The Publication of Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s *The Clockmaker, 3rd Series*

Ruth Panofsky†

With the success of *The Clockmaker; or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville*, first and second series, Thomas Chandler Haliburton grew confident in his professional relationship with Richard Bentley, his British publisher, and secure in his international audience. This new assurance in his role as author shaped the events which led to the publication of *The Clockmaker*, third series. It accounted largely for his continued popularity, as well as for his disingenuous treatment of Joseph Howe, Haliburton’s colonial publisher whom he maligned in his text and in their professional negotiations. As was the case with the previous series, Howe suffered humiliation and financial loss in connection with *The Clockmaker*, series three. Haliburton’s increased confidence forms a significant subtext throughout my examination of the latter part of the publishing history of *The Clockmaker*.

The first extant reference to the third series appeared in a letter, dated 25 November 1839, in which Haliburton confirmed Bentley’s offer of £500 for the British copyright. He informed Bentley that ‘on the 1st. April will send you 3d series of Clockmaker — Winter is my time for work, in summer I live with the birds in the open air — in winter with the bears.’ Arrangements concerning the publication of series three had begun by May 1839, less than a year following the publication of *The Clockmaker*, second series. Howe’s participation was central to these arrangements, which had not been the case formerly. All the same, as the British North-American publisher of *The Clockmaker* series, Howe was soon undermined by Haliburton and Bentley, as we shall see.

On 17 May 1839 Howe wrote to several American publishers, William Badger of Boston, Harper Brothers of New York, and Lea & Blanchard (formerly Carey, Lea & Blanchard) of Philadelphia, offer-

† Ruth Panofsky is currently a SSHRC Post-Doctoral Fellow at the University of Toronto, where she is preparing a publishing history of Mazo de la Roche’s *Jalna*. 
ing each the option of publishing an edition of the third series. By directing his offer to several firms, Howe hoped to take advantage of the spirit of free enterprise which characterized contemporary publishing practice in the United States:

... as it is proposed to forward a Manuscript Copy to the ... [American publisher] in time to preclude the possibility of any interference from England, my object in writing is to ascertain what you will be disposed to give for it — not in Books, as you [i.e. Lea & Blanchard] proposed formerly, but in Money.

In the same letter Howe explained that the third series would 'be issued simultaneously in England, the Colonies, and the United States ...'

While Howe's offer may have represented an attempt to forestall Haliburton's and Bentley's negotiations with American publishers, it is more likely that by May 1839 Howe and Bentley themselves had reached a tentative agreement regarding the third series. In fact, Howe's offer was consistent with Haliburton's practice of sending either a manuscript or a copy of the British edition of *The Clock-maker* to Carey, Lea & Blanchard, from which they would set up an American edition of the work. Since Howe's offer met with 'little response,' he was obliged to grant the American publishing rights to Lea & Blanchard who had brought out the first and second series in 1837 and 1838 respectively. In their reply to Howe, Lea & Blanchard expressed regret over the handling of the second series. In all likelihood, Carey, Lea & Blanchard would have preferred to issue the American edition of the second series simultaneously with the British edition. Instead, they were required to await overseas shipment of a copy of the British edition, from which they set up their edition.

In the same letter Lea & Blanchard expressed concern over piracy. Howe answered accordingly, in a letter dated 18 June 1839:

... no copy will be sent to England until the American and Colonial Editions have been prepared, so that your Agent cannot negotiate [sic] about it, and Mr Haliburton's [sic] arrangement with Mr Bentley reserves to himself the right to the market on this side of the water. Mr Haliburton having received no advantage from the publication of his Books in the United States hitherto conceives that this volume ought to yield him something handsome ... I have given him a handsome sum for the Colonial copyright — Bentley
pays a large price for the English, and...5 or $600 would seem to be a fair return for the right to supply the whole American market. If, however, you will give $400 for the Ms. it is yours.4

Howe also inquired about the feasibility of printing a colonial edition of the third series in the United States. He hoped to recover the 'handsome sum' of $400.00 U.S., Haliburton's remuneration for the colonial rights, through Lea & Blanchard's purchase of the American copyright.

In a subsequent letter to Lea & Blanchard, dated 20 July 1839, Howe explained that the third series would not be available that autumn. At the close of 1839 Haliburton was still at work on the manuscript. On 19 December he wrote to Bentley: 'The third series of The Clockmaker is on the stocks & will be launched in the spring.'5 He had set aside The Clockmaker in order to write The Letter Bag of the Great Western; or, Life in a Steamer, published in 1840 in London, Philadelphia, and Halifax.

