AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH CANADA

1

Nineteenth-century English Canadians were engaged in building a new society on the edge of civilization. Far from diminishing the enthusiasm with which many of them laboured to introduce the masterworks of that civilization to their countrymen, their physical separation from the centres of western culture made the task seem all the more urgent. Their society's distance from Britain and Europe meant that the raw and formless nature of its cultural life could be overcome only by a determined effort. It was imperative, urged a committee of the Canadian Legislature established in 1843 to assess the effect of recent Imperial copyright legislation on the cultural life of the Province, that the cheap and efficient diffusion of knowledge be especially encouraged.¹

Many of the books read by English Canadians in the course of their striving to qualify the effects of isolation and a frontier existence were authored beyond their country's frontiers; most of them were published outside Canada as well. If, however, the work of authors from across the Atlantic was much in demand, most of the publishers from whom English Canadians acquired their books were based in the United States. The reliance of English Canadians on American publishers had seemed obvious from early in the century. In the 1830s Anna Jameson noted that Toronto's literary wants were amply supplied by "American reprints of the English Reviews and magazines, and the Albion newspaper..."² By 1852 the *Anglo-American Magazine* could inform its readers that "our reading [is] mostly limited to original American works, Canadian reprints of them, or mutilated American reprints of British Works..."³ In 1870 the *Canada Bookseller* observed that Canadians, at least so far as their supply of fiction was concerned, read material which "comes from the United States, and in the shape of reprints in paper editions."⁴ To *The Week* in 1884 it was clear that "very few English books are circulated [in Canada]. Such as are read are almost always reprints. At the very least, twenty printed American books are circulated to one English book..."⁵ And in 1892, Sir John Thompson, as Minister of Justice occupied with securing a copyright agreement that would enhance the position of Canadian publishers in their own market, observed that "the reading public of what is now the Dominion of Canada has been principally supplied with British literature by American reprints."⁶

The testimony of these observers is corroborated by the evidence contained in the book-review columns which were an important part of the best and most popular English-Canadian periodicals. Of the books reviewed by the *Anglo-American Magazine* in October 1852, 80 per cent came from American presses. A less

impressive 58 per cent of the books noticed by the *British American Magazine* from May to October 1863 were American-published, and only 38 per cent of the books reviewed by the *Saturday Reader* in its issue of December 2, 1865 came from south of the line, but all of the volumes it noticed in its issues of June 23, July 21, and August 25, 1866 issued from American presses. As late as the 1880s, when Canadian publishing firms such as Hunter, Rose and Co. of Toronto and John Lovell of Montreal had been in existence for some time, the hold of American publishers on the Canadian market remained strong. Almost 60 per cent of the books reviewed by *The Week* from December 6, 1883 to May 29, 1884 were American-published, and in the following six-month period the proportion rose to 66 per cent.

Principal among the factors producing this state of affairs was the absence of a copyright agreement between the United States and Great Britain. Failure to conclude such an agreement allowed American publishers to reprint cheap, unauthorized editions of British works. Owing to their low cost these editions had as much appeal for Canadians as for Americans, while geographical considerations, it was argued, made their exclusion virtually impossible. So difficult did their exclusion appear, in fact, that, as Governor-General of Canada, Lord Sydenham concurred in the judgement of the Canadian inspector-general in 1840 that any attempt rigorously to restrict their entry would be ill-advised for it could lead only to smuggling and a reduction in revenues.⁷

The argument that American reprints could not be effectively excluded produced a special arrangement, validated by an Imperial Order in Council in 1851,⁸ under the terms of which Canadians were allowed to import unauthorized American reprints of British-authored works providing a duty was collected upon their entry into Canada for the purpose of reimbursing the author for his lost royalties. That arrangement gave legal sanction to the entry of large quantities of American-published work. What follows indicates how comprehensive was the range of material supplied to Canadians by American publishers.

