production, and was unprecedented in British North America in French or in English (MacDonald, "Literary Life" 73). Thus the *Scribbler* had had an unprecedented length of time organizing the rhythms of Montréalers. This rhythm would be disrupted if the periodical would cease to exist; the absence of the periodical, hypothetically, would be missed. This type of continued influence—this nostalgia—is integral to the periodical's survival as an idea because of the ephemeral nature of the periodical. Periodicals are, as I explained in chapter Two, thought of, at least in part, to be temporally locked; that is, relevant only in the moment of their release. Once it stops being produced, it begins to become outdated and forgotten.

Wilcocke shut down the *Scribbler* in July of 1827 after over six years of publication. He claims in the final issue that he was forced to shut down the paper because he was being charged with a libel suit, this time in the United States (X.378). Thus the end of the *Scribbler*, though resounding (Wilcocke put out three months of material in that last issue, totalling 96 pages), would have come as somewhat of a surprise to its British North American audience. Moreover, the cause of the *Scribbler* came from outside the field of cultural production; that is, it was not its loss in a struggle to accrue cultural capital with another text. Many

periodicals, as I have shown, disappear shortly after their arrival and quite often inexplicably; however, the cause for the termination of the *Scribbler*—as far as can be determined—occurred outside the struggle for power in its field, thus leaving a hole in print production. As I stated at the end of chapter Three, Wilcocke imagined the world the *Scribbler* promoted coming into being. He also assumed that though there was not yet an "Elisha to take up the mantle of Elijah" (X.374) that "due castigation and reprehension, if not from 'a present Deity,' from some embryo Juvenal, some future Cervantes, or some unborn Scribbler" should make the public live in "fear and dread" (X.374). In a very Wilcockean double-entendre, he also imagined a future collection of essays collected from the *Scribbler* two hundred years in the future called *The Remains of an ancient Scribbler* (X.363). Wilcocke sees the *Scribbler*—and indeed by his word play, his very body—existing beyond the last issue, resurrected. In the issue, Wilcocke seems to attempt to secure this continued influence. I propose that the spectre of the *Scribbler* existed in the field of cultural production and that studies of periodicals of the late 1820s and early 1830s in Lower Canada need not only to consider why the cultural productions that obviously exist in the field came into being, their relationships to other texts that had been produced, and the response that they engendered, but they also need to consider the spectres of such works as the *Scribbler*.

Works Cited

Archival Sources

Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec. Université de Laval. Literary and Historical Society of Québec fonds. Samuel Hull Wilcocke Papers. "Miscellaneous Extracts, Notes, Observations etc. No 1-5." L1/G2, 19.

Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec. Montréal. Fonds Cours du banc du roi/de la reine du district du Montréal. Matières criminelles en general. Octobre 1821- Novembre 1822. TL19, S1, SS38. 1995-070004/122.

Library and Archives Canada. Foreign Office fonds. MG16-F05. General Correspondence, United States of America MG16-F0. "To Stratford Canning MG16-F05." 1821. Microfilm reel B-1792-B1793; B-1797. Vol. 157-159; 168.

Library and Archives Canada. George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie fonds. A529-A5332.

University of Western Ontario Archives. Carl F. Klinck fonds. Samuel Hull Wilcocke Related Papers (Box 14N).

Published Sources

Featured Periodicals:

L'abeille Canadienne. 1818-1819. Henry-Antoine Mézière. Montréal.

L'Aurore. 1817-1819. Michel Bibaud (ed.). Montréal.

Blackwood's Magazine. 1817-1980.William Blackwood. Edinburgh.

Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository. David Chisholme and A. J. Christie (eds.). 1824-1825).

Canadian Review and Literary & Historical Journal. David Chisholme. Montréal. 1824-1826.

Canadian Spectator. 1822-29. Jocelyn Waller (ed.). James Lane: Montréal.

Le courier de Bas Canada. 1819. Michel Bibaud. Montréal.

Examiner. Leigh Hunt (ed). London. 1808-28. London

Le Fantasque: Napoléon Aubin (ed.) (1837-45). Montréal.

Free Press. 1822-1823. Lewis Luke MacCulloh (Samuel Hull Wilcocke) (ed.). Burlington, VT.

