Distributors, Agents, and Publishers: Part II

The Toronto Publishing Scene During World War I¹

George Parker²

The war seems to have uncovered a new Canadian reading public just as much as it has brought new writers to birth, and with the improved machinery of publishing there never was a more appropriate movement [sic] for a new Canadian literature.

– J.M. Gibbon “Where is Canadian Literature?” (1918)³

Between 1914 and 1918 the country changed dramatically, although its population of nine million hardly grew. Of the 628,000 Canadians who enlisted in the military, about 425,000 went overseas. In the famous battles of Ypres, Passchendaele, and Vimy Ridge, the Canadians were gassed, shelled, frozen, and panic-stricken in their mud-filled trenches. We can read of these events in first-hand accounts by professional and amateur writers: in Robert Service’s *Rhymes of a Red-Cross Man* (1916), which describes the poet’s experiences as an ambulance driver, or in the responses of Bernard Trotter, who was killed in action before the publication of his volume, *A Canadian Twilight, and Other Poems of War and of Peace* (1917), or in 19-year-old Edgar McInnis’s poetry pamphlets, or in Frank Prewitt’s modernist volume, *Poems* (1921). The middle-aged Charles G.D. Roberts and Charles Gordon made it to the front lines but, like Gilbert Parker, they were soon recruited for publicity and propaganda work. In Gordon’s novels and in Beckles Willson’s 1924 novel *Redemption*, the

¹ This paper is Part II of an excerpt from a longer version that will be a chapter in my work in progress on the Toronto publishing industry in the twentieth century. Part I appeared in the Fall 2005 issue of this journal.

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³ J.M. Gibbon, “Where is Canadian Literature?” *Canadian Magazine* 50 (Feb. 1918): 339.

War was viewed as “necessary and morally justifiable,”⁴ but the mild criticism of the conduct of the War in Willson’s novel was intensified in *Generals Die in Bed* (1929), a hard-hitting autobiographical novel by Charles Yale Harrison, an American journalist who served with the Royal Montreal Regiment.

Peter Buitenhuis points out in *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* that it was Max Aiken’s (later Lord Beaverbrook) notion “that the trenches of Flanders were the baptismal font of the new nation,”⁵ and this view was quickly seized by politicians and pundits who claimed that the battlefield tragedies and the economic successes at home had unified the nation like no other event since 1867. Aiken’s own account, *Canada in Flanders*, sold over 40,000 copies in Canada.⁶ In this time of change, one new element was the role writers now played in bringing home to readers their daily contemporary world and interpreting it in a way that had never happened before in Canada. Never before in the history of this country had the events of four years generated an immediate outpouring of stories, poems, and contemporary history.

Here at home, the munitions factories offered good wages for workers and big profits for capitalists, as depicted in Stephen Leacock’s satiric sketch “The War Sacrifices of Mr Spugg” and in Hugh MacLennan’s novel about the Halifax Explosion of 1917, *Barometer Rising* (1941). In volunteer organizations such as the Red Cross, the I.O.D.E., the Women’s Patriotic Leagues, and the Women’s Volunteer Reserve, women joined together to help servicemen’s families, provide relief, and to collect books, papers, food, and clothing for overseas hospitals and combatants. Their efforts changed attitudes about women’s roles in public affairs. In some provinces women – the wives or mothers of servicemen – obtained the vote, thanks to the efforts of Nellie McClung, who wrote about the impact of the War on western Canadians in *The Next of Kin* (1917) and *Three Times and Out* (1918). McClung also won support for Prohibition, which dried up the country except for Quebec. The conscription crisis of 1917 divided the country, adding psychic scars to the physical wounds. And the

4 Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 155.

5 Peter Buitenhuis, 155.

6 Advertisement by Hodder and Stoughton, Aitken’s publisher, in *Bookseller and Stationer* 32 (Apr. 1916): 21.

fears and anxieties of thousands of mothers and wives, many of whom mourned a generation of lost young men, is captured in Lucy Maud Montgomery's stories of Prince Edward Islanders in *Rilla of Ingleside* and *Rainbow Valley*. After the lovely summer of 1914, that generation of boys and young men vanished from picnics, Friday dances, tennis courts, baseball fields, bank branches, harvesting parties, and Sunday evening church services.

The War also caused an important shift in the publishing industry. Among the British dominions Canada's unique English-language publishing market was situated between two major nations with which it shared so many political and cultural ties, to say nothing of countless personal connections. The shift was toward the American economic and cultural orbit. *Publishers' Weekly* stated in 1905 that "the American publisher is alive to the wants of his neighbor's constituency," and smugly quoted the London *Publisher and Bookseller's* admission that "Canada may be said to have practically ceased to exist as a remunerative field for the publishers of the old country."⁷ Ironically, the stimulus to publishing was facilitated in 1898 and 1900 by tariff changes and an amendment to the copyright act, "to deal more satisfactorily throughout Canada with the importation and distribution of books originating in England or the United States," according to John Murray Gibbon. In his 1918 survey "Where is Canadian Literature?" Gibbon, a publicist for the Canadian Pacific Railway, recognized that publishing firms had not been established with the object of fostering Canadian literature, even if conditions now favoured such literature. But the "machinery" intended to enhance the trade in books between Britain and Canada took a not unexpected turn. British authors ended up in our bookstores in American editions or Canadian editions from sheets supplied by American firms. Neither patriotism nor preferential tariffs on British goods could counter the impact of geography upon business or the fact that American publishers retained rights to the Canadian market. A similar colonialism existed in the area of copyright, for Canada was still subject to the 1842 imperial copyright act. In 1911 the British passed a new consolidated copyright act, and instructed the dominions to update their laws, but Canada's bill was set aside until 1920. Meanwhile, during the War sales of books surpassed all expectations. The number of Canadian books rose as did the number

