

(Re)settling Poetry: The Culture of Reprinting and the Poetics of Emigration in the 1820s Southern Settler Colonies

Lara Atkin

Ever since Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991), it has become axiomatic to view print media as central to the formation of national consciousness. In the British Empire, newspapers functioned as what historian Chris Holdridge has termed a 'discursive mediator of identity' for those British emigrants who forsook the metropole for the settler colonies after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.¹ The function of newspaper poetry within this broader anglophone media ecology has been debated in recent years, as poetry's portability has re-established its importance to scholars interested in the role that print culture played in enabling the articulation of emerging national identities in the British settler colonies. Poetry's ability to traverse borders – both physically, as the portable property of emigrants or through the 'cut and scissors' reprint culture of nineteenth-century journalism, and imaginatively, through memorisation, reproduction and imitation – has led to a spate of recent studies that highlight the importance of poetry for the development of colonial literary cultures across the Anglo-world.²

¹ Christopher Holdridge, 'Circulating the African Journal: The Colonial Press and Trans-Imperial Britishness in the Mid Nineteenth-Century Cape', *South African Historical Journal*, 62.3 (2010), 487–513 (p. 489).

² See, for example, John O'Leary, *Savage Songs and Wild Romances: Settler Poetry and the Indigene, 1830–1880* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2011); Mary Ellis Gibson, *Indian Angles: English Verse in Colonial India from Jones to Tagore* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 2011); James Mulholland, *Sounding Imperial: Poetic Voice and the Politics of Empire, 1730–1820* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013); Manu Samriti Chander, *Brown Romantics: Poetry and Nationalism in the Global Nineteenth Century* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2017); Jason R. Rudy, *Imagined Homelands: British Poetry in the Colonies* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017); Nikki Hessell, *Romantic Literature and the Colonised World: Lessons from Indigenous Translations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

As Jason Rudy has argued, the material form of poetry is central to its success as a globally circulating cultural commodity: poetry's portability 'meant it could circulate with ease through Britain's colonies, spaces that at first were not equipped to publish longer works'.³ Throughout the nineteenth century, the most common way for poetry to be transferred from the private notebooks and memories of recently arrived emigrants to the public sphere was via colonial newspapers. In an era before the development of field-specific periodicals, colonial newspapers functioned as what Scotsman George Greig, the printer of the Cape Colony's first independent newspaper the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, termed 'a medium of general communication' connecting geographically dispersed settler communities to colonial hubs such as Cape Town and Sydney, as well as to metropolitan Britain.⁴ Correspondence pages and 'poet's corners' featuring reprinted and original verse were the means through which settlers could participate dialogically in the public sphere debates that editors of colonial newspapers were shaping through their lead articles. As a result, poetry can be considered as an integral part of the nation-building project that colonial editors were actively engaged in through newspaper publication.

Both Rudy and Kirstie Blair have recently highlighted the role that emigrant verse played in enabling diasporic communities, fractured by the upheavals of emigration, to re-establish a sense of community in their new homelands.⁵ One such example is a lyric by Thomas Pringle variously titled 'The Emigrant's Farewell' or 'Our Native Land'. Written in 1819, the year that Pringle and his family left his native Roxburghshire as part of a group of 5,000 English and Scottish settlers bound for the Cape Colony in a government-backed emigration scheme, the poem first appeared in the appendix to volume three of John Struthers's anthology of ancient and modern Scottish songs, *The Harp of Caledonia* (1819). The inclusion of this brand-new emigration lyric, written in Scots and set to the traditional air 'My Guid Lord John', indicates that, by 1820, the 'emigrant farewell' was a generic sub-category of Scottish song that was recognised by songster compilers.

As it began its transmedial journey across the globe through the pages of colonial newspapers, Pringle's poem was also being widely reprinted in England, appearing in two further anthologies edited by Scottish poets but published in London: Allan Cunningham's *Songs of Scotland*,

³ Rudy, *Imagined Homelands*, p. 16.

⁴ George Greig, 'Prospectus of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*', 20 December 1823 (Cape Town: George Greig, 1823), p. 2.

⁵ Rudy, *Imagined Homelands*, p. 22; Kirstie Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland: Poetry, Press, Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 128–9.

1 *Ancient and Modern* (1825) and Alaric Watts's *The Poetical Album;*
 2 *or, Register of Modern Fugitive Poetry* (1829). In his introduction to
 3 *The Poetical Album*, Watts is explicit about the role anthologisation
 4 plays in ensuring that poetry 'from sources of a temporary or fugi-
 5 tive character' acquires a broader circulation 'in a more popular and
 6 portable form' than the newspaper or periodical.⁶ Like many of the
 7 metropolitan reprints that circulated promiscuously through the pages
 8 of colonial newspapers, Pringle's 'The Emigrant's Farewell' had already
 9 acquired considerable portability as a result of the publishing craze for
 10 anthologies of popular songs and fugitive verse facilitated by the cheap
 11 print boom of the 1820s. As such, it circulated through Britain and the
 12 settler colonies as part of a popular canon of 'emigrant farewells' that,
 13 as Jane Stafford has argued, were so numerous that they could be said to
 14 constitute a distinct poetic genre during the 1820s and 1830s.⁷

15 'The Emigrant's Farewell' is a nostalgic description of Pringle's native
 16 Teviotdale in which conventional pastoral evocations of the countryside
 17 operate synecdochally to represent the cultural history of the communi-
 18 ties who inhabit the Scottish borderlands:

19
 20 Farewell, ye hills of glorious deeds,
 21 And streams renown'd in song!
 22 Farewell, ye blithesome braes and meads,
 23 Our hearts have loved so long!⁸

24 Here, the generic landscape imagery evokes a nostalgic imagining of a
 25 homeland no longer physically accessible due to the distance and expense
 26 of long-distance travel, but imaginatively accessible through the forms
 27 and tropes of local poetic forms, in this case the Scots-language song. As
 28 Kirstie Blair has pointed out, 'the pose of missing Scotland from abroad'
 29 was a 'recognised literary stance' for Scottish emigrant poets in the
 30 nineteenth century.⁹ It has become a truism in critical analysis of these
 31 poems to state that these poems are nostalgic, with sentimentalised rep-
 32 resentations of Britain providing an affective connection to the comforts
 33 of home and hearth so sorely missed by emigrants struggling to adjust
 34 to the privations of frontier life.¹⁰ However, this pose of affectionate

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 37 ⁶ 'Preface', in *The Poetical Album; and Register of Modern Fugitive Poetry*, ed. Alaric
 Watts (London: Samuel Manning and Co., 1829), pp. vii–viii.

38 ⁷ Jane Stafford, "'No Cloud to Hide Their Dear Resplendencies": The Uses of Poetry in
 39 1840s New Zealand', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 28.2 (2010), 12–34 (p. 20).