II

From early in the century most of the publications written by Britishers or Europeans of which Canadian periodicals kept their readers informed were products of American presses. *The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* took notice in the mid 1820s of an account of Napoleon's Russian invasion written by a French count and general. It had been published in Philadelphia.⁹ The *Literary Garland* noticed a variety of British and European books throughout the 1840s – among them the Countess of Blessington's *Lottery of Life*,¹⁰ Justus Leibig's *Animal Chemistry*,¹¹ Macaulay's *History of England*,¹² and Thackeray's *The History of Pendennis*¹³ – all of them in American editions. In the 1850s the *Anglo-American Magazine* introduced Canadians to a wide range of British-authored

material, much of it having been transmitted to Canada *via* the medium of American publishing houses. Thackeray's *Book of Snobs* was part of Appleton's Popular Library.¹⁴ Thomas B. Shaw's *Outlines of English Literature* was reviewed in the edition republished by Blanchard and Lea of Philadelphia, an edition graced with a special supplement for American readers by Henry T. Tuckerman. Tuckerman had provided "a sketch of American literature" which, the *Anglo-American* conceded, "contains more sound sense, and less clap-trap, than we generally meet with in Yankee writers."¹⁵ Lord John Russell's compilation of the memoirs, correspondence, and journals of Thomas More was reviewed in Appleton's edition.¹⁶ A number of books came from Harper's, among them Wilkie Collins' *Basil, A Story of Modern Life*,¹⁷ Austin H. Layard's *Discoveries Among the Ruins of Nineveh*,¹⁸ Leopold von Ranke's *Civil Wars in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*,¹⁹ volume four of Lamartine's *Restoration of the Monarchy in France*,²⁰ and the sixth volume in the *Complete Works of S. T. Coleridge*.²¹

In the 1860s the *British American Magazine* brought another of Liebig's books to the notice of Canadians. This was his *Natural Laws of Husbandry*, edited by John Blyth, M.D., and published by Appleton's of New York.²² Sir Rutherford Alcock's *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of Three Year's Residence in Japan*, had been written by "Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan," but Canadians got it from Harper's of New York.²³ And when Ernest Renan's provocative *Life of Jesus*, based on the latest findings of the German textual critics as interpreted by Renan's powerful imagination, came to Canada it arrived not from France or even England, but from New York.²⁴

The *Saturday Reader* also reviewed British fiction and poetry with regularity in this decade. The editions of Mary E. Braddon's *Sir Jasper Tenent*²⁵ and *The Lady's Mile*²⁶ which it reviewed issued from the presses of Dick and Fitzgerald in New York, while Swinburne's *A Song of Italy* came to it from Ticknor and Fields in Boston.²⁷ Harper's of New York, aggressive as always, had produced the editions of Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend*,²⁸ George Eliot's *Felix Holt*,²⁹ and Anthony Trollope's *The Claverings*³⁰ which it brought under review.

Canadians continued in the 1870s to draw a great variety of books from the publishing houses of the United States. Many of the books upon which the *Canada Bookseller* chose to comment were American-published. In 1870, for example, it made a special point of mentioning two histories, a translation of Theodore Mommsen's *The History of Rome* and James Anthony Froede's *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*, both in editions produced by Scribner's of New York.³¹ It also drew attention to Tennyson's *The Holy Grail and Other Poems*, from Fields, Osgood and Company of Boston, and a "New and Cheap Edition" of Grote's *History of Greece*, produced by Little, Brown and Company, also of Boston.³²

The *Canadian Monthly* kept its readers informed about the latest British fic-

tion, much of it in American editions – it reviewed George Eliot's *Middlemarch* in 1873 as it was received from Harper's³³ – and it also made a point of keeping in close touch with the developing scientific and critical spirit as it was manifested in the work of British and European scholars like T. H. Huxley and Max Muller. It drew attention to new editions of well known works as well as to the work of Europeans not as familiar in North America as they were in their own countries. When it did so the books it considered were usually in American editions. Huxley's *A Manual of the Anatomy of Invertebrate Animals* came to the reviewer's attention in the form given it by Appleton's of New York. That circumstance allowed him to take a critical jibe at the products of this kind of activity in general: "Like most American reprints," he wrote, "it is full of misspellings, which are particularly annoying in a technical work."³⁴ Muller's *Chips from a German Workshop* would soon be available in North America, and when it came it would be from Scribner's in New York.³⁵ Yet another edition of Sir Charles Lyell's classic *Principles of Geology* was coming off the presses, the first volume of which, the *Canadian Monthly* told its readers, had recently been reprinted by Appleton's.³⁶ Finally, *The Books of the Kings*, by the German orientalist Dr Karl Baehr of Carlsruhe, had been translated by American scholars and was available in an edition from Scribner's.³⁷