7 "Foreign Markets for the American Book Trade," *Publishers' Weekly* 68 (28 Oct. 1905): 1108.

of British books, much of these generated by responses to the War. Nevertheless, as Canada joined the European War to support its imperial motherland, our book industry ironically became less British-based and more American-based, as paper shortages and overseas importation problems left Canada open to the imperial ambitions of the Americans, whose neutrality through much of the War meant that the United States was not even our ally in the war effort.

I. Publishers' and Booksellers' Row

Despite the War's impact on trade with the British and Americans, the Toronto publishing and bookselling trades experienced only minor shifts in location between 1900 and 1920. In the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century Toronto was home to approximately 120 firms and persons listed as agents and publishers of books and newspapers, although fewer than 10 were publishers of trade and educational books. Five wholesale booksellers were also listed as publishers. The 25 retail booksellers included the Eaton's and Simpson's department stores. It was still the custom for similar businesses to cluster near each other, and Richmond Street, in the downtown business core near the area of the fire, was known as "Booksellers Row." Its eastern boundary was Yonge Street and its western one, Bay Street. Its northern perimeter, more or less, was Richmond Street and its southern one, King Street, a compact area that in the later twentieth century would be almost exclusively the financial district. Along Richmond Street Torontonians browsed in the denominational shops such as the Baptist Book Room at No. 21, the Church of England Book Room and Musson's at No. 23, and the Methodist Book Room at Nos. 29-33, as well as the book room of Oxford University Press at Nos. 25-27. Nearby, clustered along Yonge Street were the major bookstores. Between Shuter and King Streets were the Upper Canada Book and Tract Co., Eaton's Book Department, the Bain Book Store (which closed in 1905 and sold its stock to W.A. Murray), Kelly's, and Albert Britnell's. Around the corner from Yonge on King Street was Tyrrell's Book Store. In the 1920s booksellers would begin the move north, up Yonge Street to the College Street and Bloor Street intersections.

The publishing houses were in the same area. George N. Morang & Co. was located at 90 Wellington Street West. In the fall of 1907 McLeod and Allen moved from 37 Melinda to a new four-storey building at 42 Adelaide Street, with the owners themselves on the

street level, and by the end of the decade, McClelland and Goodchild on the third floor and Cassell on the top floor. The Musson Book Company was at 23 Richmond Street West for many years, and then located to 25 Dundas Street East until a disastrous fire on 24 December 1920 necessitated a move to 263-265-267 Adelaide Street West, back in the heart of the publishing district. Further east, at Adelaide and Church Streets was the Toronto Public Library, until its move westward to a handsome new building at the corner of College and St George Streets, a convenient location to the south of the University of Toronto. St Martin's House, Macmillan's new quarters in 1910, was at 70 Bond Street, two blocks east of Yonge Street and north of Queen Street. After 1918 McClelland and Stewart were located at 217-19 Victoria Street, one block east of Yonge.

The printing companies, however, began moving out of the old downtown wholesale district to the west of University Avenue after the 1904 fire, where land was cheaper for large plants and warehouses. Although Copp, Clark's new plant in 1909 was still within the old area, on Wellington Street West, W.J. Gage & Co. moved west in 1905 to 82-94 Spadina Avenue, just north of King Street, and the Methodist Book and Publishing House moved to 299 Queen Street West in 1914. Between 1901 and 1911 Toronto's population rose from 209,892 to 381,833, and by 1921 had reached 521,893, about 100,000 fewer than Canada's largest city, Montreal.

Given the compactness of downtown Toronto, and given the modest size of staff and operations, it is not surprising that throughout this cottage industry so many in the book trade knew each other personally. They were ambitious and occasionally envious of each other, for that small world permitted close observation of each other's successes and failures. And they carefully noted transfers from one house to another. The favourite gathering places for customers and friends of George McLeod and Thomas Allen were Morgan's Chop House and McConkey's Restaurant, and they purchased their groceries and wine at the venerable Mitchie's at 5 King West.⁸ They went to the same churches, and frequented the same clubs. Charles Musson was Church of England; John McClelland, W.A. Robertson, and John Cameron Saul were Presbyterians; but the Methodists

8 *Our Wish for You as We Approach Our Fiftieth Anniversary, 1898-1948*. (Toronto: George J. McLeod [1947?]), 5. The Mitchie name was revived in 2005 as an upscale café on approximately the same site in a new condominium development.

predominated, and they included William Briggs, Edward Caswell, William P. and S. Bradley Gundy, William Gage, and Ernest Walker. They also joined Toronto's most prestigious clubs. Edward Caswell and S. Bradley Gundy were founders of the Canadian Club in 1898. William Copp, William Gage, and Frank Wise were members of the National Club; and George Morang, John Cameron Saul, and Wise belonged to the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Morang also belonged to the Toronto Club, the Toronto Hunt Club, and the Manitoba Club in Winnipeg. Caswell was active in the Arts and Letters Club.