40 ⁸ Thomas Pringle, 'The Emigrant's Farewell', in *The Harp of Caledonia*, ed. John
 Struthers, 3 vols (Glasgow: E. Khull, 1819), vol. III, p. 445.

41 ⁹ Blair, *Working Verse*, p. 130.

42 ¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 131.

nostalgia for home is the affective response to a condition of out-of-placeness experienced by many first-generation emigrants involved in the process of colonial nation building in the settler colonies during the 1820s and 1830s.

Prior to the mineral booms of the 1850s and 1860s, the success of the settler colonies was by no means assured. The 1820s proved a particularly turbulent time for both the Cape Colony and the Australian colonies. The banking system in New South Wales proved vulnerable to the economic shocks of the 1825–6 financial crisis, which took place at the very moment when the colony was beginning the process of rapid transformation from penal colony to a community of free settlers. Meanwhile, at the Cape, the 1820s marked a period of protracted crisis for the 5,000 British settlers who had migrated to the Eastern Cape in the 1820 government-backed settlement scheme. The sense of isolation and despondency engendered by the failure of the British agricultural settlement in the Eastern Cape is movingly articulated in the following letter signed ‘A Tired-Out Emigrant’ and printed in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* in 1829:

Sir, – A British settler of 1820, is desirous to receive, through your columns, some information for himself and a numerous body of his friends, respecting the projected Settlement at Port Natal. Disgusted and disappointed with our reverses in the Colony throughout a series of nine successive years without any intermission, occasioned by Rust, Drought, Storms, and Locusts, to which there still appears no promise of conclusion, and terrified at the prospect of an *increasing Taxation upon decaying income*, it is not unnatural that we should cast our eyes upon some other asylum than that which has to us at least verified its old name of the *Cabo Tormentoso*.¹¹

In response to both the geographical displacement of global emigration and the sheer precariousness of life on the agricultural frontiers of settlement, the trope of emigration-as-exile emerged in much original settler poetry, as Elizabeth Webby has shown in her analysis of early Australian settler verse.¹² This trope was also a recurrent theme in the British settler verse produced in the Cape Colony, suggesting an ambivalence on the part of recently arrived settlers to the project of colonial state building in which they were participating and a nostalgic longing for an idealised vision of home.

In her examination of the depiction of locality in nineteenth-century

¹¹ ‘Letter from “A Tired-Out Emigrant”’, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 18 April 1829, p. 3.

¹² Elizabeth Webby, *Early Australian Poetry: An Annotated Bibliography of Original Poems Published in Australian Newspapers, Magazines and Almanacks before 1850* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 2001).

1 fiction, Ruth Livesey argues that the use of the term ‘nostalgia’ was
 2 markedly different in the nineteenth century from today, denoting a
 3 feeling of ‘acute homesickness’, an affective ‘yearning to smell, touch,
 4 hear, see the localities from whence they came’ that was the result of ‘a
 5 world on the move – out of local belonging and into global circulation’.¹³
 6 Livesey views the spatial displacements that resulted from increased
 7 global mobility as central to the experience of modernity in the nine-
 8 teenth century, creating a tension between local attachments and a more
 9 expansive metropolitan modernity. In contrast, my interest is in the
 10 ways in which the global displacements caused by emigration created
 11 new forms of local attachment that involved settlers identifying not as
 12 part of a cosmopolitan British diaspora, but as citizens of specific colo-
 13 nial localities. Where early British settlers are concerned, global move-
 14 ment did not on the whole bring with it a particularly cosmopolitan
 15 consciousness. On the contrary, long-distance travel was expensive and
 16 impossibly inaccessible for the majority of settlers, who worked as either
 17 small-scale merchants or tenant farmers, often eking out a precarious
 18 existence on unproductive land. As a result, their worlds shrank. Their
 19 material concern with bare survival and the impossibility for most of
 20 ever returning home rooted them in their new localities whether they
 21 liked it or not. In this context, the rhetoric of exile emerged in emigrant
 22 verse as a poetic response to the nostalgia or homesickness brought
 23 about by the dislocation and out-of-placeness that was produced by the
 24 settler’s position as an exile from the old world who was not yet ready
 25 to claim belonging in the new. Viewing nostalgia, as Livesey does, as
 26 ‘rooted in the spatial rather than the historical’ enables us to see why
 27 global mobility, the paradigmatic marker of modernity, paradoxically
 28 produced a turn towards interiority and containment that lyric verse
 29 was so well suited to articulating.¹⁴

30 Emigration lyrics, songs and ballads published in Britain and reprinted
 31 in colonial newspapers provided a counter-discourse to this solitary,
 32 inward-looking rhetoric of exile articulated in much settler-produced
 33 verse. If we turn to the full archive of verse printed in colonial newspa-
 34 pers during the 1820s, we find the majority of poems published were not
 35 original poetic productions but reprints from metropolitan newspapers
 36 and periodicals. This turn to metropolitan literary culture had much to
 37 do with the moral purpose colonial newspaper editors attached to their
 38 roles. Defining and shaping new forms of colonial identity was one of
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 41 ¹³ Ruth Livesey, *Writing the Stage-Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-*
Century British Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 5–6.

42 ¹⁴ Livesey, *Stage-Coach Nation*, p. 6.

the key purposes of colonial newspapers, with many editors viewing popular poetry as playing a central role in shaping what the printer of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, George Greig, termed the ‘taste and tone’ of emerging colonial bourgeois public spheres.¹⁵ This is made explicit if we turn to the ‘Poet’s Corner’ section of *The Tasmanian and Port Dalrymple Advertiser* for 19 January 1825, where we find Pringle’s ‘The Emigrant’s Farewell’ reprinted. Uncoupled from its original title, the poem appears instead accompanied by the following headnote:

[The following beautiful lines, the production of Mr. Thomas Pringle, a Gentleman of great literary attainments, and formerly principal Editor of Blackwood’s Magazine, on the prospect of leaving his ‘native Teviotdale’, for the Cape of Good Hope (where he is now a resident), cannot fail to gratify many of our Readers whose feelings, upon such an occasion, have no doubt been in unison with those of the Poet’s.]¹⁶

The paratext here provides a kind of authenticating narrative for the poem, containing an aesthetic justification for its inclusion in a specially designated ‘Poet’s Corner’ based on Pringle’s ‘great literary attainments’, including his brief role as the first editor of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* in 1817, a role he shared with James Cleghorn. Having established Pringle’s literary credentials with reference to Edinburgh periodical culture, the biographical narrative contained in this editorial note stresses Pringle’s status as an emigrant. In contrast to other Scottish poets such as Thomas Campbell, who also wrote a number of emigration lyrics in the 1820s, Pringle had actually experienced for himself the material and affective displacements that characterised emigrant experience. Ironically, given the inauthenticity of many metropolitan emigration poems reprinted in the colonies, it is the Pringle’s own painful and well-documented experiences of the travails of settlement that enable the paper’s editor, printer and publisher, George Terry Howe, to confidently assert that his readers’ feelings ‘have no doubt been in unison with those of the Poet’s’. That Pringle’s poem resonated with newly established British emigrant communities across the settler colonies is evidenced in the fact that between 1825 and 1842 it was reprinted in six colonial newspapers located in Sydney, Melbourne and Cape Town.¹⁷

¹⁵ Greig, ‘Prospectus’, 20 December 1823, p. 2.