La Gazette Canadienne. 1822-23. John Quilliam (ed.). Montréal.

The Harbinger, And Champlain Political and Literary Compendium. 1824-1825?. Samuel Hull Wilcocke (ed.). Rouse's Point, NY.

Northern Intelligencer & Clinton County Semi-weekly Advertiser. (1822-1829). Plattsburgh, NY.

Plattsburgh Republican. 1813-1914. Plattsburgh, NY.

Scribbler. 18210-1827. Lewis Luke MacCulloh (Samuel Hull Wilcocke) (ed.). Montréal.

Spectator. 1711-14. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele (eds.). London.

Spectateur Canadien. 1813-29. Charles-Bernard Pasteur (ed.). James Lane: Montréal.

Tatler.1709-1711. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele (eds.). London.

Books, Articles, Chapters, and Pamphlets:

Adams, Levi. *Jean Baptiste: A Poetic Olio, in II Cantos*. 1825. Ed. Tracy Ware. London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 1996. Print.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New Edition. London, Eng.: Verso, 2006. Print.

Bakhtin, M. M. Mikhail Mikhaĭlovich. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Ed. Michel Holquist. Trans. Michael Holquist & Caryl Emerson. Austin: U of Texas P, 1994. Print.

Ballstadt, Carl. "The Quest for Canadian identity in Pre-Confederation English-Canadian Literary Criticism." MA Thesis. UWO, 1959. Print.

Ballstadt, Carl. *Search for English-Canadian Literature: An Anthology of Critical Articles from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1976. Print.

Baldick, Chris. "cacoethes scribendi." *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008. *Oxford Reference Online Premium.* Web. 21 Aug. 2011.

Bandish, Cynthia L. "Bakhtin's Dialogism and the Bohemian Meta-Narrative of 'Belgravia': A Case Study for Analyzing Periodicals." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34.3 (2001): 239-262. Print.

Barrell, John. *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art, 1700-1850*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1992. Print.

Beaulieu, André, and Jean Hamelin. *La Presse Québécoise: Des Origines À Nos Jours*. Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973. Print.

Beetham, Margaret. "Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 22.3 (1989): 96-100. Print.

---. "Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre." *Investigating*

Victorian Journalism. New York: MacMillan, 1990. 19-32. Print.

Bentley, D. M. R. *The Confederation Group of Canadian Poets, 1880-1897*. U of Toronto P, 2004. Print.

---. *Mimic Fires: Accounts of Early Long Poems on Canada*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1994. Print.

---. "Trees and Forest: Notes on Variety and Unity in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Writing." *Literary Genres/ Les Genres littéraires*. Ed. I. S. MacLaren & C. Potvin. Edmonton, AB: Research Institute for Comparative Literature, University of Alberta, 1991. 19-30. Print.

Blennerhassett, Margaret. *The Widow of the Rock: And Other Poems*. Montréal, 1824. *Early Canadian Online.* Web. 13 July 2008.

"Blue book." *A Dictionary of Law*. by Jonathan Law and Elizabeth A. Martin. Oxford University Press 2009 *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. University of Alberta. Web. 5 September 2011.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Ed. Randal Johnson. Trans. Claud DuVerlie. Columbia UP, 1993. Print.

Bowman, Ariel. *Hours of Childhood and Other Poems*. Montreal, 1820. *Early Canadiana Online.* Web. 13 Jun. 2011.

Brake, Laurel. "Writing, Cultural Production, and the Periodical Press in the Nineteenth Century." *Writing and Victorianism*. London, Eng.: Longman, 1997. 54-72. Print.

Bumsted, J. M. *Fur Trade Wars*. Winnipeg, MB: Great Plains Publications, 1999. Print.

---. *Lord Selkirk: A Life*. Winnipeg, MB: U of Manitoba P, 2008. Print.

---."Red River Colony." *The Canadian Encyclopedia Online/L'Encyclopédie Canadienne En Ligne*. Ed. James. E. Marsh. 2011. Web. 8 Jan. 2011.

Burroughs, Peter. "Ramsay, George, 9th Earl of Dalhousie." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 23 July 2011.

---. "Sherbrooke, Sir John." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 23 July 2011.

