

**CULTURAL DARWINISM AND THE LITERARY CANON: A  
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SUSANNA MOODIE'S  
*ROUGHING IT IN THE BUSH* AND  
CAROLINE LEAKEY'S *THE BROAD ARROW*.**

**By**

**Alison Jane Rukavina  
B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1998.**

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS  
In the Department  
of  
English**

**© Alison Rukavina 2000**

**SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY**

**June 2000**

**All rights reserved. This work may not be  
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy  
or other means, without permission of the author.**



**National Library  
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada**

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

**The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

0-612-61491-3

**Canada**

## **Abstract**

The publication history of Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852) and Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* (1859) influenced both books' canonical position in the nineteenth century and the present day. Both works met with differing levels of success in the nineteenth century, and were positioned by their publishers first as popular works and then later as national texts. However, whereas *Roughing It* became a seminal work of Canadian literature, *The Broad Arrow* was only briefly part of an Australian popular canon before it was quickly forgotten.

What affects the canonical position of a text is the primary question I address by utilizing Carole Gerson's theory of Cultural Darwinism to break down the factors that influence the changing status of a book. Cultural Darwinism incorporates timing, topicality and imprint as the three main factors that decide a book's canonical status and that mark "a struggle for textual survival." *Roughing It in the Bush* and *The Broad Arrow* offer a comparison point from which to survey the influence of the various publishing factors on the canonical process. Expanding on Gerson's three factors, my study of the initial publishing history, imprint status, reception and timing of the nineteenth century editions of *Roughing It in the Bush* and *The Broad Arrow* reveals the influence of the publishing process on canon formation. The publishing factors inter-link and overlap with other elements in the two case studies, resulting in a complex and contingent system of canon creation. This examination suggests possible explanations as to why Moodie became a foremother of Canadian literature and Leakey a forgotten Australian author.

**DEDICATIONS**

**To Mom and Dad.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**I would like to thank Carol and Joe Rukavina for their continual support; Professor Gerson and Professor Linley for their guidance and tutelage; Dan Preece for his support and proof-reading; and Stacey Scott for her invaluable help in formatting my thesis. I would especially like to thank Professor Whitlock for getting me a photocopy of a rare copy of the 1860 edition of *The Broad Arrow*.**

**Table of Contents**

<b>Approval Page.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Dedications.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Tables.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>List of Figures.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Initial Publishing History.....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Edition Changes.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Library Editions.....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Reception.....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Endnotes.....</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>Works Cited.....</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>Works Consulted.....</b>	<b>106</b>

**List of Tables**

<b>Table A. Subjects of Books Bentley Published from 1850-59.</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>Table B. Subjects of Books Bentley Published from 1870-79.</b>	<b>97</b>

**List of Figures**

<b>Figure 1. <i>Bibliotheca Londinesis</i>: Subjects 1814-46, <i>Publisher's Circular</i>: Subjects 1870-79.</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Figure 2. Graph of Subjects of Bentley Publications, 1850-59 and 1870-79.</b>	<b>96</b>

## Chapter One

### Introduction

When *Roughing It in the Bush* first appeared in 1852, publisher Richard Bentley advertised it as a “glowing narrative of personal incident and suffering,” which would “no doubt attract general attention” (CEECT 669). The first edition a bestseller, *Roughing It* did attract notice, becoming over time a seminal text in Canadian literature. In 1859 Bentley published *The Broad Arrow, Being Passages From The History of Maida Gwynnham A ‘Lifer,’* by Caroline Leakey, which was the first book to address the life of a female convict in Van Diemen’s Land (See Appendix A). However, the first edition did not sell well; *The Broad Arrow* only sold when the second edition was drastically edited and marketed as part of an Australian Library. By the mid-twentieth century the novel was forgotten, until feminist critics began to argue recently for the book’s inclusion into the Australian literary canon.

Why is Susanna Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush* a well-read classic of Canadian literature, whereas Caroline Leakey’s *The Broad Arrow* is a forgotten Australian novel? This question leads into my thesis, which attempts to answer this by examining the respective canonical positions of each text in the nineteenth century and today. What affects the canonical position of a text is the primary question I address by utilizing Carole Gerson’s theory of Cultural Darwinism to break down the factors that



influence the changing status of a book like *Roughing It* or *The Broad Arrow*.

Cultural Darwinism incorporates timing, topicality and imprint as the three main factors that decide a book's canonical status and that mark "a struggle for textual survival" (25).

While Gerson applies this term only to the current status of early Canadian texts, I believe Cultural Darwinism offers a framework for understanding the complexities of what goes into the canon and what does not, in terms of both the present-day and the nineteenth century.

However, before developing my theoretical framework any further, I should introduce the two authors I am writing about: Susanna Moodie (1803-88) and Caroline Leakey (1827-81). Middle-class immigrant writers, they both used their pens to earn money and to make sense of their colonial surroundings. Susanna Moodie wrote *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852) about her emigration to Canada in 1832, and her family's struggle to survive in the backwoods of Ontario. Caroline Leakey wrote the novel, *The Broad Arrow* (1859), about women convicts in Tasmania, based on her own experiences as an emigrant living in a penal colony. Both works were the first prose publications of writers who had previously published books of religious poetry, Moodie's *Enthusiasm and Other Poems* in 1832, and Leakey's *Lyra Australis; or, Attempts to Sing in a Strange Land* in 1854.

Susanna Strickland was born in Suffolk in 1803, and was the sixth daughter of eight children of Thomas Strickland who had retired by the time of her birth from managing the Greenland docks near Rotherhithe. Little money remained after her father's death in 1818 so Moodie grew up in genteel poverty but with the benefit of an education initially overseen by her father. Following her older sisters, Moodie eventually

moved to London in the late 1820's where she "had a limited entrée into...London literary circles" through her second cousin (Gray 21). Moodie was already a published poet before she immigrated, in 1832, to Canada with her husband John Dunbar Moodie.

Caroline Leakey, who was born in Exeter on 8 March 1827 and was the fourth daughter of eleven children of West of England artist James Leakey, emigrated at the age of twenty to Tasmania "to help a married sister to train her children."<sup>1</sup> Leakey remained in Tasmania for five years until ill health forced her to return to England. She is generally described by critics as "a retiring, extremely religious English lady who was an unlikely author" (Patricia Clarke, 46). Leakey's biography, *A Clear and Shining Light* (1887), reveals a woman who may have been religious and retiring, but who was, on her return from Tasmania, a writer who not only produced a novel but articles, poems and penny religious tracts. Similarly to Moodie, Leakey had "an intense love of books" (16), but her writing career did not truly begin until her return from Tasmania in 1852, when she "set about preparing her poems [*Lyra Australis*] for the press, as well as writing articles for magazines" (46). On her sister's death in 1854, Leakey then went to London "to undertake the arduous task of head of her late sister's school" (48). In London for eighteen months, Leakey met Anna Jameson who introduced her "into a large circle of literati," and encouraged her writing (50).

Moodie and Leakey were authors, and not *mere* scribbling ladies. Beyond the artistic reasons for writing *Roughing It*, Moodie's book was also an opportunity for her to make money "earned...with my own hand." *Roughing It* offered Moodie a possible "nucleus out of which a future independence for my family might arise" (CEECT 441).

Similarly, due to “the failure of foreign securities” in the 1860’s, Leakey’s writing became a means to financial stability for her sick parents and her younger sister (E. Leakey 104). Writing offered both Moodie and Leakey the opportunity to maintain or regain their middle class standing.

Two struggling middle-class English women writers who both reached a level of professionalism through their pens, and whose first major works were published by Richard Bentley in the 1850s, offer then a comparison point from which to survey the influence of various publishing factors on the canonical process. The comparison, it should be noted, is not perfect as the history of these authors and their works is at best fragmentary. Many of Moodie’s letters remain intact, whereas Leakey’s letters survive only as part of her biography. While there are ledgers documenting the 1859 and 1887 print runs and sales of *The Broad Arrow*, only fragments of the *Roughing It in the Bush* ledgers survive. As a result, my analysis of the two books is at times uneven. However, from these fragmentary documents I can construct a compelling portrait of the complexities of the publishing process.

### *Methodology*

What is the canon? The term is central to my argument, which outlines the influence of the publishing process on canon formation. In *Kinds of Literature*, Alastair Fowler argues that the canon initially referred to the set of books that were fashionable or popular at a particular place and time: the books the middle class read for information and entertainment (213). As literary taste changed so did the canon: “The canon of literature...is the product of a wavering and unofficial consensus; it is tacit rather than

explicit, loose in its boundaries, and always subject to changes in its inclusions”

(Abrams 29). Canon formation is a “social process by which an author or a literary work comes to be tacitly recognized as canonical” (29). However, alongside the popular canon grew a multiplicity of other canons: academic, working class, geographical, national etc. Canons, Fowler argues, are selective and often “institutionalized through education, patronage, and journalism” (214). The popular canon was influenced primarily by journalism, and as my argument suggests, the publishing process. Books are not static components, as they move in and out of canons. My research explores how the publishing process affected not only the position in the popular canon of *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow* but the differing movement of the books into national and academic canons.

However, academic canon formation, in the nineteenth century and more recently, is a contentious subject. According to John Guillory, the debate surrounding recent scholarly canon formation has focused on the binary of inclusion and exclusion: an exercise of power in which academics argue that certain books that are not in the canon should become part of it. Within this debate, books have come to represent social groups, and therefore, scholars argue, noncanonical books representing minorities should be included in the canon largely on the basis of their representative nature. It is not that these books are not worthy of being studied, but that academics are struggling to include noncanonical works based on a politics of image that desires to make the canon reflect social diversity. Guillory challenges the assumption that books can represent social groups, making two arguments against regarding the academic canon as operating solely on identity politics. Firstly, the canon, as well as the university, is not representative of

society and instead promotes an elite university culture. Secondly, the idea that an author's text or personal experience can represent a culture is flawed.

Inserting class into the canonical debate, Guillory argues that canon formation is affected by "access to means of cultural production" (*Cultural Capital* 18). The present canonical debate must reconsider "the relation between a real historical silence – exclusion from the means of literary production– and the sphere of reception, in this case, the university" (18). Critics of the canon have negated "the social and institutional conditions of symbolic struggle" (vii), which influence the canon while overstating the importance of the political conditions. Guillory then conceives of canon formation in terms of unequal access to the production and distribution of cultural capital. The notion of cultural capital is derived from the work of Pierre Bourdieu and "implies that the proper social context for analyzing the school and its literary curriculum is *class*...If there exists a form of capital which is specifically symbolic or *cultural*, the production, exchange, distribution, and consumption of this capital presupposes the division of society into groups that can be called classes" (viii). Cultural capital, according to Guillory, then combines the economic and cultural, where "[t]he fact of class determines whether and how individuals gain access to the means of literary production" (ix).

Guillory's theory of canon formation as a question of access to "cultural capital," in social, institutional and economic terms, acts as an entry point into my thesis. His social "cultural capital" refers to the social class of an author and an author's access to education. Institutional cultural capital alludes to the crucial role universities play in defining the canon. Universities regulate literacy. For example in the nineteenth century, Guillory argues women writers were excluded from "the means of cultural production"

because they did not have the same access to school literacy that male writers had (18). In terms of economic cultural capital, which generally refers to the ability of authors to get their works published and reach a wide reading audience, women writers gained access not through the university but through the institution of publishing. In other words, nineteenth century women writers were to a degree dependent on the publishing industry for access to cultural capital. As a result, Guillory's theory allows for a demonstration of the influence of the publishing process on not only academic canon formation but also popular canon formation and the movement of books between canons.

In order to gauge Moodie's and Leakey's individual access to the publishing process, it is necessary to recognize that cultural capital in terms of publishing is a conflation of factors, which must be identified and separated. Guillory's divisions of cultural capital are large: "production, exchange, distribution, and consumption" (viii) are viewed as the points where class intrudes to affect access to cultural capital. Carole Gerson's theory of Cultural Darwinism is a similar attempt to distinguish and analyse the factors that affect the canonical status of texts in the Canadian university system. Cultural Darwinism, like Guillory's cultural capital, regards canon formation as partly a question of access to the means of publication. While Guillory theorizes the effects of class on the canon, Gerson applies her three publishing factors, of timing, topicality and imprint, which incorporate the four stages of cultural capital, in a case study of the canonical status of Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush*. Gerson's application of the factors, while less class conscious, reveals the interconnectedness of the various factors in the canonical process. For instance, imprint explores the "identity and status of the publisher who re-issues the text as well as the effectiveness of the firm's publicity and

distribution” (25). Consequently imprint, which involves both institutional and economic cultural capital, invokes the inter-related factors of the relationship between the publisher and the author, and how this in turn affects the publisher’s attempts to publicize and distribute the work in question.

Cultural Darwinism, as a term, also suggests how factors change over time and are contingent on each other. The value of the initial relationship between the author and publisher might diminish as later and successive editions are printed: other factors will come to the fore and help determine the value of the work. Cultural Darwinism implies the sometimes random nature of the canonization process. Guillory argues “[w]e can expect that many factors will enter into the situation of the reception of a given author’s work, and that these factors will advance and recede at different moments in the history of the work’s reception” (17). While Guillory only touches on this point, it can be further developed by turning to Barbara Herrnstein-Smith’s work on contingent values.

Herrnstein-Smith contends that literary and aesthetic value is based on inter-related “dynamics of an economic system” (15), where, in complex “interactive relationships” (16), contingent evaluations are made about a text. Herrnstein-Smith argues that value is contingent, “being neither an inherent property of objects nor an arbitrary projection of subjects” (16). According to Herrnstein-Smith, a commodity’s value is based on its exchange-value and use-value, where use is not the opposite of aesthetic-value: “the ‘essential value’ of an artwork consists of everything from which it is usually distinguished” (18). Texts acquire “the marks of their own evaluational history, signs of value that acquire their force by virtue of various social and cultural practices” (27). The process is not homogeneous, though: it is “heterogeneous, mutable,

and elusive.” At every step of the process the value of a work is affected by “its effectiveness in performing desired/able functions for some set of subjects...[and] the properties of the work...are not fixed, given, or inherent in the work...but are at every point the variable products of some subject’s interaction with it” (31). Consequently, over time there are two possible outcomes: first, the functions for which the text was earlier valued are no longer of value. The novel is less frequently cited and referred to, as it fades from the canon. Alternatively, if under changing conditions and in competition with new works the text continues to perform some functions or performs new functions, the text will be re-valued accordingly and “thus continue to be culturally re-produced” (32).

Herrnstein-Smith not only outlines the shifting contingencies of value, but also points to the “marks” left by the various factors in an “evaluational history.” In a later chapter where I consider the reception of the two texts, I return to this idea of an “evaluational history.” At this point, it is important to link Herrnstein-Smith’s notion of contingent value to Guillory’s and Gerson’s joint recognition that the publishing process involves various factors, which influence each other. However, it should be noted that Guillory critiques Herrnstein-Smith, arguing her “discursive orientation allows her to assert throughout her study the historical situatedness of values and evaluation without raising as a distinctly different question the situatedness of the discourse” (283). Guillory’s and Herrnstein-Smith’s theories develop along different axes, but they converge regarding the canon being shaped by different contingent factors. The initial conditions of a text’s publication or the initial level of access to cultural capital, both critics agree, can affect later editions and generally, the book’s canonical status.



By linking Guillory, who conceives of the publishing process in Neo-Marxist terms, and Herrnstein-Smith, who sees value as contingent, my reading focuses on the process as a negotiation of factors. Norman Feltes argues publishing is “a structure, determined not only by the practice of the publisher and authors, but by the practices of publishers’ readers and authors’ agents...Publishing is best seen...as a distinctive, determinate set of interlocking, often contradictory practices” (16-17). Understanding publishing as a negotiative process alerts us to the transgressive possibilities inherent in negotiation: with factors contingent upon other factors, the process is not predetermined but open to possible subversion. This is important to my analysis of the two authors who were emigrant women who wrote in and of the British colonies. As Guillory argues, gender is not the sole reason why more women are not in the canon. Similarly, gender is not the only factor influencing the negotiative process between the women, their publisher(s) and audiences (15). The differing success of *Roughing It in the Bush* and *The Broad Arrow* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is then not determined by a single factor but by a multiplicity of contingent factors that are negotiated at every step by the various participants in the publishing process.

Guillory states “[i]t is not necessary to claim canonical status for noncanonical works in order to justify their study” (15), and my argument is not about claiming academic canonical status for Susanna Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush* and Caroline Leakey’s *The Broad Arrow*. Regarding the publishing process as negotiation allows for a potentially transgressive reading of the two texts’ histories; however, my argument does not result in any new claims for textual importance. Instead I examine, as case histories, Moodie’s and Leakey’s access to and involvement with mid-nineteenth century cultural

capital, and how access to their works changed with subsequent editions.

Linking cultural capital to Cultural Darwinism, I frame my discussion by examining the inter-related yet sometimes random factors of the publishing process and the authors' negotiation of these contingent factors.

### *Factors of the Publishing Process*

In adapting the factors of Cultural Darwinism, which refer to a discussion of the republication of early books, I have changed them to reflect the elements of the initial publication process. I then develop an analysis of how these factors affect the evolutionary status of the two chosen texts through the nineteenth century. I also consider the factors on a macro-level combining similar or interconnected factors in order to make the complexity of the publication process transparent yet manageable. Initial publishing history, editorial changes, and reception are the subject of separate chapters. Timing or "the availability of a specific work at a chronological moment of canonical interest" (Gerson 25) is too deeply interconnected with the other factors to be dealt with as a separate chapter. Moreover, due to the wealth of information, there is a separate chapter on the publishers' Library editions of *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow*. Finally, due to the complexity of the publishing history of each book and disparity in the amount of information available for *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow*, each chapter will examine each book separately.

### *Initial Publishing History*

The visibility and value of a text are influenced by the identity of the publisher of the work. Tracing the history of the initial publication process is then important as the status of the author's publisher and the writer's relationship with the publisher affect the subsequent success of the work. The publisher of *Roughing It in the Bush* and *The Broad Arrow* was Richard Bentley, a prominent London publisher throughout the mid-nineteenth century. This chapter considers the history of the British editions of each work and how each author's publishing relationship with Richard Bentley affected the success of her book. Contracts, the type and amount of manuscript revision, the paid advertising and the general promotion of the work all varied according to Bentley's relationship with his authors. Moreover, if it was in the publisher's best interest, he would promote books less for their individual merits than because the success of one could lead to other authors joining the firm, other books succeeding, and readers wanting to read more books on the publisher's list. Bentley's first contract with Moodie, for instance, initially favoured the publisher but after a series of letters, in which he was informed of Moodie's literary connections, he was swayed to pay Moodie more and start negotiations for a second work. As a result, Bentley printed a surprisingly large run of *Roughing It* and promoted Moodie as the sister of Agnes Strickland, whom he hoped to woo from her current publisher, and as an up-and-coming author whose reputation would be established by *Roughing It in the Bush*.

### *Editorial Changes*

Both texts were shaped in the nineteenth century for subsequent English and colonial editions. A different edition of *The Broad Arrow* was published in the 1880's for the Australian market, as part of an Australian Library. Similarly, different editions of *Roughing it in the Bush* were prepared for the American and Canadian markets, including an edition that was part of Bentley's Popular Library and an American edition that was part of Putnam's Semi-Monthly Library. The changes to each edition marked attempts on the part of Bentley and the other publishers to re-position each book for a new audience. Different editions appealed to different audiences and consequently affected the evolution of each work's respective canonical value. While the involvement of Moodie and Leakey with the textual changes was minimal, their position or status as the authors of these texts influenced the success of the works outside of England. Consequently their role in the history of the different editions needs to be documented. Also, Bentley's negotiations with the other publishers need to be traced, as his relationship with at least two of them directly affected the level of success of each text.