¹⁶ George Terry Howe, ‘Poet’s Corner’, *The Tasmanian and Port Dalrymple Advertiser*, 19 January 1825, p. 4.

¹⁷ In addition to appearing untitled in *The Tasmanian and Port Dalrymple Advertiser* on 19 January 1825, the poem appeared under the title ‘Our Native Land’ in Watts’s *The Poetical Album* (London), the *South African Commercial Advertiser* (Cape Town), 27 July 1829 and *The Australian* (Sydney), 21 October 1829. In 1842 it appeared in *The Colonial Observer* (Sydney), 10 September 1842, *The Teetotaller*

As well as providing the affective glue that enabled colonists to make sense of the estrangements of settlement, reprinted emigration lyrics could serve a more overtly polemical purpose. The arrival of foreign news by ship was an elongated form of information transfer as, during the 1820s, it took six weeks for a ship from London to reach Cape Town and four months to reach Sydney.¹⁸ Cut off by the tyranny of distance from unmediated entry into metropolitan public sphere debates, colonial newspaper editors often used reprinted material from British newspapers and periodicals as a means of insinuating themselves into metropolitan news discourse, particularly when emigration and colonial affairs were discussed. To this end, colonial newspaper editors reprinted a vast quantity of what Fariha Shaikh has usefully termed ‘emigration literature’. Shaikh’s expansive definition includes both overt ‘booster’ literature that was primarily produced to publicly promote emigration and texts that were ‘produced directly out of the practices of emigration’, such as emigrant letters, poems and ‘sketches’ of colonial life published in colonial and metropolitan periodicals.¹⁹

Although most frequently published in London, narrative sketches of colonial life were frequently extracted in colonial newspapers. These extracts were often accompanied by acerbic editorials and letters critiquing what the Sydney-based *Australian*’s editor Robert Wardell termed the ‘unscrupulous scribblers’ who, in a quest to satiate the appetite for knowledge about emerging colonial societies, provided the metropolitan press with ‘either overcharged pictures, or pure fictions’ concerning the problems facing the settler colonies. In response to an anonymous letter purporting to be from a settler in New South Wales complaining of widespread crime and public disorder, which was published on the front page of the *Morning Chronicle* on 28 September 1825, Wardell argues in the *Australian* in June 1826 that the danger posed to the colony by these misrepresentations derives from the ‘weight and authority’ afforded to metropolitan newspapers such as the *Morning Chronicle*, causing readers contemplating emigration to ‘necessarily come to the

and General Newspaper (Sydney), 14 September 1842 and finally in the *Port Philip and Melbourne Advertiser* (Melbourne), 22 September 1842. It also appears in two Scottish poetry anthologies during the 1840s, *The Book of Scottish Song*, ed. Alexander Whitelaw (Glasgow: Blackie and Son., 1843) and *Chambers’ Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts*, ed. William and Robert Chambers (Edinburgh: Robert and William Chambers, 1847).

¹⁸ Victor Isaacs and Rod Kirkpatrick, *Two Hundred Years of Sydney Newspapers: A Short History* (Sydney: Rural Press, 2003), p. 9.

¹⁹ Fariha Shaikh, *Nineteenth-Century Settler Emigration in British Literature and Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 5.

conclusion, that . . . New South Wales will not prove to them an eligible resting place'.²⁰

In the broader discursive field of reprinted emigration poetry, optimistic, pro-emigration lyrics penned in the metropole extolling the virtues of colonial settlement created a counter-discourse to these metropolitan misrepresentations. One such example, titled 'Van Diemen's Land', was originally printed in England in *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* and reprinted in the official government gazettes of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land in October 1823 and January 1824 respectively. The poem takes the form of a secular prayer addressed to a departing emigrant in which the speaker begins by issuing a blessing for the journey: 'May fav'ring breezes fill thy sails, / And may no calm nor adverse gales, / Impede the on the main', before quickly shifting imaginatively to the site of colonisation, which is represented as a utopian scene of pastoral renewal. After the inevitable 'privations' of 'short duration', the emigrant will reap the domestic and economic benefits of the classic settler agrarian fantasy:

May these, the comforts of this life,
 Soon smile on thee, thy babes and wife,
 And Heaven increase they wealth.
 There may your every plan succeed,
 Thy flocks and herds like rabbits breed
 . . .
 And may thy crops of wool and corn
 be to a ready market borne.²¹

These lines neatly encapsulate the ideology of free settlement in which the emigrant establishes himself at the centre of a domestic idyll while simultaneously participating productively in the market economy. In an era in which both Australian colonies were yet to break the shackles of their identities as penal settlements, the circulation of such aspirational images of prosperous settlement were central to concerted efforts to attract free emigrants to the colonies that were championed by editors and correspondents throughout the colonial press.

The status of such poems within the broader cultural economy of emigration booster literature is even more evident if we turn to the poem's publication in the *Sydney Gazette*. Immediately preceding the poem is a letter signed 'An Emigrant Settler' and dated 'Hunter's River, County of Durham, Aug 22 1823' in which the correspondent states 'no

²⁰ Robert Wardell, *The Australian*, 28 June 1826, p. 2.

²¹ Anon., 'Van Diemen's Land', *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 9 January 1824, p. 3.

doubt [the following lines] will be thought characteristic by a portion of your Readers, as conveying the wishes of many a wooing friend'. The rest of the short letter goes on to praise the colony of New South Wales, 'where the industrious Emigrant Settler can look forward with a staple hope of being rewarded for his past cares, and present toil' with success in a colony where 'the Administration of Colonial Public Affairs' is 'so judiciously and well concerted'.²² In an era of post-war retrenchment in which the British government was seeking to curtail expenditure on colonial administration, fledgling settler colonies such as New South Wales and the Cape Colony had to prove their economic worth to an ambivalent imperial administration in London. This created an atmosphere of intense inter-colonial rivalry in which colonial newspaper editors' selection criteria for original and reprinted material was governed to a large extent by the wish to present aspirational images of colonial life that would attract the interest of policy makers and investors in London, as well as increasing numbers of free emigrants. The presence of the letter and a reduced, eight-stanza version of 'Van Diemen's Land' on the front page of an 'Additional Supplement' to the *Sydney Gazette*, in which these emigration texts were the only content aside from classified advertising, clearly demonstrates the importance the *Gazette's* editor Robert Howe placed in foregrounding these positive representations of the prospects of free emigrants in the colony of New South Wales (of which Tasmania was still a part in 1823).

