On the Textual Transmission of F.P. Grove's *A Search for America*

Paul Hjartarson

For several years now Douglas O. Spettigue and I have been engaged in a bibliographical study of Frederick Philip Grove's published work. I should *like* to describe our work as descriptive bibliography rather than simply a bibliographical study, but the complexities of Grove's life and the devastation wrought by two world wars – not to mention our own training as literary critics rather than as bibliographers – makes the idea of a descriptive bibliography more a distant aspiration than an attainable goal. Anyone who knows the intriguing story of Grove's 'double' life, who knows that prior to September, 1909, Frederick Philip Grove was the prolific German translator and aspiring poet, novelist, and dramatist, Felix Paul Greve, will understand that our venture has been beset by more than the usual difficulties. In an unpublished essay, 'Rebels All: Of the Interpretation of Individual Life,' a work he composed in the early years of his life as a writer in Canada, and which he probably never intended to publish, Felix Paul Greve, alias Frederick Philip Grove, confides:

I have written books and published a few – under names assumed for the purpose – and I have lived to disown their authorship. Nobody ever has traced, nobody ever will trace them to me.¹

Note that Grove says 'names' – not name – 'assumed for the purpose,' for Frederick Philip Grove is only one of the many pseudonyms – others include F.C. Gerden and Conrad Thorer – under which, for a number of reasons, Felix Paul Greve published. Tracing *Greve's* writing, the primary responsibility for which, I must hasten to add, falls to Douglas Spettigue, has thus not been easy.

Spettigue and I undertook the Greve-Grove bibliography because we believe that Grove scholarship will not be on a firm footing until the basic bibliographical research has been completed. We realized before we began

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that, given the destruction wrought in Germany by two world wars, a comprehensive and fully detailed bibliography of the German publications was probably out of the question, but we assumed – and I accepted responsibility for Grove’s North American writing on this assumption – that compiling a bibliography of the Canadian writing would be a relatively simple task. After all, I reasoned, the details of Grove’s Canadian publications are well-known; a number of his publishers are still in business and have in the past proved willing to open their files to researchers like myself; the novelist’s papers are readily available in the University of Manitoba’s Grove Collection; and Grove’s collected letters have been published, the first publication of the collected letters of any Canadian writer. What is more, the publishing history of Grove’s Canadian books is far from complex. Many, like *In Search of Myself*, went through only one printing and did not make a second appearance until they were published in McClelland and Stewart’s New Canadian Library reprint series. Nothing could be more straightforward. Or so I thought.

No task, of course, is ever as simple as it first appears. In compiling a bibliography of Grove’s Canadian writing, I began to realize how much I and, I suspect, many other critics of Canadian literature, have yet to learn about bibliography – enumerative, analytical, descriptive, historical, or textual. But there is more to it than that: the transmission of Canadian literary texts, even, as in Grove’s case, twentieth-century Canadian literary texts, is more complicated than most of us – and by ‘us’ I mean specialists in the field of Canadian literature – realize. In the opening paragraphs of ‘The “Blue Pencil” Revisions of E.J. Pratt: Editorial Procedures for Modern-Canadian Texts,’ Gordon Moyles states:

Few scholars would now insist that Canadian writers are not important enough to warrant the textual scrutiny accorded a Milton (though some might entertain the thought); most would simply suggest that the textual cruxes which vex the editor (and critic) of the English classics are nowhere evident in Canadian literature or that the texts presently available are substantively accurate, arguing that Canadian criticism has not yet reached its ‘close reading’ stage and textual fidelity is therefore not an important issue. Such matters as the ‘variation of composition’ and ‘textual transmission’ are not, they might argue (and believe), either extensive or significant enough to warrant serious attention.²

‘In this,’ Moyles argues, ‘they would be quite wrong,’ and he proceeds to argue not only that ‘a scientific editorial method [is] essential to the progress of Canadian criticism, but that there exists, for many writers, a more complex textual history than was ever thought likely.’ Many literary crit-

ics would, I believe, grant the validity of Moyles' argument in relation to nineteenth-century Canadian texts. To study the work of Haliburton, Moodie, Crawford, Lampman, or Richardson – to mention only a few examples – is to recognize the need for scholarly editions of nineteenth-century Canadian texts. That recognition led several years ago to the establishment of the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts at Carleton University.