Julie Beddoes argues that different editions of a text alter how an author is perceived, and consequently can influence the status of a work. Beddoes examines Moodie's changing authorial representation in different editions of *Roughing It in the Bush*: "Each version...seems positioned in a different literary and commercial context, and appeals to a different audience, as did the three editions that appeared during the nineteenth century" (368-9). Moodie has been regarded as a national chronicler, a collaborative writer and a popular author. Beddoes, for instance, writes that the first New Canadian Library edition (1962) positioned Moodie "as the creator of a fictionalized

dramatic monologue, not a romantic heroine or a truthful chronicler of her own experience" (373). Beddoes describes the second NCL edition (1988) as "part documentary, part psychological parable,...above all, an honest account" (373).

Following Beddoes' example, I will outline the nineteenth century editions of each text and how editorial changes influenced the evolution of Moodie's and Leakey's position in the canon.

Stuart Hall's "Encoding, Decoding" offers a further perspective on how cultural producers shape their products for audiences, which is also useful for understanding the editing of nineteenth century texts: Hall's theory of cultural production indicates the audience-and-reception-aware process of marketing a cultural product. Depending on the initial reception of each text, its new market and what was viewed as the successful formula for reaching that audience, the texts were edited to fit the expectations of the new marketplace. Moodie, for example, was portrayed in the first American edition of *Roughing It in the Bush* as a heroine of a "far-west romance" (CEECT xxxiii). Michel de Certeau describes reading as wandering "through an imposed system (that of the text, analogous to the constructed order of a city or of a supermarket)...a system of verbal or iconic signs" (169). Hall subscribes to this theory, viewing the creation of cultural products as a process of encoding certain messages, which the reader decodes. Consequently, different editions can be analyzed in terms of what each edition is attempting to encode into the text. As a result, the textual shifts of the different editions can be mapped with regard to the different audiences and their textual expectations, and consequently the changing canonical status of each text.

### *Reception*

Michel de Certeau defines reading as an “imposed system” where meaning is produced by the interaction of the reader with the text: “a system of verbal or iconic signs [which] is a reservoir of forms to which the reader must give...meaning” (*The Practice of Everyday Life* 169). The *system* suggests a reading but

[t]he reader takes neither the position of the author nor an author’s position. He invents in texts something different from what they ‘intended.’ He detaches them from their...origin. He combines their fragments and creates something unknown in the space organized by their capacity for allowing an indefinite plurality of meanings (169).

Bentley and his authors construct the text to be read in a particular way; however, what the reader, a “cultural consumer” (169) receives, is not necessarily the original construction. According to de Certeau “[t]he island of the page is a transitional place in which an industrial inversion is made: what comes in is something ‘received,’ what comes out is a ‘product.’ The things that go in are the indexes of a certain ‘passivity’ of the subject with respect to a tradition; those that come out, the marks of his power of fabricating objects” (135). Consequently each reader reads a text differently. However, as de Certeau initially points out, reading is a system where the codes within a text can be decoded differently but still do impose a “tradition” of meaning. The encoding, and decoding of textual signs is a hegemonic process, which Stuart Hall describes as having preferred or dominant meanings (96). Hall defines preferred meanings as those that “have the whole social order embedded in them as a set of meanings, practices and beliefs.” As a result, readers automatically “prefer one semantic domain over another and rule items into and out of their appropriate meaning-sets” (97). While de Certeau and

Hall argue it is possible for readers to decode the message in a “contrary way...within some alternative framework of reference” (Hall 103), reading is at best a combination of this and hegemonic meanings.

In order to measure the influence of literary reviews on the larger reception of a text, the complexity of the reading process must be acknowledged but reduced, as with the publishing process, to a manageable and comparable quantity of information. Consequently, I group the reviews by region for each major nineteenth-century edition. I then compare the critic-constructed text, the *decodings*, to the text as outlined or *encoded* in the letters and initial publishing documents of Richard Bentley and the respective authors. I examine each successive edition’s reception and how new editions were affected by past reception. Also noted is the varying reception in Britain, the United States and Canada in respect to *Roughing It in the Bush*, and in Australia in respect to *The Broad Arrow*. The general public’s reaction to the two texts can only be motioned to in terms of the numbers of books sold with successive editions throughout the world. In focussing on only the public reception of the texts, the effect of reception on the publishing process will be touched upon –though not fully explored– in this thesis.

As a result, I analyze the marks left not only by the evaluational history of Moodie’s and Leakey’s works but the effects of other factors on the publishing process. How these factors interacted and combined in the nineteenth century affected the evolution of the canonical status of each text, beginning then to answer my question as to why Moodie is presently heralded as one of the foremothers of Canadian literature while Leakey is a forgotten Australian writer.

## Chapter Two

### Publishing History

From the beginning, the publishing histories of Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* and Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* were not without friction. First issued during the 1850s –a period of financial uncertainty for the House of Bentley –both works went through a process during their initial English imprints that saw Bentley's vision often in conflict with that of others.<sup>2</sup> However, Bentley could not simply manipulate the other parties involved: publishing was a negotiative process. Moreover, the history of the negotiations surrounding the publication of the first editions affected the later status of both works. How Bentley first situated the books in the marketplace influenced not only the initial profits of the works in question but also their future value, whether pecuniary profit or posterity for the firm (Tuchman 22). This chapter traces the history of the first British editions of each text, examining the contracts, revisions, advertising and promotion of *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow*. First of all, however, I will briefly identify Richard Bentley and his position in the English book trade during the 1850s when both Moodie and Leakey first published with him.

“Charybdis” to Henry Colburn’s “Scylla,” Richard Bentley throughout his publishing career was characterized by writers such as Mrs. Gore as a ruthless operator who reduced books to commodities (Oliphant 349).<sup>3</sup> Originally a printer, Richard



Bentley went into partnership with Henry Colburn in 1829. According to Royal A. Gettmann, author of the only full-length study of Bentley, Colburn was known as “the prince of puffers,” and by association “first as partner and later as bitter rival, Richard Bentley was also the subject of gossip along Paternoster Row and the target for attacks in the Press” (55). Puff reviews were those planted by publishers in reputable magazines in order to increase the sales of a book.

During a period when publishers were “uncertain as to the needs and interests of the readers whom they hoped to attract” (32), Colburn and Bentley published a wide array of works that generally sold well. They were innovative and often controversial in their promotion of new works –such as using paid reviews and advertisements to attract readers. Moreover, Bentley continued to hone these advertising skills in order to attract readers to his publications even after the acrimonious end, in 1832, of Bentley and Colburn. After Bentley started up his own publishing firm at New Burlington street, in 1836, he “demonstrated his initiative and prosperity by contracting with Dickens for two novels and securing his services as editor of Bentley’s *Miscellany*” (22). However, Bentley badly miscalculated how much interference Dickens would tolerate in the editing of the *Miscellany* and in 1839 Dickens left the firm.<sup>4</sup>

In the late 1840s, due largely to the revolution in France, there was a “general depression in the [book] trade” and “the financial affairs in New Burlington Street...suffered” (29). By 1850 Bentley’s position in the publishing world was challenged by this depression and the fact that some of the authors upon whom he had come to rely had begun to lose popular favour, thus resulting in less revenue for the firm. Gettmann explains: “some of the older authors — such as G.P.R. James, Mrs. Gore,

Thomas Chandler Haliburton, and James Fenimore Cooper — disappeared from Bentley's lists or waned in popularity, and although newcomers included such good and promising writers as Herman Melville, Charles Reade, and Wilkie Collins, their works were not remunerative" (24). Bentley also began to inform his authors, after years of buying copyright, that he could publish their works only "on a profit-sharing basis" — though only when convenient for him to do so.<sup>5</sup> According to Roger P. Wallins, during this period "increased competition, legal machinations, and [his] own failed ventures" further contributed to Bentley's difficulties (49). By 1855, with creditors pressing the House of Bentley for money, the firm was put under an inspectorship "whereby Richard Bentley was to conduct his business under the watchful but helpful eyes of two inspectors, the well-known printers William Clowes and G.A. Spottiswoode" (Gettmann 55).

Bentley recognized that publishing was a "gamble" (77), and the 1850s saw him speculating on the growing market of middle-class readers. Readership had begun to explode in the 1830s due in part to "the agitation for political reform [which] had caused men to learn to read. Then, too, there were the inevitable results of the various educational movements initiated early in the century that expanded literacy among children, women and men of different classes" (Brantlinger 12). Many publishing firms, including Bentley's, focussed on producing works for this growing reading public: bestsellers that "would flood the bookstores for three to six months and then disappear from the shelves" (Gettmann 23). Bentley capitalized on this expanding sector of book buyers by focussing on popular genres such as fiction, travel narratives, and history. Loose and dynamic compositions, *Roughing It in the Bush* and *The Broad Arrow* both

offered Bentley a mixture of readers' favourite genres and consequently gave him the opportunity for financial, if not critical, success.

### *Roughing It in the Bush*

In *Roughing It in the Bush*, Susanna Moodie's mixture of travel narrative, settler/immigrant guide, and autobiography appealed to different audiences. Bentley was initially offered an earlier settler narrative in November 1834. John Moodie, writing about his *Ten Years in South Africa*, presented Bentley with his wife's proposal for "a plain unaffected narrative of the progress and proceedings of a new settler in [the] colony whether he settled in the cleared and improved parts of the country or went into the back woods" (*British Library* 46612, ff 120-21).<sup>6</sup> Although Bentley at first refused, he was still inclined to see a manuscript (*Bentley Archives* 39, 81, 135). Composed largely in the 1840's and assembled from assorted sources, including many poems and sketches which had previously been published by the Moodies in periodicals such as *The Victoria Magazine*, *The Literary Garland*, and *The Canadian Literary Magazine*, the manuscript, originally titled *Canadian Life*, arrived on Bentley's desk in late 1851.

Bentley had successfully published works by other authors from British North America, including Thomas Chandler Haliburton, which had met with financial and critical success. Between 1837 and 1844, Bentley produced eight texts by Haliburton, including *The Clockmaker* (1838), making him a household name in England. The relationship between the two men, however, was strained. Haliburton frequently pushed for higher payments and argued over any changes Bentley tried to make to his texts (Parker 89). Haliburton also often threatened to go to Henry Colburn, Bentley's former

partner and bitter rival. In 1845, Bentley published *The Attaché*, which did not sell well and was, according to Bentley, short by fifty pages. Consequently, Bentley withheld half of the 500-pound payment he had agreed to pay Haliburton, which led to the author taking his books to Henry Colburn. Bentley, who was increasingly issuing more works about colonial or foreign lands that were popular with an English audience, tried to mollify Haliburton, as well as publishing other colonial authors such as Moodie.

Bentley's interest in colonial authors, such as Moodie and Haliburton, and books about the colonies is evident in his publication lists. From 1850 to 1859, for example, an analysis based on the titles on the list shows that histories and books on travels to foreign lands are the most popular genre. Just over fifty-five percent of all of Bentley's books were travel accounts between these years, whereas fiction accounted for twenty-eight percent (See Appendix B). By the 1870s, these numbers had reversed, with fiction accounting for forty-seven percent and travel literature thirty-two percent. Bentley always concentrated on the popular genres that sold well, but in the 1850s particularly focussed on travel literature. In comparison, Simon Eliot, in his study of *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, reveals travel narratives, between 1814 and 1846, accounted for seventeen percent of all books produced by the publishing industry. Fiction accounted for sixteen percent (45). When Eliot compares these statistics to those of 1870 to 1879 in his subsequent data set, a shift has occurred in that fiction now accounts for twenty-three percent of all books published, whereas travel literature has also slightly fallen to twelve percent (47). What these statistics reveal is that as a publisher, Bentley was participating in a trend toward focussing on publishing certain popular genres. However, Bentley's concentration on fiction and, in the 1850's, travel

literature was unusual in an industry where publishers generally did not specialize (Eliot 47).

In the financially unstable 1850s, Bentley's concentration on travel literature and novels was possibly due to the reduced risk involved in publishing these genres, as fiction and travel accounts sold and sold quickly. Moreover, the popular genres, in particular travel narratives, were "borrowed more frequently than any other type of book" and therefore were bought in large quantities by lending libraries, such as Mudie's (Eliot 45). With *Roughing It in the Bush*, Bentley was offered an inexpensive travel account at a time when the genre was selling even though most book sales had stagnated.

In December 1851, Susanna Moodie was initially advanced "£20 on account of half profits" in exchange for Bentley's command of the copyright for ten years (*Bentley Archives* 40, 82, 189). In December of that same year, her sister Agnes Strickland secured a sum of £100 for the first edition of the settler narrative *Twenty-Seven Years' Life in Canada West* by their younger brother Major Sam Strickland, with a promise of another £100 should the work go to a second printing (*Bentley Archives*, 29, 57, 184). Moodie's agreement was certainly the one with the greater risk, especially for the author, in that no further payment was guaranteed unless the book sold well, whereas Strickland's contract guaranteed a larger sum regardless of sales. Due to the distance between Moodie in Belleville and her publisher in London, her representative John Bruce,<sup>7</sup> had to sign the contract on her behalf on 9 January 1852, three weeks before the January 29 publication date (Thurston 136). However, a second agreement was signed by Bruce on February 7, which extinguished the first, and sold Bentley the entire

copyright to *Roughing It* for £50 — a larger sum, but still considerably less than that offered to Sam Strickland.

Moreover, in comparison with other authors who published with Bentley, Moodie was not paid well for copyright. Wilkie Collins in 1852 received £350 for the copyright of *Basil*, Herman Melville in 1851 got £150 for *The Whale*, Cpt. George Warburton in 1849 accepted £450 for *A History of Canada* and Thomas Haliburton on average got £500 for his books. While there were many authors who got small payments, those who were considered potential best-selling authors received larger amounts than Moodie (*Bentley Archives*, 117B, 26).

Moodie's representative, Bruce, also signed a basic fill-in-the-blank memorandum of agreement on her behalf, whereas her brother received a hand-written agreement that included the promise of further money if the first printing was successful (*Bentley Archives* 29, 57, 81-2 184-5). Bentley's normal practice was that important "clients would have a contract specially made up for them; less valued but still relatively important authors would have a printed pro-forma half-profits agreement with addenda recording advances or special terms. The least important authors would just have the simple half-profits form" (Sutherland 89-90). Bentley dealt with Strickland as a major author, whereas Moodie's contract indicated the contrary. However, Strickland's treatment was probably due to his sister, Agnes Strickland, who represented him in negotiations and was a best-selling author whom Bentley wished to publish.

Agnes Strickland did not act on behalf of Susanna Moodie as she did for Samuel. In *Letters of a Lifetime*, Carl Ballstadt refers to the friction between Agnes and Susanna regarding Agnes' assistance with Sam's book (111). Moreover, Charlotte Gray, in her

biography of Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Trail, describes how the pre-existing friction between the sisters intensified over the publication of *Roughing It in the Bush*. A copy was sent to the Strickland family in January 1852 and the reaction was immediate: "The book was full of disgusting scenes and ghastly people. While Agnes had been writing about glorious coronations and royal maidens, her sister had chosen to describe vulgar foreigners living in squalor" (214). Making matters worse, the first edition of *Roughing It in the Bush* included a dedication: "Agnes Strickland, Author of the 'Lives of the Queens of England' this simple tribute of affection is dedicated, by her sister" (CEECT). Both Moodie and Bentley had recognized the value of promoting the connection to an author who with her biographies "was at the height of her fame in England" (211). Moodie had much earlier realized she could exploit her sister's success to get her own book published. On 26 November 1842, she wrote John Lovell, editor of *The Literary Garland*, saying: "If I had time, I would try [John] Moodie's publisher, Bentley of London. My sister Agnes' name would be a great help to me now in selling a book of my own" (Ballstadt et al. 97). Bentley, moreover, used Agnes' name in the advertisements for *Roughing It*, identifying Susanna Moodie as "Sister of Miss Agnes Strickland" (*Athenaeum*, 28 February 1852, 244). Furious, Agnes demanded that Bentley remove the dedication from *Roughing It* and her name from the advertisements. She also pressured her brother to complete his work in time to counter the damage done to the Strickland name by Susanna (Gray 215). Bentley agreed to Agnes Strickland's demands, including the large payment for copyright, possibly because she mentioned she would edit Sam's manuscript, enabling Bentley to use her name in conjunction with that book (*Bentley Archives* 83, 132). Also, Bentley's rival had published a new edition of Agnes'

*Life of Queen Elizabeth* in late 1851: Henry Colburn held the copyright on a number of Agnes' biographies. Moreover, Blackwood's was about to publish a new biography by Strickland, *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*. The publicity generated by three Stricklands all publishing within a year of each other would benefit the two books published by Bentley. Finally, Bentley desperately needed a successful author of Agnes Strickland's stature to publish with him. He may have seen appeasement as the best policy to encourage her possible publication of future works with him, or have hoped that either Susanna or Sam would duplicate Agnes's success.

The second contract for *Roughing It* favoured Bentley and indicated an attempt on his part to control the publishing of the work for his benefit. With an original agreement that offered Bentley only partial profits, and a publishing firm desperately in need of funds, one can surmise that his decision to secure copyright at such a critical time was an attempt to guarantee himself the largest returns possible. Bentley had done this previously with R.H. Barham's *The Ingoldsby Legends*. Published as a series in 1840, 1842, and 1846, the compilations of popular tales and verses comprised, in Gettmann's words "exceptional books which brought to the publisher profits quite out of proportion to his investment." Having paid Barham £100 for the entire copyright in January 1840, "a fortnight before the publication of the first series," Bentley successfully obtained the rights to what would eventually become "one of his three most valuable properties" (80-81).<sup>8</sup> Another instance of Bentley's shrewd bargaining occurred in 1857, at the height of the firm's financial crisis, when Anthony Trollope approached Bentley with the manuscript of his novel *The Three Clerks*. Trollope wanted to sell copyright outright for a sum other publishers were not willing to pay. A successful author, Trollope's demand



was met by Bentley who offered him “£ 250 for the full copyright” (Shillingsburg 113). Having invested an exceedingly low amount in a popular author’s work, Bentley made “£74 from the first edition and all the profits from the three subsequent editions...and...then sold the copyright in 1890 for £125.” These examples suggest that, because sales were likely to increase based upon Moodie’s connection to a famous writer and the expected positive reception of *Roughing It*, Bentley foresaw a similar opportunity for profit by purchasing the copyright of *Roughing It* before it became a bestseller and its price increased.

Susanna Moodie was dissatisfied with this second agreement, recognizing that it favoured Bentley. In a letter to him, dated 16 April 1852, she states she was “deeply disappointed; as [she] could have commanded far more liberal terms both in the States and in the Colony” (Ballstadt et al. 124). Due to the illness of her representative, John Bruce, she took over negotiations, acting on her own behalf. Based upon her knowledge of the early reviews of *Roughing It*, she then offered Bentley the manuscript of another work titled *Mark Hurdlestone*, leaving the “terms of publication or sale... to [your] own liberality,” but at the same time making it known that “[t]he first agreement... was [to her] far more agreeable than the last.” She also hints at her readiness to explore relations with other publishers:

Your answer upon this subject before the month of June, would greatly oblige me; as in case of a refusal, a gentleman who is going to Edinburgh during that month, has offered to try and effect a sale for me with the Mess’rs Blackwood, to whom he is personally known and who publishes for my sister Agnes. But, I thought it only fair to give my first European publisher the choice in the matter.<sup>9</sup>

Richard Bentley promptly responded to this letter on 13 May 1852, declaring she would receive from him, with regard to *Mark Hurdlestone*, “the best offer which it is in my power to make, based upon a sincere desire to maintain a literary connection which I trust will be materially beneficial” (*Bentley Archives* 40, 82, 222). It was obviously in Bentley’s interest to negotiate with Moodie and make a concerted effort to satisfy her requests. If he wanted to publish and promote other Moodie manuscripts as potential sister “bestsellers” to *Roughing It*, he needed to gain Moodie’s cooperation or otherwise, as she threatened, she would go elsewhere. Bentley issued payment, consequently, for the chapters that arrived too late for insertion in the original edition of *Roughing It*, and later, on June 29, offered Moodie £50 on advance of half profits for *Mark Hurdlestone* — addressing her initial argument that such an arrangement would be more in her favour.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, he promised Moodie an additional £50 for *Roughing It* as a “compliment beyond the consideration for the copyright” (*Bentley Archives* 40, 82, 237). Moodie’s response to these new concessions was: “[t]he liberal and gentlemanly tone it [Bentley’s letter] breathes, inspires me with a confidence towards you, which I feel certain, will never be abused. I am perfectly satisfied with the terms of remuneration you propose” (Ballstadt et al. 125).