In an editorial of 14 April 1824, John Fairbairn, editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, explicitly addressed the difficulties posed to the Cape Colony by negative reports of the distress suffered by English settlers in the Eastern Cape, where three years of failed harvests had led Pringle to make an appeal to the British public to raise funds to alleviate distressed settlers. After reading Pringle's appeal in the pages of the *New Monthly Magazine*, a correspondent signing himself 'A Settler' wrote in to the *South African Commercial Advertiser* to complain that 'the colony is greatly in want of labourers, but the damaging and false reports circulated with regard to its internal state, deter emigrants from coming at all'.²³ In a discussion of a cluster of new emigration pamphlets extolling the virtues of settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, Fairbairn notes that just four years earlier such booster literature had been praising the Cape but that now 'the servants of

²² 'Letter from "An Emigrant Settler"', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 October 1823, p. 1.

²³ 'Letter from "A Settler"', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 14 April 1824, p. 117.

Government . . . are not likely to continue to encourage their inquisitive and restless countrymen to settle in the Cape Colony by dilating much on its advantages'. Fairbairn acknowledges the cause of this neglect by stating that 'The English Settlers, who came into the Colony at a particularly unfortunate period, and were met by circumstances not likely to give them a favourable impression of it in any respect, have certainly the best reasons for dwelling on the dark side of the picture.'²⁴

In an issue in which metropolitan misrepresentations of the realities of colonial settlement was a key note of both the lead editorial and correspondence page, Fairbairn elects to reprint a ballad titled 'The Poyais Emigrant' that had been hawked about the streets of London at the height of the Poyais emigration scandal in 1822–3 (discussed in Chapter 1 of this volume by Angela Esterhammer). The Poyais bubble, as Esterhammer notes, was textually constituted. In the court case brought to the King's Bench in January 1824, MacGregor attempted to sue the proprietors of the *Morning Herald* for printing claims made by Captain Joshua Antrim, one of the British captains responsible for repatriating emigrants evacuated from Poyais to the British colony at Belize, that the emigrants were deliberately misled and defrauded by MacGregor. Crucial to the case built by the defence was the fictitious emigration literature produced by MacGregor and his agents to build public confidence in the Poyais scheme. Acting on behalf of the defence, QC Mr Scarlett produced *Sketches of the Mosquito Coast* (1822) for the jury's perusal, stating that in this fabricated travelogue MacGregor 'had collected together all the most favourable accounts of this happy region, and had published them as if authenticated by an eye-witness, when the compilation, adorned with his own picture, was only from his own hand'.²⁵

The association Scarlett builds between MacGregor's passing off a compilation of quotations as his own composition and the fraud practised on the emigrants through the Poyais land scheme clearly draws on a review of the work written by John Barrow in the *Quarterly Review* in October 1822, in which Barrow explicitly argues that the 'scissors-and-paste' practices of compilation disguised as authorship is the material embodiment of the fraud practised on guileless speculators and emigrants by MacGregor:

Who 'Thomas Strangeways, K.G.C.' may be, we neither know nor desire to know; but if, as he tells us, 'a portion of his life has been spent in this fine

²⁴ John Fairbairn, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 14 April 1824, p. 115.

²⁵ Anon., 'The Court of the King's Bench, Guildhall, Jan 9th 1824, McGregor v. Thwaites and another', in *The Annual Register of World Events: A Review of the Year*, 80 vols (London: J. Dodsley, [1762?]-1838), vol. LXVI (1824), pp. 17–23 (p. 21).

country,' we can only say that, within the covers of his *Sketch of the Mosquito Shore &c.* there will not be found a single particle respecting it, which bears the slightest testimony of his having ever set foot on it; in fact, he has gutted and garbled Bryan Edward's *Account of the West India Islands*, and Browne's *History of Jamaica*, and transplanted, word for word, the whole produce of these islands to Poyais, or rather into his pages.²⁶

The 'gutted and garbled' travelogues passed off as original composition by MacGregor under the nom de plume Thomas Strangeways become the perfect metaphor for the tissue of deceptions underwriting his claims to legitimate authority over the land on the Mosquito coast, claims that Barrow systematically dismantles during the course of his review. But unwittingly Barrow also exposes the inherently fictive nature of all travel writing (including, perhaps, his own travelogues describing his residences in China and South Africa), which frequently consisted of large chunks of unattributed quotation as well as more transparent and fully attributed allusions to earlier works. The danger, Barrow and Scarlett imply, is that when such fictions are deployed as emigration 'booster' literature they can prove persuasive lures not only for 'romantic adventurers' but for 'all who are given to change'.²⁷

It was not just the travelogue that acted as a primary vehicle for attracting the working-class Scottish emigrants to invest in MacGregor's Poyais scheme, but also a series of ballads written by Andrew Picken, himself one of the two hundred people persuaded by MacGregor to emigrate, and his sister, Joanna Belfrage Picken. In his testimony before the King's Bench, Picken gives the following description of the production of 'The Poyais Emigrant' and 'Lines to Poyais', two 'booster' poems produced by the Pickens:

I first became acquainted with Sir Gregor in 1821; he engaged me as clerk, but promised me a cornetcy of lancers. Sir Gregor asked me to write something in favour of Poyais. I asked how it was to be done? He said, he understood I had a talent for poetry. I produced this (the 'lines to Poyais'), except a few lines at the end. The song, 'The Poyais Emigrant,' was written at his desire, by my sister. It was published and circulated by Sir Gregor, who said, the ballad was to be hawked through the streets to attract the vulgar.²⁸

Here we have perhaps the most egregious historical example of emigration poetry produced explicitly as 'booster' literature to attract emigrants and investments. Quite how the poem made its way from a

²⁶ John Barrow, 'The Poyais Bubble', *Quarterly Review*, 28 (1822-3), 157-61 (p. 160).

²⁷ Anon., 'The Court of the King's Bench, Guildhall, Jan 9th 1824, McGregor v. Thwaites and another', p. 21.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 22.

broadside ballad hawked through the streets of Glasgow in 1822 to the newspaper office of John Fairbairn in Cape Town in 1824 is difficult to ascertain, but it seems likely that the poem was anthologised in one of the many compilations of ‘fugitive verse’ printed in London, given the amount of publicity the Poyais affair had gained in British newspapers and periodicals.