The belief still persists, however, that whatever the shortcomings of current editions of nineteenth-century texts, the available editions of twentieth-century texts are substantively accurate. That belief needs to be questioned. In this paper I shall examine the textual transmission of *A Search for America*. That examination, which involves the files of five publishers, Graphic, Ryerson, and McClelland and Stewart in Canada, Louis Carrier in the United States, and Brentano's in Great Britain, and the office of one book club, the Carillon Book Club of Canada, raises doubts about the authority of the text of *A Search for America* currently used by Grove critics and reinforces Moyles' assertion, made in relation to the poetry of E.J. Pratt, that more studies of the textual transmission of Canadian works, both nineteenth- and twentieth-century, are necessary.

In the opening paragraphs I spoke of compiling a bibliography but, as Fredson Bowers and others have argued, the meaning of 'bibliography' is very broad. When Spettigue and I began our study, we wanted not simply to compile a list of the texts Grove published but, as far as possible, to establish the relation among the various editions, impressions, issues, and states of those texts. We wanted, in short, to trace the history, to articulate the narrative, of their publication. That descriptive bibliography aspires to such narrative has long been recognized. In a recent article, 'The Arrangement of Descriptive Bibliographies,' G. Thomas Tanselle, for example, cites J.D. Cowley's comments in *Bibliographical Description and Cataloguing* (1939):

A mere collection of notes thrown together in any convenient order is not a bibliography, though it may be a sale catalogue or a finding list. Bibliography is not content with the assembling of descriptions, but endeavours to relate one with another.... In other words it must tell a story.³

Here, of course, Cowley makes descriptive bibliography the norm for all bibliographical endeavours. One need not accept that view to recognize the truth of his statement that descriptive bibliography aspires to narrative: it strives to tell a story. As Tanselle himself notes, an author bibliography is

'a partial biography of the author and a partial history of publishing in the period' (pp. 2-3).

To understand the textual transmission of *A Search for America*, it is necessary to understand a number of things about the publication of Canadian novels in Grove's day. In an article written in response to Morley Callaghan's 'The Plight of Canadian Fiction,' Grove himself states:

In Canada, publishers rely for their bread and butter, and occasionally for trips to Europe and Cadillac cars, on the business of distributing throughout the Dominion books printed and published elsewhere. If, then, the Canadian writer finds a Canadian publisher favourably impressed with his work, he is, more likely than not, faced with the necessity of first discovering a publisher in England or the United States who will print for, and sell sheets to, the Canadian publisher; and, naturally, the publisher in England or the United States prefers his authors to have been born in his own country instead of in the Canadian wilds.⁴

In this passage, Grove is, of course, playing on the national sentiments of his readers; nevertheless, when he declares that the Canadian writer who seeks publication of his work in this country must first find an American or English publisher 'who will print for, and sell sheets to, the Canadian publisher' he knows whereof he speaks. Although Grove's two collections of sketches, *Over Prairie Trails* and *The Turn of the Year*, and his book of essays, *It Needs to Be Said*, were published for the Canadian market alone, the publication of his novels was always contingent upon the acceptance of the work by an American or British publisher.

For example, Grove's first Canadian novel, *Settlers of the Marsh*, was published in Canada by Ryerson Press using sheets from George H. Doran's American edition. Surviving correspondence indicates that Grove learned early the misunderstandings that can develop when a Canadian writer contracts with a Canadian publisher who in turn negotiates with an American press for printing and publication.⁵ Nor did those problems disappear as Grove's reputation grew. Several years after writing his response to Callaghan's article, Grove submitted *The Master of the Mill* to Macmillan of Canada. Although the readers' reports were favourable and advised publication – one report described it as 'the most important book that has come out of Canada in years' – Macmillan was unable to place *The Master of the Mill* with an American publisher.⁶ The editors of Macmillan's New York office were apparently interested in the book; however, their recommendation 'to decline the book in present form' was changed by the executives of the company to a 'straight decline' because one of the New York office's 'most qualified advisers' stated that although *The Master of the*

Mill would be 'a very substantial, original novel, full of interest for the more thoughtful reader,' it would not be a 'best-seller.' Fearing that the novel would not generate a big enough sale in Canada to justify publication in this country alone, Macmillan of Canada reluctantly declined the book.