The *New Dominion Monthly* succeeded in bringing a wide variety of works by British and European authors to the attention of Canadians. Again, many of them issued from American presses. Victor Hugo's account of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 1852, *The History of a Crime: The Testimony of an Eye-witness*, came from Harper's,³⁸ as did Edward Jenkins' satire on the new imperialism, *Haverholme, or the Apotheosis of Jingo*.³⁹ Thomas Carlyle was a man in whom the *New Dominion Monthly* maintained much interest, one sustained thanks largely to American publishers. Two of his books were reviewed by it as they came from Harper's in 1875,⁴⁰ and three years later, with a tone of slight distaste, the journal observed that although the great man's autobiography was not to be published until after his death, an "enterprising" Boston publisher had already announced it.⁴¹ Samuel Smiles received regular and enthusiastic reviews in the *New Dominion Monthly*, and all his books, from the well-known *Self-Help*⁴² to the less familiar *The Huguenots in France After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*⁴³ or the inspirational biography of Thomas Edward, *Life of a Scotch Naturalist*,⁴⁴ came to it from Harper's in New York. Finally, there were the novels. George Sand's *The Snow Man*,⁴⁵ Dickens' *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*,⁴⁶ Eliot's *Middlemarch*,⁴⁷ and R. D. Blackmore's *Erema; or My Father's Sin*,⁴⁸ were all reviewed in American editions.

As the 1880s began the situation remained unchanged. *Belford's*, like the *New Dominion Monthly*, received its copy of Smiles' life of Thomas Edward from Harper's,⁴⁹ and it got *The Geographical Distribution of Animals*, by Darwin's associate, Alfred Russel Wallace, from the same source.⁵⁰ Especially anxious to

bring the memoirs or biographies of eminent Englishmen (and women) to the attention of Canadians, it found when it did that they were often in American editions. The concern this might cause was apparent in its review of Charles Kingsley's letters and memoirs. They had been edited by his wife, then abridged for the American market by Scribner's. The abridgement left *Belford's* unhappy. In particular it wondered if what had been gained in brevity might have been lost in clarity.⁵¹ Whatever their faults, however, the American reprints continued to find their way into the hands of *Belford's* reviewers. Harriet Martineau's autobiography, edited by Maria Weston Chapman, was reviewed in an American edition from James R. Osgood and Company of Boston,⁵² and when *Belford's* considered the Earle of Albemarle's memoirs, *Fifty Years of My Life*, it was in the edition prepared by Henry Holt of New York.⁵³ In 1880 *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly* published a review article by Francis Rye entitled "The Life and Writings of Buckle."⁵⁴ Most of the editions which Rye cited were American. He complained that American publishers copied blindly without editing the work of their British competitors with annoying and occasionally absurd results. Appleton's reprint of A. H. Huth's *The Life and Times of Henry Thomas Buckle*, for example, not only contained a reference to a frontispiece which did not exist in the American reprint but also a reproduction of a letter in which Buckle gave vent to his feelings on learning that Appleton's had pirated one of his earlier publications. Other *Rose-Belford's* reviewers, however, pointed out that one could expect to find certain books only in American editions, whatever the shortcomings of these editions might be. Appleton's New Handy Volume series, wrote one of them, had introduced a "considerable" quantity of "pleasant little French tales and novelettes ... to the notice of the American reading public ...," among them the book presently under review, Victor Cherbuliez' *A Stroke of Diplomacy*.⁵⁵ Finally, *The Week* took note of its share of American reprints, from the selections from Milton's prose published as part of Appleton's "Parchment Series"⁵⁶ to Funk and Wagnall's facsimile of the 1623 Folio Edition of Shakespeare (which was "... the authorized American edition ...")⁵⁷ or Charles Scribner's Sons edition of Max Muller's *The Science of Thought*.⁵⁸