Moodie’s and Bentley’s letters regarding the preparation for *Roughing It* reveal that while generally “Bruce and Bentley made their changes without Moodie’s approval” (Thurston 370), she did not seem to mind. In a letter to Bentley dated 16 April 1852, she seems concerned only with audience reaction, negotiating future payments, and creating a name for herself, rather than with any of the actual changes that were made:

if I may judge from the reviews that have reached the Colony, [the book] has met with favorable reception in England.... The very great popularity which some of these tales have enjoyed in the Colony, and in the United States, as published in the Montreal *Literary Garland*, leads me to hope, that as human nature is the same everywhere, they may chance to meet with as much, or greater favor at home. (Ballstadt et al. 123)

John Thurston argues, in *The Work of Words*, that “[the] varied evidence of editorial intervention suggests that the Moodie manuscript handled by Bruce needed work. Bentley’s belief in its marketability must have been solid for him to expend so much time on it” (137). Thurston’s contention, though, that Bentley spent a lot time on *Roughing It*, is at odds with John Bruce’s letters sent to Bentley on December 27 and 29 1851, which indicate that a month before publication the book was just starting to be edited. In the first letter, John Bruce, while still negotiating the contract, offers to “see it through the prep and can give immediate attention to it if it be gone on with now” (*Bentley Archives*, IU 23). A month before publishing, and the contract has yet to be finalized and the manuscript edited. These two letters suggest that little time was spent on the text, as Bruce in the December 29 letter further asks Bentley to “put me in communication with the printer and I could then send in the copy to them from time to time as it is ready.” In an industry considered a “fiction mill” (Feltes 22), which constantly churned out new books, the proofing of a text was rarely a protracted event, a month or less of proof-reading about average in the mid-nineteenth century (Dooley 36). Therefore, while *Roughing It* may have been viewed as a “bestseller,” which Bentley could “boom,” it was not necessarily edited any more thoroughly or differently from other books being published around this time –though this does not in any way change

the fact that many alterations were made to the manuscript in the first and subsequent editions.<sup>11</sup>

On 27 December 1851, Richard Bentley asked John Bruce to revise the first edition with “the view of omitting some of the poetry” (*Bentley Archives* IU 23). Two days later Bruce refers to “softnesses” he is eliminating at Bentley’s request. In the second edition, published 29 November 1852, some of the remaining poetry is replaced with John Moodie’s “Canadian Sketches,” a factual chapter on Canada. Such alterations suggest that Bentley may not have been sure which genre the book belonged to: “[he] may have thought it was either an informative immigrant tract, an exotic travel narrative, a wilderness romance, or all three” (Thurston 138). He may have seen a chance to draw a different set of readers by adding “Canadian Sketches” to the second edition because “it broaden[ed] the market appeal to attract serious immigrants and speculators” (136). Additionally, “Jeanie Burns,” which Moodie had written for the first edition to replace “Michael MacBride,” a chapter she asked Bentley to suppress, arrived too late for insertion.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, neither chapter was added to the later editions because they represented “softness” that complicated the more masculine voice Bentley wished to add to the text. Both chapters, however, became a part of *Life in the Clearings* (1853), the sequel to *Roughing It*. The *Blackwoods* review, March 1852, emphasized the appeal of *Roughing It* to both men and women, referring to its factual information for would-be-emigrants, yet also calling to the “Ladies of Britain, deftly embroidering in carpeted saloon, gracefully bending over easel or harp, pressing with nimble finger, your piano’s ivory” (355), to read a fellow sister’s work.

Thurston argues that “The correspondence between Mrs Moodie and Bentley contains no evidence that any of these changes was made on the express wishes of her or her husband” (136). However, alterations to the three Bentley editions of *Roughing It* did take place with Moodie’s written consent. She states in a letter dated April 16, 1852 that

Mr. Bruce wrote to me, requesting me to add a concluding chapter to the work, upon the present state of the country, and likewise to supply a chapter in the place of ‘Michael Macbride,’ which I had suppressed, on account of the Catholics...Mr. Moodie wrote a long and able chapter, on the present condition of the Colony, and I sent a true and pathetic narrative, entitled ‘Jeanie Burns.’ (Ballstadt et al. 124)

Here, Moodie is quick to respond to the request transmitted by John Bruce. Indeed, she explains to Bentley that “My distance from England, and the necessity of being explicit, in order to save time, will I hope...prove a sufficient excuse for the unceremonious manner in which I have addressed you.” She takes the suggestions offered by both Bruce and Bentley very seriously, acknowledging that “These [new] chapters would have proved a very useful, and almost necessary addition to the work,” and that “should it be so fortunate as to reach a second edition,” they should be appended at that time.

Moreover, in a letter dated 20 July 1852, Moodie makes editorial suggestions regarding the placement of chapters:

I have...got a sight of the book...[and] I have gone carefully over the work, and enclose you a few corrections, should the book ever go into a second edition. In such case—and you should deem it advisable, to insert the chapters we sent you; and which I think would add greatly to the general interest of the book, the Sketch of Jeanie Burns, should be placed between

the VI and VII chapters of the first volume, and the portion written by my husband, should end the work. (Ballstadt et al. 126)

Both Moodie and Bentley were concerned with the marketability of this literary capital; *Roughing It* was a commodity that both wanted to see well placed in the literary marketplace. In June 1852, Bentley wrote to Moodie about a sequel to *Roughing It*:

If you could render your picture of the state of affairs in the large towns [and] cities of Canada, interesting to the idle reader, at the same time you make it informing to those who are looking for facts it would be acceptable. Present them to the reader's eye as they were years ago and as they are now, [and] are still every year. I imagine...it might form a good work as a pendant to "Roughing It in the Bush." I would, if I liked it, purchase the copyright of it and it should appear first in the Miscellany. (*Bentley Archives* 16, 40, 82)

From the above letter, it is clear that Bentley is aware of his audience, considering the work's appeal to the "idle reader" and suggesting how this new "picture" should appear to "the reader's eye." He is also directly requesting what he would like to see Moodie create as a sequel to *Roughing It*. Many of the changes to the initial three Bentley editions of *Roughing It*, then, demonstrate the importance placed by all involved on the marketing of the text and on its profitability.

In terms of sales, *Roughing It* was a bestseller for Bentley. Few ledgers survive documenting the first edition's success but a ledger for the second edition attests to the work's initial success. Bentley printed 2500 copies of the first edition, and published the "Second Edition, With Additions" later in 1852 –only nine months after the appearance of the first (*Bentley Archives* 36, 94).

*The Broad Arrow*

Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* was a mixture of genres, like *Roughing It*: "an immigrant's guidebook [and]...an armchair tour with fitful fiction...in addition [to] unusual material" (Hergenhan 31), in terms of the subject matter of a woman convict's life. As with Moodie's book, *The Broad Arrow* appealed to a wide spectrum of readers and therefore, in January 1859, was a promising acquisition for the firm. Caroline Leakey, who had at first considered using the nom de plume of M.A. Dimond but eventually settled with the exotic sounding Oline Keese, signed a contract with Bentley, on 22 January 1859, for half profits for her novel (*Bentley Archives*, 58, 195). The author also agreed to pay five shillings per sheet for any "Corrections in the First Edition," that she might wish to make as the book was being printed. No documentation exists to explain how Leakey ended up publishing with Bentley –there is also no reference to her having an agent as Moodie initially did.

While Leakey and Moodie were both initially offered half profit contracts, Moodie's contract was still better than Leakey's agreement. Moreover, due to the lack of documentation it does not seem that Leakey engaged Bentley as Moodie did, negotiating first the contract and later the editorial changes to be made to the manuscript. However, in *The Saturday Review's* advertisement March 5, 1859, Bentley's list includes *The Broad Arrow* but with the statement "The publication of this work is unavoidably postponed until March 20<sup>th</sup>" (290). In a letter to George Mudie, the bookseller, Bentley also refers to the postponement of the work, which was supposed to be ready for the end of February, according to Leakey's contract (*Bentley Archives* 83, 182). Moreover, the

book was not ready for its second publication date; instead it arrived in stores, according to the advertisement of 9 April 1859, on the 9<sup>th</sup> (451). This course of events suggests, despite the absence of any printing difficulties detailed in any of the Bentley ledgers or documents, that there may in fact have been problems in getting the text ready for publication. The only known alteration that Bentley may have contemplated for the novel was a change in title. Two weeks after its publication, Bentley's "New Publications" list in *The Saturday Review* of April 23, includes the title of the work as *The Story of a Lifer: Passages in the History of a Lifer* (512). It is possible that Bentley was mulling over a title change, but with the book overdue, stuck with the original title, which had been on the contract. The advertisement on April 23, may have been then a slip.

The postponement of *The Broad Arrow* may also have been due to editing that highlighted the book as an unofficial companion piece to George Eliot's *Adam Bede*, a "runaway success" that had been published by Blackwoods in January 1859. *Adam Bede* had gone through three printings by May 1859, and 3250 copies of the novel had sold (Sutherland 190). In *Adam Bede*, Hetty Sorel's death sentence for the murder of her baby is commuted to life in a penal colony. As a result, Sorel abruptly disappears from the novel as she is presumably sent to Australia. Coincidentally, *The Broad Arrow* in many respects represents a sequel to *Adam Bede*, as it follows a female convict, Maida Gwynnham, who is sent to Van Diemen's Land for infanticide. Readers who finished *Adam Bede* and wondered what happened to Hetty were offered, in *The Broad Arrow*, a harrowing story of a female convict's life. It is likely that Bentley was shrewd enough to realize that releasing *The Broad Arrow* at the same time as *Adam Bede* would have



swamped the lesser novel. Instead Bentley may have delayed the publication of *The Broad Arrow* in order to capitalize on the other novel's success, presenting a sister novel to audiences who had read *Adam Bede*, a similar marketing strategy as that of associating Moodie's name with Agnes Strickland. The juxtaposition of *Adam Bede* and *The Broad Arrow* in a review of recent publications in Bentley's *Quarterly*, on July 1859, suggests that on some level connections were made between the two novels. Moreover, *Adam Bede* had already been favourably reviewed in the January *Quarterly* by Anne Mozley (Showalter 94). Having positively reviewed *Adam Bede* in January, it was unusual to reconsider the novel so soon, unless it was to opportunely compare *The Broad Arrow* to *Adam Bede*.

The reviewer of both *Adam Bede* and *The Broad Arrow* in the July *Quarterly* notes that the two novels present vastly different "pictures of life and society" (466). *Adam Bede* receives a qualified and cautious recommendation. The novel contains "much original thought –there is, in fact, so much genuineness of a painstaking, heavy sort, that though it often leads to a total want of dignity in his models, or of any quality that can win sympathy, we respect the author's motives, and read on with a determination." *The Broad Arrow*, in contrast, is unconditionally recommended in the same article as a moral novel that informs the reader of the evils of transportation. Leakey's novel is commended as realistic, whereas Eliot's novel contains "[t]he absence of some informing power to give life and interest to the mass of incident." The reviewer indirectly compares the two novels at the end of the article by arguing that in this age of writing "that surpasses its predecessors...the balance of talent and success is in favour of those who have a moral purpose and a distinct standard of right and wrong" (471). *Adam*

*Bede* at times lacks “dignity”; however, *The Broad Arrow* epitomizes a moral novel because Leakey adheres “to propriety [rather] than...discarding it.”

The publication of *The Broad Arrow* may also have been delayed due to C.E. Mudie’s interest in the novel and his desire to promote novels “as sources of amusement and information” (Sutherland 25). Mudie exerted a tremendous influence on the book trade throughout the mid-nineteenth century, often asking for changes to books that did not meet his standards. *Barchester Towers*, for example, was “extensively purged of its ‘vulgarity’ and ‘exaggeration’” because of “Mudieitis” or the fear “[t]he notoriously straight-laced, hymn-writing Mudie” would refuse to stock the book in his lending libraries (27). The advertisements for his lending library noted “Novels of objectionable character or inferior ability are almost invariably excluded” (26). Mudie may have then been interested in *The Broad Arrow* as an exemplary moral novel. The exact extent of his support for *The Broad Arrow* and his involvement in the publication process remain unknown. However, in a letter dated 23 February 1859, Bentley wrote to Mudie “I have been reflecting since I had the pleasure of seeing you yesterday, that a plan more satisfactory to you as well as to myself may be adopted in regard to my new publication” (*Bentley Archives* 40, 83, 182). Mudie suggests a new date of publication and price for Leakey’s novel, which is named in the letter, and may have also made other suggestions to Bentley regarding the manuscript. In a later letter from Leakey addressed to Richard Bentley, dated 13 May 1879, she refers to Mudie’s earlier support and his willingness to promote other books by her because of their moral and religious nature:

Here I am again after so many years, can you kindly tell me if my old friend Mr. C. E. Mudie and his library are still in existence. I want very

much to know in order to claim a promise he made me in the "Broad Arrow" time that if I published again he would pay all honours to my new work. (*Bentley Archives* IU 39, Correspondence; emphasis Leakey's)

The publication of *The Broad Arrow* may have been delayed as Bentley strove to shape the novel in a way that would garner Mudie's support and would guarantee sales, as Mudie's lending libraries were a major purchaser of books.<sup>13</sup>

Unlike *Roughing It in the Bush*, the first edition of *The Broad Arrow* was not a financial success (*Bentley Archives*, 36, 68). Seven hundred and fifty copies of the two-volume book were printed at a cost of just over £274. Forty-five of the two-volume books were given away, while 239 copies sold at a price of six shillings, leaving a loss of eighty-seven pounds, four shillings and two pence. While the remaining 466 copies were sold over the next three years, Bentley never recouped his initial loss, selling most as remainders. Consequently, Leakey, due to the half profits arrangement, never received a penny for *The Broad Arrow*. While *Roughing It* was reprinted within months of the first issue, twenty-seven years passed before a second edition of *The Broad Arrow* was published and turned a profit for Bentley, but not for Leakey who had died five years earlier, on 12 July 1881.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Edition Changes**

In “Changing Moodie: Author Construction in a ‘Canadian Classic’,” Julie Beddoes argues “Moodie’s change of character and nationality was necessary to her acceptance by a different audience buying books in a different market” (371). The English editions of *Roughing It* presented Moodie as an English lady suffering in the backwoods of Canada. The American edition of *Roughing It*, through excisions to the text, changed the book into a frontier romance and Moodie into a western heroine. Finally, the Canadian edition of *Roughing It* presented Moodie as a Canadian author. “Different versions were offered in the three national markets” (363), and these editions marked the evolving status of *Roughing It* from a popular English book to a Canadian literary classic. Similarly, the different editions of *The Broad Arrow* offered in the English and Australian markets signaled Leakey’s evolving status from an English author into an Australian author. After Bentley first edited both books, subsequent publishers issued further editions that accommodated their various audiences.

This chapter examines the major nineteenth century colonial and American editions of Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush* and Leakey’s *The Broad Arrow*. In Chapter Two, I reviewed the changes made to the first three British editions of *Roughing It*. I now detail the textual changes made to the American and Canadian editions of *Roughing*

*It*—changes that altered the book’s focus and recast it for a new audience.

Likewise, I examine the differences between the English and Australian editions of *The Broad Arrow* and how each edition encoded different messages for English and Australian audiences. However, the history of the library editions of both *Roughing It*, and *The Broad Arrow* is not documented here; instead, the library editions are considered separately in the following chapter.

### *Roughing It in the Bush*

Through editorial alterations, each subsequent Bentley edition of *Roughing It* consolidated the book’s position as entertaining yet instructive immigrant literature. Before *Roughing It in the Bush* was even published, changes were made in order to emphasize the desolation that awaited immigrants on arrival in Canada and make Moodie’s plight more sympathetic to a British audience. For example, in the first version of “A Visit to Grosse Isle” published in *The Victoria Magazine* (1847), Moodie writes about arriving in Quebec City and everyone except her husband, herself and their baby leaving the ship to go ashore (15). However, in *Roughing It*, Moodie writes of being left completely alone on the ship: “My husband went off with the boats...I was left alone with my baby...Even Oscar, the Captain’s scotch terrier...became possessed of the land mania, and was away with the rest” (CEEECT 16). The second version of “A Visit to Grosse Isle” creates a sympathetic image of mother and child, which was a familiar one for a European audience.<sup>14</sup> The image of a mother and child alone on the eve of their arrival in Canada then serves to frame the rest of the book as one woman’s struggle to see her family through the isolating Canadian wilderness.

Similarly, other changes were made to the subsequent British editions that promoted the work as emigrant literature. Poetry was excluded and John Dunbar Moodie's "Canadian Sketches," a factual chapter on "the present state of the country" (Ballstadt et al. 124), was added to the second edition. The alterations rid the book of much of the "softness" Bentley had originally objected to in favour of a *Roughing It* that could be read as an interesting yet serious warning against the perils of immigration for a middle-class British lady and her family.

In contrast to the British editions, the American edition of *Roughing It* excised many of the passages that dealt with immigration, and presented readers with a "true romance" (CEECT xxxiii). On 15 July 1852, George Putnam brought out a cheap American edition "published in two Parts... in Putnam's 'Semi-Monthly Library for Travellers and the Fireside series'" (CEECT xxxii). After receiving a letter from Putnam, Moodie wrote to Bentley on 20 July of that same year, informing him about this new edition:

From the publisher, of the American edition, of the work, Geo. P. Putnam, I received a few days ago, the following very polite offer, of sending me some of the *stolen brooms*. Now, I believe, in strict justice, that the *said brooms*, should belong to you, as the rightful owner of the work. However, I mean to take in good part, his splendid donation, of my own goods and chattels.<sup>15</sup> (Ballstadt et al. 126)

Moodie includes with her letter to Bentley a copy of the one she received from Putnam, and while offering Bentley a couple of the "*stolen brooms*," or copies of the American edition, admits that she plans to use a number of the copies for herself. She also recognizes that success for her means success for Bentley: "The American press speaks *most highly* of the work.... The work bids fair to be as popul[ar] in the States, as I hear, it

is at home. This will no[t] [bring] any *pecuniary benefit*, on either you or me, but it may help to win me a name, and in this way, serve us both” (Ballstadt et al. 127).<sup>16</sup> Neither Moodie nor Bentley received any money for the American edition, but Moodie quickly recognized the benefits for both herself and Bentley of an increased readership.<sup>17</sup>

In his letter to Moodie, George Putnam “trust[s] [she]... will not be displeased with the liberties taken by the Editor, if sins, they are sins of omission only” (Ballstadt et al. 127). Moreover, in the preface to the Putnam edition, the editor Charles Briggs argues for “careful excision of certain passages of a purely personal or political character, which could have possessed no interest for the American reader...the loss of which will be compensated by the gain of a larger audience than she could have otherwise hoped for” (CEEECT xxxiii). Moodie’s response to Putnam’s edition is that she is “very curious to see the Yankee omissions.” She exhibits no anger in the letter over “the liberties taken” by Briggs, which included the removal of many of the negative comments Moodie made regarding Americans. He also “deleted Dunbar’s ‘Ould Dhragoon’ from the second volume, omitted many of the epigraphs to chapters, and retained only six of the thirty-seven poems included in the Bentley edition” (CEEECT xxxii).

Similar to the way Bentley altered the British editions for a British audience, Putnam and Briggs used the excisions to create a version of *Roughing It* that would appeal to the American public (Beddoes 370). For example, sections were removed from “The Wilderness and Our Indian Friends” chapter, which deals with the character of the Natives and European treatment of them:

The cunning which they display in their contests with their enemies...the strictest honour...the genuine Indian never utters falsehood, and never employs flattery.... His worst traits are those which he has in common with the wild animals of the forest.... It is a melancholy truth, and deeply to be lamented, that the vicinity of European settlers has always produced a very demoralizing effect upon the Indians. (CEECT 306)

In the 1850's Natives began to organize against an American government that had enacted in 1830 the Indian Removal Act, which forcibly removed Natives from their ancestral lands. Consequently Briggs felt it necessary to remove this and similar passages, in which Moodie admires the Natives, in order to better focus the work as a romance, a non-fiction account of a pioneer woman's struggles. The American edition introduced Moodie and Bentley to a new readership, suggesting future prosperity in the US as "[t]he Putnam edition [achieved] a very considerable popularity...[keeping] the work in print at least until 1854, when an issue dated that same year included the statement '9<sup>th</sup> thousand' on its title page" (CEECT xxxii).