The matter, of course, did not end there. Three years later Grove was back at Macmillan with a proposal that Ellen Elliott, one of Macmillan's editors, subsequently outlined in an internal memo. 'A few years ago,' she writes concerning *The Master of the Mill*,

we had excellent readers' reports on this manuscript, but we declined it for the Canadian market because we thought we shouldn't get a big enough sale for it here to justify Canadian publication alone. I tried for about two years to place it in the United States but without success.

Mr. Grove came to us this morning with the suggestion that he stand the cost of part of an edition, to guarantee us against a dead loss, and proposed taking up a mortgage on his house to finance it. I persuaded him against this, and since he was sure he could be responsible for a pre-publication sale of anywhere from 250 to 300 copies of a limited edition I suggested that we prepare a suitable subscription letter for him which he can circulate in his own way in order to get pre-publication sale which would help considerably towards the publication.

Grove, it should be remembered, sold subscriptions to finance the private printing of *Two Generations* and apparently hoped to repeat his earlier 'success.' But the plan proved impractical; estimates reveal that simply to recover the cost of producing one thousand copies of the novel Macmillan would have had to price the book at approximately \$4.85 per copy which, in a letter to the novelist, Ellen Elliott described as 'an impossible price for fiction.' Grove responded by reiterating his willingness to mortgage his house, if necessary, to finance the publication and his persistence finally paid off. Macmillan of Canada decided to publish an edition of one thousand copies, to set the list price at \$3.50, and to absorb the loss themselves. 'We think the book is worth it,' Ellen Elliott wrote to Grove, 'and we believe the Canadian public in time will appreciate it.'

So, when Grove comments on the difficulty of publishing for the Canadian market alone, he speaks from personal experience. Of course, most of Grove's books were accepted for the American market, printed in the United States, and published here from sheets imported from that country. In such cases, the parent edition is the American; and since Grove's books seldom went beyond one or two issues, the bibliographer's task is simple indeed.

A SEARCH FOR AMERICA

BY
FREDERICK PHILIP GROVE

"America is a continent, not a country."

THE GRAPHIC PUBLISHERS, LIMITED
OTTAWA, CANADA

The title page of the first Canadian edition.

A SEARCH FOR AMERICA

THE ODYSSEY OF AN IMMIGRANT

FREDERICK PHILIP GROVE

LOUIS CARRIER & CO

At the Mercury

NEW YORK · LONDON · MONTREAL

1928

The title page of the first American edition.

A SEARCH FOR AMERICA

By
FREDERICK PHILIP GROVE

THE RYERSON PRESS
TORONTO

The title page of the Ryerson issue of the first American edition.

The jacket designed by Alan B. Beddoe for the first Canadian edition.

The end leaves designed by Alan B. Beddoe for the first Canadian edition.

The end leaves of the Carillon Book Club of Canada issue.

A SEARCH FOR AMERICA

CHAPTER I.

I EMIGRATE.

I WAS twenty-four years old when one day in the month of July I took passage from Liverpool to Montreal. I was not British-born; but my mother had been a Scotswoman, and from my earliest childhood I had been trained to speak the English of fashionable governesses. I had acquired—by dint of much study of English literature—a rather extensive reading and arguing vocabulary which however showed—and, by the way, to this day shows—its parentage by a peculiar stiff-necked lack of condescension to everyday slang. My father, Charles Edward Branden by name, had been of Swedish extraction, himself rather an Anglophile. For many years previous to my emigration, I, too, had affected English ways in dress and manners; occasionally, when travelling in Sweden or in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, I had connived at being taken for an Englishman. I am afraid, if I could meet myself as I then was, I should consider my former self as an insufferable snob and coxcomb.

I must explain at some length what induced me to go to America.