Burwell, Adam Hood. *Talbot Road: A Poem*. Ed. Michael Williams & D. M. R. Bentley. Canadian Poetry Press, 1991. Print.

Calhoun, Craig J., ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992. Print.

Cody, Michael. *Charles Brockden Brown and the Literary Magazine: Cultural Journalism in the Early American Republic*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2004. Print.

Colclough, Stephen. "Recovering the Reader: Commonplace Books and Diaries as Sources of Reading Experience." *Publishing History* 44 (1998): 5-37. Print.

Copley, Stephen. *Literature and the Social Order in Eighteenth-Century England*. London, Eng.: Croom Helm, 1984. Print.

Creighton, D. G. "The Struggle for Financial Control in Lower Canada, 1818-1831." *Canadian Historical Review* 12 (1931): 120-144. Print.

Davies, Gwendolyn. *Studies in Maritime Literary History: 1760-1930*.

Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1991. Print.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and culture in early modern France : eight essays by Natalie Zemon Davis.* Stanford, Calif. : Stanford UP, 1975. Print.

De Lagrave, Jean-Paul. *Histoire de L'Information Au Québec*. Montréal, QC: La Presse, 1980. Print.

---. *L'Époque De Voltaire Au Canada: Biographie Politique De Fleury Mesplet (1734-1794)*. Montréal, QC: L'Étincelle, 1993. Print.

---. *Les Journalistes-démocrates du Bas-Canada, 1791-1840*. Montréal: Éditions de Lagrave, 1975. Print.

Denison, Merrill. *Canada's First Bank; a History of the Bank of Montreal*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart, 1966. Print.

Deslauriers, Peter. "Gerrard, Samuel." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 23 July 2011.

Dionne, N. E. *Inventaire Chronologique des Livres, Brochures, Journaux et Revues Publiés en Langue Française dans la Province de Québec, depuis l'Établissement de l'Imprimerie au Canada jusqu'à nos jours, 1764-1905*. Ottawa, ON: The Royal Society of Canada, 1909. Print.

Disraeli, Isaac. *Miscellanies; or, Literary Recreations.* Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1796. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online.* Web. 17 July 2011.

Distad, N. Merrill, and Linda M. Distad. "Canada." *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*. Toronto, ON: U of Toronto P, 1996. 61-174. Print.

Dowling, William C. *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and the Port folio, 1801-1812*. Columbia, SC: U of South Carolina P, 1999. Print.

Doyon, Nova. "Case Study: Michel Bibaud's Encyclopedic Reviews." *History of the Book in Canada, Volume I: Beginnings to 1840*. Ed. Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde. Toronto, ON: U of Toronto P, 2004. 250-251. Print.

Dunlop, William. *William "Tiger" Dunlop, 'Blackwoodian Backwoodsman': Essays by and about Dunlop Selected and Edited by Carl F. Klinck.* Ed. Carl F. Klinck. Toronto, ON: Ryerson Press, 1958. Print.

Felteau, Cyrille. "Aspects de l'histoire de la presse canadienne de langue française au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles II." *Écrits du Canada français* 48 (1983): 111-29. Print.

Ferris, Ina. "Antiquarian Authorship: D'Israeli's Miscellany of Literary Curiosity and the Question of Secondary Genres." *Studies in Romanticism* 45.4 (2006): 523-542. Print.

Franchère, Gabriel. *Relation D'un Voyage À La Côte Du Nord-Ouest De l'Amérique Septentrionale, Dans Les Années 1810, 11, 12, 13, et 14*. Montreal, 1820. Peel 81. *Peel's Prairie Provinces*. Web. Jan. 12, 2011.

Friskney, Janet B. "Christian Faith in Print." *History of the Book in Canada, Volume I: Beginnings to 1840*. Ed. Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde. Toronto, ON: U of Toronto P, 2004. 138-144. Print.

Galarneau, Claude. “La Presse périodique au Québec de 1764 à 1859.” *Proceedings & Transactions Royal Society of Canada* 22 (1984): 143-166. Print.

---. “Mézière, Henry-Antoine.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. May 15, 2011.

Gardner, Jared. “The Literary Museum and the Unsettling of the Early American Novel.” *ELH* 67.3 (2000): 743-771. Print.