Haliburton was unable to submit the third series to Bentley on 1 April 1840, as he had anticipated. By early May, however, he informed Bentley that he had completed a draft. His increased confidence in his relationship with the British publisher was evident in the following, dated 7 May:

The 3d. series of The Clockmaker is written, and remains only for revision and fair copy, for which I fear I can not find time till June, so that you will receive it about middle of July — I have been rather fortunate in this work, for it has cost me less trouble, and is far better than its predecessors, combining more humor & more sense in it than the other series — you need have no apprehension about this, it will take for you for there is much taking matter in it — ... Whenever you desire to commence advertising, you need not be afraid to incur expence [sic] in doing so, as this work will repay you all such outlays — Next packet I will send you a table of contents, which I would insert in some of the advertisements — 6

While Howe confirmed the terms of North-American publication with Lea & Blanchard, Haliburton and Bentley communicated regularly. The surviving correspondence between the author and his British publisher reveals Haliburton as increasingly candid and forthright, traits which were not in evidence during similar exchanges with Howe. By 1840 a hierarchy of publishers connected with The Clockmaker was in place. Within that hierarchy the
colonial publisher was least significant to the commercial success of *The Clockmaker* project. Haliburton soon recognized that his position as author afforded him a measure of security; he manoeuvered easily and deliberately among British, American, and colonial ranks. Howe, on the other hand, chose to ignore the tenuous position he occupied within the established hierarchy and, having published the 1837 (although dated 1836) British North-American edition of *The Clockmaker*, first series, continued to regard himself as Haliburton's principal publisher. He was more vulnerable as a result.

By June 1840 Howe had received approximately 700 subscriptions for his edition of *The Clockmaker*. He had estimated 4,500 sales and was displeased by the minor interest in the third series. In the same month, while Howe was visiting Clifton, Haliburton's home in Windsor, Nova Scotia, the latter delivered further disappointing news which permanently altered the relationship with his British North-American publisher. Six months later, having taken the time to consider his association with Haliburton, Howe reviewed the events of their meeting in Windsor, in a letter dated at Halifax, 2 January 1841: '. . . you began to explain, that, for certain reasons affecting yourself and Bentley, you had again “changed your mind” — that no Ms. was to be handed to me, nor was I to be supplied with that which I had sold to Lea & Blanchard.' Since Howe was denied a manuscript of the third series, the same manuscript which had been promised to Lea & Blanchard, he was compelled to forfeit $400 by the breach of my engagement . . .' He also referred to an offer of £300, in all likelihood for the colonial and American rights to the third series, which Haliburton may have been considering in June 1840, the details of which are unknown. Further, during the same visit, Haliburton had announced that the colonial market would be shared between Howe and L.G. Geldert, a Windsor bookseller.

If this ill-treatment was not sufficient to provoke Howe's ire, the satiric barbs aimed specifically at him and his colleagues in the pages of the third series certainly were. Howe's wife, Susan Ann, was the first to feel affronted: 'She is no politician and no great reasoner but, like most women, can see clearly and feel acutely what deeply concerns the reputation, and touches the feelings of her husband.' Howe felt a similar betrayal of his friendship. He scorned Sam Slick's satiric allusion to the ambitious, self-serving politician, who entered 'the house of representatives without bein' fit for it' and secured 'a seat in council' by calling 'office-holders by the cant terms of compact cliques and official gang.' Howe and the Reformers were described as hypocritical fools, false patriots whose concern for
'public vartue, temperance, [and] education' was mere cover for their evenings spent 'in a back room of a market tavern with the key turned, drinkin' hail-storm and bad rum, or playin' sixpenny loo.'

J. Murray Beck notes that Howe was especially galled by Reverend Hopewell's reference to patriotism as 'the trump card of a scoundrel.'

Despite the discord between author and publisher, Haliburton wrote Howe at the close of the year, inquiring about the possibility of reissuing An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, which he had published in 1829. On Christmas Day 1840 Howe answered that he was not interested in reissuing 'the History.' Moreover, he claimed that aside from The Clockmaker, third series, '[t]he only other volumes in which my public and private character — my principles — and friends have been treated with the same savage bitterness and disgusting personality are the volumes of the Times.'