III

Once the periodicals had brought a book to the attention of the Canadian reading public, other cultural agencies assumed responsibility for making it available. Wholesalers imported American editions of British works in large quantities and distributed them to booksellers. At the end of the 1860s Adam, Stevenson of Toronto announced a trade sale at which it proposed to offer twenty-five sets of Dickens' novels as published by Appleton's, one hundred copies of the American edition of Harriet Martineau's *Biographical Sketches*, one hundred copies of an American edition of Tennyson's poetry, ten sets of an American edition of Scott's

Waverly Novels, ten sets of an American edition of those of Thackeray, six of Burke's Works, ten copies of an American edition of Mill's *The Subjection of Women*, and ten copies of the recently published *Greater Britain* by Sir Charles Dilke.⁵⁹

Although the Irish National Texts had done much to displace the American school books which had been in such widespread use in Canada in the first half of the century, and were themselves in the process of being replaced by Canadian texts, it remained true in the early 1870s that school books, often reprints of British works but sometimes of American authorship, continued to enter the region from the United States. In 1871 Adam, Stevenson announced the availability, again on a wholesale basis, of a large quantity of American reprints of educational works, as well as of a considerable quantity which had originated in the United States. The publishing houses which contributed the largest number were Appleton's and Harper's. Appleton's publications consisted mostly of language texts, while Harper's were classical material.⁶⁰

For the publishing season 1872-1873, Adam, Stevenson and Company imported large quantities of American reprints for distribution to booksellers throughout Ontario. Works by Europeans like Victor Hugo and Englishmen like Benjamin Disraeli were available as part of Appleton's Library of Choice Novels. Hugo also joined writers like Anthony Trollope and George Eliot to form the company of authors offered to North Americans by Harper's in its Library of Select Novels. Other novelists whose work was reprinted by Harper's and imported by Adam, Stevenson included Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Charles Reade, and Disraeli. Also offered to the book-buying public was Alison's *History of Europe*, Bulwer Lytton's *King Arthur*, Dilke's *Greater Britain*, Kinglake's volume on the Crimean War, Morley's life of Voltaire, Smiles' *Self-Help*, and Spencer's *First Principles*, *Principles of Biology*, and *Principles of Psychology*, all in American editions.⁶¹

IV

Booksellers engaged in the retail trade also stocked much British and European material in the form of American reprints. When Henry Rowsell of Toronto offered an edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries* to his customers in 1848 it was in an American edition. Even the volume of Latin grammar that he made available had been published in the United States.⁶² Dawson of Montreal imported the works of the classical authors, in the form they assumed when made part of Harper's Classical Library,⁶³ and M'Coy, who sold books in the same city at mid-century, stocked the volumes in Harper's Family Library, among them Paley's *Natural Theology*.⁶⁴ Canadian booksellers tried their best to insure access to the latest scholarship, even in such abstruse and difficult fields as biblical criticism, as practised by such abstruse and difficult scholars as the Germans. Here again it was thanks to American publishing houses that it became available. Only owing

to their intervention could *Geikie's Literary News* of Toronto announce in the 1850s the arrival of Herzog's *Realenzyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, as reprinted by Messrs Lindsay and Blakiston of Philadelphia. Olshausen's *Commentary on the New Testament* was also available in an American edition, one which marked, it was said (thanks to the work of Professor Kendrick of Rochester University), an advance upon the English translation. For those less inclined to partake of the rigours of German theological scholarship and more interested in the wanderings of one of the great Victorian adventurers, Geikie's announced, in the edition issued by G. P. Putnam of New York, the arrival of Richard F. Burton's *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*.⁶⁵

The importation of American reprints continued through the 1860s. In 1865 Rollo and Adam of Toronto made a special point (in an advertisement headed "Important Announcements of the Press") of announcing the reprints they had in stock.⁶⁶ Not only were books of the sort one might read every day imported from the United States; so also were special editions, such as the gift edition of Shakespeare which Chewett of Toronto brought from Boston in 1867.⁶⁷ In 1870 Piddington's of Toronto announced the availability of Appleton's edition of Shakespeare's works. For those interested in the wellsprings of conservative political philosophy, it offered a twelve-volume edition of the works of Edmund Burke produced by a Boston publisher. Novels, of course, remained a staple. The works of Charles Reade among others, were available, again as issued by a Boston publisher.⁶⁸