The War interrupted most of the overseas buying trips. In normal times, soon after Christmas publishers made winter trips to Britain to secure agencies, pick up new books, and to offer Canadian manuscripts to their principals. The annual trips to American cities remained constant, however. A typical news item before the War was the January 1906 *Bookseller and Stationer* report that George McLeod was in Boston and New York, and Ernest Walker and Charles Musson, in England. Decades later Walker recalled not only the visits to publishers but a week spent at Hall Caine's castle on the Isle of Man, and visits to the Gaiety Theatre in London, and the Follies Bergeres and Comedie Française in Paris, which "on the firm's expense account didn't make it any less enjoyable."⁹ Along with other commercial travellers, book salesmen crossed Canada by rail, laden with sample trunks of new books, dummies, and sheets, together with lines of stationery and cards, and new textbooks for provincial education officials (fig. 1).

As well, there was a constant stream of British and American agency visitors, and authors on lecture tours. In February 1905 J.E. Hodder Williams, who visited Canada frequently, was in Winnipeg to discuss publishing matters with the Rev. Charles Gordon. In May that year Rider Haggard addressed the Canadian Club in Toronto and George Doran, who had left Toronto to pursue his career in New York, was in town to set up the Library Supply Company. Doran was back a year later on the occasion of the Rev. Gordon's honorary degree from Knox College. Rudyard Kipling, the most famous author, toured the country in 1907. Just before Christmas 1910 Nellie McClung was in Toronto lecturing and William Briggs hosted her at a luncheon and reception in the Wesley Buildings. Among the guests were authors Jean Blewett, Marjorie MacMurchy, and Emma Jeffers Graham. The

9 Paul Duval, "You Should Know – Ernest Walker," *Bookseller and Stationer* 61 (Nov. 1945): 15.

Figure 1. "Who's Who among the Traveling Men?" Reproduced from a copy of the *Bookseller and Stationer* 35 (Mar. 1919): 30, held in the collection of the University of Toronto Libraries.

most legendary tours were by soon-to-be-dead poets, the readings by Pauline Johnson, dressed splendidly as an Indian princess as she was racked with pain, and Rupert Brooke in 1913, whose black-and-white photo in *The Canadian Magazine* (November 1913), seated with Duncan Campbell Scott, failed to do justice to his red hair and green corduroy suit.

Occasionally the high jinks on trips reached the ears of friends back in Toronto. The youthful editor of *Bookseller and Stationer*, W. Arnot Craick (aged 28), hearing of one such incident, could not resist gossiping about the "jaunt" to New York in August 1908 by George McLeod (38), John McClelland (31), and Henry Button. "Of course, business was handed out as the reason for the trip, but from what *Bookseller and Stationer* could gather, it looked more as if the visit were for the purpose of initiating the Canadian manager of Cassell & Co. into some of the frivolities of Gotham. Frank E. Waterman of the Eaton, Crane & Pike Co., assisted in the ceremonies, and now what Mr. Button doesn't know about the attractions along Broadway

isn't worth knowing." Nevertheless, under Button's "watchful care," McClelland "managed to get back home without involving himself in any further charges of abduction. For further particulars, ask Mr. Button."¹⁰ For more modest relaxation, they played golf and, if they could afford it, vacationed in the Muskokas and Georgian Bay. By late summer the offices were all but deserted, as they headed to the lakes north of Toronto. In the fall of 1907 S. Bradley. Gundy got away from Oxford University Press for a northern fishing expedition, "far from the mad rush of the city."¹¹ The following summer, while Gundy was attending to business in Winnipeg, Edward Caswell was relaxing on Georgian Bay, Ernest Walker was resting at Clarkson, and Charles Musson was busy with *Mustang*, his "pet launch" at Sparrow Lake.¹² Decades later, Walker chortled, "We had fun in those days."¹³

II. Trade Problems

The same challenges confronted publishers and booksellers throughout the twentieth century. Most of these were related, not to original publishing ventures, but to importations by agents and jobbers, particularly the problem of sorting out Canadian rights. Many clashes concerned distribution, which was affected by changes in tariffs in 1897 and 1906 and express rates in 1908-09. The booksellers demanded better discounts, and saw red when publishers sold direct to consumers. But publishers complained when institutions and retailers practised "buying around." Publishers and retailers alike complained about books used as loss leaders by the department stores. Publishers and retailers also jealously guarded their rights to distribute textbooks, especially against inroads by the department stores. Survival was about profit margins.

For example, although Canadian consumers liked to buy cheap reprints, neither the paper-covered Canadian copyright editions nor the imported colonial editions returned the same per unit profit as new cloth editions. Frank Wise suggested in 1907 that Canadian publishers issue a volume in cloth, to be followed within the year

10 "What Men and Firms in the Trade Are Doing this Month," *Bookseller and Stationer* 24 (Aug. 1908): 39, 54.

11 "Personal Items," *Bookseller and Stationer* 23 (Oct. 1907): 59.