The 1871 Canadian edition of *Roughing It* was also edited in direct response to a new market. Moodie first, however, had to obtain permission from Richard Bentley to reprint the work, stating June 1871:

You my dear friend, could do me a very great service, if it does not interfere with you own business. I have a prospect of publishing a Canadian Edition of all my works, in a series, or library. And you most kindly restored to me all the Copyrights of those works published by your house but that of *Roughing It in the Bush*, and *The World Before Them*. But these two, are just the ones most required for the speculation. Could you grant me the privilege of using these, strictly confining the sale of the books to the Dominion, I shall be greatly indebted to you for this great favour, though I feel that it is too much to ask of you. Yet, the proceeds



which we expect from the intended publication would place me beyond that chilling grasp of poverty. (Ballstadt et al. 289-90)

Bentley agreed to Moodie's request, to which she then responded: "I can scarcely find words to express my thanks for the very great favour you have so generously conferred upon me. May God reward you a hundred fold" (Ballstadt et al. 291). Working with the company Hunter Rose, she then set out to reprint her Canadian works, "as a sort of experiment." George Rose wanted to begin the series with *Roughing It*, because it had "received the sanction of the public" (293). Whether she was successful or not, Moodie wrote to Bentley, "my gratitude and thankfulness to you will remain the same" (291).

For the rights to publish an edition of *Roughing It* in Canada, Moodie was paid "200 dollars for the publication of 2500 copies and a Royalty of 4 cents on every copy they may require over the above number" (Ballstadt et al. 299). Moodie also took on, at the request of Hunter Rose, the responsibility of supervising the edition and reducing the manuscript to one volume while retaining the choice of which material was to be removed. While *Roughing It's* initial publication in 1852 met with generally positive reviews in Britain, it was criticized in Canada for its sometimes unflattering portraits of Canadians and Canadian life (CEEECT xxxi). Therefore, in order to reposition the book toward a potentially hostile market, Moodie chose to edit out many of the negative, anti-Canadian comments contained in the book, such as: "The simplicity, the fond, confiding faith of childhood, is unknown in Canada. There are no children here" (135). As a result, chapters such as "Uncle Joe and His Family" were cleansed of negative remarks regarding Joe's children. Moreover, to respond to some of the negative criticism, Moodie

wrote a new introduction to the book titled "Canada: A Contrast," which compares the Canada of 1871 with that of forty years earlier, thus softening the impact of offensive material by locating it in the past: "The many, who have condemned the work without reading it, will be surprised to find that not one word has been said to prejudice intending emigrants from making Canada their home" (CEECT 528). What is interesting about this new addition to *Roughing It* is that it bears a striking similarity to a suggestion made by Bentley to Moodie nearly twenty years earlier regarding the work's sequel, *A Life in the Clearings*. In a letter to Moodie, written in June 1852, Bentley advises her on what should be included in future editions and sequels: "Present them to the reader's eye as they were years ago and as they are now, [and] are still every year. I imagine...it might form a good work as a pendant to *Roughing It in the Bush*" (*Bentley Archives* 40, 82, 228).

In addition to the inclusion of "Canada: A Contrast," the Canadian edition eliminated all of John Moodie's contributions to *Roughing It* -- "Canadian Sketches," "The Ould Dhragoon," and his poems. Thurston reads these excisions as an attempt on Moodie's part to reclaim the text for herself: "she reduces *Roughing It* from a collaborative production in prose and verse to a story of one woman's trials in the pioneering past" (163). This interpretation of the facts seems to ignore Moodie's own account of her motive for editing out her husband's work. In a letter to Bentley on 29 June 1871, she raised the subject of her deceased husband's writings:

It is a singular thing, that in looking over Mr. Moodie's papers, I found a large portion of a work on Canada, written in his very best style.... It is valuable as a perfect picture of the Colony of the period. I am surprised,

that he never communicated to me, that he had commenced such a work, and yet there must be in this fragment, matter enough to fill a good-sized Octavo volume. To which might be added many interesting letters written to me during his absence on the Frontier. (Ballstadt et al. 290)

This letter makes clear that Moodie was removing her husband's material from *Roughing It*, in order to create a tribute to John Moodie with the publication of his own work. Moreover, on a more practical note, this new work under her husband's name would bring in more money. Moodie wrote to Bentley on 10 August 1871, "I will write a short memoir of my dear husband, by way of preface and arrange the papers on Canada he left unfinished, and send the MSS for your perusal. His contributions to *Roughing It*, would come better in...[a] work entirely his own" (Ballstadt et al. 293). However, Moodie's plan to edit John's memoir was never mentioned again in her letters, and it can be assumed the idea was probably dropped due to a lack of interest in the writings of her husband.

### *The Broad Arrow*

After Richard Bentley first published *The Broad Arrow* in 1859, a Tasmanian reprint, issued by Walch and Son, quickly followed in 1860. Unlike *Roughing It* which balanced entertainment with instruction, the first edition of *The Broad Arrow* was a two volume 847-page religious tract that Anna Rutherford argues leaves us "in no doubt that the main purpose of the book is not to entertain but to warn and save" (250). Rutherford contends that over a third of the novel "consists of authorial intrusion of a...moralizing nature." For example, the first chapter ends with the author asking, "Where will it end?"

Would that the question could be sounded through the length and breath of the land! Would that it could be whispered to the ear of every dissolute man!" (I 15). Leakey warns the reader not to follow in Maida's footsteps: her novel *whispers* in readers' ears of the horrors that await anyone who strays from the straight and narrow. After Maida becomes pregnant with Norwell's child, Leakey insists "You must supply the blanks in Maida's history; the blanks which these scenes leave. Happy are you if you cannot do so!" (I 23). Speaking directly to the reader, Leakey once again warns the reader not to follow Maida's example, arguing that only those readers who cannot imagine Maida's fate are safe from sin.

The 1860 Tasmanian reprint of the novel seems to be identical to the original Bentley edition, unlike the second edition of *The Broad Arrow* (1886), issued for the Australian market.<sup>18</sup> For Bentley, Gertrude Townsend Mayer abridged the second edition to a single volume. Over four hundred pages were cut from *The Broad Arrow* –a drastic change in comparison to the alterations made to the various editions of *Roughing It in the Bush*. Jenna Mead argues "The abridgement aimed at producing a popular novel, romantic in temper, exotic in location and colonial in sensibility" (7). Mayer's abridgement toned down Leakey's moralizing as well as her criticism of the penal system:

she abbreviated and, in some instances, excised from *The Broad Arrow* material that made the novel individual and compelling, namely, its thorough-going critique of the convict system...a sharp critique of middle-class hypocrisy, including a section on punitive sectarianism, often staged in the form of inquiry and debate; an exposé of sexual abuse and, rare...for the period, a rejection of officially sanctioned genocide. (Mead 7)

Four complete chapters were cut from the novel, as well as many passages that were critical of colonial practices. The 1860 Tasmanian edition of *The Broad Arrow* had met with “local disapproval,” and likely aware of this, Bentley had many of the inflammatory passages removed (Winter 150). The abridgement also attempted to shift the focus from an English woman struggling to survive her life sentence to a romance set amidst the “precise details of everyday life in a convict settlement...[that] acquire a patina of ‘local colour’” (Mead 7). Mayer’s abridged *The Broad Arrow* was subtitled a “Companion to Marcus Clarke’s Famous Novel, *For The Term of His Natural Life*.” Both novels were sold as part of Bentley’s Australian Library, which was advertised as books “by Australian authors...[which] treat of Australian or New Zealand incidents” (*British Library* 59629, 40-5). In the publisher’s notice in *The Broad Arrow*, Bentley described the author as “a lady long resident in Hobart Town,” neglecting to mention Leakey lived there for only five years. This was one of his strategies to emphasize the Australian qualities of both the author and her book.

Many of Mayer’s changes “made the story tighter” (Winter 151), ridding *The Broad Arrow* of the moralizing passages where Leakey speaks directly to the reader. However other excisions drastically changed the story. For example, Chapter Two describes Maida’s youth. In the first edition the chapter is sixteen pages long; in the second edition it is a page and a half. Cut from the text is Leakey’s account of Maida’s widowed father who at first could not love her:

To Mr. Gwynnham his wife's death was a blow from which he never entirely recovered. One singular effect of his grief was the indifference he exhibited to the society of little Maida...she shall share everything with her father but his heart...A child of the most ardent affections by nature...[h]er father's indifference became a source of sorrow which she could not resist. (I 16-7)

Also missing from the second edition is Maida's speech to a dove, which foreshadows her search for love at any cost. Maida tells the pet "Happy bird! you have somebody to love you; Oh, mamma! mamma! why did you leave me? Your little Maida has no one to love *her*" (I 18). Maida then storms into the house and confronts her father: "If *you* will not love me I will get some one else to! I *will* be loved! I *must* be loved!" The two sections provide important background information regarding the reasons for Maida's affair with Norwell. With the explanation removed from the second edition Maida is less sympathetic, losing the psychological shadings of her character.

The second edition also eliminates the opening of Chapter Three when Maida's starving and sickly child dies:

The night seemed very long, yet all too swiftly it sped for the watcher, who sat silently counting the heavy sighs, which one by one doled out an infant's life. The heavings were fearfully audible –up, down, fainter, fainter, and the long night seemed longer still, yet all too short for the weary watcher. The clock had struck one; two hours more, and still that heaving breath alternately drew hope from the mother's soul, and sent a swift fear through it. (I 49)

The section illustrates Maida vigilantly watching over her infant, as he labours for air.

The 1886 edition excises this passage and begins with Maida's baby already dead: "The

morning light shimmered coyly through the closed pane, and fell upon a lovely pair –death in its reality cold...the clock had struck five –still Maida bent over the little sleeper, unconscious she was watched by Norwell...Horror-stricken he stood at the door” (17). Moreover, the previous chapter had originally ended with Leakey speaking directly to the reader and promising to write no more of Norwell the seducer until “he again shall force himself on our unwilling attention” (I 48). The second edition eliminates this paragraph and instead ends on a foreboding note as Maida asks God to save her baby: “O God! lay not this sin to my charge –it is to save one dearer than my life. Do Thou acquit me, and I can bear the lot of shame” (16). As a result, the second edition implies that Maida has killed her infant because she is afraid of what would happen to her child if she went to prison for the forgery committed in order to help Norwell.

When Maida is charged with infanticide in the first edition, it is made clear that she is innocent; however, in the second edition this is not evident. Maida’s role as the good convict with whom the reader sympathizes is, in the second edition, complicated by the excision of passages that encode Maida’s innocence. Chapter Five, which addresses Maida’s innocence and the circumstantial evidence in her trial, is eliminated from the 1886 edition. In this chapter Bob Pragg, who arrested Maida and whom the reader meets later in the novel as a convict, debates Maida’s innocence. He argues

I learn by ‘xperience. She an’t the right sort for murder. She’s pluck enough, but no natturl relish that way. You sees that in her eye, that looks straight out on a body; no this ways and that ways with her. She’d do for herself in a jiffy, if needs be, or she’d fight like a tiger for a feller in distress...but she’d never lay a finger on a helpless mortal, much less on her own hincient baby. (I 68)

With the elimination of this chapter and other similar sections, Maida's unjust transportation in the first edition is no longer unjust: the second edition, through excision, creates a guilty Maida. Consequently, the criticisms of the penal system that are exposed throughout Maida's story are problematized: should the reader believe in and feel sorry for the unpleasant treatment of a convict who is guilty?

Other chapters that are eliminated from the Australian edition of *The Broad Arrow* include two chapters that contain a subplot involving Norwell and Mary Doveton, a beautiful young innocent whom Norwell wants to seduce. A chapter explaining why Lucy Grenlow was being transported to the colonies was also cut. Lucy is the young woman Maida befriends on the voyage out to Australia on the convict ship. In addition, Mayer excised many of the scenes set in England.

Also missing from the Australian edition is half of Chapter Eleven, in Volume II, which is about the death of Emmeline, the daughter of the widower Maida works for in Hobart. Cut is a description of Port Arthur's cemetery, the Isle of the Dead, where Emmeline is buried and passages where Leakey argues that convicts can only find freedom from their life of servitude through death. The chapter ends with the author suggesting

many a convict stops on his path, to cast a sigh towards the shore of the lonely Island. Many a captive pines for its hallowed rest, to attain which some have laid violent hands on themselves.

All yearn towards this peaceful spot, for it is known of all that here is heard no more the voice of the oppressor. Here the prisoners rest together



and the servant is free from his master; 'Here the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' (II 388).

Only in death can "peace and freedom...be achieved" (Mead 8). Sympathetic passages for the convicts are either missing in the second edition or have been toned down.

Whereas the first edition was encoded with criticism of the penal system, the second edition eliminates much of this criticism, instead focussing on a romance set amongst the "local colour" of the penal settlements. *The Broad Arrow* was modified by Mayer, at Bentley's behest, from a moral novel *cum* religious tract into a popular colonial romance similar to the writings of Tasma, Ada Cambridge and Rosa Praed (Clarke 142).

## **Chapter Four**

### **Library Editions**

The fourth edition of *Roughing It in the Bush* and the second edition of *The Broad Arrow* were both issued as part of cheap publishers' series. Edinburgh publisher Archibald Constable produced the first inexpensive "library" or series in the 1820s. Constable wanted to produce cheap books for lower middle and working class readers, and in the process provide the book trade with a larger audience: in 1825 he declared "there is no market among them that's worth one's thinking about. They are contented with a review or a magazine, or at best with a paltry subscription to some circulating library...But if I live for half-a-dozen years, I'll make it as impossible that there should not be a good library in every decent house in Britain" (Gettmann 29). The books came out every month, so individuals could slowly amass a collection of books, which were already viewed as status symbols. Books were commodities, cultural capital, which indicated or projected middle-class social status: homes with libraries were "decent." In this chapter I trace the history of Moodie's and Leakey's works as part of different Libraries and how Bentley participated in the trend to market books toward the lower middle-class reader, both in England and in the Colonies.

Constable's Library, which was a mix of novels and history, was "immediately followed by numerous imitators," including Colburn and Bentley (31). Yet

**publishers were still “uncertain as to the needs and interests of the readers whom they hope[d] to attract” (32). Believing that the readers wanted to be educated instead of entertained, many series focussed on historical and educational books. Other publishers, such as William Chambers, saw it as their duty to promote “the march of the mind” and publish “cheap literature, for the benefit of the working-classes” (Brantlinger 96). Bentley and Colburn’s first Library, the National Library (1830), capitalized on the theory that readers primarily wanted educational reading matter. However, the series lost money, as did all the other series the firm published –until the Standard Novels (1831), which was comprised largely of reprints of best-selling novels, such as Jane Austen’s works. With a focus on reprints, Colburn and Bentley avoided “the risk of judging new manuscripts...the venture [then] was essentially one of marketing” (45). Bentley’s libraries, after the success of the Standard Novels, followed a similar formula, mixing novels with histories and travel accounts –two other popular genres. Bentley took previously successful books originally issued as three volume sets and repackaged them in one volume, selling them for less than three shillings (48).**

### ***Roughing It in the Bush***

**The fourth edition of *Roughing It*, which sold for two shillings, was part of the Popular New Series of 1857, and was similar to the third edition (1854) which had reduced the book to one volume by eliminating most of the poetry.<sup>19</sup> Bentley had also added an appendix to the second and subsequent editions, “Canadian Sketches,” written by J.W.D. Moodie, which was about the present state of Canada (*List of Publications* 846). Ten thousand copies were printed of the fourth edition and by 1858 over 1300**

copies had sold. Moreover, it is noted in the *List of Publications* that by 1858 over 6,000 copies of the various editions of *Roughing It* had sold since its initial publication in 1852 (846).

The third book in the Popular New Series, *Roughing It* was part of a seemingly eclectic mix of twelve novels and travel accounts or memoirs, which were published monthly over the course of one year. Mainly reprints of popular novels or travel accounts, the Popular New Series included three women authors: Moodie, Jemima Tautphoeus, and Helen Mackenzie. The series also included Godfrey Mundy's *Our Antipodes*, a work about life in Australia, as well as two novels by Charles Reade. The library capitalized on the demand for novels and travel accounts: five of the twelve books were travel accounts, and the rest novels. Bentley offered the reader *cum* consumer an affordable sample of his best publications. The Library made it easy for anyone to own a series of books, which were middle-class "symbols of social refinement" (Rubin xv).

In *A Feeling for Books*, Janice Radway traces the rise of middlebrow culture in the 1920s, arguing that the origin of middlebrow literature was in the cheap series of the nineteenth century. Readers were offered series books as "verbal real estate"(137). Books were cultural capital and book ownership was a material sign of access to and inclusion in the middle class (Guillory viii). Middlebrow culture was the "genial middle ground" between high art and vulgarity (Rubin xii). Middlebrow readers wanted to become "cultured" and cheap series, as "packaged cultural experiences," offered them that opportunity (xv).

Bentley's New Popular Series was a mixture of popular and informative books, which offered the reader fiction and, with the various travel accounts, a packaged

experience of the world outside of England. Bentley's series allowed armchair travelers to read about the British Empire: the reader who would never travel to Canada or India could experience colonial life via *Roughing It*, or Mackenzie's *Life in the Mission*. Knowledgeable readers of "taste" and culture could learn about Canadian and Indian life.

The series made Bentley a modest profit: Reade's novels were very popular, though other works in the series lost money, such as *Roughing It*, which seemed not to sell as well as the previous editions of the book (*Bentley Archives* 36 94). While 1300 copies of the work sold in 1857, Bentley still lost over £31 that year and a further £54 in the next two years. The margin for profit was small on the cheap editions: often 2000 or more would have to sell before realizing any profit (Gettmann 52-53). In the case of *Roughing It*, copyright payments of £30 in 1857, another £20 at the end of 1857, and another £20 in 1858 and again in 1859, may have been the reason behind the loss. It seems that even though Bentley owned copyright, he paid Moodie over £90 "in recognition of the book's success" (CEECT xxxv). As a result, the ledger for the second edition of *Roughing It* is deceiving because it seems to indicate *Roughing It* was one of the series works that did not sell. However, by 1859 all the copies of the book were gone and the loss of £85 was due, it seemed, to the payments to Moodie –without the payments the work would have netted Bentley a small profit of £5.

### *The Broad Arrow*

In the mid-nineteenth century, remainders of cheap series often found their way to the colonies, including Canada and Australia. In the colonies, as in England, the ability

to read and to own books comprised “a surrogate index to respectability” (Askew and Hubber 112). In “The Colonial Reader Observed: Reading in its Cultural Context,” Askew and Hubber argue that reading was linked in Australia with “self-improvement” (114). Moralists promoted wholesome texts that educated and entertained; however the reading public preferred novels (115). While some questioned the value of fiction, generally books were viewed as key to the “advancement of true culture in the colonies” (115). Reading and book ownership were not just signs of class attainment, but in Australia signs of cultural attainment: “Among the well-to-do, reading was often central as a leisure activity and books and the furniture for storing them were symbols of status... Squatters commonly maintained libraries in their homes; in such libraries volumes of Shakespeare, Dickens, Fenimore Cooper, Walter Scott and Macaulay appear to have been prominent” (127). Moreover, the demand was for popular British authors. The Australian market accounted for the largest portion of British book exports: “from 1855 to 1873 the proportion of books exported to Australia ranged from 20% to 30%, and from 1874 to 1897 from 30% to 40%” (116). In Canada the demand for British books was met to a degree by American pirated editions, which were also sold in Australia, but not in the same quantity. As a result, Canada did not import as many books from England as did the geographically isolated Australia.