Goldsmith, Oliver. *The Rising Village*. 1825. Ed. Gerald Lynch. London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 1989. Print.

Graham, Walter James. *English Literary Periodicals*. New York: Octagon Books, 1966. Print.

Gundy, H. Pearson. "Literary Publishing." *Literary History of Canada*. Ed. Carl Klinck. 3 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1976. 1: 188-202. Print.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991. Print.

Halkett, John. *Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement Upon the Red River, in North America: Its Destruction in 1815 and 1816, and the Massacre of Governor Semple and His Party: With Observations Upon a Recent Publication, Entitled “A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries”* New York, 1818.Web. *University of Alberta Libraries: Canadiana Collection.* Web. 23 Oct. 2011.

Hall, Stuart. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Ed. David

Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen. London: Routledge, 1996. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost).*Web. Sept. 17 2011.

Hare, John, and Jean-Pierre Wallot. "The Business of Printing and Publishing." *History of the Book in Canada, Volume I: Beginnings to 1840*. Ed. Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde. Toronto, ON: U of Toronto P, 2004. 71-78. Print.

Harmon, Daniel Williams. *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*. 1820. New York: Allerton Book, 1922. Print.

Harris, R. Cole. *Historical Atlas of Canada: From the Beginning to 1800*. Toronto, ON: U of Toronto P, 1987. Print.

Hart, Julia Catherine Beckwith. *St. Ursula's Convent, or, The Nun of Canada: Containing Scenes from Real Life*. Ed. Douglas Lochhead. Ottawa, ON: Carleton UP, 1991. Print.

Harvey, Paul. "Kyrle, John." *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press,1967. Print.

Hazlitt, William. "On periodical essayists." *Lectures on the English Comic Writers: Delivered at the Surrey Institution.* London, Eng.: Taylor and Hessey, 1819. *Google Books*. Web. July 17 2011.

Hearne, Samuel. *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson Bay to the Northern Ocean, in the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772.* 1795. Toronto, ON: Champlain Society, 1911. Print.

Heriot, George. *Travels Through the Canadas; Containing a Description of the Picturesque Scenery on Some of the Rivers and Lakes*. London, 1813.

Edmonton, AB: M. G. Hurtig, 1971. Print.

Hessell, Nikki. "Jailhouse Journalism: Leigh Hunt and the *Examiner*, 1813-1815." *Keats-Shelley Journal: Keats, Shelley, Byron, Hunt, and Their Circles* 54 (2005): 79-92. Print.

Higgins, David Minden. "The Cult of Genius: Magazines, Readers, and the Creative Artist, *1802-37*." PhD Thesis. U of York, 2002. Print

---. *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity, Politics*. London, Eng.: Routledge, 2005. Print.

Howison, John. *Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local, and Characteristic: To Which Are Added, Practical Details for the Information of Emigrants of Every Class: And Some Recollections of the United States of America*. Edinburgh, 1821. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. 17 June 2011.

Johnson, Randal. "Introduction." *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. By Pierre Bourdieu. New York: Columbia UP, 1993. Print.

Johnson, Samuel. *Samuel Johnson's Dictionary: Selections from the 1755 Work That Defined the English Language*. Delray Beach, FL: Levenger Press, 2002. Print.

Johnston, Anna, and Alan Lawson. "Settler Colonies."*A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Ed. Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray. Boston: Blackwell, 2000. 360-376. Print.

Keen, Paul. "Foolish Knowledge: The Commercial Modernity of the Periodical Press." *European Romantic Review* 19.3 (2008): 199-218. Print.

Kennedy, Paul. "Origins of the Modern Public Series 1-14." *Ideas*. Produced by

David Cayley. CBC Radio. 10, 17, 24 Sept 2010; 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 Oct., 2010; 5, 12, 19, 26 Nov, 2010; 3, 10, 17 Dec., 2010. Podcast.17 Sept, 2011.

Kerby-Miller, Charles. "Preface." *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus.* New York: Russell & Russell, 1966. Print.

Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832*. Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 1987. Print.

Klinck, Carl F. "Samuel Hull Wilcocke." *Journal of Canadian Fiction* 2.3 (1973): 13-21. Print.

---. "Wilcocke, Samuel Hull." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 23 July 2011.