12 Untitled paragraph, *Bookseller and Stationer* 24 (Aug. 1908): 54.

13 Paul Duval, "You Should Know – Ernest Walker," *Bookseller and Stationer* 61 (Nov. 1945): 15.

by cheaper cloth and paper editions.¹⁴ By 1910 publishers found that consumers waited for the cheap cloth reprint editions, especially for summer reading, and a new trend for cloth and paper reprints was under way. Westminster issued six Ralph Connor novels at 50¢, and Copp, Clark began its 50¢ reprint series, *The Green Library*, which included such popular authors as E. Phillips Oppenheim, S.R. Crockett, and Gilbert Parker. Next, Musson produced 25¢ cent paper reprints of Mark Twain's *The Innocents at Home* and *The New Pilgrim's Progress*, which took advantage of Twain's death that year. Then William Briggs entered the field with cheap reprints of Agnes Laut's *Lords of the North* and George Barr McCutcheon's *Jane Cable*, in a series that grew to 127 titles by 1913.¹⁵ *Bookseller and Stationer* was more cautious about this unique Canadian phenomenon than *The Canadian Bookman*, and pointed out the dangers in this "merry game of reprints."¹⁶

the present-day cheap reprint is so well made and so attractive that the public buys it instead of the regular edition, and, as a rule, the sale of a reprint means the loss of a sale of a new copyright. In this way the reprints are eating into the regulars and reducing their sales.¹⁷

After this deluge, the trend for both cheap cloth and paperbound editions dried up. By 1914 it appeared that book publishing was equated with best-selling seasonal fiction, a commodity that was promoted in advertisements, as serials in magazines, in travelling stage versions, and as movies.

Booksellers were vigilant for publishers who sold new books directly to customers, and became adept at finding small advertisements placed in the back columns of magazines and newspapers. Wise made it clear soon after he opened the Macmillan branch that he would not sell to the university professors, librarians, and others who had bombarded the branch with orders in hopes of getting books at a discount.¹⁸ A fracas developed in late 1909 when Ogilvy's of Ottawa accused

14 Frank Wise, "Cloth or Paper: Which Shall It Be?" *Bookseller and Stationer* 23 (Aug. 1907): 25

15 "Live Notes for Booksellers," *Bookseller and Stationer* 28 (Mar. 1912): 26.

16 "Information about Copyright Fiction," *Bookseller and Stationer* 26 (July 1910): 39.

17 "To Make the Cheap Reprint Cheap," *Bookseller and Stationer* 26 (Sept. 1910): 63.

18 "Backing Up the Bookseller" [Editorial], *Bookseller and Stationer* 22 (May 1906): 24.

the Methodist Book and Publishing Company of soliciting buyers directly. The following spring Ogilvy's accused Methodist of the same practice with George T. Denison's *The Struggle for Imperial Unity*,¹⁹ a book that was actually published by Macmillan of Canada. Wise was furious and Briggs, who had acted as jobber for Macmillan, had to extricate himself carefully from this embarrassing fumble.

A more persistent bone of contention among publishers and booksellers was "buying around," a pragmatic practice whose long history in Canada before it became a legal issue may explain why it was so hard to eradicate. The 1900 Copyright Act Amendment permitted public and non-profit institutions, and private individuals, to import two copies of a title, even though its Canadian copyright holder could legally prohibit businesses from such direct importation. Theoretically, if 25 libraries each ordered one copy of a work from abroad, this quantity might well deter the Canadian agent from importing any copies himself, nor could he, as the legal assignee of the copyright, collect any royalties. "Buying around" allowed retailers and department stores to bargain for better discounts and service from foreign wholesalers. In one effort to give retailers better arrangements, in 1909 William Briggs, McLeod and Allen, George N. Morang, and Copp, Clark agreed to waive copyright restrictions on 42 popular titles, but both the Customs and the Department of Agriculture (which administered copyright) rejected this deliberate flouting of the law. The situation was not eased until 22 of the copyrights were cancelled so that there would be no importation problem.²⁰

19 "Serious Trouble Over the Publication of a Canadian Book," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Apr. 1909): 22-23. Denison's publisher, Macmillan of Canada, had asked the trade to refrain from advertising until two days before publication. Ogilvy's claimed lost orders to Methodist's wholesale jobbing department, which offered a better price to its mail-order customers. Frank Wise of Macmillan's, annoyed that retailers had not been protected, complained directly to William Briggs, whose excuse was that he, himself, did not make advertising arrangements but that "someone" from Macmillan had made a deal with no special conditions attached with the head of one of the Methodist departments. *Bookseller and Stationer* did not buy this explanation at all, and suggested that "someone" at either Macmillan or Methodist had a memory lapse, and surmised that wholesale firms sometimes made "private" arrangements when large quantities of books were involved in a transaction.

20 "Injustice to the Canadian Book Trade," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Apr. 1909): 26; "Publishers Grant Concessions to the Retail Trade," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (June 1909): 26; and "Twenty Two Copyrights Cancelled," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Sept. 1909): 38.

In many cases “buying around” never came to the attention of the agency publisher, for what library or customer would publicize obtaining books at a cheaper price than the one set by the Canadian agent? One of the first times the Publishers’ Section was called on to investigate wholesale suppliers came in 1915 when the Winnipeg bookseller Russell, Lang & Co. complained to McLeod and Allen that a person by the name of J.A. Hart was supplying the Winnipeg Public Library from abroad, by-passing both the local bookseller (Russell, Lang) and the Canadian agent. Subsequently, “buying around” remained a serious problem throughout the century, as publishers simply accumulated so many agencies that they could no longer efficiently service booksellers and institutions.