When I was a boy, my parents lived “in style”; that is to say, they had a place in the country, a rather “palatial” home, and a house in the fashionable residential district of a populous city on the continent of Europe. The exact localities are irrelevant. Every summer, as soon as at home the heat became oppressive, my mother, whom I adored and whom I remember as a Junoesque lady of very pronounced likes and dislikes, used to pack up and to go to the French coast—to Boulogne, Harfleur, St. Malo, Paris-plage—or to Switzerland—the Zurich Lake, Landshut,

The jacket designed by J.M. Meekison for the first American edition, first issue, Louis Carrier & Co.

The end leaves designed by J.M. Meekison for the first American edition, first issue, Louis Carrier & Co.

A Search for America is more complex because it was published by Graphic Publishers Limited, an Ottawa-based press that, as H.C. Miller, its president and managing director, wrote in soliciting the manuscript from Grove, 'handles nothing but Canadian books by Canadians and for Canadians. We believe,' he declares:

that the Canadian market has so much opportunity that we would prefer those authors who are with us to make their own foreign connections.

Another thing we believe in is having the title registered in the author's name. If we cannot make money for him, he does not want us nor we him. All we ask from any author is the opportunity of proving what we can do, after that we believe that it will be to our mutual advantage to work together (Miller to Grove, 30 Oct. 1926).⁷

Graphic Publishers, as Margaret Stobie has noted, was born out of the nationalism of the twenties; it attempted, among other things, to provide an alternative to the English and American publishers whose Toronto offices were often little more than clearing houses for their parent companies. *A Search for America*, the story of a young man who leaves the Old World for the New, and who, after many unpleasant experiences, rejects the United States for Canada, was an ideal book for such a publisher and became one of its best sellers.⁸ Although relations between author and publisher were often strained, Graphic made Grove a writer of national importance and gave him his only commercial success.

A Search for America not only sold more copies but appeared under more imprints than any of Grove's other Canadian books. (His German translations are another story.) Under the Graphic imprint, it appeared in one edition of three issues: the first impression of the first edition, published in 1927; the Carillon Book Club of Canada issue in 1928; and the second impression of the first edition, in a larger format, also in 1928. *A Search for America* was also published in Canada under the Ryerson imprint and, in the United States, under the Louis Carrier & Co. imprint. It may also have appeared very briefly in England under the Brentano imprint. In the remainder of this paper, I should like to discuss briefly the publishing history of the book.

1 First Canadian Edition, First Printing, Graphic Publishers Limited

By 30 October 1926, when Miller wrote to solicit the manuscript, Grove had published three books in Canada: *Over Prairie Trail* and *The Turn of the Year*, both with McClelland and Stewart, and *Settlers of the Marsh*, with Ryerson. But he had also accumulated his share of rejection letters.

McClelland and Stewart had declined both *A Search for America* and *Settlers of the Marsh*, as had Macmillan. Both publishers had looked askance at the length of Grove's manuscripts with John McClelland venturing the opinion that *A Search for America* 'could not be made a marketable proposition unless cut down to approximately 100,000 words' (26 Mar. 1923). McClelland and Stewart's comments concerning the manuscript of *Settlers* strike a familiar note. 'We recognize,' Donald French, McClelland and Stewart's literary editor, writes on 30 January 1924:

certain undoubted merits in the manuscript but our experience has been that the field of readers for this type of novel is unfortunately small even though from the extent of literary publicity and discussion the interest may seem to be widespread; and therefore, the cost of producing an edition for the Canadian market alone is so great as to make it an extremely hazardous venture.

Might we suggest that you place the Manuscript with a New York literary agency, and if a United States publisher can be secured in this way, we would be interested in taking a Canadian edition. (M&S to Grove, 30 Jan. 1924)

Ryerson Press found an American publisher, George H. Doran, for *Settlers*, but the initial sales in both countries fell far short of Grove's expectations and the unhappiness that resulted soured his relation with Lorne Pierce, the editor of Ryerson. Their relationship reached a low point in October 1926, the same month in which Miller wrote Grove, when the novelist indignantly returned a postal note for ninety cents which Ryerson had sent on Doran's behalf as royalty (minus author's corrections) on sales in the United States.