Klinck, Carl Frederick, and Sandra Djwa. *Giving Canada a Literary History: A Memoir*. Ottawa, ON, Carleton UP, 1992. Print.

Lambert, James H. "PLessis, Joseph-Octave." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 28 July 2011.

Lambert, John. *Travels Through Lower Canada and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808*. London, 1810. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. 17 June 2011.

Lawson, Alan. "A Cultural Paradigm for the Second World." *Australian-Canadian Studies: A Journal for the Humanities & Social Sciences*, 9.1-2 (1991): 67-78. Print.

Lemire, Maurice. *La Vie Littéraire Au Québec*. Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1991. Print.

---. *Le Romantisme Au Canada*. Québec, QC: Nuit blanche, 1993. Print.

Longmore, George. *The Charivari: Or, Canadian Poetics: A Tale, After the Manner of Beppo*. Ed. D. M. R Bentley. Canadian Poetry Press, 1991. Print.

Loo, Tina M. *Making Law, Order, and Authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871*. Toronto, ON: U of Toronto P, 1994. Print.

MacDonald, Mary Lu. "The literary life of English and French Montreal from 1817 to 1830 as seen through the periodicals of the time." MA thesis. Carleton U, 1976. Print.

MacDonald, Mary Lu. *Literature and Society in the Canadas, 1817-1850*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1992. Print.

---. "Literature and Society in the Canadas, 1830-1850." PhD thesis. Carleton U, 1984. Print.

Mackey, Frank. *Steamboat Connections: Montreal to Upper Canada, 1816-1843*. Montréal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000. Print.

MacKinnon, Robert. "Roads, Cart Tracks, and Bridle Paths: Land Transportation and the Domestic Economy of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Eastern British North America." *Canadian Historical Review* 84.2 (2003): 177-216. Print.

Man of Ross. *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Samuel Hull Wilcocke, during his residence in Canada.* Montréal. 1822. Print.

Masson, L. R. *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: Récits de Voyages, Lettres et Rapports Inédits Relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien*. New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960. Print.

Mole, Tom. *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutic of Intimacy*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.

Momryk, Myron. "Ermatinger, Frederick William." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 17 May 2011.

Monière, Denis. *Ludger Duvernay et la Révolution Intellectuelle au Bas-Canada*. Montréal : Les Éditions Québec/Amérique, 1987. Print.

Moodie, Susanna. *Roughing It in the Bush, or, Life in Canada*. Ed. Carl Ballstadt. Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 1988. Print.

Ormsby, William G. "The Problem of Canadian Union, 1822-1828." *Canadian Historical Review* 39.4 (1958): 277-295. Print.

Ouellet, Fernand. *Lower Canada, 1791-1840: Social Change and Nationalism*. Trans. Pat Claxton. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1980. Print.

Parker, Mark Louis. *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2000. Print.

Plante, Dominique. `Henri-Antoine Mézière et *L'abielle Canadienne* (1818-1819): Littérature, science ou politique? MA thesis. Université du Québec à Montréal. 2007. Print.

Pykett, Lyn. "Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context." *Investigating Victorian Journalism*. New York: St. Martin's, 1990. 3-18. Print.

Ratcliffe, Susan, ed. "Juvenal." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. *Oxford Reference Online Premium.* Web. 21 Aug. 2011.

Reid, John Phillip. "Principles of Vengeance: Fur Trappers, Indians, and Retaliation for Homicide in the Transboundary North American West" *Western Historical Quarterly* 24.1 (1993): 21-43. Print.

Rowley, William E. "The Albany Microscope: Gadfly for Jacksonian Democracy." *New York History* 71.2 (1990): 173-206. Print.

Senior, Elinor K. "McCord, Thomas." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 5 Feb. 2011.

St. Clair, William. *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2004. Print.

Stavorinus, Johan Splinter. *Voyages to the East-Indies; by the Late John Splinter Stavorinus, Esq. Rear-Admiral in the Service of the States-General. Translated from the Original Dutch, by Samuel Hull Wilcocke. With Notes and Additions by the Translator ... Illustrated with Maps.* London, 1798. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*: Range 1696. Web. 12 Oct. 2011.

Stewart, David. "Filling the Newspaper Gap: Leigh Hunt, Blackwood's, and the Development of the Miscellany." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 42.2 (2009): 155-170. Print.