Already suspicious of co-operative systems of buying books and the purchase of popular fiction by public libraries, retail booksellers were particularly vigilant of Eaton’s and Simpson’s. By the first decade of the century the two department stores had almost completely taken over the sale of juveniles and standard authors, and were taking over the distribution of school books, once the preserve of bookstores in cities and small towns across the country. The department stores used books as loss-leaders, which were advertised in the daily metropolitan papers. One Montreal bookseller told *Bookseller and Stationer* that in December 1904 Ralph Connor’s *The Prospector*, listed at \$1.25, was sold as a loss leader by a Toronto department store for 80¢. He lamented:

To my mind the good old bookstores are to be a thing of the past in Canada. I am not a pessimist, but my life-long experience in the trade clearly shows the way the wind is blowing. Department stores in Toronto have dealt a death blow to bookstores, and they are doing the same thing here. They can handle more popular fiction than we and get a better price by taking 100 lots instead of the usual 25 lots. During December many books in new fiction were sold at actual cost.²¹

The department stores’ nationally circulated catalogues offered free or cheap postage for books and textbooks delivered to any part in the country. This service cut into the business of small-town booksellers, who had begun to enjoy the benefits of stability in the marketplace. Retail bankruptcies had dropped off significantly since the early nineties. Reports from such towns as Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, Indian Head, Saskatchewan, and Revelstoke, British Columbia, celebrated

21 “Cut Prices in Books,” *Bookseller and Stationer* 21 (Jan. 1905): 19.

the treasure trove that the public enjoyed access to in small centres across the dominion. Retailers reported that Christmas 1902 had "an exceptionally good holiday trade,"²² and that 1903 was a "high water mark,"²³ and at Christmas 1904 William Tyrrell told *Bookseller and Stationer* that this was "the most satisfactory season in our history."²⁴ To counter the impact of the department stores, *Bookseller and Stationer* continually badgered local retailers to be innovative, as for instance the series in 1913-14 on promotions that tied books and plays that were made into movies.

The antagonism among the publishers, independent bookstores, and the department stores reached a new level in the spring of 1909 when Eaton's negotiated a contract from the Ontario government for the first five school-readers, which involved about 700,000 copies. The government paid between \$20,000 and \$25,000 to manufacture the plates and Eaton's paid the printing and binding costs. The first Primer cost 3 1/5¢ net, but no other publisher could have made it for less than 6¢. Eaton's retail price for one copy was 4¢ and the postage for one copy, 5¢. *Bookseller and Stationer* wondered how Eaton's would absorb the cost, for the department store had to supply dealers and customers at the same price. This was an excellent deal for the customer, who received a 20% discount on a cash sale. And the advertising didn't stop with the book itself. Some dealers who received shipments from Eaton's found in their packages circulars for cheap groceries! By autumn booksellers were complaining that their shipments were slower than those that Eaton's sent to its customers. Even though *Bookseller and Stationer* and the Booksellers' Association campaigned against a renewal of the Eaton's contract, arguing that renewals for up to 20 years might well destroy smaller retailers, the Ontario government in 1910 awarded Simpson's the contract for arithmetic school books, but Simpson's had serious difficulty finding a Toronto printer willing to take its business.²⁵

22 "Current Topics: Holiday Sales Large," *Bookseller and Stationer* 19 (Jan. 1903): 3.

23 "Current Topics," *Bookseller and Stationer* 19 (Dec. 1903): 329.

24 "The Book and Stationery Trade of 1904," *Bookseller and Stationer* 21 (Jan. 1905): 3.

25 *Bookseller and Stationer* devoted many articles to this problem through 1909 and into 1910: "Editorial Comment," 25 (May 1909): 19; "Disastrous Policy Adopted by the Ontario Government," 25 (May 1909): 28-30; "Booksellers' Association Campaigns Against School Book Contract," 25 (June 1909): 25; "Dr. Pyne's 'Red Herring' Does an Injustice," 25 (July 1909): 21; "Editorial Comment," 25 (Aug. 1909): 19; "Disgraceful State of Affairs in Ontario - Eaton Company Takes the

Changes in technology and communications made access to books cheaper and expanded readership, and there were marked changes in reading tastes. The ever-broadening availability of subject matter led to calls for restrictions to assert the norms of decency and political stability. Around 1907, and again in 1909, there was an influx of naughty postcards²⁶ and everyone became exercised about indecent books in 1911 in a case that brought Albert Britnell into court (Elinor Gynn's *Three Weeks* was a target²⁷). A decade later calls for book censorship would be directed at foreign anarchists and godless communists.

All these changes in distribution and competition forced retail booksellers to re-organize. Because the old Booksellers' Association had become moribund, in October 1901 the Booksellers and Stationers' Section of the Retail Merchants' Association held a founding convention and elected as its first chairman Toronto bookseller William Tyrrell. By 1904 Tyrrell was president of another new organization, the Booksellers' and Stationers' Association of the Province of Ontario, which in 1910 was restructured as a Dominion association. This Association was absorbed into the Retail Merchants'

Retailers' Good Money But Fails to Fill Orders for Ontario School Readers," 25 (Sept. 1909): 38-39; "Editorial Chronicle and Comment: Holding Back the Books (?)," 25 (Oct. 1909): 19; "How the School Book Business Worked Out in Ontario," 25 (Oct. 1909): 21-23; "How Ontario Got Her So-Called Cheap Readers," 25 (Oct. 1909): 24-25; and "Ontario Government Relentlessly Attacks the Booksellers," *Bookseller and Stationer* 26 (May 1910): 10.