So when Miller wrote to solicit the manuscript from Grove, his letter must have sounded just too good to be true. If the novelist harboured any doubts, they were undoubtedly strengthened when on November 13, less than two weeks after sending the manuscript to Graphic, he received the following telegram from Miller:

SEARCH MAILED BACK TO DAY, CUT TO ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND WORDS,
SPRING PUBLICATION, TEN PER CENT ROYALTY, LETTER FOLLOWS

In the letter that followed, also dated November 13, Miller's stance is much more conciliatory: 'I am returning [the manuscript] to you to-day for whatever condensation you deem fit and personally I hate to see a word taken from it, but I fear that it is a little too long. However, I am passing the onus to you.' If any of the manuscripts of *A Search for America* have survived, they have yet to surface, so that it is impossible to determine what cuts, if any, Grove made, but the surviving correspondence suggests very

few. The manuscript was back in Miller's hands by December 11; in January author and publisher signed a contract for the publication of no less than 2000 copies of *A Search for America* no later than May 1.

The book did not, however, appear in May. On March 13 Miller wrote Grove to explain the delay. He stated that page proofs of part one would be sent out soon, and outlined plans for 'a deluxe edition [of the book] ... using deckle edged paper, and half leather binding, with a special numbered autographed page.' However, Miller himself was soon in trouble. Over the summer some of Graphic's largest shareholders staged a takeover of the company and Miller was ousted. On September 4 he shocked Grove with the announcement that 'in future Graphic will be handled by Messrs. Davisson and Burland ... who have decided that we will not publish any more books for a year or so.' (*A Search for America* was, by this time, largely through the press.) The ousted president, however, managed a comeback and persuaded Grove, who had withdrawn his manuscript, to permit publication. The book, attractively designed by Alan B. Beddoe, appeared in October to largely favourable reviews, including a very positive review in the *New York Times*. On 31 January 1928 Miller wrote the author stating that *A Search for America* 'was one of the best revenue-producers during the last two months of the year' and that Graphic 'was negotiating with a New York firm for American production on a large scale.'

2 First Canadian Edition, Carillon Book Club of Canada Issue

Miller had other news as well. *A Search for America* had been chosen as the first selection of the newly formed Carillon Book Club of Canada. Although Carillon was the brainchild of Miller, the club was kept at arm's length from Graphic. The president was C.C. Knight, a personal friend of Miller's; the selection committee consisted of L.J. Burpee, E.W. Harrold (of the *Ottawa Citizen*), Jim Pedley, and Knight himself. The committee ordered 500 copies of *A Search*, which were published in January 1928 in Carillon Book Club of Canada binding and lining papers under the Graphic imprint from sheets of the Graphic edition.

3 First Canadian Edition, Second Issue, Graphic Publishers Limited

But Grove soon had news of his own. Early in February he received a letter from Graham Spry, the National Secretary of the Ottawa-based Association of Canadian Clubs, inviting the author of *A Search for America* 'to undertake a speaking tour through Ontario, under the auspices of the Association' (7 Feb. 1928). Grove wired Miller who was soon closeted with Spry while both worked out the details of itinerary and promotion. On Sunday,

February 12, after a hectic weekend of planning, Miller wrote Grove a long letter outlining the itinerary and announcing plans for a second printing of the book. 'I believe,' he said

that with the [Carillon] Club's order this now places the total sales somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1400 copies – which satisfies us and I hope satisfies you. I am confident that this tour will drive the total sales to well over the 6000 mark before June, and just by way of boasting, Pedley and I have set the mark at 15,000 copies of *Search* before December 1928! Her[e]'s hoping that we make it!

One measure of his confidence was that on the preceding Friday, the day on which he and Spry began discussions, Miller ordered the two and one half tons of paper he estimated would be needed to print an additional 6,000 copies of *A Search*.

Although Miller informed Grove in April that the paper had arrived and that he was proceeding immediately with the printing, that issue, identified as a 'First reprinting' is dated 'June 1928.' Miller chose to increase the leaf size and to alter the design – for example, he put the decorative headings on the opening page of each chapter where they had previously not appeared – but more importantly, he made corrections requested by the author (Miller to Grove, 21 Apr. 1928). The full extent of those corrections cannot be known until the two issues are collated, but Grove's unhappiness with the Graphic edition of *A Search* is apparent in his correspondence.