Initially, English publishers sent remainders and excess stock to be sold in Australia, but with the demand of a large Australian reading public, various publishers, including George Bentley, who had taken over the firm in the 1860's, began to view the colony as a new market for which books could be expressly manufactured. Bentley's foray into the Australian markets ended in 1886 with him resurrecting *The Broad Arrow*

and repackaging it as part of his Australian Library. This second edition, unlike the first, sold well. However before looking at this edition, it is essential that I start with Bentley's arrangement to print cheap editions of Mrs. Wood's *East Lynne*, his initial Australian book venture.

George Robertson, the primary publisher in Australia with offices in Melbourne and Sydney, as well as a wholesale and purchasing office in London, approached George Bentley with a proposal for a cheap issue of Mrs. Henry Wood's novels. In the 1870s Robertson's London office was run by E.A. Petherick, who on Robertson's behalf started a correspondence with George Bentley that would culminate twelve years later in the creation of Bentley's Australian Library. On 12 September 1873, Petherick wrote to Bentley:

I beg to submit a proposal for a special cheap issue [of Mrs. Henry Wood's Novels] for Australia which G.R. feels sure would not only on his part result in large sales but also ensure, respectable and commensurate profit to the owners of the copyright. The expense of production (the works being stereotype) in the form G.R. suggests, only illustrated wrapper boards would not be more than 36 to 38 [pounds] per 1000, and the number I would guarantee to take of each story would be from 2000 to 3000, or not less than 35000 to 50000 volumes in all –at such a fair and reasonable price that should pay 25% to 30% for the outlay and exclusive privilege of the cheap edition to be sold only in Australia and New Zealand, for a period of four years, more or less; that is, G.R. would wish it part of the contract that no cheaper editions should be issued in England during the time agreed upon. (*Bentley Archives*, UI 49)

Furthermore, Petherick tries to interest Bentley by noting that other publishers are already reprinting novels for the Australian market: "a similar arrangement has been made with

the publishers of 'Ouidas' novels (for smaller quantities however) which...is still a speculation of G.R.'s part." In fact it was Robertson who had started the trend in the 1860s of applying to British publishers for permission to reprint "the latest novels in special editions at very cheap rates" (Holroyd 42).

In a letter dated 30 March 1873, Bentley responded to the proposal, writing that Mr. Wood, the writer's son, had visited and was favorable to the plan for cheap editions. Consequently an agreement was struck to reprint Mrs. Wood's works for the Australian market. Bentley, however, was resistant to the printing of cheap colonial editions, arguing in later dealings with Robertson that two shilling and sixpence books were not profitable. Bentley usually sold the copyright of a book rather than publish a cheap colonial edition. For instance, Bentley offered Robertson the Australian copyright of *Cherry Ripe*, by H.B. Mathers, for fifty guineas. Added to the bottom of the letter written in 1873, is a note that states, "Bentley will not be making any two-shilling edition[s] of *Cherry Ripe*! –as you are aware we very seldom publish any works under 6/- in price" (*Bentley Archives* 41, 85, 61).

Following the Mrs. Wood deal, Petherick approached Bentley, on 25 November 1875, about a partnership between himself and Robertson. The Australian bookseller wanted to "put your imprint on any work of good character and in keeping with your own publications –which he might be issuing in Melbourne" (*Bentley Archives* UI, 49). Bentley agreed and Petherick passed along, on 8 April 1876, Robertson's "great pleasure for the privilege of using your name, (i.e. Richard Bentley and Son) on the title page of any book he may issue, subject to conditions stipulated –that it shall be high class work, either Voyages or Travels or Works of Fiction, and desiring me to assure you that the



privilege will not be used in any way that can passably be distasteful to you”

(*Bentley Archives* UI, 49).

Colonial authors often sought publication in the English language publishing centre, London. A London publisher meant access for authors, such as Marcus Clarke, Thomas Haliburton and Susanna Moodie, to a larger marketplace and a larger readership, as well as copyright protection. But why would George Robertson want to ally himself with the Bentley firm? Robertson gained prestige by being linked to Bentley, who was Publisher in Ordinary to the Queen.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, by having access to the Bentley imprint, Robertson then could print books in Australia and send them to England. The Bentley name became a standard that guaranteed that the colonial publisher's works would not be overlooked by the reviewers, as was the case with the original Australian edition of Clarke's *His Natural Life* (1874). Robertson sent, at Clarke's request, two hundred and fifty copies to England, before either had received a copy of Bentley's contract that stipulated “Mr Robertson send *no* copies for sale in England” (Hergenhan 61). Clarke wrote, 21 April 1875, “I was ignorant of the condition and asked Mr Robertson to send home some copies for review. He sent home 250 which did not sell...nor did any English journal review the work.” Bentley's edition of *His Natural Life* (1875), while not selling any better, was not ignored by London journalists: there were reviews, for example, in *The Spectator* and *Athenaeum*.

What did Bentley gain from the agreement with Robertson? The deal meant that due to the close ties between the firms, Robertson bought large numbers of Bentley publications. Robertson also allowed Bentley to slowly enter the emerging Australian book market, which other British firms had already entered: “In the ‘sixties, most leading

British publishers had introduced 'Colonial terms' –they sold the latest novels in special editions at very cheap rates" (Holroyd 42). Through the deal Bentley secured an eminent position in Robertson's bookstores, the busiest in Australia at the time. Moreover, when Robertson published a work that Bentley was interested in but did not want to take the risk of publishing, copies of the work could then be sent to England and sold under Bentley's name. For instance, Bentley did not want to publish a memorial edition of Marcus Clarke's writing, which was eventually published by Robertson. However, in a letter to Hamilton Mackinnon, dated 3 October 1885, "a small number" of the books were requested for the English market (*Bentley Archives* 42, 86, 80).

Robertson could also act on Bentley's behalf in the Australian colonies and in New Zealand. One of the largest problems in the Australian book trade of the 1870's that affected colonial and English publishers alike was "constant breaches of British copyright by pirate American publishers" (Holroyd 27). Copyright law did not satisfactorily extend outside of England. So when informed about pirate American copies of Mrs. Wood's *East Lynne* being sold in Christchurch New Zealand, George Bentley wrote to George Robertson who then acted on his behalf to stop the piracy. On 15 May 1880, Robertson wrote to the Collector of Customs in Christchurch New Zealand and fought to have the pirate editions confiscated (Holroyd 28).

Bentley owned the rights to Marcus Clarke's *His Natural Life*, which had originally been published in 1875 to critical but not financial success. Marcus Clarke died 2 August 1881 and immediately thereafter Hamilton Mackinnon, who represented Mrs. Clarke, wrote to Bentley inquiring about the possibility of a cheap edition for the English and Australian markets (*Bentley Archives* 42, 86, 80). In 1882, with interest

growing in the deceased Clarke, Bentley reprinted a thousand copies of the work, now retitled *For the Term of His Natural Life*. However, on 29 March 1883, he wrote to Mackinnon that “[o]ur only sale of “His Natural Life” is from Australia. If Mrs. Clarke were to reprint, our sale would stop altogether” (*Bentley Archives* 41,85, 389). Bentley was under pressure from Mrs. Clarke to publish a cheap edition of Clarke’s novel particularly for the Australian market, which he felt was financially not viable. On 24 June 1884, Bentley wrote:

Your letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of May is duly at hand. The matter of a cheap edition of “His Natural Life” was carefully considered both with regard to Mrs. Clarke’s interest and our own, and as there was, and still is a satisfactory sale of the more expensive form. It was not thought wise to jeopardize this by issuing the work in a less remunerative form. It is hardly necessary to point out to you that the proportional yield, though on a much smaller number of copies, is greater in the 6/- form than it would be in the 2/6-, and that once the 2/6 edition is in the market, should any miscalculation have arisen as to its sale, it would be practically impossible to revert to the 6/- form. Apart from this we have no bias in the matter, and in consequence of your letter will consult Mr. Robertson on the subject, as his opinion, being on the spot would be of special value. (*Bentley Archives* 41, 85, 452)

Robertson was favorable to the production of cheap editions. But it was Mrs. Clarke threatening Bentley with the importation of American pirate editions of *For The Term of His Natural Life* –that would sell for 2/6– which finally pushed Bentley to produce an inexpensive edition of Clarke’s novel (*Bentley Archives* 42, 86, 50). With Robertson and Mrs. Clarke both in favour of a cheap edition, Bentley decided “even if the prospects are not quite favourable as they should be, to stretch a point to bring out a cheap Australian edition” (*Bentley Archives* 42, 86, 50).<sup>21</sup>

In 1885, the first year the cheap edition of *For the Term of His Natural Life* was printed, nine thousand copies were sold in Australia. Bentley and Robertson capitalized on this by adding to the verso of the title page, in one of the early imprints “This edition is especially issued by the Proprietors of the Copyright for circulation in the Australian colonies only” (Hergenhahn 67). With a partner who clearly favoured cheap Australian editions, and faced with the substantial success of *For the Term of His Natural Life*, it was not a leap for Bentley to add other novels by Australian authors to Clarke’s novel, to create the Australian Library.

The Library is first referred to in an 1887 draft of a new publication catalogue for booksellers as a list of “Australian Books and Especial Australian Editions” to be offered for sale separately and as a set in 1888 (*British Library* 59629, 40). The initial collection included Clarke’s novel plus five other works: Caroline Leakey’s *The Broad Arrow*; Arthur Nicols’ *Wild Life and Adventure in the Australian Bush*; *Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times, and a History of the War in the North against the Chief Heke, told by an Old Pakeha Maori*; Mrs. Praed’s *Longleat of Kooralbyn Or Policy and Passion*; and William Delisle Hay’s *Brighter Britain: or Settler and Maori in Northern New Zealand*. A mixture of informative historical texts, travel accounts and novels, George Bentley in the press release trumpeted the Australian Library as a collection for all Australians. The introduction to the Australian Library catalogue described the library as focussed on the special Australian qualities of the books in the collection, pointing out that “the vernacular and idiom are Australian”:

Messers R. Bentley and Son have just published six novels with the following note:

“This edition is especially issued by the proprietors of the copyright for circulation in the Australian Colonies only.”

These works, priced for sale in Australia at half a crown a volume, are very cheap books from every point of view. The price is not a reduction on an English issue price, but, as is stated above, they form a special Australian edition. Speaking of them as books, they are well printed, in a readable type, and on good paper; the binding is neat, cheerful, and well manipulated, they will not tumble to pieces after once or twice reading. Another point we notice is that with the exception of a list of Messers. Bentley’s own publications at the end, they are absolutely free from advertisements either on cover or inside, a thing that is very grateful to the eye, and takes these works out of the ruck of ordinary novels. So much for the printers, binders, and publishers’ business. But we should like to say a word about their literary merits. In the first place, they are all by Australian authors, and treat of Australian or New Zealand incidents, actual or imaginative, the narrations of fact we should judge very much predominating. There is one matter that the writer (an old colonist) feels will be specially grateful to the Australian reader: the vernacular and idiom are Australian. This is more discernible in some volumes than in others, but in all it is clearly present. There is freshness of thought and diction that gives a new sensation to an English reader and brings up old thoughts and feelings to a colonist. The Australian origin is as marked as the humorous mode of thought is in almost every American author, and from the chippy, detailed, and cynical style of a French novelist. There is one other point in the issue of these books worth referring to: it would seem to mark a distinct place in the literary life of Australia, the start of a home/produced –so far as authorship goes –series of novels, recording the day-to-day impressions [that] without some such record would gradually be forgotten. (*British Library* 59629, 40-5)

The introduction to the Australian Library sales list, this passage is written from the perspective of an “old colonist” who encourages fellow Australians to buy the works which are the best Australian writers have to offer, from one of England’s best publishers. Whether Bentley had a writer invent this advertisement or whether it was composed by a genuine “old colonist” who was involved with the series, such as George

Robertson, is not clear. Advertisement or testimonial, it marks Bentley's entrance into the Australian marketplace with a library daringly marketed only for Australians.

Capitalizing on a nation of readers, Bentley, with Robertson's help, sold and marketed a cheap series solely for Australians. However, unlike previous series marketed by other publishers in Australia, Bentley and Robertson created a series representative not of popular English authors but of Australian authors. In the mid-nineteenth century "British authors remained more popular among Australian readers. To disgruntled writers such as Lawson it appeared that both the British publishers and the Australian reading public were conspiring to suppress the growth of a creative literary community in Australia" (Askew and Hubber 116). As nationalism had been growing throughout the late nineteenth century, Bentley's Australian Library entered the market at a period when readers were becoming receptive to Australian authors. During the 1890's, Wallace Kirsop argues, in "Bookselling and Publishing in the Nineteenth Century," there was a proliferation of "Colonial Libraries from London publishers to market cheap novels" which marked a period when "control of distribution [of books] passed out of Australian hands" (42). However, Bentley's Australian Library, published five years before the wave of other "Colonial Libraries," while perhaps not a daring move, considering that after Robertson came up with the idea of cheap editions it took him twelve years to convince Bentley of its feasibility, was a move that resulted in one the most successful periods in the firm's history. Moreover, Bentley was at the forefront of an emerging Australian canon. Just as Richard Bentley participated in creating, through his *Standard Novels and Popular New Series*, a middle-class popular canon, with the Australian

Library his son, George Bentley, helped put together a canon of Australian works that included Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow*.

While the first edition of *The Broad Arrow* did not make any profit for Bentley or Leakey, the book was abridged and reprinted, in 1886,<sup>22</sup> supposedly due to "a special request from the colonies" (*British Library* 59629, folio 31). More importantly *The Broad Arrow*'s subject matter was complementary with other books chosen by Bentley to reprint as part of the series, including the centerpiece of the Australian Library, Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*. Both novels were about the Australian penal system.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, *The Broad Arrow* was not, with the second edition, intended or even marketed as a bestseller, but instead was part of Bentley's "list," subtitled *A Companion to Marcus Clarke's Famous Novel* and sold in conjunction with *For the Term of His Natural Life*.

As Caroline Leakey had died on 12 July 1881, it was Emily, her sister, who sold the copyright of the novel to Bentley. The second edition that Emily relinquished control over for £30, was edited for its new market and audience—over four hundred pages were cut in order to make the novel more appealing to colonial readers. The edited, one volume Second edition of *The Broad Arrow*, which sold for 2 shillings, had an initial print run of over 2000 copies (*Bentley Archives*, 41, 186). While the ledgers for this period are incomplete, they indicate the book sold well and was reprinted by Bentley in 1887, 1888 and 1892 (*Bentley Archives* 40, 107). The last date on the ledgers is 1897: 167 copies of *The Broad Arrow* were sold that year—the novel was still being bought ten years after the Australian edition was first published.

However, the success of the Australian edition of *The Broad Arrow* is complicated, as it is tied in with the success of Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*. The books that were part of the Australian Library were advertised together: a pamphlet was created in 1888 that promoted Clarke, Leakey and the other authors as a package (*British Library* 59629, f 40). *The Broad Arrow*, then, sold as part of a set, so its sales were to some degree inflated by the interest in and success of Clarke's novel.

Moreover, the pamphlet, which included the introduction to the series by "an old colonist," focussed on the novels as Australian works for an Australian audience. The reader is reminded that the books have been specially edited and priced by "Messers R. Bentley and Son." An Australian reader can own a Library that "mark[s] a distinct place in the literary life of Australia, the start of a home-produced –so far as authorship goes – series of novels" thereby marking their own Australian heritage and culture (*British Library* 59629, 40-45). Thus the Library is advertised as presenting works that should be part of a nascent Australian canon. However, the authority of the language of the old colonist's promotion for the Library reminds the reader that their heritage is ultimately British. This is a British list of the best works, chosen because the authors published with Richard Bentley, chosen because the copyrights were cheap, as in the case of *The Broad Arrow*, and chosen because the genres represented were the popular ones of fiction, travel writing, history. In other words, with British authors still "popular among Australian readers," yet a growing nationalist sentiment in the 1880's, Bentley produced a *British* Australian canon with the Library –a Library that succeeded perhaps because it represented a vision of Australian culture that was decidedly British.



Both *Roughing It in the Bush* and *The Broad Arrow* were, in their later editions, placed by Bentley and others into the popular canon. The books in Bentley's Popular New Series and the Australian Library were edited, marketed and priced specifically for a new audience. The first edition *The Broad Arrow* lost money in 1859, but sold well in the 1880s to an Australian audience when it was re-labeled as part of the Australian Library and connected to Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*. The Popular New Series edition of *Roughing It in the Bush* was marginally less successful than the book's other editions. However, the series marketed a one-volume edition of *Roughing It* that eschewed the original "softnesses" of the text, such as poetry. *Roughing It* became, with the new edition, an armchair traveler's Canadian immigrant guide. The *Popular New Series* presented the British reader, through fiction and travel narratives, an educating as well as entertaining *packaged* account of the British Empire and the world. Similarly, the second edition of *The Broad Arrow* was part of a British-manufactured Australian national library. The constructedness of the canon is then evident in tracing the history of these two works as part of libraries. Moodie's and Leakey's books were both edited in order to capitalize on different markets and the next chapter examines how the variants in the different editions influenced the reception of *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow*.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Reception**

Michel de Certeau argues the page is a “place of production” (134) where authors, publishers, critics, readers and others create the meaning of the text. “The island of the page is a transitional place” where textual producers encode the page with meaning, which readers decode (135). Reading is a hegemonic system in which the textual producers encode the text with preferred meanings. However, the publication process is about negotiation, as the participants, such as the publisher and the author, often view the text differently. This negotiation over textual meaning continues when the reading public receives the text. Readers decode not only the preferred readings but also can develop their own readings: reading then is an “endless production” (137).

This reception chapter explores the critical reaction to the nineteenth century editions of *Roughing It in the Bush* and *The Broad Arrow*. Textual producers, such as Richard Bentley, mediated the critical responses to the works in question, through editing and advertising. However this chapter also details the alternative responses to the text, which often were the results of readers decoding the books based on contexts outside of those Bentley, Moodie, Leakey or others could have foreseen. How the critics responded to the texts then influenced later editions: the books acquired the marks of their “evaluational history,” as new editions were constructed to avoid previous criticisms of

the works (Herrnstein-Smith 27). Through later editions, both Moodie's and Leakey's books were positioned as national texts in Canada and Australia respectively. However, while the critical reviews supported, and in fact could be viewed as initiating, the move of *Roughing it in the Bush* from the British popular canon into a nascent national Canadian canon, the reviews of *The Broad Arrow* indicated a resistance to the novel moving from a popular canon into a national Australian canon.

#### *The Reaction to Moodie's Roughing It in the Bush*

While reviewers in England, Canada and the United States praised *Roughing It*, criticism of the book differed according to each country. The British reviews described *Roughing It* as an entertaining sketch of Canadian life, that also portrayed "[t]he dark side of the emigrant's life" (*Athenaeum* 247). Americans also appreciated *Roughing It* as a romantic tale about life in the backwoods. However, Canadian reviews of the American edition were critical of Moodie's description of Canada as a wasteland for the middle class, as well as taking issue with American and British reviews that promoted the book as a heroic tale of survival in the Canadian wilderness. The Canadian response to the first Canadian edition (1871), moreover, celebrated Moodie's historical work and continued a process, started in the earlier Canadian reviews, of viewing *Roughing It* as a Canadian literary gem.

The initial British reviews categorized *Roughing It* as belonging to the "light literature of colonization" (247), similar to works by Mrs. Kirkland yet more realistic because Moodie had witnessed that which she wrote about. In the *Athenaeum* of 28 February 1852, the reviewer argued "the volumes...have a natural, and almost a

necessary, place on the table of every one who cares for the literature of Emigration” (248). Moreover, critics noted the appeal of a text that was as entertaining as it was instructive. In the *John Bull*, 21 February 1852, the reviewer remarks “While the ordinary reader will find in this tale much to interest and much to amuse him, it will convey to the would-be emigrant useful instruction and salutary warning and may thus help to preserve many from a fate from which we sincerely rejoice that Mrs. Moodie and her family have happily made their escape” (124).