26 For illustrations of the postcards, see *Bookseller and Stationer* 23 (Mar. 1907): 38, and the issues of January, February, and March 1909.

27 "Notes from the Canadian Capital," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Feb. 1909): 22. The Dominion Customs Act of 1907, Schedule C, Section 1201, prohibited: "Books, printed paper, drawings, paintings, prints, photographs or representations of any kind of a treasonable or seditious or of an immoral or indecent character." Importers could be fined up to \$200. See also "Editorial Chronicle and Comment: The Problem of Vile Literature," *Bookseller and Stationer* 24 (July 1908): 16. A meeting of Toronto publishers with managers of a New York and London firm agreed that the best way to combat this "vicious literature" was to enlist the help of the press and the pulpit, and not to denounce it but to ignore it. See also "Books under the Ban," *Bookseller and Stationer* 27 (Mar. 1911): 9-10. Reports announced that Customs officials seized books from bookseller Albert Britnell that included *Three Weeks*, DeMaupassant's works, Balzac's *Droll Stories*, Richard Burton's *Arabian Nights*, and Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Now the booksellers were enlisted in the "upbuilding of a clean, moral, intellectual manhood in this country." Britnell was not charged by Magistrate George Taylor Denison but ordered to return the books to the United States.

Association in 1912-13,²⁸ although various cities and regions maintained local associations of booksellers.

From the 1880s Canadian trade papers discussed these matters, along with reports from centres across the country. They referred their readers to Canadian matters discussed in the pages of the British *Publishers' Circular* and the American *Publishers' Weekly*. In this country the MacLean Company had a monopoly on booktrade journals. Their *Canadian Printer and Publisher* (1892-) now entitled *Canadian Printer Magazine* and published by Rogers Media was devoted primarily to the printing industry. Another long-surviving journal, *Bookseller and Stationer*, was begun in 1884 by J.J. Dyas as *Books and Notions*. He sold it in 1888 to the MacLean Company, who renamed it *Bookseller and Stationer* in March 1895, but this title varied over the years as *Bookseller and Stationer and Canadian Newsdealer* and *Bookseller and Stationer and Office Equipment Journal*. It was rivalled by both Dan A. Rose's *Canadian Bookseller* begun in 1888, and *Canadian Bibliographer and Library Record* begun in 1889 in Hamilton, Ontario, by librarian Richard T. Lancefield. Rose and Lancefield then joined forces under a joint masthead, *The Canadian Bookseller and Library Journal*, which lasted until 1907. *Canadian Bookman* was begun in 1919 (with no relation to an earlier journal of the same name, 1909-10); it became the official organ of the Canadian Authors' Association in 1921, with its masthead changing in 1940 to the *Canadian Author and Bookman*, which continued publication until 1992.

Towards a Definition: *Publishing books in Canada*, Publishing Canadian books²⁹

Because Canada and its book trade were slowly shedding their colonial characteristics, a process that would take many more decades, there were discrepancies in the use of such terms as "Canadian publishing" and "Canadian book" because there was a paucity of accurate statistics. For example, "publishing" now meant the entrepreneurial process

²⁸ Note in *Bookseller and Stationer* 29 (June 1913): 15.

²⁹ In his book about publishing since the 1960s, *The Perilous Trade: Publishing Canada's Writers* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2003) Roy McSkimming makes a useful distinction: "*Publishing Canadian books* isn't the same thing as *publishing books in Canada*" (my italics) (1). The first phrase refers to publishing Canadian writers, a phenomenon first identified with the early 20th century, but which flowered after World War II. The latter phrase means publishing foreign writers, a process that has been around for two centuries.

of arranging for a manuscript to be printed, bound, promoted, and distributed. In this arrangement the publisher assumed the financial risks and paid the author a royalty from the profits. While no longer always interchangeable with “printing” (the mechanical production), “publishing” continued to be used in both senses. The lack of statistics led to anecdotal conclusions. When journalists tried to define “Canadian book” in order to estimate the number of books published annually, they admitted their figures were unreliable. Was a book “Canadian” by its authorship or by its place of manufacture or by its place of imprint? Was the quintessentially Canadian novel *Anne of Green Gables*, which did not have a Canadian imprint in 1908, a Canadian book or an American one? Or both? On the other hand, *The Christian* and *David Harum* had Canadian imprints but these were not books by Canadian authors. Were they Canadian books? In 1905 Arthur Conrad estimated that three-quarters of the Canadian editions of popular novels were imported in sheets from the United States, and one-quarter imported in sheets from the United Kingdom. Yet in 1908 *Bookseller and Stationer* estimated that more sheets came from the United Kingdom, so the difference of opinion may mean there were annual variations or that estimates were simply that. (See Appendix.)