The reasons for Haliburton's mistreatment of Howe remain unknown. It is possible that Bentley, feeling confident in their relationship, urged Haliburton to sever his ties with Howe. It is equally conceivable that Haliburton's decision to deny the authority of his colonial publisher was made independently of Bentley. A lure may have been personal profit, which would increase with one less individual to share his earnings. Or, as George Parker speculates, Bentley and Lea & Blanchard may have refused to communicate with Haliburton through Howe. Parker's hypothesis is based on the later practice of American publishers who excluded British publishers from their negotiations with British authors. Moreover, since he differed with Howe on the issue of responsible government, Haliburton's behaviour may have been, in part, politically motivated.

The more likely explanation for Haliburton's action, however, is that Bentley wanted to communicate directly with Lea & Blanchard, without the encumbrance of a third party. This was confirmed in a letter of 1 September 1840, the date on which Bentley was sent The Clockmaker, third series. Haliburton explained:

I have not sent a copy to Lea and Blan[hard] because I did not know whether you would publish it now or later in the season and I was afraid to hamper you — Please to hold it back a while for them & send them a copy in time, as on the last occasion they acted with much more liberalty and seem disposed to continue so — As you have an agreement for this work in writing it is not necessary to make a new assignment as that will convey the property —.
This letter suggests an ironic turn of events. While Howe was refused a manuscript and was forced to forfeit his payment of $400.00 U.S., Lea & Blanchard were nonetheless provided with a copy of the British edition of *The Clockmaker* from which they set up the first American edition of the third series.

As for the satiric references to Howe and the Reformers in series three, Haliburton may have been exercising his author’s prerogative to draw on experience in his fiction. He may not have contemplated the degree to which Howe would feel his attacks personally. In his letter of 1 September, Haliburton expressed his satisfaction with the new work:

> I have the pleasure to send you the 3d series of *The Clockmaker* — It is the best of the set, and will bear advertising well and if the public are not tired of Sam Slick will be more generally popular than its predecessors — ...

> I flatter myself that this work will give you much satisfaction —

> I wrote it easily, and have taken great pains in touching it since —

> It has more than 250 new Americanisms in it —

The same letter revealed Haliburton’s frustrated desire to oversee the publication of the book. By 1840 he felt comfortable enough with Bentley to ask that James Haliburton study the proof-sheets of the third series and he cautioned the publisher, in no uncertain terms, to avoid anglicizing the work. He hoped that ‘Horace Twiss will again do the pretty for it in *The Times,*’ and advised that ‘The Old Minister’ and ‘The Barrel Without Hoops’ ‘will give texts to work on.’ Finally, Haliburton’s request that payment be made ‘to Coutts & Co on my account’ reflected his ongoing concern with remuneration. Apparently, Bentley intended to publish several sketches in volume eight of his *Miscellany.* In his letter of 7 May Haliburton had suggested that ‘The Great Unknown’ or ‘Trading in Bed’ would suit that purpose. On 1 September he reiterated that Bentley should select among ‘Playing a Card,’ ‘Behind the Scenes,’ ‘Too Knowing By Half,’ ‘Trading in Bed,’ and ‘The Unburied One’ for his *Miscellany.* In fact, *Bentley’s Miscellany* for 1840 included four sketches, two of which, ‘Behind the Scenes’ and ‘Too Knowing By Half,’ were recommended by Haliburton, as well as ‘The Duke of Kent’s Lodge’ and ‘Facing a Woman.’

The British edition of *The Clockmaker,* third series, consisting of 3,500 copies, was published on 30 October 1840 and sold for 10s 6d. It was printed by Samuel Bentley, the publisher’s brother, and
was bound inexpensively in brown cloth on boards. Bentley was assigned the copyright and Haliburton received £500 compensation for the third series. An issue, dated 1840 and attractively bound in purple vertically ribbed cloth, included five etchings by John Leech, which Haliburton described as 'abominable.' Leech received £35 remuneration for the etchings. A colonial edition of series three was never published. Since Haliburton's copy of the British edition was 'stolen out of the steamer,' it was not until December 1842, more than two years following publication, that he had the opportunity to peruse Lord Falkland's copy of The Clockmaker, third series. The response of the British press to series three was more immediate. Unlike the laudatory reviews of series one and two, reaction to the third series was mixed. The Spectator found it

inferior in interest and attraction to its predecessors...not only are many of the topics less fitted for the discussion of Sam Slick, but they are such as no one greatly cares to hear discussed at all; whilst the slang in which they are conveyed, having no peculiar fitness, looks forced and out of place. Mr. Haliburton has...traded upon his name. He seems to think that a pointed style and a sarcastic humour, which no doubt enable him to make frequent hits, are a valid substitute for subjects and matter.