Richard Bentley may have bought the copyright for *Roughing It* based on the initial laudatory reviews: the second contract that sold full copyright to Bentley was signed February 7, the same day the first review was published in *The Spectator*. The reviews may have also influenced his decision to ask for a factual chapter on Canada, “Canadian Sketches,” which was added to the second edition and further promoted the book as entertaining “literature of colonization.” Bentley capitalized on a book described by the February 21 review in *The Literary Gazette* as attractive to the whole family: “it will delight ladies, please men, and even amuse children” (181).

*The Spectator*, like the other British periodicals, noted “Mrs. Moodie [was] the sister of Agnes Strickland” (133). The advertisements for *Roughing It* all mentioned this familial connection, which promoted the sale of the work since the reading public could link Moodie to a famous author. Moreover, even after Agnes angrily asked for her name to be removed from the dedication in *Roughing It*, the literary reviews still apprised the reading public of the author’s relation to Agnes. As well, the reviews reacquainted the reading public with Moodie’s previous publications “The writer of these volumes...is known to the English reading public by a volume of poems [*Enthusiasm*] published in her

maiden name in 1831" (*John Bull* 124). The *Athenaeum* reviewer also argued "the accomplishments and habits of observation which as Miss Susanna Strickland the author had cherished and exercised in England helped the emigrant's wife" (247). Bentley could not have asked for better advertising as the reviews not only reminded readers of Moodie's connection to Agnes Strickland but also of her own previous poetic output.

However, Moodie's poetic skill was not universally praised. *The Spectator* reviewer suggested that the "authoress was less fitted for the rough and ready life of a colonist than her husband. A poetess, she had too much 'sentiment,' a fine lady, she was afraid of wild beasts and other phantasies, and she was unacquainted with household affairs" (133). With the word "phantasies" the critic constructs an image of a hysterical poetess who imagined much of what she wrote.<sup>24</sup> Her strong "sentiment" did not allow for her to deal successfully with the land and the "savages amongst whom poor Mrs. Moodie's lot was cast" (*Literary Gazette* 179). All the reviews note this "dark side" of *Roughing It*, the struggle to survive in the wilderness and the Moodies' ultimate failure to remain in the bush. However, *The Spectator's* review also suggested the book was too critical of other, positive, emigrant accounts and guides. The reviewer, even though he ends by recommending *Roughing It in the Bush*, argues that the Moodies were naïve not to expect hardship and to assume all the wonderful things they heard about Canada were true. Moodie's weaknesses, her

deficiencies for a colonist do not detract from the interest of her book, perhaps they add to it, as they certainly impart indirect instruction: but they should have restrained her diatribe against those whose writings, she

says, induced her husband and many others to emigrate to Canada. When a dealer recommends an article, he assumes that the buyer knows how to use it. (133)

The only other censure of the text was to be found in *The Observer*, 15 February, 1852. The review took exception to Moodie's anti-Irish bias: "For instance at the very outset of her career, she describes the Irish emigrants in terms which a reflective writer would scarcely apply to a pack of hounds" (6). However, even a critical review, such as *The Observer's*, encouraged would-be emigrants to read *Roughing It*: "all those who desire to emigrate to Canada should peruse this book; while all those who acknowledge the charm of keen observation, combined with a lively style of narrating incidents, should not fail to make themselves acquainted with its contents."

*Roughing It* was a middle-class emigrant's testimonial of survival in the backwoods. Regardless of whether the reviews felt the Moodies were naïve to attempt such a venture or not, they focussed on Moodie's courage and transformation from an "English lady of letters...to the wife of a Canadian bush-farmer" (*Athenaeum* 247). Moodie was an admirable lady who astonished the critics: "It seems miraculous to behold the capricious little deity steadfastly braving, for many a long year, the chilly atmosphere of a log-hut in an American forest" (*Literary Gazette* 179).

*Blackwood's Magazine*, the only major quarterly to review *Roughing It*, also praised Moodie for her heroism and cited her "as an example to the 'ladies of Britain'" (CEECT xxxii). Frederick Hardman, who wrote the review, argues that *Roughing It* is an entertaining "work of 'practical experience,' written for the benefit of, and conveying

useful hints to, persons contemplating emigration to Canada" (358). However, he regards middle-class women as the text's primary audience:

Ladies of Britain, deftly embroidering in carpeted saloon, gracefully bending over easel or harp, pressing, with nimble finger your piano's ivory, or joyously tripping in Cellarian circles, suspend for a moment your silken pursuits, and look forth into the desert at a sister's sufferings! May you never, from stern experience, learn fully to appreciate them. But should fate have otherwise decreed, may you equal her in fortitude and courage. Meanwhile, transport yourselves, in imagination's car, to Canada's backwoods, and behold one, gently nurtured as yourselves, cheerfully condescending to rudest toils, unrepiningly enduring hardships you never dreamed of. Not to such hardships was she born, nor educated for them. The comforts of an English home, the endearments of sisterly affection, the refinement of literary tastes, but ill prepared the emigrant's wife to work, in the rugged and inclement wilderness, harder than the meanest of the domestics, whom, in her own country, she was used to command. But where are the obstacles and difficulties that shall not be overcome by a strong will, a warm heart, a trusting and cheerful spirit? – precious qualities, strikingly combined by the lady of whose countless trials and troubles we have here an affecting and remarkable record. (355)

Hardman constructs *Roughing It* as a tale of a woman's suffering in "so remote a residence" that her reading public would not remember her as poetess Susanna Strickland. He opens the review by first connecting Moodie to her middle-class sisters: she was educated and raised as they were. Beset by crude Americans and harsh surroundings, Moodie did servant's work, but as the scenes Hardman chooses from the book illustrate, she remained a lady.

The family's "strange, Robinson-Crusoe-like existence had its joys as well as its sorrows," he argues but *Roughing It*, a "diary of an emigrant's wife," reveals a noble woman who sets an example for all women (361). Hardman encourages women to

purchase the work: "Think of this, ye dainty dames, who, in like circumstance, heap your beds with feathers, and strew the street with straw...Think of all these things, and, if the picture moves you, remember that the like sufferings and necessities abound nearer home, within scope of your charity and relief." *Roughing It* becomes a parable of a heroic and charitable woman who helped others even when she was herself in need.

The *Blackwood's* review is particularly interesting in light of Bentley's sudden decision to buy the copyright to *Roughing It in the Bush*. As I have previously suggested Bentley may have known *Roughing It* would receive stellar reviews and hence would be in demand. In fact, Bentley may have known about the positive reviews because he may have had a hand in creating them.

Bentley was a known puffer, who would pay reviewers to extol the virtues of a book. Puffery, according to Gettmann, was viewed by many publishers in the early nineteenth century as a necessary tool since "there were many who were on the point of becoming readers and even, with a bit of pressure, book buyers...here was sufficient reason for puffing –to cause these people to read and to ask for a given title when they entered a circulating library or bookshop" (60). While a number of publishing houses and periodicals refused to have anything to do with puffing, an equal number, including Bentley, did practice puffery. Bentley, according to Gettman, still found puffing necessary in a time of "acceleration in the changes in popular taste and the competition among literary forms" (58). While we can only speculate, it is possible that Bentley may have bought out the copyright for *Roughing It* because he knew the review "Forest Life in Canada West" in *Blackwood's Magazine* 70 (March 1852), an important periodical of the time, would be stellar. Frederick Hardman, the author of the review, was a regular



contributor to *Blackwood's*, beginning in 1852. He wrote for *Blackwood's* a number of reviews on books published by Bentley. A freelance journalist, Hardman also wrote reviews and articles for other magazines, including *Bentley's Miscellany*.<sup>25</sup> A receipt, dated 1845, indicates payments to Hardman for articles he wrote for *Bentley's Miscellany* (*Bentley Archives* 44, 92, 64). The *Bentley Archives* contain documents that bear out the fact that not only was there a business connection between Bentley and Hardman, but that Blackwoods and Bentley were also doing business with each other.<sup>26</sup> While *Blackwood's* was not known as a magazine that allowed puff pieces, the review may have been part of a deal between Bentley and Blackwoods or an arrangement between Bentley and Hardman –more research is necessary before this can be proved or negated.<sup>27</sup> However, the foreknowledge of good reviews, which would sway the public in favour of the book, would explain Bentley's desire to buy out the copyright of *Roughing It*. Also such an arrangement would explain why 2250 copies of Moodie's book were printed, a number exceeding the print runs of other books published in 1852.<sup>28</sup>

The reviews of the American edition of *Roughing It*, as with the *Blackwood's* review, also praised Moodie for her heroism and courage. *The New York Weekly Tribune*, 25 September 1852, described Moodie as “the delicate feminine adventurer...who related her experience of sacrifices and sorrows in a tone of winning frankness” (6). Once again Moodie is portrayed in the reviews as triumphing in the face of failure: “the sensibilities of a woman, properly cultivated, can find in the intellectual observation of life and the beauties of nature, consolation for the hard realities of poverty and misfortune” (*Literary World*, 17 July 1852, 59). The American reading of Moodie's book as a tale of “heroic fortitude” may also have been in part due to the American

edition's excision of many of the sections that had to do with Canadian politics in favour of focussing on the romantic elements of *Roughing It*.

The American edition also excised many of the passages in *Roughing It* that were derogatory or anti-American. As a result, there was no criticism of *Roughing It's* subject matter to be found in American reviews. Instead, the reviews focussed on the heroism of the story, as well as reiterating the British reviewers' arguments that not only was Moodie's book "entertaining work for summer reading" (*Boston Daily*, 6 July 1852), but that the book was educational. *Norton's Literary Gazette*, of 16 July 1852, hoped the work would warn would-be emigrants from travelling to the "far-west": "She sums up her story by expressing the hope, that what she has written will deter some from sinking their property and shipwrecking their hopes, by going to reside in the backwoods of Canada" (131). Moreover, the American reviews recognized that *Roughing It* was about the failures of middle class emigration, not emigration in general. In the *Literary World* the critic argues "Mrs. Moodie would teach us the moral of her book that a life in the backwoods of Canada, presents many advantages to the poor, industrious working man; to the poor gentleman none" (59).

Canadian reviews of the American edition were more critical of Moodie's failings. *The Globe* article, 7 August 1852, asserted that the *Blackwood's* article had given an erroneous impression of *Roughing It* as simply a story of a heroic woman: "The journal picked out the hardships recorded in the work as the most picturesque and striking portions of it and omitted the genuine information on Canadian affairs which it supplied" (2). *Blackwood's* constructed a courageous middle-class woman who battles with the hardships of Canadian life. *The Globe* reviewer took exception to this, countering that

the problems complained of in the book “were no more than any other delicately brought up Englishman and his wife encounter in foolishly trying to make a living on a bush farm.” Moreover, *The Globe* contended that Moodie acknowledged, in *Roughing It*, her family’s naivete: “She does not blame the country for her misfortune, but her own want of means to meet the toils which she boldly encountered.”

Other reviews were also critical of the portrayal of Canada as a wilderness for middle-class emigrants. In *The Anglo-American Magazine*, Robert Jackson McGeorge proposed “I do not think any woman, who is possessed with such feelings as Mrs. Moodie describes herself to have...can be expected to give an impartial account of a country she is so anxious to leave” (174). Unlike *The Globe*, McGeorge regarded *Roughing It* as containing anti-Canadian sentiment. He disagreed with Moodie that middle-class emigrants could not succeed in Canada: “when you read the book, you will find, by Mrs. Moodie’s own showing, that their extreme poverty and misery arose from their embarking their little all in a mad speculation, and from no fault in the country.” In general, *The Anglo-American Magazine*, *The Globe* and *The British Colonist* all argued that middle-class emigrants would only have difficulty in emigrating if they were naïve and did not embrace the hard work needed to succeed in the colony.

The single South African review of the British edition of *Roughing It* also echoed the Canadian praise for the work, tempered with the caveat that the middle class could not expect colonial life to be easy. *The Cape Monitor* review, 5 June 1852, begins “With singular want of caution, Mr. and Mrs. Moodie neglected to visit a ‘log tenement’ before signing an agreement to rent it.”<sup>29</sup> The review continues by describing the Moodies’ first year in Canada, suggesting “It was a winter of painful instruction for the inexperienced

young woman, and her not very prudent husband.” The article highlights Moodie’s sufferings but only after telling the reader that it was the couple’s lack of “caution” and their “inexperience” that led to their problems.

*The British Colonist* also criticized *Roughing It* for the false perception created by the American edition of the work. The reviewer argued, as *The Globe* did, that *Roughing It* is more than a heroic romantic novel. *The British Colonist* noted the American edition excises passages “of a purely personal or political character, which could have possessed no interest for the American reader, and the loss of which will be compensated by the gain of a larger audience.”<sup>30</sup> However, the reviewer argued “Now for our part, we strongly object to such ‘careful excision,’ which we cannot look upon in any other light than mutilation very unfair to the authoress.” *Roughing It* is an important Canadian text and as such, the review continued, should not be edited to the point that it becomes an “American” romance: “This ‘excision’ will do much to destroy Mr. Putnam’s edition of this book for Canadian readers.” Moreover, the reviewer contended

[s]ome of the small poems alluded to we have seen, and they are very well written and strongly loyal and British in character and would not, as such it appears be tasteful to the American reader...The book besides contains some very smart hits at some American peculiarities and we fancy it is some of these which the editor has so “carefully excised.”

The only other problem *The Colonist* found with the original work was it was *too* successful: “we could have wished that its success in England had been less great than it is, as it is not calculated to impress upon her readers any good idea of Canada.”

The Canadian reviews of *Roughing It* convey a uniquely national perspective. *Roughing It* is depicted in *The British Colonist* and other reviews as a Canadian text, part of a nascent Canadian canon. Therefore, the Canadian reviews attack the American edition and the *Blackwood's* review for destroying or misrepresenting the Canadian elements of the work. Even as early as 1852, the Canadian reviewers speak of Canadian literature and Moodie being "one of the most distinguished pioneers" (*Anglo-American Magazine* 173).

However, based on the two reviews that she did see, Moodie believed that Canadians did not appreciate her work: "The American press speaks most highly of the work, while the majority of the Canadian Anglo-Irish Editors, lo[ad] me with abuse" (Ballstadt et al 127). Reviews in the *Toronto Examiner* and *United Empire* while negative in nature were not in fact the majority: generally Canadian reviewers admired Moodie (CEECT xxxiv). In *The Anglo-American Magazine* Moodie is described as "unquestionably one of the most distinguished pioneers of Canadian literature. She has wrought hard with heart and hand to advance her adopted land in the Republic of Letters" (173).

However, the early praise of Moodie as a Canadian literary "pioneer" was forgotten by the publication, in 1871, of the Canadian edition of *Roughing It*. *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, in 1873, trumpeted *Roughing It* as an important Canadian historical work and an "extremely lively book, full of incident and character" (183). The article also referred, though, to the initial Canadian reaction, in 1852, as largely negative: "At that time, the work appears to have attracted little attention in Canada, and that little chiefly assumed the form of captious and ungenerous criticism"

(182). The rest of the review defended Moodie as a Canadian writer, as well as explaining the need for the new introduction, "Canada: A Contrast:

The humorous side of pioneer labour... would scarcely strike the early settler... Moreover, the book was avowedly a story of failure, and the colonists, with characteristic sensitiveness, were not willing that such a story should go forth to the emigrating class at home. In this edition Mrs. Moodie devotes a portion of the introductory chapter to an explanation and defense of her motives in writing and publishing the work.

*The Canadian Monthly* and Moodie were mistaken in believing *Roughing It in the Bush* to have been a badly reviewed work. Generally, all the reviews promoted the book as an entertaining and instructive work. Moreover, the Canadian reviews specifically celebrated a popular and "lively" work that was part of "the beginnings of Canadian literature" (O'Hagan 779).

#### *The Reaction to Leakey's The Broad Arrow*

Just as the British, American and Canadian reviews of *Roughing It* complimented Moodie for the veracity of her description, Leakey was also praised for her "eye-witness" account of the Australian penal system that frames the story of *The Broad Arrow*. *The John Bull* review, of 23 April 1859, described the novel as "a tale of convict life, written by one who is evidently no stranger to Australian life and scenery" (268). The critic argued "The desolate despair of Maida Gwynnham is delineated with remarkable power; and the story is skillfully constructed, with a view to make the fearful sacrifice which she offers not only a probable act, but almost the necessary consequence of her mood and

mind." Compared in *The Athenaeum*, *The Spectator* and *The John Bull* to the novelist Charles Reade and his novel about the penal system, *Never too Late to Mend*, Leakey was viewed as the superior writer because she had first hand knowledge of the colonial penal settlements she wrote about. Leakey's novel, according to *The John Bull* review, "describes with more vivid intensity the passions and regrets which make up so much of life at our penal settlements." The review in *The Literary Examiner*, on 28 May 1859, also approved of "a lady, who feels strongly because she testifies of that which she has actually heard and seen" (340).

*The Athenaeum* review, on 30 April 1859, claimed the veracity of the novel impressed "hardened novel readers and stony-hearted critics...Maida Gwynnham's history is not one to be forgotten or classed with that of the ordinary heroines of novels." *The Broad Arrow*, however, as with *Roughing It*, is more than a story; it also serves a moral purpose. *Bentley's Quarterly Review*, on July 1859, contended Leakey "has sought to bring such a picture before the English mind as shall excite interest, and raise a question whether all is done that can be done to turn punishment to good account" (466).

*The Broad Arrow* explores the evils of transportation and the moral degeneracy of the colonists who used the convicts like slaves. Leakey wrote a novel that challenged the conventions of a "low-toned novel" which merely entertains and is quickly forgotten (*Quarterly* 472). *The Broad Arrow* was the first novel to criticize the colonial penal system and Leakey's purpose in the work is to educate as well as to entertain:

She dwells, with all the force of experience, on the impossibility of escape from moral pollution, on the hardening effect on the sympathies, and on

the atmosphere of slavery and slave ownership it engenders, till it is pretty clear that, in some cases, the colonist becomes too well reconciled to his position of absolute command and virtually irresponsible power of punishment. (486)

Whereas *The Quarterly Review* argued “the balance of talent and success is in favour of those who have a moral purpose and a distinct standard of right and wrong” (471), other reviews criticized *The Broad Arrow* for being overly didactic and not sufficiently entertaining. *The Spectator*, on 14 May 1859, contended Leakey “speaks of what she knows, and testifies to what she has seen...*The Broad Arrow* is ostensibly a novel; but it is so full of such serious considerations, that we must look elsewhere if we only seek amusement and relaxation” (518). While *The Spectator* reviewer once again admired Leakey’s style, and recommended the novel, as did the other British reviews, he categorized *The Broad Arrow* as a sermonizing novel. Moreover, the *Athenaeum* asserted “The author has written from her heart about what she has seen and known and perfectly understands; the portions which she has invented fail, or, at least do not ring full and true like the other parts” (580). The fictive elements of the story rang false to the *Athenaeum* critic and as such he damned it by citing its lack of imaginative qualities. Underlying the praise for *The Broad Arrow* in the reviews is then a message that the novel is not entertaining so much as enlightening.

For a reading public that preferred entertaining books, a hybrid novel *cum* exposé that boldly spoke of the horrors of transportation would not have easily found an audience. *Roughing It* with its mixture of genres, which complemented each other, appealed to a wide audience. In contrast *The Broad Arrow*, which also mixed genres, had



a narrow appeal. As the *Athenaeum* reviewer noted, the moral and didactic elements in the novel did not necessarily complement its fictive frame (580).

Consequently, many of the reviews ended with requests to readers: "Nor must the reader suppose that, with all its faults of execution, the book is only didactic or stern ...there is something really grand in the main idea, that of a pure soul passing through such trials untarnished" (*Spectator* 518). The reader is asked to put aside its failure as entertainment and read *The Broad Arrow* for its uplifting spiritual message: "Her style is by no means perfect; but a good purpose, like charity, covereth a multitude sins."

While Leakey's critical assessment of transportation was met with interest by British reviewers, albeit tinged with regret that the novel was not more entertaining, Australia's potentially hostile reaction to *The Broad Arrow* was foreshadowed in *Bentley's Quarterly*. The critic remarked while an English audience would appreciate *The Broad Arrow*, an Australian audience would not understand Leakey's criticisms of the penal system: "We see the crime, the colonists see the punishment" (467). He argued that "Speaking from the English point of view...the degradation [of the convicts] is due, not to the victim's own errors, but to the long, inexorable, unremitting course of evil influences to which...[the convict] is exposed." Colonists, according to the *Quarterly*, would view convicts only as "one of a class" of criminals who deserved to be punished.