The poem itself is a utopian ballad deploying the classic trope of emigration as economic and cultural regeneration. It was written in the Scots dialect – a dialect that, Rudy has argued, had by the nineteenth century become a form of portable property that immediately signified an idea of Scotland rooted in a nostalgic yearning for a lost homeland.²⁹ This affective note of nostalgic attachment to an idealised agrarian past signified by the use of Scots and the generic choice of the ballad immediately situates MacGregor and the Poyais scandal within a broader cultural economy of internationally recognised Scottish song poetry that included the many poetaster imitators of Burns and the numerous anthologies of traditional Scottish songs and ballads that had flooded the British literary market place in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Scots dialect songs were already popularly associated with a certain second-rateness and shabby inauthenticity, with songs produced and published in London dealing with ‘rustic or humble life’ frequently published generically as ‘Northern’ or ‘Scotch’ songs.³⁰ To ‘genteel’ London audiences, these fabricated songs presented to a metropolitan audience ‘characterizations of the Scots as pastoral, virtuous, and simple, confined to a golden age long superseded by a developing Britain’.³¹ These popular associations with Scots dialect song as a genre, combined with the infamy the Poyais scheme had gained through the pages of the British and imperial press, enabled Fairbairn to re-present ‘The Poyais Emigrant’ as the poetic embodiment of the fraud that had been perpetrated by MacGregor and his associates on unsuspecting emigrants. This point is reinforced by Fairbairn’s insertion of the following editorial headnote: ‘The following *morceau*, contrasted with the actual state of the Poyais settlement, and, indeed, of every other new settlement, gives a pretty accurate idea of the difference between poetry and matter of fact.’³²

²⁹ Jason Rudy, ‘Scottish Sounds in Colonial South Africa: Thomas Pringle, Dialect, and the Overhearing of Ballad’, *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 7:2 (September 2016), 197–214 (p. 199).

³⁰ Dave Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British “Folksong,” 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985).

³¹ Janet Sorenson, ‘Alternative Antiquarianisms of Scotland and the North’, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 70.4 (December 2009), 415–41 (p. 423).

³² John Fairbairn, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 14 April 1824, p. 118.

1 The portability of the internationally recognisable markers of Scottish
 2 song tradition combined with the political infamy that, by 1824, sur-
 3 rounded the Poyais emigration scheme, enabled ‘The Poyais Emigrant’ to
 4 stand metonymically for the propaganda and ‘puff’ literature produced
 5 during the 1820s emigration boom. This in turn enabled Fairbairn to
 6 enlist the poem in his own local propaganda war against metropolitan
 7 misrepresentations of the utopian possibilities of large-scale emigration
 8 to uncharted territories and virgin settlements. In so doing, he hoped
 9 to bolster the flagging fortunes of the Cape Colony to ensure that the
 10 plight of the emigrants at the Cape gained the attention of the British
 11 government.

12 Colonial ventures in the 1820s were inherently speculative, requiring
 13 both an investment of capital and the imaginative ability to project
 14 prosperous visions of future plenitude onto unseen lands. The literature
 15 of emigration blended fact and fiction in a way that was characteristic of
 16 what Esterhammer terms the ‘hybrid genres’ of 1820s periodical culture.
 17 In the final section of this chapter, I investigate the ways in which
 18 reprinted emigration poetry was invested discursively in this speculative,
 19 future-oriented vision of colonisation both imaginatively and materially.
 20 Emigration poetry’s imaginative investment in projection is mirrored
 21 materially in its status as an internationally circulating commodity,
 22 imbricated in the same trans-imperial networks of commodity exchange
 23 that enabled other portable goods to circulate between Europe and the
 24 colonies. Poetry’s status as a portable commodity that travelled through
 25 the same shipping routes as colonial commodities was explicitly recog-
 26 nised by colonial newspaper editors, affecting how it was positioned
 27 on the page and, by extension, how it was received and interpreted by
 28 colonial readers.

29 The transfer of literary texts between colonial hubs in the south-
 30 ern hemisphere and metropolitan centres was exclusively by shipping
 31 prior to the creation of a telegraph line between Australia and Europe
 32 in 1872.³³ As Anna Johnston has noted, the prominent position that
 33 ‘shipping intelligence’ occupied in all colonial newspapers ‘reminds us
 34 of the crucial role mobility played in the formation of the colony, with
 35 the ocean world dictating the entrance and egress of people, goods and
 36 ideas’.³⁴ An advertisement from the *Hobart Town Gazette* in 1824
 37 indicates that books were fully imbricated with these oceanic networks
 38 of commodity exchange, with settlers in Hobart or Cape Town able to
 39

40
 41 ³³ Isaacs and Kirkpatrick, *Two Hundred Years of Sydney Newspapers*, p. 9.

42 ³⁴ Anna Johnston, *The Paper War: Morality, Print Culture, and Power in Colonial New South Wales* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2011), p. 1.

acquire canonical works by Walter Scott and Tobias Smollett at the same merchants from whom they purchased their salt pork.³⁵ In early colonial newspapers compositors frequently positioned poetry on the front or back page, next to classified advertising and government notices. This meant these commercial and official notices were as much a part of the reception context for popular poetry as the journalistic writing that has hitherto attracted the attention of scholars interested in analysing the specific discourses surrounding newspaper poetry.³⁶

One of the more substantial metropolitan emigration lyrics to be reprinted in the colonies was Thomas Campbell's 'Lines On The Departure Of Emigrants For New South Wales' (Figure 5). Published in the *New Monthly Magazine* in June 1829 and reprinted in the *Sydney Gazette* early the following year, signed and fully attributed, Campbell's poem represents colonisation in terms of metaphors of domestic virtue, and ultimately as a form of quasi-heroic liberal self-assertion. The 'pensive' emigrants are 'like children parting from a mother', but though the grief of familial parting and absence is likely to 'long' persist, it is a necessary departure, for they are leaving a 'home that could not yield them bread' for the prospect of creating their own domestic establishments which will in time far outstrip those of 'home'; indeed they will create a personal 'empire' for generations to come: 'There, marking o'er his farm's expanding ring / New fleeces whiten and new fruits upspring, / The grey hair'd swain, his grandchild sporting round, / Shall walk at eve his little empire's bound'.³⁷

While the 'bond' of Britain as 'home' for the emigrant is repeatedly emphasised through the poem, it is a kind of proper filial fidelity that the 'homesick heart' must acknowledge but manfully overcome to secure the future for his children and subsequent generations. And the enterprise of the emigrant in transforming Australian 'wildness' into his own pastoral, patriarchal empire is rewarded by the fact that subsequent generations would be free of the pain of loss associated with emigration: 'not a pang that England's name imparts / Shall touch a fibre of his children's hearts'; for they will be 'bound to *that* native land by nature's bond'.³⁸ By 1830, newspapers like the *Sydney Gazette* were part of a

³⁵ 'Sales by Auction', *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 16 July 1824, p. 4.