While the Monthly Review echoed this criticism, it admitted that the third series 'abounds with smart and pithy ideas and sayings; the humour is often happily wedded to sound and pungent sense; while both in the drollier and more serious passages there is to be found powerful sentiment...' Although the Squire was pompous and Slick's vernacular was no longer interesting, the Athenæum recommended the book to 'all who love a laugh, and care not why...' The Times, on the other hand, praised Slick for having 'conferred a boon on his countrymen and a benefit on Englishmen. He is alike equal to great and little subjects, can expose great and little abuses with equal facility.' And the Literary Gazette proclaimed the volume 'decidedly the best of the series.'

By 1 December 1840 Haliburton was looking forward to the publication of a second edition. He regretted not having received a copy of the British edition, which prevented him from pointing 'out the inaccuracies' and making 'any remark on it that might be useful in a new edition.' He urged Bentley, 'when you reprint the work have the kindness to mention in the tittle [sic] page and its adver-
tisement that it is a second edition, as you must be aware how beneficial this is, both to the book and to the author.  

Haliburton's assumption that a second edition would follow the first edition was based on precedent, set by Bentley with the first and second series of The Clockmaker. Series three, however, would prove the exception. In 1840, following close on the heels of the third series, Bentley issued a three-volume set of The Clockmaker in a uniform binding of green cloth boards. This precluded the need for further editions of the third series. The three-volume set was the first of what I have chosen to call the combined series of The Clockmaker. The publication of the combined series forms the subject of a separate paper.

While Haliburton was anticipating the publication of a second British edition, Howe had decided not to order additional copies of the third series from the United States. On 25 December 1840 he wrote to Haliburton: 'Lea & Blanchard. had shipped 200 copies of an Edition, struck off from a sett [sic] received from their Agents, but they were shipwrecked on the voyage. I shall order no more, for I would rather beg my bread than sell a copy of it.' Howe described an impression of the first American edition with his imprint on the title-page. I have yet to uncover a copy of this impression, which corroborates Howe's claim that the 200 copies were lost at sea.

The publication of The Clockmaker, third series, marked a rift between Haliburton and his colonial publisher. Throughout the publishing history of The Clockmaker, Howe suffered professional humiliation and financial loss. He now was mortified by the satire of series three, which was directed at him. Howe had believed 'that the first things to be looked to were your [i.e. Haliburton's] reputation, feelings, and interests, and that the business perplexities and arrangements ought to be met by me, and managed with as little trouble to you as possible.' He claimed to have earned 'from £250 to £280, rather a poor compensation . . . for all the time, trouble, conversation and correspondence, about Books . . .'

Due to his unfortunate experience as the British North-American publisher of The Clockmaker, Howe resolved to dissociate himself from Bentley, whose ill-usage he disliked. He objected to Haliburton's unprofessional conduct and suggested that he arrange for a new agent 'to superintend the delivery' of the third series to the '700 subscribers, in the different Provinces . . .' Howe's resentment extended to his friendship with the author, which came to a close at this time. His 'private pain' was evident in the following:
One tribute shall certainly be paid to our past friendship, that I shall not publicly resent insults which have been publicly given. I have calculated the extent of the damage the Book [i.e. *The Clockmaker*, third series] will do me and my principles, and expect to survive it. The world is wide enough for us both, and although you have the largest share of it, and cannot miss my friendship, what I have is enough, and I will endeavor to live without yours.39

Although Howe modified his tone in a subsequent letter to Haliburton, he reiterated that 'hereafter we shall meet as strangers...'.40 In January 1841 Howe withdrew from his uncertain position as colonial publisher of *The Clockmaker*. Nonetheless, Parker states, ‘as the first publisher of Haliburton, Howe must always have an important place in the literary publishing annals of’ Canada.41 Despite an eventual reconciliation, Haliburton and Howe did not resume the friendly association they had previously enjoyed.

As Howe implied in his letter to Haliburton of 25 December, Lea & Blanchard published the first American edition of *The Clockmaker*, third series, in 1840. Like its predecessors, series three appeared in an inexpensive binding of blue paper boards with a paper label pasted onto the spine. Earlier it was noted that the first British edition was the source of the first American edition. This was the final edition of *The Clockmaker* issued by Lea & Blanchard, who after 1839 ‘steadily declined as a major literary publisher.’42

The single review that I have located of Lea & Blanchard’s edition commended Haliburton’s shrewdness and humour as ‘equal to “Boz”’.43 In 1840 Slick’s notable popularity in the United States was confirmed with the New York publication of the *Sam Slick Comic All-My-Nack*.