Leakey argued the colonists were polluted by a penal system that promotes an "atmosphere of slavery" (486). They could not see the problems with the penal system or that not all convicts were "evil," because they were too caught up with the "irresponsible power" that was afforded the colonists who have convict maids, cooks, and gardeners.

As *Bentley's Quarterly* predicted, the Australian reaction to *The Broad Arrow* was largely negative. In February 1860, a Tasmanian bookseller, Walch and Son, published an edition of *The Broad Arrow* "specially got up for Tasmania," which was reviewed in the March *Literary Intelligencer*. The critic observed

The task of reviewing this book is one of some difficulty and delicacy. It deals with that gloomy phase of colonial life, which, thank God, is become matter of tradition and history, rather than of present experience and observation...however...the scars of political and social conflict are yet too fresh to bear the rough touch of an ungentle hand. (169)

Gillian Winter, in "We Speak that We Do Know, And Testify that We Have Seen," argues Australians "wanted to forget...transportation" (149), which had ceased in 1853. Colonists "were sensitive about their penal past," and Leakey's novel touched a raw nerve with Australians. The *Intelligencer* argued that Leakey's clumsy prose trod heavily on Australian "political and social conflict." Winter, writing about the Tasmanian reaction to Leakey's *The Broad Arrow*, contends there was little discussion of the book in the media, outside of *The Intelligencer*, as the book exceeded "the bounds of discretion and good taste."

According to Winter "in the face of local disapproval, [Walch's] let the work drop from its publishing list" (150). However, in 1886 Bentley launched his Australian Library, which was sold directly to Australians, and included Leakey as well as Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*. Intended as a sample of Australian literature, the Library promoted Leakey, alongside Clarke, as an Australian author. The Australian critics, however, did not concur with Bentley. While the novel had been drastically

edited of English scenes and characters in order to make it more Australian, Bentley had not drastically altered the negative portrayal of Australia and the colonists. Unlike Moodie, who was promoted by Canadian critics as a Canadian author, Leakey was never similarly regarded as an Australian author. She spent only five years in the colony, unlike Clarke who lived most of his life in Australia. *His Natural Life* also criticized transportation but it was not as didactic or moralizing as *The Broad Arrow* and consequently surpassed its predecessor in popularity and sales.<sup>31</sup>

In a letter to Emily Leakey, on 20 January 1887, Bentley states “We have issued a new, cheap ‘test’ edition for the colonial public...The only notice which has hitherto appeared of the new edition is in *The John Bull*, of last week” (*Bentley Archives* 42, 86, 134). While copies of the Australian Library were evidently sold in England, since they warranted a review in *The John Bull*, the Library was intended for an Australian audience. In the catalogue the library was described as Australian books for Australians. However, the only Australian review I could find, in the *Australasian*, 5 February 1887, was critical of *The Broad Arrow*. Whereas *The John Bull* review praised the novel as “cleverly written” (44), *The Australasian* found “The story...not very artistically constructed.” Moreover, the reviewer argues “the incidents are of such a uniformly painful character that this reader experiences a sense of relief on reaching the end of the last chapter, and escaping from such an atmosphere of sin, suffering, and sorrow.” While the *Australasian* does concede “where the writer deals with the convict population of the island in former days, and with the abuses of the penal system, he [sic] is forcible and effective,” the reviewer never writes of the novel as Australian literature or even alludes to its Australian qualities.

The passage of time had made the colonists more receptive to Leakey's criticisms, but she was still not regarded as an Australian writer. Whereas Moodie moved from the popular canon into a national Canadian canon with the support of the critics, Leakey remained part of the popular canon. While constructed as an Australian author by Bentley, Australians never regarded her as such. As a result, though *Roughing It* survived into the twentieth century as a national history of a Canadian emigrant, *The Broad Arrow* eventually lost its popular audience and did not gain a new one, national or otherwise, until the 1960s.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion

According to Darwin's law of natural selection, the strong survive and the weak perish. Similarly, books are subject to Cultural Darwinism: some books, like *Roughing It in the Bush*, adapt and remain in print long after they are first published, while others, like *The Broad Arrow*, lose their currency or importance, and are quickly forgotten. Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It* is not only still in print but studied in Canadian literature courses in secondary and post-secondary schools. However, Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* is no longer read, except by the few scholars interested in obscure nineteenth-century Australian writers. A new edition was issued as part of the bicentennial celebrations in Australia in 1988, yet few Australian academics, never mind students, have heard of, let alone read, *The Broad Arrow*.<sup>32</sup>

Herrnstein-Smith argues "works of art and literature bear the marks of their own evaluational history, signs of value that acquire their force by virtue of various social and cultural practices" (27). Understanding of a book such as *Roughing It* becomes "the product of a complex evaluative loop that embraces not only the ever shifting economy of the artist's own interests and resources...but also all the shifting economies of his or her assumed and imagined audiences" (28). Whether the author, the reader or the critic, everyone who comes into contact with the book evaluates it: the book bears the history of

the evaluations as subsequent editions are influenced by accumulating reactions to the work, which in turn affect the book's canonical position.

Publishing is a heterogeneous process and books, such as *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow*, are not static objects; they change with new editions and new readings. An evaluational history is then the sum of the contingent interaction of the various factors. A book's canonical position is consequently influenced by its evaluational history, which is the record of access to and accumulation of cultural capital (Guillory ix). In other words, the author, the publisher and others involved in the publishing process have shifting access to, and involvement with, the factors that affect the production and distribution of the book (18).

For example, there were six major nineteenth century editions of *Roughing It* and the publishing process surrounding each edition influenced subsequent editions, whether through editorial changes, reception, or relationships between the author, the publisher and the audience. The different editions of *Roughing It* maintained the essence of one woman's humorous and stubborn, yet at other times despairing, struggle to adapt to her new home. However, the changes and reaction to the different editions also gradually shifted *Roughing It* from a Canadian immigrant guide to a nationally celebrated Canadian text: by the end of the nineteenth century *Roughing It* was described as an example of "the early literature of Canada" (O'Hagan 780). As a result, *Roughing It's* evaluational history anchors the work as a seminal book of Canadian literature.

Whereas *Roughing It* evolved from a popular book, in the British, American and Canadian markets, to a founding text of Canadian literature, *The Broad Arrow* did not make the same transition. While early Canadian reviews of *Roughing It*, in the 1850's,

described it as a Canadian work, Australian critics never adopted Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* as a national text. Unsuccessful with the first edition, a moral novel critical of the failings of the colonial penal system, Bentley reshaped the second edition into an Australian romance, creating not only a new story but also an author of Australian nationality. In this audience-and-reception-aware process, Bentley repositioned the novel to fit the expectations of the new marketplace (Hall 96), and capitalize on a burgeoning Australian reading public. In the first edition, Leakey blended criticism, fiction, travel writing and religious sermonizing into a not always well-written but still fascinating and original account of life in a penal colony. In trying to adapt the novel, Mayer excised over four hundred pages and in doing so created a forgettable romance. Moreover, in creating an Australian literary canon with the library, Bentley imposed an imperial view of Australian literature –a view not necessarily accepted by critics who negatively reviewed *The Broad Arrow*.

Mayer's romantic version of *The Broad Arrow* was a financial success. However, while the second edition sold as part of Bentley's Australian Library, the changes made to the novel suggested *The Broad Arrow* was regarded as a popular Australian romance rather than Australian literature that was part of a national canon. Moreover, *The Broad Arrow* was always treated by Bentley as a list book, and not a best-seller: the novel was situated by Bentley first as a companion to George Eliot's *Adam Bede* and then, with the second edition, as a companion to Clarke's *For The Term of His Natural Life*.

The initial publishing history, editorial changes and reception of Moodie's *Roughing It* and Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* in conjunction with other factors influenced the canonical status of both books. However, it is important to note in discussing the

disparate position of *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow* that national politics played a role in both texts' respective positions in the Canadian and Australian canons.

*Roughing It* is most simply a search for a Canadian identity: Moodie attempts to reconcile her surroundings with her British upper middle-class up-bringing. Other Canadian authors such as Margaret Laurence, Margaret Atwood, Timothy Findley and Sinclair Ross have also explored this search for identity. Moodie is the foremother of this theme as well as a touchstone other authors return to in an attempt to come to terms with the Canadian national identity. For example, Atwood reconsidered Moodie's search for identity in *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1970), as well as in her introduction to the Virago edition of *Roughing It* (1986). More recently, Eric Wright's novel *Moodie's Tale* (1995) uses Moodie's name in the title in order to refer to the recurring theme of identity in "Canadian literature as a whole, hinting [also] at a return to literary roots as embodied by Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush*" (Paragraph 29).

In contrast, *The Broad Arrow* was relegated, after 1900, to a footnote in essays on Marcus Clarke's *For The Term of His Natural Life* due in part to the masculinization of the Australian canon. Essays at the turn of the century celebrated books by Australian men about "boys and the bush" (L. Spender 1), and ignored female Australian writers. As Lynne Spender argues, in *Her Selection*, "with nineteenth-century Australian literature, interest has been mainly focused on the combination of men and the outback. The dominant images have been of men and their mateship as they battled together to survive the harsh life of the outback. When women's writing did not reflect nor promote this image of Australia and its new national heroes, their work was largely ignored" (1). Leakey's novel jarred with the masculine tone of Australian literature. As a



consequence, it was Clarke who became the celebrated author of Australia's *first* novel about its penal history. Even Miles Franklin, who argued, in 1929, for an inclusion of the foremothers of Australian literature in the national canon, contends "Mrs. Leakey fell short of Clarke's melodramatic fire in fusing improbabilities. Situations for an arresting novel remain unexploited and there are religious homilies tedious to a generation grown impatient with exhortation to submission to inhuman conditions" (46-7). Based on her reading of the second edition, Franklin criticized *The Broad Arrow* for its "tedious" plot and its romantic conventionality (45). Written by a woman and turned into a forgettable romance by re-editing, *The Broad Arrow* was not a book Australians looked upon as a potential national text.

However, forgotten books can come back into "fashion" as "old texts are revalorized through the application of new critical approaches, such as those arising from deconstruction, feminism, and postcolonialism" (Gerson 25). In terms of Australian literature there has also been a concerted effort since the 1960s to de-marginalize women's writing and reveal that "Australian life in the nineteenth century was not all boys and the bush" (Lynne Spender, 1). In literature, in general, a "newly increasing classroom demand for work by previously overlooked women authors" (Gerson, 27), has led to the emergence of a number of authors.

Since the 1960s, a handful of feminist scholars have written on *The Broad Arrow* and called for its inclusion into the Australian canon. Patricia Clarke argues *The Broad Arrow* is an important Australian socio-domestic novel, which she describes as "one of the most widely read Australian works by women writers prior to the last decade of the nineteenth century" (46). North Ryde published a new edition of the novel in 1988, and

Angus and Robertson, in 1992, issued an edition that included an introduction by Jenna Mead. An electronic text version is also available on the internet.<sup>33</sup> However, the new editions are based on the 1886 edition of *The Broad Arrow*, which is still available in second-hand bookshops (Clarke 88). There are only five or so copies of the first edition and none are easily accessible. Consequently, it is the second edition of *The Broad Arrow* that reduced the novel to an Australian romance, which is being re-evaluated by scholars. Leakey is still regarded then as a romantic writer, who was an important forerunner or companion to Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*, rather than a groundbreaking novelist who melded religious fervor, criticism of the penal system, travel narrative and romance into her writing. Leakey is no longer a footnote, but her work has yet to be appreciated by any perceivable audience for its own merits.

The factors of initial publishing history, editorial changes and reception influenced both books' nineteenth century and present-day canonical status. The second edition of *The Broad Arrow* was a financial success but led to Leakey being dismissed as a popular romance writer; this in turn influenced academic struggles to have the book included in either an academic or national Australian canon. In contrast, *Roughing It's* nineteenth century evaluational history inscribed the book as both a national and academic text. *Roughing It* was continuously published throughout the twentieth century: for example McClelland and Stewart published a Canadian edition in 1923, which was reissued in 1929 and 1947 (CEECT 633). However, it was the rising interest in the late 1950's in Canadian literature that led to *Roughing It* being reissued as part of the New Canadian Library (1962), which reaffirmed Moodie's position in the national and academic canons. NCL was an attempt to create a Canadian catalogue of books, which

were inexpensive and could be used in Canadian literature courses. The review of *Moodie's Tale*, in *Paragraph*, refers to Susanna Moodie as “our professor-made matriarch of CanLit” (29) –and in some respects the book’s position as a seminal Canadian text has been entrenched by scholarly editions and Canadian academics. In 1988 a second NCL edition was published, as was a scholarly edition by the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts (CEEECT) at Carleton University. However, without the renewed interest in Canadian literature, *Roughing It* might have eventually gone out of print. But once again the book adapted, shifting over its long publishing history from a popular entertaining yet instructive immigrant’s guide, to a romance, to a Canadian book, and finally into its position today, as a founding text of Canadian literature. What will happen to *Roughing It* and *The Broad Arrow* is unknown –but the canon(s) will continue to change and an understanding of the factors that influence this movement reveals the complex but seldom random permutations of canon formation.

## **Appendices**

### *Appendix A: The Plot of The Broad Arrow*

The novel opens with a motherless Maida Gywnnham being sent to a London boarding school where she has an affair with Captain Norwell. He abandons her when she is pregnant, only returning to the now penniless mother when he needs her to forge a check. The forgery detected, Norwell begs Maida to take the blame. She is arrested as she is burying her child who has died of starvation.

Maida is charged with infanticide but refuses to say anything in her defense for fear of incriminating Norwell in the forgery. Convicted, she is sentenced to death which is commuted to transportation for life. On the ship out, Reverend Herbert Evelyn, who is travelling back to Hobart with his invalid daughter, Emmeline and his niece Bridget, tries to counsel Maida, but she rebuffs him.

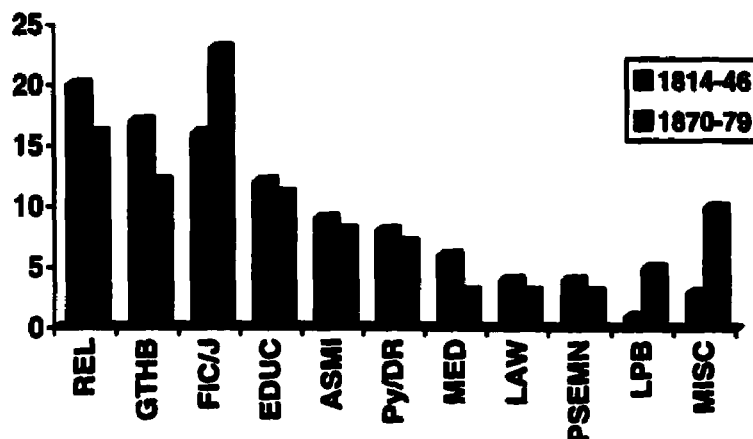
In Hobart, Maida is appointed to the household of George Evelyn, Herbert's brother. The story focuses on Maida's experiences as a convict servant looking after Herbert's invalid daughter, Emmeline. The novel alternates between chapters on Maida and chapters about Bridget's perceptions as a newcomer to Hobart. The novel traces Maida's gradual transformation from haughty willfulness to her peaceful acceptance, just before she dies, of her fate. Norwell in a bid for forgiveness comes to Van Diemen's Land but is too late.

### *Appendix B*

In order to compare Bentley's publishing record against nineteenth century industry norms, I graphed Bentley's total publications for the periods 1850-59 and 1870-79. The 1850s was a time of turbulence as the company struggled to stay solvent and to survive the book industry depressions caused by the second French Revolution of 1848 and the Crimean war of 1853-56. The 1870s, in contrast, was a period when the firm was profitable and the book trade experienced a period of stability. I gathered the publishing information from *The Index to the Bentley Lists*, which lists all the books published by Bentley between 1829 and 1898. The entries include the title, author's name and publication date. The book is a guide to the larger microfiche collection, *The Bentley Lists*, which includes summaries of all the books published by the firm and short biographies of the authors. I used the microfiche lists and the on-line British Library catalogue to determine the categorization of the genres and then compared the numbers to Simon Eliot's exhaustive study of nineteenth century publishing in Britain. Occasionally I could not find a listing for a book, so listed it under Miscellany.

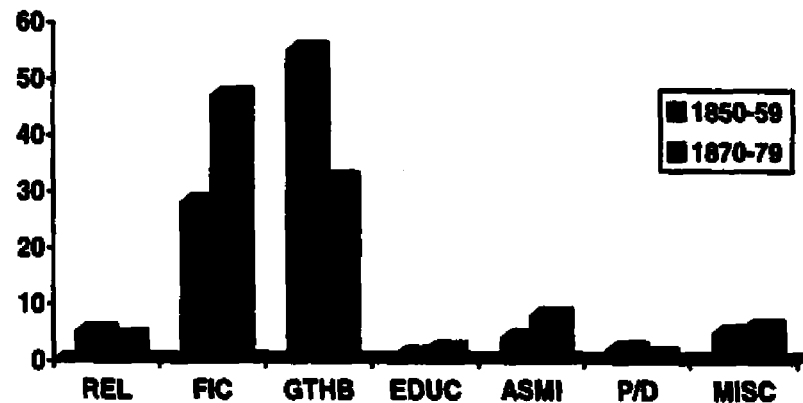
In *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919*, Simon Eliot compiles statistics on "the range of subjects on which books were published" (43). Eliot uses the classification systems in the *Bibliotheca Londinensis*, *Publisher's Circular* and *The Bookseller* to compile statistics for 1814-1919. His graphs reveal, between 1814 and 1846, religious works accounted for twenty percent of all books produced, with geographical, historical, travel, and biographical narratives (GTHB), grouped together, accounting for seventeen percent and fiction for sixteen percent. However, by the 1870's fiction accounted for almost a quarter of all books produced, whereas GTHB had

slipped to twelve percent and only sixteen percent of all books were of the religious genre.



**Figure 1.** *Bibliotheca Londinensis: Subjects 1814-46, Publisher's Circular: Subjects 1870-79.* Eliot. *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, 1994, pp 45-47.

In order to facilitate comparisons, I adopted Eliot's methods of categorization, where, for example, EDUC refers to educational texts, ASMI includes arts, science, mathematical and other illustrated works, but after compiling the statistics for the 1870-79 period dropped a number of the categories from the Bentley figures, which the firm did not publish. Consequently, whereas Eliot's figures include the categories Medical (MED), Law, Political (PSEMN), and Logic and Philosophy (LPB), Bentley's do not. Eliot also draws on a very large sample of works, whereas Bentley published only 661 books between 1850 and 1859, and 540 books between 1870 and 1879.



**Figure 2. Subjects of Bentley Publications, 1850-59 (See Table A) and 1870-79 (See Table B).**

The graphs support my argument that Bentley was a publisher of popular works, who in the 1850's concentrated on travel and historical accounts and fiction.

Geographical, Historical, Travel and Biographical narratives made up fifty-five percent of all books published in 1850's compared to thirty-two percent in the 1870's. Fiction initially accounted for twenty-eight percent and then later increased to forty-seven percent of all books produced in the 1870's. The firm's concentration on publishing fiction and travel and historical accounts, more so than biographies or geographical works, was well above the industry norm.