³⁶ See, for example, Natalie M. Houston, 'Newspaper Poems: Material Texts in the Public Sphere', *Victorian Studies*, 50 (2008), 233–42; Alison Chapman and Caley Ehnes, 'Introduction', *Victorian Poetry*, 52.1 (Spring 2014), 1–20.

³⁷ Thomas Campbell, 'Lines on the Departure of Emigrants for New South Wales', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 25 February 1830, p. 4 (lines 44–7).

³⁸ Campbell, 'Lines', lines 101–3.

Secret Society.

THEY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

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It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

It is not a secret society, but a society of secrets... (from the New Monthly Magazine)

Advertisement for a ship or service, mentioning names like 'The London Direct'.

Advertisement for a ship or service, mentioning names like 'The London Direct'.

Advertisement for a ship or service, mentioning names like 'The London Direct'.

Advertisement for a ship or service, mentioning names like 'The London Direct'.

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Figure 5 Thomas Campbell, 'Lines on the Departure of Emigrants to New South Wales', Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, 25 February 1830, p. 4. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

concerted push to encourage free emigration to the Australian colonies, and to advance the interests of the settler class there. It is notable that this poem praising the virtues of free emigration was placed immediately before an extensive list of absconded convicts. The Gazette, still a semi-

official publication, had an obligation to report lists of absconders and other aspects of penal administration. Campbell's poem – suggesting as it does that the sacrifice of free emigrants would lead to a splendid future for their children, who would in turn would become authentically Australian – directs readers to reflect on the promise of colonial success underpinned by free immigration, while also encoding the appropriate forms of sentiment for understanding the settler's place between the new world and the old. Yet reprinting Campbell's 'Lines' next to a list of convict absconders highlights the disjuncture between this idealised image of the colony's future produced in the metropole and the material conditions of New South Wales during the 1820s, where convicts and emancipists (freed convicts) vastly outnumbered free settlers.³⁹ This fact cannot have been lost on the *Sydney Gazette's* editor Robert Howe, who was himself the son of an emancipist and campaigned vociferously in the pages of the *Gazette* for the granting of full civil rights to this class of colonists.

In the Cape Colony, where settler newspapers were published bilingually in English and Dutch, the immediate context in which reprinted poetry was read was even more complex. Another of Campbell's emigration lyrics, simply titled 'The Emigrant', was published in Cape Town's *South African Commercial Advertiser* in 1824 (Figure 6). In this conventional lyric, the speaker is an emigrant departing for Canada. Originally appearing in Campbell and Cyrus Redding's *New Monthly Magazine* in 1823, in both its British and South African publication contexts the poem was published anonymously, decoupling it from the biographical, historical and geographical contexts of its publication. The imagined addressee of the poem is deliberately vague, with the poem's lack of nominal or propositional referents enabling it to contain the possibility that it is addressed to a lover, a close friend or a family member. The dominant emotional registers of the poem's speaker are enduring love and a melancholic regret, with the generic references to the Canadian landscape serving less to map the geography of a colonial locale than to chart the contours of the speaker's sentiments. In this poem, the Canadian landscape is presented as an empty signifier ready to be filled by a set of stock sentiments that abounded in nineteenth-century emigration verse: the boundless grief of departure; the sense of estrangement from an alien and hostile natural world; and the nostalgic longing for home, as embodied in the figure of the imagined addressee.

³⁹ Anon., 'Abstract of the Population of the Colony of New South Wales . . . November 1828', *Sydney Gazette*, 26 September 1829, p. 1, available at <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2193488> (accessed 7 February 2022).

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER. 111

LEGAL NOTICE.—The Notices heretofore given to the numerous Individuals indebted to the Estate of THOMAS HART & Co. soliciting an early adjustment of their respective Debts, having in very many instances proved unavailing, it is finally intimated, that the outstanding Debts are now to be recovered by legal process.
Cape Town, 1st April 1824.

Just Published.—
A Dutch and English VOCABULARY.
Published by JAS. HOWELL.
A liberal allowance to Dealers.
Passage to ENGLAND.

THE Ship *England*, Capt REAY, has room in her Round House, for a Gentleman and his Lady and Children. The accommodations are superior, and, as the vessel will leave in a few days, immediate application is requested to be made to Capt. REAY, or to
JOHN FINDLAY.
Sale for the Execution of a Sentence.

ON Thursday Morning the 8th Instant, at 10 o'Clock precisely, there will be sold at the Sale Room and for Account of Mr. GEORGE THOMAS, in Strand-street, next to Messrs. Hart and Co.'s, the remainder of Shawls, Soap, Sugar; also a beautiful Harp Organ, and a Pipe of delicious Madeira Wine, together with such further Articles as will be offered for Sale. The Sale, if not concluded on the 8th, will be continued on the day following, the 9th of April.
R. J. VAN DER REIT, Sequesterator.
Sequesterator's Office, 5th April 1824.

NOW in the PRESS.
AND will shortly be published, A Set of TABLES, showing the Sterling Value of One Rix Dollar:—Also the Value in Rix Dollars, Skillings, and Stivers, for One Pound Sterling, from 1 to 200 per Cent. Premium:—to which is added, a List of Colonial Papers, Crayons, showing the Dates, Color, and by whom signed,—for the protection of every person in the Colony; by which, at one view, false or wrongfully signed Money may be detected. Printed, in the English and Dutch Languages, by G. GRIGG, and Published by W. BRIDGES, for account of W. STRICKER and W. BRIDGES.
It will form a neat Book, printed on very fine Paper, and new Type. Price 12 Skillings Stitched, and 2 Rix, neatly Bound.

LOST or Stolen, on Sunday evening the 4th Instant, between the Three Cups and Cape Town, from a strayed Horse, a Saddle and Bridle, nearly new. Whoever will bring the same to Mr. Dixon's Livery Stables, shall be handsomely rewarded.

THE Undersigned acting under a General Power of Attorney from the late Firm of Messrs. M'GARVA, COUSINS, and BARKLE, Coachmakers, respectfully requests those Persons indebted to them previous to the Dissolution of their Co-partnership, to discharge the amount of their respective Accounts and Notes past due, before the end of the present Month, as his instructions otherwise are to resort to coercive measures to compel Payment, without distinction of persons, the parties being desirous to settle their Co-partnership concerns.
P. TAYLOR,
Attorney at Law and Notary Public.
35, Long-street, corner of
Castle-street, Cape Town.
A convenient Stable and Loft to Let, apply as above.

A PUBLIC SALE will be held by SIMPSON, SANDERSON, & CO. Keizersgracht, in the Afternoon of *Thursday* next, 8th Instant, of a great variety of British Manufactures; as also a few very superior Dutch Sweet-milk Cheeses, now landing from the *Marianne*.