The confusion arose not only from the nature of the Canadian market, but from international publishing arrangements in which stereotype plates were shared across national borders. *Bookseller and Stationer*’s seasonal catalogue listed hundreds of titles available in Canada, arranged by their Canadian “publisher,” but only a small proportion of these had a Canadian imprint. *Bookseller and Stationer* also carried the titles registered for Canadian copyright at the Department of Agriculture, but many titles were recorded for copyright protection, and no Canadian publication was intended. Thus when Arthur Conrad claimed that in 1904 the Musson Book Company “published about 300 different books, most of which were church books,”³⁰ he and his readers would understand that these were Musson’s agency lines. Even so, Conrad estimated that 61 novels were issued in Canadian editions in the first six months of 1904 and 68 for the same period in 1905. For 1908, W.A. Craick admitted his perplexity about these definitions. He estimated 70 volumes were published in Canada, but excluded textbooks, government

30 Arthur Conrad, “Book Publishing in Canada,” *Bookseller and Stationer* 21 (Aug. 1905): 296.

publications, and reports issued by societies. When he included books by Canadian authors published anywhere, the number of "literary works" jumped to 90. He did not bother to indicate if this total included French-language literary publications.

III. The Market for Books in the West

In Western Canada there is to be seen to-day that most fascinating of all human phenomena, the making of a nation. Out of breeds diverse in traditions, in ideals, in speech, and in manner of life, Saxon and Slav, Teuton, Celt and Gaul, one people is being made.

– Ralph Connor, *pseud.*, "Preface" to *The Foreigner* (1909)

Although the province of Manitoba had been settled by Europeans throughout the nineteenth century, the westward movement began in the 1870s as part of Sir John A. MacDonald's National Policy. Manitoba became a province in 1871, and British Columbia in 1873. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 across the West to Vancouver opened vast prairie farmlands for cultivation. Land grants, new types of hardy wheat, and agricultural technology all supported rapid change and immigration on a scale never before seen in Canada. Between 1901 and 1921 Canada's population increased from 5,371,315 to 10,376,786. The number of immigrants to the prairies rose from 49,000 in 1901 to 146,000 in 1905, and to an astonishing 402,000 settlers in the peak year of 1913. With the creation of the two new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 and the establishment of provincial school systems, schools and colleges and bookstores became an important market for publishers and suppliers in Montreal and Toronto. The changes in the West were spectacular, and the challenges to "Canadianize" farm people and urban dwellers, as Charles Gordon noted from his ministry in Winnipeg, were daunting, even for the optimists of the Western experiment.

Recognizing the opportunity, George Morang established the Morang Educational Company in 1906 and turned out many new textbooks that year. And it was not lost on Morang in 1908 when he won a successful battle against Gage, Copp, Clark, Macmillan, and Thomas Nelson to know that his authorized Ontario textbooks could be adopted in the western provinces. One of Eaton's flagship department stores was established in Winnipeg in 1909, the same year that Eaton's won its contract to print and sell textbooks in Ontario – and in the west. Eaton's catalogues advertising cheap prices and free postage for school books were widely circulated in the west.

W. C. BELL
The Dean of the Book Travelers

Figure 2. Reproduced from a copy of the *Bookseller and Stationer* 35 (Mar. 1919): 30, held in the collection of the University of Toronto Libraries.

Figure 3. A.E. Pearson, Calgary, interior. Reproduced from a copy of the *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Aug. 1909): 28, held in the collection of the University of Toronto Libraries.

Figure 4. Main Aisle of the Book Department, Thomson Stationery, Vancouver. Reproduced from a copy of *Bookseller & Stationer* 25 (Sept. 1909): 55, held in the collection of the University of Toronto Libraries.

Figure 5. Russell, Lang, Winnipeg, interior. Reproduced from a copy of the *Bookseller & Stationer* 30 (July 1914): 28, held in the collection of the University of Toronto Libraries.

British, American, and Canadian publishers' travellers regularly visited the West, and *Bookseller and Stationer* provided news of their visits. The magazine's earliest mention of John McClelland was that he had been sent by William Briggs to the Methodist Conference in Winnipeg in June 1903.³¹ Some of the best known travellers, W.C. "Billy" Bell of Musson (fig. 2) and Oxford, R.B. Bond of the Briggs/Methodist House, and George Stewart of Methodist, Oxford and McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, regularly visited the West. *Bookseller and Stationer* carried seasonal reports about the harvests, and profiled leading booksellers, as it did for booksellers in the rest of Canada. "Live" was a favourite adjective for aggressive firms. In August 1909, for example, A.E. Pearson's Book, Stationery, and Wallpaper House (est. 1906) in Calgary (fig. 3) was featured along with photographs of the interior, and a similar spread was done for the Thomson Stationery Co. Ltd (est. 1881), of Vancouver, a month later (fig. 4). Pearson had started with the well known Guelph bookseller, C.L. Nelles, and had worked in the Thomson shop. The Thomson brothers began in Portage la Prairie, and operated in Nelson and Calgary before settling in Vancouver. Now elderly, the Thomsons had just sold their business to three younger men. In April 1914 the new Diggon-Hibben bookstore (est. 1858) in Victoria was featured, and Russell, Lang & Co. Ltd., (est. 1882) of Winnipeg (fig. 5) in the July 1914 issue;³² these were two of the oldest and most distinguished booksellers west of the Great Lakes. Winnipeg, with a population of 136,035 in 1911, was the urban centre of the three prairie provinces.