A great variety of work continued to enter Canadian bookstores through the 1870s. Scientific works published by Appleton's were offered to the Canadian reading public by Adam, Stevenson and Company. Among them were H. S. Schellen's *Spectrum Analysis in Application to Terrestrial Substances*, Huxley's *A Manual of the Anatomy of Vertebrate Animals*, and Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times*.⁶⁹ Willing and Williamson stocked an extensive range of "American Editions, Principally Reprints of English Works," among them Alison's *History of Europe*, Buckle's *History of Civilization*, Darwin's *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man*, Huxley's *Works*, Smiles' *Self-Help*, and some of Spencer's contributions. The interest of the reading public in books of a less weighty kind was suggested by the point Willing and Williamson made of drawing their customers' attention to the fact that they also stocked a good selection of the novels in Harper's Library of Selected Novels and in Appleton's Library of Choice Novels.⁷⁰

The books that came into the hands of auctioneers also revealed that the access Canadians had to the most revered and serious work of the time was granted to them by American publishers. In the early 1880s when F. W. Coate and Company of Toronto held an auction, the number of books of British or European authorship but of American publication was substantial. Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing* was there in an 1861 New York edition. Michael Faraday's *A Course*

of *Six Lectures on the Various Forms of Matter* was present as published in New York in 1860. History, ranging from Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Athens: Its Rise and Fall* to Froissart's *Chronicles* and J. R. Green's *A Short History of the English People* or David Hume's history of England, was sold in American editions. The successful bidder might find himself in possession of Coleridge's *Poetical and Dramatic Works* published at Boston in 1854, or perhaps the edition of Goldsmith's poetry accompanied by T. B. Macaulay's sketch of his life, published in that city in 1859. Scott's *Waverly Novels* were available in an edition printed at Philadelphia in 1853 and Trollope's *Phineas Finn* could be had as published by a New York firm in 1868.⁷¹

By 1890 books from Europe were still finding their way north to Canadian booksellers through the medium of American publishing houses. Some of Jules Verne's work, for example, was offered to the Toronto book-buying public in that year by Williamson and Company. It had been imported from a Philadelphia publishing firm.⁷²

v

A variety of cultural agencies joined the bookstores in importing the work of British and American authors as it was made available by American publishers. When in 1856 the Bytown Mechanics' Institute sought the third and fourth volumes of Macaulay's *History*, it was to Harper's that it turned.⁷³ The University of Toronto's edition of Vattel's *Law of Nations* came from Philadelphia, its copy of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* from Boston, and A. H. Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains* along with John Ruskin's *Lectures on Architecture and Painting* from New York. Lord John Russell's compilation of the *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox* had arrived from Philadelphia, Boswell's *Life of Johnson* from Boston, and much of the writing of Thomas Arnold from New York.⁷⁴

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec kept its shelves filled with the great works of western culture as well as books of current literary or scientific interest, many of them from American presses. David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, Max Muller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Mill's *On Liberty*, and Boswell's *Life of Johnson* were all American editions. Sixteenth-century poets like Henry Howard, Sir Philip Sydney, Ben Jonson, and John Skelton, seventeenth-century prose writers like Robert Burton and Sir Thomas Browne, accompanied by some of the same century's devotional poets like Robert Herrick and Henry Vaughan, were all to be found in American editions. Eighteenth-century letters were represented by, among others, Addison, Swift and Sterne, their works as issued by New York publishers. History was much in evidence. Major-General Sir W. E. P. Napier's *The History of the War in the Peninsula* was there, as were several of Carlyle's historical works – his revisionist *Letters*

and *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with Elucidations and Connecting Narrative*, his *The French Revolution*, and *The History of Frederick II* – all in American editions. George Rawlinson's translation of Herodotus, Grote's *History of Greece*, Thomas Arnold's *The History of Rome*, Edward Gibbon's great work, David Hume's *The History of England* in six volumes and Macaulay's in five all emanated from American presses. That the members of the Society were interested in science was suggested by the presence of books such as Faraday's *Six Lectures*, Thomas Graham's *Elements of Inorganic Chemistry*, Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and *A Manual of Elementary Geology*, and Darwin's *Origin of Species*. These books too came from the United States.⁷⁵