---. *Romantic Magazines and Metropolitan Literary Culture*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.

Talbot, Edward Allen. *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823*. Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824. *Early Canadiana Online.* Web. 6 April 2011.

Thompson, E. P. *Customs in Common*. London: Merlin Press, 1991. Print.

Toye, William. *The Concise Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2001. Print.

Tremblay, Jean Paul. *A La Recherche De Napoléon Aubin*. Québec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1969. Print.

Turner, Mark W. "Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century." *Media History* 8.2 (2002): 183-196. Print.

Villeneuve, René. *Lord Dalhousie: Patron and Collector*. Ottawa, ON: National Gallery of Canada, 2008. Print.

Vincent, Thomas Brewer, Sandra Alston, and Eli MacLaren. "Magazines in English." *History of the Book in Canada, Volume I: Beginnings to 1840*. Ed. Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde. Toronto, ON: U of Toronto P, 2004. 240-249. Print.

Wallace, W. S. "The literature relating to the Selkirk controversy." *Canadian Historical Review* 13 (1932): 45-50. Print.

Warner, Michael. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone Books, 2002. Print.

Wilcocke, Samuel Hull. *Catalogue of the Liverpool Library, at the Lyceum, Bold-Street*. Liverpool: 1814. *Google Books*. Web. 24 May 2011.

---. *The History of the Session of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada for 1828-29.* Québec, QC, 1829. Print. *Early Canadiana Online.* Web. 6 April 2011.

---. *A Letter to the Solicitor General on the Seizure of Papers*. Montréal. 1821. Print.

---. *A narrative of occurrences in the Indian countries of North America, since the connexion of the Right Hon. the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson' s Bay Company, and his attempt to establish a colony on the Red River with a detailed account of His Lordship's military expedition to, and subsequent proceedings at Fort William, in Upper Canada.* London, 1817. *Early Canadiana Online.* Web. 7 Sept. 2011.

---. *A New and Complete Dictionary of the English and Dutch Languages [electronic Resource]; with a Vocabulary of Proper Names, Geographical, Historical, Etc. In Two Parts; I. English and Dutch, II. Dutch and English. Compiled Chiefly from the Quarto Dictionary of William Sewel; ... By Samuel Hull Wilcocke*. printed for C. Dilly; Vernor and Hood; and T. Boosey, 1798. Print.

---. *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes Between the Earl of Selkirk, and the North-West Company, at the Assizes, Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818: From Minutes Taken in Court*. printed by James Lane and Nahum Mower, 1819. Print.

---. *Report of the Trials of Charles de Reinhard and Archibald M'Lellan for*

Murder, at a Court of Oyer and Terminer, Held at Québec May, 1818. Montréal. 1818. Print.

---. *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North West Company, at the Assizes, Held in York in Upper Canada, October 1818.* Montréal. 1818. Print.

---. *Report of Proceedings at a Court of Oyer and Terminer Appointed for the Investigation of Cases from the Indian Territories, Held...at Québec...21st October, 1819* (1819).

Wilkinson, Emily Colette. "The miscellaneous: Toward a poetics of the mode in British literature, 1668--1759." PhD thesis. Stanford U, 2009. *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses-Full Text.* Web. 7 Jan. 2011.

Wilson, Lawrence. *This Was Montreal in 1814, 1815, 1816, and 1817: Life in Canada's Metropolis as Culled Verbatim from the Editorial, News, and Advertising Columns of the Montreal Herald, a Four-Page Weekly Newspaper Published Nearly 150 Years Ago*. Montréal, QC: Château de Ramezay, 1960. Print.

Yachnin, Paul. "Performing Publicity." *Shakespeare Bulletin: A Journal of Performance Criticism and Scholarship* 28.2 (2010): 201-219. Print.

Young, John. *The Letters of Agricola on the Principles of Vegetation and Tillage*.1822. Halifax, NS: Minister of Public Works and Mines, King's Printer, 1922. Print.

Zimmermann, Johann Georg. *Essay on National Pride. To Which Are Added Memoirs of the Author's Life and Writings.* 1797.Translated by Samuel

Hull Wilcocke. London: C. Dilly. Print.