4 *First American Edition,* *First Issue, Louis Carrier & Co.*

No less important would be a collation of the Canadian and American editions. Although in the letter quoted above, Miller states that he is arranging for an American edition of *A Search*, it was Grove himself who chose the publisher and negotiated the terms of the American contract. Grove negotiated those terms in the midst of his triumphal first lecture tour. Although he initially considered giving the book to Macmillan, with whom he was closing a deal for the publication of *Our Daily Bread*, he held out for the best deal possible. To his wife, Catherine, he writes from Kitchener on March 26:

I am playing a bold game in the U.S.A. but I think I'll win. Am holding out for full royalties and want them to *print* there: to show Miller how the book should have looked. At first (Coward-McCann) wanted to buy 1000 sheets from Miller. But no investment would have meant no pains taken. Last offer

from New York – which I am likely to accept was, print 5000 copies first edition; appear *June* price not less than \$3.00 (this to protect Miller); royalties: 10% first 5000; 12 ½% second 5000; 15% thereafter. Macmillans are among the bidders. Expect a wire from them any moment. It is a race between 3 firms; the rest I don't even answer.⁹

Macmillan hesitated over the terms and the contract went to Louis Carrier & Co., a new and unproven firm established by a Canadian, Louis Carrier, from Montreal. If Graphic represented the nationalist impulse in Canada, Carrier & Co. represented the cosmopolitan. 'They will publish,' states an informed reviewer in *Saturday Night*, 'Canadian and foreign books in both the English and French languages, and will maintain Paris and New York offices as well as covering the entire Canadian trade – English and French – from their head office at Montreal.'

Carrier must have known that he would have to publish quickly if he hoped to cash in on the favourable notice the book had received south of the border. Grove signed the contract on March 29; on April 17 Carrier sent him the artwork for the American edition. If Grove hoped to show Miller how the book should have looked, he must have been disappointed. The jacket and end leaves designed by J.M. Meekison for Carrier & Co. are inferior to those designed by Alan B. Beddoe for Graphic. But if the book were to be published before the end of June, both Carrier and Grove knew that time was of the essence. Judging from Carrier's comments in a letter to Grove dated May 3, it is unlikely that the author saw page proofs. 'You may rest assured,' Carrier writes, 'that we shall do everything possible to produce a book without misprints. However, this is exceedingly difficult, particularly as the proof reading and correction will have to be rushed through in order to get the book out for the end of June.' The extant correspondence does not identify the copy text of *A Search for America* from which the Carrier edition was set. The type may have been set from the typescript Grove sent Miller in December 1926 or from a carbon copy of that typescript. (Grove routinely made carbon copies of his typescripts.) Alternatively, it may have been set from an uncorrected copy of the first edition or, given Grove's concern over the misprints in the first Graphic impression, from a copy that incorporated the corrections he sent Miller for the second printing of *A Search*. To identify the copy text, it may be necessary to collate the Carrier edition with the first and second Graphic issues.

Despite the haste with which Carrier worked, the American edition of *A Search for America* did not appear in June. In light of Douglas Spettigue's biographical revelations, and given both the mystery surrounding Grove's whereabouts between September 1909 and December 1912, and the ques-

tions concerning the autobiographical content of the fictional *A Search for America*, one delay is of particular interest. Explaining the delay in the publication of the American edition, Carrier writes to Grove on June 30:

We had also planned to use decorative end papers for the book. For this purpose we had thought to use one of those attractive maps which have proved so popular. Our artist started work on this design some six weeks ago but has been held up through the difficulty of locating on the map some of the spots mentioned in the story.

Because of this difficulty, I had planned to distribute the first copies of the book in plain end leaves and to work in the decorative end leaves in later copies. In view, however, of the present delay, perhaps it might be better to complete the end leaves and use them on the review copies.

My plan is to have the artist go as far as he can with the map and to then have it forwarded to you so that you can undertake to indicate the places not yet located.