The Literary and Historical Association of Quebec catered to a special group of educated men; but even when a library made a more determined effort to stock books with some appeal to the general public, it found itself purchasing American editions. The Toronto YMCA made Scott's works available from Boston, and its bound edition of *The Times'* biographies of Peel and Wellington had been compiled in New York. Even the copy of Sir Francis Bond Head's *A Fortnight in Ireland* which its members might consult came from New York. And, of those books on the weightier side, many, like Sismondi's *History of the Fall of the Roman Empire* or Schiller's *History of the Revolt of the Netherlands*, also came from American presses.⁷⁶

VI

Private collections throughout the region also contained American reprints of British and European works. The edition of Vattel's *Law of Nations* which Robert Baldwin had in his library came from Philadelphia.⁷⁷ A large number of the books in the legal library of Dr J. V. Ham of Whitby came from the United States.⁷⁸ The Bishop of Quebec got his anthology of *The British Poets* from Appleton's in New York, and his collection of Robert Burns' poetry also came from the United States.⁷⁹ An unknown Montrealer whose tastes ran from the devotional poetry of the seventeenth century – Vaughan, Herbert – through French essayists and historians – Pascal, LaFontaine, Voltaire, Guizot, Lamartine – to the prose of nineteenth-century Englishmen – Thomas Arnold, Coleridge, Burton – satisfied most of his needs thanks to American publishers.⁸⁰ The resident of Kingston who had in his library the works of Elizabethan poets like Sir Thomas Wyatt, Spenser, and Henry Howard, of the great seventeenth-century metaphysical poet John Donne, of the eighteenth century's Pope, Goldsmith, and Dryden, and of the giants of his own century like Byron, Shelley, and Scott, was able to fill his shelves with such a superb collection because of the work of American publishing houses. Much of his fiction – Hugo's *Les Misérables*, and the works of Thackeray, Dickens, and Swift – came from New York. He had a liking for essays, and two of his collections, Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*

and Montaigne's *Works*, came to him from the United States. The first had been published in Boston, the second in New York. The work of some of the most popular historians represented in his library – Ranke, Macaulay, and Alison – had arrived from publishing houses south of the border. Not all his books were American-published. He collected copies of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* – there were several in his library – and only one came from the United States. Still, much in his library that was at the centre of the western tradition came to him through the medium of the American publishing industry.⁸¹

The same was true of the library of Justice Morrison of Toronto. Bacon's and Carlyle's *Essays*, the *Works* of Montaigne and Sydney Smith, the poetry, history, and essays of Macaulay, Dickens' *Letters*, the *Works* of Jonathan Swift, the poetry of Dryden and Cowper, the histories of Buckle and Lamartine, Goldwin Smith on the discipline itself, the works of Edmund Burke, William Cobbett's *Cottage Economy*, Canning's *Speeches*, and Darwin's *Origin of Species* were all to be found there. These books, and many others, had issued from the presses of the United States.⁸²

VII

British periodicals often found their way to central Canada through the same channels as British-authored books. In the middle of the 1830s the Legislative Library of Upper Canada undertook to equip itself with the London newspapers through a New York agent, and also with "The reprints of the British reviews at New York."⁸³ The *Literary Garland* informed its readers that Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal* was being reprinted in New York, and made it clear that it thought most of those who wanted it would get it from that source.⁸⁴ The Bytown Mechanics' Institute ordered the edition of the *Penny Magazine* put out by Harper's,⁸⁵ and in 1849 the Niagara Mechanics' Institute resolved that "the American reprints of the *Quarterly Reviews* and *Blackwood's Magazine* be subscribed for from this month ..."⁸⁶ American publishing houses regularly compiled digests of the British magazines and reviews, and these too found their way north. Appleton's *Papers from the Quarterly Review* won the support of the *Anglo-American Magazine* – "the editor ... has managed to present 'the million' ... with a most delightful afternoon's reading"⁸⁷ – and that journal also welcomed Appleton's reprints from *The Times* of London.⁸⁸ In the 1860s the *Canadian Illustrated News* regularly informed its readers of the availability of the American reprints of the British reviews like *Blackwood's*,⁸⁹ the *London Quarterly Review*,⁹⁰ and the *North British Review*,⁹¹ all of which came from the New York publishers Leonard and Scott. Specialized publications were also available in American editions. Chewett's of Toronto advertised a wide range of American-published medical books, and it announced the American reprint of *The Lancet*.⁹² Journals of a general kind remained more fixed in the public eye, however, and in the 1880s many of

them continued to enter from the United States. In 1885 the Leonard Scott Publication Company, then operating out of Philadelphia, took a full page advertisement in *Books and Notions* to announce the availability of those journals which were "the very best and [to be] found in the homes of all cultured people." Listed were the *Nineteenth Century*, *Contemporary Review*, *Fortnightly Review*, *British Quarterly*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review*, *Westminster Review*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*.⁹³