**Table A. Subjects of Books Bentley Published from 1850-59. Note the number of books falls precipitously in 1855-56, due to the Crimean War.**

	REL	FIC	GTHB	EDUC	ASMI	P/D	MISC	TOTAL
1850	3	20	55	2	3	2	5	90
1851	1	25	42	2	3	1	4	78
1852	1	28	52	0	3	1	1	86
1853	7	31	55	1	3	2	5	104
1854	2	24	53	0	2	6	5	92
1855	2	5	14	1	1	0	3	28
1856	6	9	22	2	2	0	0	41
1857	4	20	23	0	3	0	3	53
1858	4	13	28	1	2	0	1	49
1859	4	12	22	0	2	0	2	42

**Table B. Subjects of Books Bentley Published from 1870-79.**

	REL	FIC	GTHB	EDUC	ASMI	P/D	MISC	TOTAL
1870	7	17	13	0	2	2	3	44
1871	5	25	24	3	3	1	7	68
1872	0	21	18	2	6	0	2	49
1873	2	31	23	3	4	0	4	67
1874	1	26	10	0	5	0	2	44
1875	1	26	14	0	6	2	2	51
1876	4	29	12	0	5	2	2	54
1877	3	28	21	2	5	2	3	64
1878	0	23	14	0	5	0	0	42
1879	1	27	22	1	3	0	5	59



## Endnotes

---

<sup>1</sup> This quotation is part of the 1859 entry for *The Broad Arrow* in *The Bentley Publication Lists* (19 F.909).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Bentley's son George took over the firm in the 1860's. However, most of the correspondence, even after 1871 when Richard died, was still addressed to Richard Bentley—the founder of the firm. In order to avoid confusion and since the majority of the references are indebted to Richard Bentley, I will generally only refer to him either by his full name or just by his last name. Only when correspondence is addressed to George or when George is directly involved in the publication of either book, will I use his name.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine Grace Frances Moody Gore, 1800-1861, a popular novelist, had a sometimes acrimonious relationship with her publisher Richard Bentley. She wrote over sixty novels, as well as plays and short stories, which often depicted the "gay leisure class of Regency England" (Merrill 172). Bentley published a number of her novels, as well as a number of articles she wrote for the *Miscellany*.

<sup>4</sup> See Royal A. Gettmann's *A Victorian Publisher* for details of the Bentley/ Dickens relationship (23).

<sup>5</sup> On the one hand, a publisher could buy the copyright of a book outright, thus assuming all the risk for the book's success and all the cost of publishing. If the book succeeded the publisher would reap all the benefits. On the other hand, under a half profits contract the publisher would pay for publication but would not pay the author for copyright. A half profits arrangement was less risky, since if the book failed to sell, the publisher would only be out the costs of printing and advertising. If the book became a bestseller the publisher would then share the profits with the author. See ledgers in *Bentley Archives*, reel 39, volume 81.

<sup>6</sup> The British Library holdings are organized by book and folio numbers. The *Bentley Archives* are organized by reel, volume, folio number. If there are only two numbers these are the volume and folio. Finally, while there are three sources of the *Archives*, the British Library (BL), University of Illinois (IU) and the University of California at Los Angeles (UC), I will only indicate if a reel is from IU and UC as most reels are from the British Library.

<sup>7</sup> John Bruce is described in *Letters of a Lifetime* as "an old London Friend...[who] was an antiquarian scholar...an official in the Public Records Office...and an executive of the Society of Antiquaries. Bruce approached Richard Bentley, possibly at the request of the Moodies, and negotiated terms for the publication of Susanna's 'Canadian Life'" (Ballstadt et al. 104). However, Bruce also may have worked for Bentley as a publisher's representative, bringing to Bentley's attention authors and manuscripts that he would be interested in. For instance, in a letter sent on 5 May 1855, Bruce writes to Bentley in reference to a potential scandal surrounding a writer, John Doran, whom Bruce had introduced to Bentley. Bruce offers "to do anything that a friend can do" to help deflect any scandal that might envelop Bentley as Doran's publisher (*Bentley Archives* IU 23).

<sup>8</sup> See Gettmann for additional examples. Also, it should be noted that this practice on Bentley's part did not guarantee success, since he made money on some works, but not on others (81-3).

<sup>9</sup> John Bruce in the second letter sent to Bentley on 27 December 1851, also threatens to send *Roughing It* elsewhere (*Bentley Archives* IU 23).

<sup>10</sup> See her letter to Bentley on 26 February 1854, in which Moodie changes her mind in regard to half-profits (Ballstadt et al. 157).

<sup>11</sup> Allan Dooley, in *Author and Printer in Victorian England*, in his chapter on proofing (23-48), argues it was in fact quite common for writers to proof books in a piecemeal fashion, sending each new section straight to the printers so the book could be run off.

<sup>12</sup> Moodie instructed John Bruce, on 29 December 1851, to remove "Michael MacBride" from the *Canadian Life* manuscript, as she was fearful of criticism of her portrayal of Irish immigrants. She had been rebuked earlier in the Canadian press for sketches in the *Victoria Magazine* that unflatteringly characterized the Irish (*Bentley Archives* IU 23).

<sup>13</sup> Mudie's involvement in the publication of other Bentley works is unknown. He was not involved in the publication of *Roughing It* at all and perhaps only took a particular interest in *The Broad Arrow* because of its overtly religious tone.

<sup>14</sup> Neither Moodie's nor Bentley's letters speak of the desire to superimpose the image of mother and child onto the text, leaving the reader to presume its appearance is part of Moodie's own revisions to the chapter.

<sup>15</sup> Italics are from *Letters of a Lifetime*, likely based upon underlined phrases in the original letter.

<sup>16</sup> Alterations to this quotation were made by editors Carl Ballstadt et. al.

<sup>17</sup> Bentley had dealings with Putnam starting in the 1830's, even though this fact never comes up in the correspondence with Moodie surrounding the pirating of *Roughing It*. In a letter to George Putnam, Bentley accepts three books that Putnam consigned to him (*Bentley Archives* 40, 81, 99), and remarks on their profitability.

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted due to the scarcity of the first edition, I have only seen a copy of the first edition at the British Library, and have only made a cursory comparison of the 1859 and 1860 imprints. Consequently all the quotations are from the 1860 edition, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>19</sup> Bentley called this the fourth edition. However, the CEECT edition of *Roughing It* refers to it as the second English edition, regarding the 1852 and 1854 printings as imprints of the first English edition, as only minor changes were made to *Roughing It* (628). In order to avoid confusion in identifying editions in the quotations and in my thesis, I have decided to adopt Bentley's classification of the different editions of *Roughing It*.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Bentley was first appointed Publisher in Ordinary to His Majesty in 1833 and the firm continued to use the title through the mid- and late nineteenth century. Scholars have described the title as hollow "since neither William IV nor Victoria ever had anything published by his firm" (Wallins 45). However, Bentley did publish a number of books by European royalty.

<sup>21</sup> Petherick, writing to Bentley in a letter on July 17, 1880 about Robertson's actions on Bentley's behalf in regard to the New Zealand piracy of Bentley's works, also made a personal suggestion regarding combating pirate editions:

For my part, I think the only cure for the present evil as indeed of nearly all the evils of the present state of copyright is in cheaper books. The so-called "Pirates" must be met upon their own ground. What is there to forbid a 2/- or 2/6 edition of...any other popular work issued in heavy size and in readable type? The cheap editions American issues complained of are neither handy nor in readable type, being printed in minor type...(*Bentley Archives*, IU 49)

---

Bentley, on Robertson's and Petherick's advice, finally agreed to publish a 2/6- edition of *For His Natural Life*, which would counteract any American pirated editions that were often so badly set as to be illegible.

<sup>22</sup> There were two Bentley reprintings of *The Broad Arrow* in 1886, and another in 1887.

<sup>23</sup> Clarke claimed he knew of no other Australian who had written about the penal system, yet he had a copy of Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* in his library. It appeared in the list of books in the library to be sold when Clarke died (Jordens 403).

<sup>24</sup> This image of a hysterical Moodie long precedes Atwood's *Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1972), which also portray Moodie as a hysterical woman.

<sup>25</sup> In the March *Blackwood's* Hardman also favourably reviews another Bentley publication, *The Cape and the Kafirs* by Alfred Cole. In February 1852, Hardman also reviewed two books for Blackwood's, one a book published by Colburn the other by Bentley, *A Ride Over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California* by Henry Coke.

<sup>26</sup> Bentley purchased a number of copyrights from Blackwoods in 1835 (*Bentley Archives* 39, 81, 231), and he did have other dealings with the Scottish publishing firm.

<sup>27</sup> David Finklestein in "'The Secret': British Publishers and Mudie's Struggle for Economic Survival 1861-64" (*Publishing History* 34, 1993, pp 21-50), details Bentley's involvement with other publishers, including Blackwoods.

<sup>28</sup> While the publication lists are not complete, they do give a rough idea of how many books were published and the average number in a print run. In 1850 the average size was 700 and in 1851 only 530 per print run. In 1852 the average print runs jumps to just over one thousand. This number is probably somewhat inflated since in 1852 Bentley starts printing the cheap Railway series of books. These are relatively low cost books printed in large quantities (2000+). Compared with other books not a part of the series the 2250 print run for *Roughing It* is impressive. While this number may also be inflated because the ledger includes the second edition copies, Thurston argues that the second edition was just a modified first edition. In other words, the remainders were repackaged as second editions with additions.

<sup>29</sup> No page numbers are given for *The Cape Monitor* June 5, 1852.

<sup>30</sup> SFU Interlibrary loans did not include the pagination for the copy of the *Roughing It in the Bush* review in *The British Colonist*, July 9, 1852.

<sup>31</sup> See the ledger for Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*, which indicate 45,000 copies of the Australian edition sold in twenty-three years (*Bentley Archives* 22, 42, ff52, 459, Reel 1, 3, f93 and Reel 44, 91, f188).

<sup>32</sup> At the British Australian Studies Association conference I attended 9 October 1999, at the University of London, most of the attendees had never heard of *The Broad Arrow*, and those who had, had not read it.

<sup>33</sup> The electronic *The Broad Arrow* is at <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au>.

## Works Cited

- Anonymous. "False Morality of Lady Novelists." *National Review*. (15), January 1859, 144-67.
- Abrams, M.H. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. 7<sup>th</sup> Ed. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1999.
- Askew, M. and B. Hubber. "The Colonial Reader Observed: reading in its cultural context." *The Book in Australia: Essays Towards a Cultural and Social History*. Eds. D.H. Borchardt and Wallace Kirsop. Melbourne: Australian Reference Publications, 1988, pp 110-37.
- Ballstadt, Carl. *Susanna Moodie: Letters of a Lifetime*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985.
- Beddoes, Julie. "Changing Moodie: Author Constructions in a Canadian 'Classic.'" *English Studies in Canada*. 19:3 (1993), pp.363-77.
- Bentley, Richard and Son. *The Archives of Richard Bentley & Son 1829-1898*. Cambridge, England: Chadwyck-Healey, 1976.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction*. Indianapolis: Indiana U P, 1998.
- Clarke, Marcus. *His Natural Life* (1874). Oxford: Oxford U P, 1997.
- Clarke, Patricia. *Pen Portraits: Women Writers and Journalists in Nineteenth Century Australia*. London: Pandora, 1988.
- De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.
- Dooley, Allan C. *Author and Printer in Victorian England*. Charlottesville: U P of Virginia, 1992.
- Eliot, George. *Adam Bede* (1859). London: Oxford U P, 1998.
- Eliot, Simon. *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1919*. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1994.

- Feltes, Norman. *Literary Capital and the Late Victorian Novel*. Madison, Wisconsin: U Wisconsin P, 1993.
- Fowler, Alastair. *Kinds of Literature*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard U P, 1982.
- Franklin, Miles. *Laughter, Not For a Cage*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956.
- Gerson, Carole. "Cultural Darwinism: Publishing and the Canon of Early Canadian Literature in English" *Epilogue*. 10.1, 2. (1995): 25-33.
- Gettmann, Royal A. *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers*. New York: Cambridge U P, 1960.
- Gills, Charlie. "Review of Moodie's Tale" *Paragraph: The Canadian Fiction Review*. 17:1 (1995), p 29.
- Glickman, Susan. *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's U P, 1998.
- Goodwin, Ken. *A History of Australian Literature*. London: Macmillan, 1986.
- Gray, Charlotte. *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Lives of Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Trail*. Toronto: Viking, 1999.
- Guillory, John. *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993.
- Hall, Stuart. "Encoding, Decoding." *Culture, Media, Language*. Ed. Stuart Hall. London: Hutchinson, 1980, pp 90-103.
- Hergenhan, Laurie. "A Woman Lifer" in *Unnatural Lives: Studies in Australian Convict Fiction* (1983). Queensland, Australia, UQP, 1993, pp 31-46.
- Herrnstein-Smith, Barbara. "Contingencies of Value." *Canons*. Ed Robert von Hallberg. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984, pp 5-40.
- Holyroyd, John. *George Robertson of Melbourne 1825-1898, Pioneer Bookseller and Publisher*. Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens, 1968.
- Ingram, Alison. *Index to the Archives of Richard Bentley and Son, 1829-1898*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1977.
- Jordan, John, and Robert Patten (eds.) *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-century British publishing and reading practices*. London: Cambridge U P, 1995.

Kirsop, Wallace. *Books for Colonial Readers –The Nineteenth-Century Australian Experience*. Melbourne: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Bookselling and Publishing in the Nineteenth Century." *The Book in Australia: Essays Towards a Cultural and Social History*. Eds. D.H. Borchardt and Wallace Kirsop. Melbourne: Australian Reference Publications, 1988, pp 16-42.

Leakey, Caroline. *The Broad Arrow: Being Passages From the History of Maid Gwynnham, 'A Lifer.'* Hobart, Tasmania: Walch and Sons, 1860.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Broad Arrow*. London: Bentley, 1886.

#### *Reviews of The Broad Arrow*

*The John Bull*. April 23, 1859, p 268.

*Athenaeum*. April 30, 1859: 580.

*The Spectator*. May 14, 1859, 518.

*The Literary Examiner*. May 28, 1859, p 340.

*Bentley's Quarterly Review*. Vol. 2 July 1859, p 466-72.

*Walch's Literary Intelligencer*. March 1860, pp 169-70.

*The John Bull*. January 15, 1887, p 44.

*The Australasian*. February 5, 1887.

Leakey, Emily. *The Clear and Shining Light*. London: John Shaw, 1887.

Mead, Jenna. "Caroline Woolmer Leakey." *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (draft from author).

Moodie, Susanna. *Roughing It in the Bush*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc., 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roughing It in the Bush, or Life in Canada*. CEECT Edition. Ed. Carl Ballstadt. Ottawa: Carleton U P, 1990

#### *Reviews of Roughing It in the Bush*

Hardman, Frederick. "Forest Life in Canada West." *Blackwood's Magazine* 70 (March 1852), pp 355-62.

*The Spectator*. February 7, 1852, pp 133-4.

*The Observer*. February 15, 1852, p 6.

*The John Bull*. February 21, 1852, p124.

*The Literary Gazette and Journal of Science and Art*. February 21, 1852, pp 178-81.

*The Athenaeum*. February 28, 1852, p 247.

*Anglo-American Magazine*. May 1, 1852, pp173-4.

*The Cape Monitor*, June 5, 1852.

*The British Colonist*. June 9, 1852.

*Boston Daily Evening Transcript*. July 6, 1852.

*Norton's Literary Gazette*. July 16, 1852, 131.

*The Literary World*. July 17, 1852, p 39.

*The Spirit of the Times*. July 17, 1852, p 264.

*The Globe*. August 7, 1852, p 2.

*New York Weekly Tribune*. September 25, 1852, pp 6-7.

*Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book*. Vol. 45. 1852, p 296.

*Graham's Magazine*. Vol 41. 1852, p 336.

*The Canadian Monthly and National Review*. Toronto: Rose-Belford. Vol. 1, 1872, pp 182-3.

O'Hagan Thomas. "Some Canadian Women Writers" *Catholic World*. 63: 378 (1896), pp779-82.

Oliphant, Margaret. *Annals of a publishing house: William Blackwood and his sons, their magazine and friends*. New York : AMS Press, 1974, 349.

Parker, George. *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Another Look at Haliburton and His Publishers Joseph Howe and Richard Bentley: The Colonial Author and His Milieu." *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*. Ed. Frank M. Tierney. Toronto: U of Ottawa P, 1985.
- Radway, Janice. *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1997.
- Rubin, Joan Shelley. *The Making of Middle Brow Culture*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1992.
- Rutherford, Anna. "The Wages of Sin: Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow*" in *Commonwealth Writer Overseas: Themes of Exile and Expatriation*. Ed. Alastair Niven. Bruxelles: Didier, 1976, pp 245-54.
- Showalter, Elaine. *A Literature of Their Own. Expanded Edition (1977)*. Princeton: Princeton U P, 1999.
- Shillingsburg, Peter L. *Pegasus in Harness. Victorian Publishing and W.M. Thackeray*. Charlottesville: U P of Virginia, 1992.
- Spender, Lynne. *Her Selection: Writings by Nineteenth-Century Australian Women*. Victoria, Australia: Penguin, 1988.
- Sutherland, J.A. *Victorian Novelists and Publishers*. Chicago, U of Chicago P, 1976.
- Thurston, John. *The Work of Words: The Writing of Susanna Strickland Moodie*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's U P, 1996.
- Tuchman, Gaye. *Edging Women Out: Victorian novelists, publishers and social change*. New Haven: Yale U P, 1989.
- Turner, Micheal. *Index and Guide to the lists of the publications of Richard Bentley and Son*. London: Chadwyck-Healey, 1975.
- Wallins, Roger P. "Richard Bentley." *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Anderson, Patricia and Jonathan Rose eds. Detroit: Gale Research, c. 1991, pp 39-52.
- Winter, Gillian. "'We Speak that we do Know, and Testify that we have Seen': Caroline Leakey's Tasmanian Experiences and Her Novel *The Broad Arrow*." *THRA Papers and Proceedings*. 40:4 (1993), pp 133-153.



## Works Consulted

- Argyle, Barry. *An Introduction to the Australian Novel 1830-1930*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
- Baker, A.W. *Death is A Good Solution: The Convict Experience in Early Australia*. Queensland: U of Queensland P, 1984.
- Bhabha, Homi K. Ed. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Byrne, Desmond. "Introduction to Australian Writers" 1896. *The Writer in Australia: A Collection of Literary Documents*. Ed. John Barnes. Melbourne: Oxford U P, 1969, pp 50-61.
- David, Deirdre. *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. London: Cornell U P, 1995
- Finklestein, David. "'The Secret': British Publishers and Mudie's Struggle for Economic Survival 1861-64." *Publishing History*. 34, 1993, pp 21-50.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish*. 1975. New York, Vintage, 1995.
- Haraway, Donna J. *Modest Witness @ Second Millennium. FemaleMan© Meets OncoMouse™*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century" *Simians, Cyborgs and Women*. London: Free Association Books, 1991.
- Hughes, Robert. *The Fatal Shore*. New York: Knopf, 1987.
- Isaac, Peter and Barry McKay. Eds. *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling and Using Books*. Delaware: Oak Knoll P, 1998.

- Lootens, Tricia. *Lost Saints: Silence, Gender, and Victorian Literary Canonization*. Charlottesville: U P of Virginia, 1996.
- Merrill, Cynthia. "Catherine Grace Frances Moody Gore 1800-1861." *Women Writers of Great Britain and Europe: An Encyclopedia*. Eds. Katharina Wilson and Paul Schlueter. Garland: 1997, pp 172-4.
- Morgan, Charles. *The House of MacMillan (1843-1943)*. London: MacMillan, 1943.
- Mumby, Frank Arthur and Ian Norrie. *Publishing and Bookselling*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1974.
- Poovey, Mary. *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988.
- Spender, Dale. "Forerunner and Forgotten" *Writing a New World: Two Centuries of Australian Women Writers*. Pandora: London, 1988.
- Stewart, Garrett. *Dear Reader: The Conscripted Audience in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*. Baltimore: John Hopkins U P, 1996, pp 112-15.
- Sutherland, John. *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers*. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Tebbel, John. *A History of Book Publishing in the United States. Volume One: The Creation of an Industry, 1630-1865*. New York: Bowker, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A History of Book Publishing in the United States. Volume Two: The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919*. New York: Bowker, 1975.
- Walker, Shirley. "Wild and Wilful Women: Caroline Leakey and The Broad Arrow." *A Bright and Fiery Troop: Australian Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*. Ed Debra Adelaide. Victoria, Australia: Penguin, 1988, pp 85-99.