Whether Carrier ever sent the map to Grove, and whether Grove marked the locations, is uncertain; however, the copies of the Carrier edition I have thus far examined have, apart from the major cities, only one location marked on the end paper map (and that the most obvious) – the Mackenzie farm.

When I undertook the bibliography of Grove's Canadian writing, one of the problems I knew I must face concerned the existence of an English edition of *A Search*. Although I was skeptical of the existence of such an edition, Desmond Pacey had listed it in his 1945 book on Grove; more importantly, reviews of the book had appeared. Those reviews listed the publisher as Brentano. I found the answer to my questions in the Grove-Carrier correspondence. In a letter to Grove on 14 August 1928 Carrier writes:

I am anxious to confirm our agreement that my House is to handle the English market on *A SEARCH FOR AMERICA*. As I explained to you when you were in Montreal, we have an arrangement with Brentano's English publishing house for the reciprocal handling of books. All our Canadian or American books on which we control the English market are distributed for us by Messrs. Brentano in our name, and over our imprint.

For the English market, we will use exactly the same printing as for the American market. You may rest assured that the book will have adequate distribution in Great Britain, and Ireland, and that a suitable appropriation for advertising in English papers will be made by us.

Carrier wanted to confirm the arrangement because Miller had sent the Graphic edition to the English papers for review. The Graphic edition was reviewed in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 28 June 1928 when Carrier was struggling to get his edition off the press.

Evidence that Grove confirmed the arrangement is to be found in a subsequent review in *The New Statesman*. In the concluding lines the reviewer remarks:

... it is hard ... to follow the ways of publishers in dealing with certain books from the other side of the Atlantic. *A Search for America* is an achievement by a Canadian writer of which the Dominion may one day be proud. It is sent out to the English public as printed in Massachusetts, and bearing the names of two American publishing firms.¹⁰

Carrier himself must have been wondering about the ways of publishers. He had fought hard for the American and English rights to *A Search*. Although Graphic had rights only to the Canadian market, Miller had sent copies of the book to English and American papers, so that by the time Carrier got his edition off the press, he had difficulty obtaining reviews. Similarly, Carrier's attempt to place his edition with the Book of the Month Club failed because *A Search* had already been used by a Canadian club (Carrier to Grove, 3 May 1928).

5 *First American Edition, Ryerson Issue*

In short, when Louis Carrier & Co. closed its offices at the outset of the Depression, it still had a large stock of the novel, including 2000 sheets, end-papers, and jackets. Grove bought not only these but the standing type as well. The novelist's reputation declined during the Depression; by 1938 he was reduced to soliciting subscriptions for a private printing of *Two Generations*. With the printing of that book, however, his fortune turned again. Lorne Pierce of Ryerson's purchased sheets of that printing and issued a trade edition. What is more, he held out the hope of a collected edition of Grove's work and to that end Ryerson began buying the rights and the unsold stock of Grove's books from other publishers. From the author, Pierce purchased the 2000 sheets and endpapers of *A Search* and in 1939 issued the book under the Ryerson imprint with an 'Author's Note to the Fourth Edition.' When McClelland and Stewart decided to include *A Search for America* in their New Canadian Library reprint series, they chose to reprint the Ryerson issue of the Carrier edition.

It is not my intention to argue that the textual transmission of *A Search for*

America is complex: it is not. Compared to the textual transmission of John Richardson's *Wacousta*, for example, the transmission of Grove's book is relatively straightforward. My point is simply that the textual transmission is complex enough to raise questions about the text of *A Search for America* currently in print, McClelland and Stewart's New Canadian Library reprint, which is also the text commonly cited in critical articles. When in 1971 McClelland and Stewart published *A Search for America* in their New Canadian Library series, the text they chose was the 1939 Ryerson issue, perhaps on the assumption that, because it was the last text Grove saw through the press, it must have the most authority. But given that the 1939 text was bound under Ryerson imprint from sheets of the Carrier edition; given, too, that the Carrier edition was published in great haste and that it was in all probability set from a copy of the Graphic edition; when you realize, finally, that Grove probably never saw page proofs of that edition, the authority of that text is surely questionable.