*The Clockmaker*, third series, was as vulnerable as the preceding series to republication in the United States. As early as 1841 William H. Colyer of New York brought out a second American edition which differed from Lea & Blanchard’s text in its orthography, paragraphing, and punctuation, but whose binding may have intentionally imitated that of the Philadelphia edition. The second edition was bound in brown or green paper boards with a paper label pasted onto the spine.

Yet a third edition of series three was published in 1858 by Dick & Fitzgerald, also of New York. It sold for 75 cents or $1.00 U.S. for a cloth copy and 50 cents U.S. for a paper copy. Dick & Fitzgerald’s edition of *The Clockmaker* was the last to appear during Haliburton’s lifetime.
Subsequent to the publication of the third series, American interest in *The Clockmaker* waned. Although Lindsay & Blakiston, T.B. Peterson (both of Philadelphia), and William H. Colyer had issued the first and second series in one volume, the complete series was not brought out by an American publisher. Between 1837 and 1863 *The Clockmaker* enjoyed a wide audience in the United States. After 1863, however, Haliburton’s readership was primarily British. While the London firms of Richard Bentley, George Routledge, and Frederick Warne issued the combined series of *The Clockmaker*, Slick’s appeal diminished in North America.

To return to Europe, in 1841 Baudry published a Paris edition of the third series as volume 289 of his Collection of Ancient and Modern British Authors. A reissue appeared in the same year. Series three was printed by E. Brière of Paris. Like Baudry’s edition of series one and two, the third series was published in English. Similarly, Baudry’s sheets were not bound prior to sale, but were sold in paper wrappers to purchasers who subsequently had them bound to their specifications. Although the three series were regularly bound as a single volume, Baudry did not publish a combined edition of *The Clockmaker*.

Following the appearance of the third series, international publication of *The Clockmaker* ceased. Joseph Howe no longer represented Haliburton in British North America, and American and French publishers chose not to involve themselves further in *The Clockmaker* enterprise. Haliburton’s increasing concern to satisfy a British audience had succeeded in alienating his North-American readers who rejected imperialist dogma. *The Clockmaker* became a British text, brought out as the combined series by British publishers alone. Further, by 1840 Sam Slick had lost much of his original attraction; he had been overplayed. The third series was important primarily as the last of *The Clockmakers* to attract unprecedented international acclaim.
THE CLOCKMAKER;

or

THE SAYINGS AND DOINGS

of

SAMUEL SLICK,

of Slickville.

Nunquam altud natura, altud sapientia dicit.—Juv.
Folks say that natur' is one thing, and wisdom another, but it's
plague odd they look so much alike, and speak the very identical
same language, ain't it?—S. S.

THIRD SERIES.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

M.DCCC.XL.

(Photograph courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and
Special Collections, McGill University Libraries. Lande 1816).
NOTES

5 _Letters_, 111.
6 Ibid., 118.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 [Thomas Chandler Haliburton], _The Clockmaker; or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville_, 3rd ser. (London: Richard Bentley, 1840), 25.
12 Ibid., 104.
13 Ibid., 26.
14 Beck, 221.
15 Haliburton, _The Clockmaker_, 28.
17 George L. Parker, _The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada_ (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 64.
18 _Letters_, 120.
19 Ibid., 118.
20 Ibid., 120.
21 Ibid.
22 [Richard Bentley, 11], _A List of the Principal Publications Issued from New Burlington Street During the Year 1840_ (London: Richard Bentley & Son, Mar. 1895).
24 _Letters_, 126.
25 Richard Bentley Papers, British Library, additional manuscript 46,614, ff. 52–53.
26 _Letters_, 126.
27 Rev. of _The Clockmaker, or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville_, 3rd ser., _Spectator_, 7 Nov. 1840: 1073.
31 'Sam Slick's Third Series. [Third Notice: Conclusion],' _Literary Gazette; and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c._, 21 Nov. 1840: 750.
32 _Letters_, 122.
33 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 George L. Parker, 'Joseph Howe as Publisher,' Dalhousie Review 53 [Autumn 1973]: 474.
43 'Sam Slick,' Spirit of the Times: A Chronicle of the Turf, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage, 21 Nov. 1840: 446.