No. 7. BOOM STREET.

H. GOULAND acquaints the Public, that he has commenced the Manufacture of *Basket Salt*, as good as ever was imported from England, 6 Sks. per Basket. Salt made expressly for Butter, 4 Sks. per pound, and fashionable Wash Balls 2 Sks. each.

Genteel Apartments, and a Stable to Let.

ROBERT SWAN, WATCH MAKER, begs to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has removed from *Grave-street* to No. 6, Market-square, where he continues to carry on the above business in all its branches.
Cape Town, 6th April, 1824.

RECEIVED, per *Marianne*, a fashionable assortment of Millinery and other Fancy Goods, too numerous to insert, which are now all open and for Sale at moderate Prices.
St. John-street, T. DE MOLDRUP.
7th April, 1824.

FOR SALE.

A FEW extra MULES, imported per the Hamburg ship *Sophia*, Captain SPILCKER. For further information, apply to
24, Barg-street. P. F. SIEGRUHN.

FOR Sale, by Private Contract, a House and Premises situated in *Castle-street*, No. 27. The whole of the Purchase-money may remain at Interest, if desired, for several years, under good security.

TO Let, a spacious Upper Store in Rogge Bay, of which possession may be taken immediately.—Apply to No. 8, Strand-street.

JUST Landed per *PALENCIA* and on Sale, Horse Shoe Nails, 5 and 6 lbs. per 1000 at 6 Rix. per do.; Horse Shoe Rasps; Bush-plate, sorted and very strong; Blistered Steel, rolled and in the Blister; Coach-makers Spring Steel, strong, assorted, and for Main-plates; Coach-handles; Carriage and Gig-roof joints; Assorted Carriage Ladder or Rest-joints; A few strong Grass-hopper Springs; A set of C. Springs, calculated for a Light Chaise or London; a quantity of Springs, of different descriptions;—and a number of other articles too numerous to insert.

The above Articles will be sold on the most reasonable Terms.
THOS. HUNTER.
N.B.—Seven and a half per Cent. allowed for Ready Money.
Cape Town, April 6, 1824.

Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales.
THE Australian Company's Ship *Portland*, (A. I.) coppered and copper fastened, burthen, per Register, 385 Tons, expected to call here early in May, will have room for Freight, and a few Passengers for the above places.

As the *Portland* is one of the Company's regular Traders, and fitted-up expressly for Passengers, any one desirous of proceeding to either of the above Colonies, will find this a most favourable opportunity.
For Freight or Passage apply to
JOHN FINDLAY.

WITHOUT the least RESERVE.—The public Sales will be continued on the Parade, opposite the Commercial Exchange, in the Morning of Friday next, the 9th inst. of *Claret* and *Hams*. At the same time will be offered for Sale, the remainder of the Goods formerly advertised.
JOHN FINDLAY.

PUBLIEK Verkoopung op Zaterdag, den 22 dezer, te twaalf uren precies, van Boter, Kaarstver, Zout, enz. enz.
A. CHIAPPINI & Co.

EENE publieke verkoopung zal gehouden worden door SIMPSON, SANDERSON & Co. op de Keizersgracht op Donderdag namiddag den 8 dezer van een groote verscheidenheit Britsche Goederen; als mede etra goeete Hollandsche Zoutemelcke Kazzen, na landeude van de *Marianne*.

Wel hem, die 't wienend lot te ontzien heeft noch te dachten,
Die zelf zyn efrgrond bouwt, en 't werken zich niet schijnt;
Die, onbekend en vry, in vaderlandsche luchten,
Op eigen bodem staat;
Hem, wien zyn knode vlechts hem, wien zyn wu-gerds drecken,
Hem, wien zyn akker voedt en graan staet in zyn schuur,
Hem, wien, by zomerfrost, zyn boom en schaduw schenken,
By winter koude, vnuur.
Gezegend, die dat leeft, die, met zyn lot te treden,
Voor vleed noch ebe schroomt in 's werelids manke keel;
Gezegend, die dus zweegt, niet onvermoede leden
En onbuiswaerde ziel.
Gelukkig boven peil, die, wars van nardsche zorgen,
Des dages met zwer zwogt en 's nachts vetkwickeld rust;
Wien de onschuld wiegt in almap en wien, by eiken morgen,
't gesenget wakker knut!
Schenk, schenk! my dat lot: schenk, na zoo zoet een leven,
Me een wroegingloozen jaal, in diepe vergeten staat;
En dat geue manneen peed, voor trotshards ege-beven.
Myn neccing graf verraad!
Vit het Engelsche naar FORK door TOLLENS

—♦—

Lord Mansfield.—This great man was never ashamed of publicly recanting any wrong opinion he might have adopted or made known; and he used to say, that to acknowledge you were yesterday wrong, was but to let the world know, that you were wiser to day than yesterday.

THE EMIGRANT.

When fire sets the forests on blaze
It expires on their desolate track;
But the love which has lighted our days,
Still burns when our prospects are black.
I must go to the Huron's wild grounds,
Whilst thou bro't to thine own native sun;
Oh, the ocean that parts us has bounds,
But the grief of our parting has none!
Can the eagle fly home to his mate?
Can he build by Niagara's foam?
And are we interdicted by fate
From a spot of the world for our home?
Thou art lost to me ev'n as the dead,
And our tears unavailingly flow;
Yet to think they could cease to be shed,
Would be worse than this burden of woe.

Figure 6 Thomas Campbell, 'The Emigrant', and Alexander Pope, 'Ode on Solitude' (Dutch translation by Hendrik Tollens), *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 7 April 1824, p. 111. Author's photograph of National Archives copy.

As with Campbell's 'Lines' in the *Sydney Gazette*, the poem is embedded in the classified section of the newspaper, a location that juxtaposes the poem's intra-imperial traffic in the stock sentiments of emigration poetry with the circulation of British and Dutch consumer goods in

and out of the mercantile counting houses of Cape Town – so we have Simpson and Son advertising their ‘Dutch sweet-milk cheeses’ and John Findlay his ‘Claret and Hams’. Canonical and modern verse’s status as transnationally circulating commodity is even more obvious in the case of the Dutch-language poem printed alongside ‘The Emigrant’. Printed without so much as a title, only the typographical layout of the verse on the page and the thickness of the dividing line separating it from the classified advertisement that proceeds it indicate to the reader that what they are reading is verse. The inscription ‘Uit het Engelsche naar Pope door Tollens’, indicates that the poem’s assumed readership would be familiar with both Alexander Pope’s original ‘Ode on Solitude’ and the reprinted poem – a Dutch translation of ‘Ode on Solitude’ by the Dutch poet Hendrik Tollens.