VIII

Canadian publishers, long concerned about the position their American competitors had come to occupy in the Canadian market, were ready by the 1880s to launch a serious offensive against those competitors. It was galling enough that American publishers had rights in their market which they themselves could not claim. Even more irritating than their inability to publish British works for the Canadian market was the fact that Imperial copyright legislation prevented them from printing American writing so long as it had been copyrighted in Britain. "I see no fun," the Canadian publisher G. Mercer Adam said in 1884,

in allowing American publishers to find a market in Canada for their unauthorized editions of British copyrights, while the gratuitous legislation of England restrains us from reprinting in Canada American copyrights ...⁹⁴

A sustained campaign was undertaken in the 1880s for the purpose of getting legislation which would exclude American reprints of British-authored work and require authors wishing copyright in Canada to publish in that country. Not, however, until the conclusion in 1891 of a copyright agreement between Britain and the United States were Canadian publishers able to begin considering the Canadian market their own. That agreement, by removing the circumstances which had made possible cheap American reprints of British-authored works, removed the reprints and so did much to end the direct domination of the Canadian market by American publishers. This fact, in conjunction with the 1911 decision to confer full control over copyright in Canada on the Canadian Parliament, went some distance towards insuring that publishers who wished to service the Canadian market would do so from a Canadian base. In this sense publishing in Canada at last found the way clear for an alteration in its position. When the change came, of course, it manifested itself most clearly in the tendency of foreign publishers to establish branches in Canada. Whether that circumstance represented an advance would become a central problem of Canadian cultural life in the twentieth century.

Notes

- 1 Province of Canada. Assembly. *Journals*. 1843, Volume III, p. 112.
- 2 Anna Jackson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* (Toronto, 1923), 67. Cited in S. D. Clark, *The Social Development of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942), p. 283.
- 3 *Anglo-American Magazine*, I (4), October 1852, p. 355.
- 4 *Canadian Bookseller*, 1870, p. 17.
- 5 *The Week*, I (43), September 25, 1884, p. 684.
- 6 Canada. Sessional Papers, 1892. No. 1. Cited in G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Canadian External Relations* (Carleton Library Editions; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), I, p. 89.
- 7 Province of Canada. Assembly. *Journals*, 1846. Appendix F. Post Office Committee Report. Sub-appendix I. Correspondence relative to the transmission of American reprints by Post in British North America. Hon. J. Macaulay, Inspector General of Public Accounts, to C. Dunkin, March 6, 1840.
- 8 Public Archives of Canada. Record Group 16. A4. Volume 6. Proclamations, Orders-in-Council, Departmental Regulations and Orders Relating to Customs, tolls, coasting regulations, inland revenue, etc., 1851-1872, p. 11.
- 9 *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, IV (24) June 1825, pp. 481-491.
- 10 *Literary Garland*, IV (9), August 1842, p. 436.
- 11 *Ibid.*, IV (12), November 1842, p. 578.
- 12 *Ibid.*, VII (2), February 1849, p. 96.
- 13 *Ibid.*, VIII (11), November 1850, p. 538.
- 14 *Anglo-American Magazine*, I (3), September 1852, p. 265.
- 15 *Ibid.*, II (1), January 1853, p. 92.
- 16 *Ibid.*, II (2), February 1853, p. 207.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 18 *Ibid.*, III (2), August 1853, p. 223.
- 19 *Loc. cit.*
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 224.
- 21 *Loc. cit.*
- 22 *British American Magazine*, I (4), August 1863, pp. 419-433.
- 23 *Ibid.*, I (6), October 1863, p. 636.
- 24 *Ibid.*, II (3), January 1864, p. 309.
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