But of what significance is the issue? Is not the Carrier text substantively accurate? The answer to the question is that, at this point, we simply do not know. But there are some obvious problems. Let me, in conclusion, raise one. The title of the Graphic edition of the book was '*A Search for America*'. That Grove not only chose the title but insisted on it is apparent in a letter from Miller in which the publisher responds to the author's complaint of 'slips' in the contract. "'A Search for America' it is," Miller writes. 'Not "My" nor "Phil Branden" or anything else. Just a plain unvarnished "A"' (Miller to Grove, 31 January 1927). Carrier, however, was not entirely happy with that title. On 3 May 1928, in the midst of preparing the American edition of the book he wrote the author:

It has occurred to me that a sub-title would help us considerably in obtaining the sale that the book merits. A book must explain itself at first sight. Particularly in the United States, there are very many people who never read reviews but choose their books from a shop window. That is why publishers pay so much attention to the jacket of a book. You have an excellent title but it may prove rather enigmatic at first sight. If it were possible to add a sub-title such as, 'An Autobiography' or 'A Biographical Novel' or perhaps some even more unusual sub-title, I believe that we would find a more ready sale, particularly to the trade.

Grove, to whom new titles never came easily, apparently responded with a list of possibilities, for on May 19 Carrier writes: 'Thank you for giving us a variety of sub-title from which to choose. We have chosen "*The Odyssey of an Immigrant*."' Miss Nora Thom[p]son [the Toronto Eaton's book advisor in the twenties and thirties], to whom we mentioned the matter, con-

curs in our opinion.' The subtitle given to the American edition, and subsequently also given to the book when it appeared in McClelland and Stewart's New Canadian Library edition, was chosen not by Grove but by Carrier and not for literary but for commercial reasons. I doubt that the Carrier text subtitle has much authority and therefore question the use made of the subtitle in commentaries on the novel. My point is not that the subtitle must therefore be dismissed out of hand: the question of literary authority, as Jerome J. McGann and others point out, is debatable.¹¹ My point is that further investigation is necessary. We cannot assume that the existing texts of twentieth-century Canadian literature are substantively accurate; in short, we need more textual studies.

NOTES

I should like to thank A. Leonard Grove for taking time from his busy schedule to meet me and to answer my queries about his father's writing. I should also like to thank Professor Gloria Strathern of the University of Alberta for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this paper. Her remarks were always helpful and often invaluable. For the essay's weaknesses, however, I remain, of course, solely responsible.

- 1 'Rebels All: Of the Interpretation of Individual Life,' in *A Stranger to My Time: Essays By and About Frederick Philip Grove*, ed. Paul Hjartarson, Western Canadian Literary Documents Series, vol. v (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1986), p. 69.
- 2 R.G. Moyles, 'The "Blue Pencil" Revisions of E.J. Pratt: Editorial Procedures for Modern Canadian Texts,' *Essays on Canadian Writing* 27 (1983-84): 55.
- 3 'The Arrangement of Descriptive Bibliographies,' *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 3.
- 4 'The Plight of Canadian Fiction: A Reply,' *University of Toronto Quarterly* 7 (1938): 453.
- 5 *The Letters of Frederick Philip Grove*, ed. Desmond Pacey (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 24-25, 29-32.
- 6 The Macmillan Company of Canada papers are held in the Division of Archives and Research Collections, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University.
- 7 Unless otherwise indicated, all unpublished correspondence between Grove and both Graphic Publishers Limited and Louis Carrier and Co. cited in this essay is held in the Department of Archives and Special Collections, Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba. I should like to thank Dick Bennett and his staff for their assistance in the completion of my research.
- 8 Margaret R. Stobie, *Frederick Philip Grove*, Twayne World Authors Series, No. 246 (New York: Twayne, 1973), p. 120.
- 9 *Letters*, p. 124.
- 10 'Dreiser and Another,' Rev. of *A Book About Myself*, by Theodore Dreiser, and *A Search for Myself*, by Frederick Philip Grove, *The New Statesman*, 12 Oct. 1929, pp. x-xi.
- 11 Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

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