The assumption of bilingual literacy and a working knowledge of popular poetry in both the Netherlands and Britain is indicative of the Whiggish *South African Commercial Advertiser’s* aspiration to reflect the literary tastes as well as the political and commercial interests of Cape Town’s recently amalgamated Anglo-Dutch mercantile and bureaucratic elites. On an ideological level, it is a manifestation of the aspiration of the *Advertiser’s* Scottish editor, John Fairbairn, for what he later termed the ‘cordial amalgamation’ of the ethnically diverse European settlers of the Cape Colony into a single polity governed by British law, a call which echoed through the pages of his editorials in the *Advertiser* throughout the 1820s.⁴¹ The reprinting in a Cape Town newspaper of a Dutch translation of an English poem that presents the embodiment of happiness as the man (and this is a quote from Pope’s original) ‘whose wish and care / A few paternal acres bound, / Content to breathe his native air, / In his own native ground’ would seem, at first glance, to be asking to be read ironically.⁴² Yet in a newspaper which celebrates the circulation and reconfiguration of the cultural and material productions of Britain and the Netherlands in the protean community of 1820s Cape Town, Pope’s pastoral celebration of the putative joys of a settled life seems to ask to be read as a representation of the colonial ideology of settlement: a celebration of the independence and resilience of the rural yeoman that seems intended to imaginatively counter the despondency and disappointment articulated by British and Dutch emigrant farmers

⁴⁰ Hendrik Tollens, ‘Uit het Engelsche naar Pope door Tollens’, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 7 April 1824, p. 111.

⁴¹ John Fairbairn, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 31 August 1825, p. 1.

⁴² Alexander Pope, ‘Ode on Solitude’, *The Works of Alexander Pope: With Notes and Illustrations by Himself and Others*, ed. William Roscoe, 10 vols (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1824), vol. II, p. 54.

1 writing in the *Advertiser's* correspondence pages and the speaker in
 2 Campbell's 'The Emigrant'.

3 A final alternative is offered in the juxtaposition between 'The
 4 Emigrant' and an advertisement offering passenger transport to the
 5 Australian colonies of Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales. In
 6 contrast to the timeless present of the lyric verse, this advert is future-
 7 oriented, offering 'a most favourable opportunity' to 'any one desirous
 8 of proceeding to either of the above colonies'.⁴³ In contrast to the
 9 romantic melancholy of Campbell's lyric, this text presents emigra-
 10 tion as opportunity: with intra-imperial mobility framed as capital-
 11 ist speculation, holding out the potential of economic reward to the
 12 speculating British emigrant. If the bursting of the Poyais bubble in
 13 1823 alerted prospective emigrants to the potential for catastrophic
 14 loss through the risky enterprise of emigration to virgin settlements,
 15 the Australian colonies as textually constituted through both emigra-
 16 tion literature and advertising offer a more secure prospect of success
 17 for the speculating British emigrant. The conventional sentiments of
 18 Campbell's 'The Emigrant' enabled it to stand for the despondency that
 19 affected early settlers in 1820s South Africa. Yet by reprinting it next to
 20 classified adverts and translated verse, the *South African Commercial*
 21 *Advertiser* was able to frame Campbell's melancholic lyric within a
 22 counter-discourse that focused on the material and cultural benefits to
 23 be derived from the transnational flows of people and goods facilitated
 24 by the 1820s emigration boom.

25 Poetry, as these examples of newspaper verse demonstrate, played
 26 an important role in the broader construction of new forms of settler-
 27 colonial identities that, although derived culturally from metropolitan
 28 Britain, were increasingly defined by the economic and political condi-
 29 tions of colonial life. As Rudy has persuasively argued, the very
 30 portability of popular poetry enabled the circulation of stock poetic
 31 genres and sentiments across the Anglo-world through the circulation
 32 of books in the book collections of emigrants, as well as republica-
 33 tion in colonial periodicals.⁴⁴ By restoring these texts to their original
 34 colonial publication contexts, we can see more clearly that this traffic
 35 in stock tropes and sentiments was not merely a case of cultural replica-
 36 tion and adaptation.

37 In the case of 'The Poyais Emigrant', John Fairbairn was able to
 38 repurpose a poem that had originally been penned as 'puff' literature
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 41 ⁴³ 'Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 7
 April 1824, p. 111.

42 ⁴⁴ Rudy, *Imagined Homelands*, p. 16.

to promote the Poyais emigration scheme in order to further his own local propaganda war in support of the established settlers in the Cape Colony. He was able to do so by mobilising the trans-imperial literacy of his local readership, who he assumed would be familiar with the Poyais scheme and its tragic consequences, information they would have gained by reading the metropolitan newspapers and periodicals regularly shipped to the colony. In the Australian colonies also, editors such as the *Australian's* Robert Wardell exploited the status of the nineteenth-century newspaper as a transnationally circulating commodity to attempt to write themselves into metropolitan emigration discourse. This was made possible in part through the networks of commodity exchange facilitated by the spread of Britain's informal and formal empire during in the 1820s, and in part through the culture of reprinting, which enabled British emigration literature to be extracted and extensively commented upon in the colonial press.

The culture of reprinting also had the potential to radically reconfigure the poetics of emigration. I have suggested that the poetics of emigration during the 1820s was characterised by a turn towards interiority and containment articulated in lyric verse that represents the emigrant as a perpetual exile who yearns for the landscapes of a homeland they can never return to. That global mobility, the paradigmatic marker of modernity, produced a poetics rooted in pre-modern forms such as the dialect song and the pastoral lyric, may seem paradoxical. Yet the ideology of settlement as articulated in emigration literature promoted an agrarian fantasy that enabled emigrants to imagine themselves as yeomen – lords or lairds of their own private empire. This ideology is, of course, deliberately blind to both existing Indigenous life-ways and sovereignties in what were presented as virgin territories and the transnational flows of capital that materially enabled colonial settlement to become a state-building enterprise. Attending to the material context for the reception of these works, as I have done in the case of the two Thomas Campbell lyrics, reveals how embedded they were with texts, such as classified advertising, that draw attention to the speculative economic practices that enabled British emigrants to be transformed, in a generation, into prosperous settlers.

As well as these perhaps accidental juxtapositions, the direct intervention of colonial editors, who used editorial notes, leaders and published correspondence to reframe popular metropolitan poetry to reflect the local concerns of protean settler societies, created new reception contexts for these works. Reading in conjunction with the lead articles, government notices, correspondence and advertising with which they were juxtaposed, we can see how popular metropolitan poetry could be read

1 against the grain as part of a deliberately constructed counter-discourse
2 that drew the attention of colonial and metropolitan readers to the
3 disjuncture between metropolitan representations of emigration and the
4 material realities of colonial life.
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