In 1914 there were at least 13 articles about the book and stationery market in the West, when almost two decades of prosperity suffered a setback in the real estate bust of 1913. Charles W. Byers, the western correspondent for *Bookseller and Stationer* reported in June, July, and September 1914 that the book and stationery business was still in good shape, especially in Edmonton. Fiction was slow until summer, but the bestsellers and the English shilling, sevenpenny, and sixpenny novels had a steady sale. In September dealers in the West, as elsewhere, were counting on a brief war with little interruption to

31 "Personal," *Bookseller and Stationer* 19 (June 1903): 36.

32 "Calgary's Youngest Bookseller A.E. Pearson Has Had a Successful Career," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Aug. 1909): 28; "Building Up a Strong Business in Vancouver – The Development of the Thomson Stationery Company," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Sept. 1909): 54-56; "Hibben Firm's New Store," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Jan. 1914): 25; "Good Features of Old-Established Winnipeg Store," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (July 1914): 28-29.

imports of books, toys, and novelties from Europe and Britain for 1915. There were hopes for an excellent crop, and the October cover of *Bookseller and Stationer* featured a lush colour reproduction of C.W. Jeffrey's *Bringing in the Sheaves*. On 28 October 1914 S. Bradley Gundy told A.R. Alloway, the editor of *Bookseller and Stationer*, about his trip to the West, observing how in his 20 years of visits the "dreams have come true" of "the West as a great country." Now that the exploiters and speculators in real estate and oil and their "fool schemes"³³ were exposed, he found courage and confidence among prosperous booksellers.

IV. The War and the Market for Books

When war broke out in Europe in early August 1914, publishers in Toronto were caught preparing for their fall school book season. It did not take long for the unofficial propaganda machine to pick up steam. *Bookseller and Stationer* advised booksellers to put out "Business as Usual" signs and to push not only the war pamphlets that British publishers rushed into print but all books about other wars, patriotic pictures of the King and Queen, flags, atlases, and Boy Scout booklets.³⁴ Agency-publishers scrambled to issue British-authored publications such as the second edition of H.G. Wells's *The World Set Free*. English publisher George Newnes found a ready market for his war weeklies such as *Navy and Army Illustrated*, *The War of the Nations*, and *German Atrocities*. McClelland, Goodchild, & Stewart reported a big demand for Dr Armgaard Carl Grey's *Secrets of the German War Office*, and they issued a new edition of Pryce Collier's *Germany and the Germans*. Briggs's first big war books were General Von Bernardi's *Britain as Germany's Vassal* and A. Conan Doyle's *Great Britain and the Next War*. Bernardi's *Germany and the Next War* was available in a cloth edition from McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, and in paper from the Imperial News Company. In early 1915 Thomas Nelson began issuing John Buchan's *History of the War* in monthly parts at 35¢ each. Nor were young folks forgotten. By January 1915 Nelson advertised *The Children's Story of the War*, a weekly series of 16 pages (5¢ each) by Sir Edward Parrott. There were,

33 "A Journey through the Canadian West," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Nov. 1914): 38.

34 "War Presents Unusual Opportunities," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Sept. 1914): 27.

thankfully, other literary pleasures. Cassell's had its *Chums Annual*, the *Canadian Boys Annual*, and the *Canadian Girls Annual*; Copp, Clark was issuing Frank L. Baum's Oz stories and Edna Ferber's novels; and the big bestseller since 1912 was that romance of civility in deepest Africa, Edgar Rice Burrough's *Tarzan of the Apes*, which McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart issued in a Canadian edition in 1914.

British war propaganda ranged from fiction and poetry to non-fiction (contemporary history and biography) to official government publications. In the autumn of 1914 Macmillan of Canada printed 40,000 copies of Sir Edward Cook's pamphlet *Why the Empire is at War*, of which 10,000 were purchased by Ottawa to distribute to members of Parliament, and the Saskatchewan government distributed another 4,000 copies to colleges, schools, and business firms. Ottawa also ordered an edition in French.³⁵ In 1915 McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart became the official distributor in Canada for the British War Office. Shops and public buildings were soon plastered with war posters, many of them by famous artists whose subjects – war children, soldiers, nurses – were often depicted in romantic, pseudo-medieval, and chivalric poses.³⁶ In spite of the recruiting posters, the war bond posters, editorials, and sermons, Canada itself had no official propaganda organization until near the end of the War when an information service was set up. Compared to Great Britain and the United States, our war propaganda was modest, but “the propaganda work done by Canadian publishers has not been entirely haphazard,” wrote Hugh Eayrs in 1919, who was soon to take over the reins at Macmillan. “There has been plan and method in the decision to accept or refuse the average war book, and in the decision the fact of usefulness or uselessness from a propaganda standpoint has undoubtedly been a factor.”³⁷

Frank Wise, the chairman of the Publishers' Section of the Toronto Board of Trade, arranged to have window cards printed (at a cost of \$188.70 to the 13 members) and distributed to retailers across the country: “Give Books this Christmas.” A.D. Ferguson of MacLeod, Alberta, and T.N. Hibben of Victoria were delighted with the cards,

35 “Books on the Present War,” *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Nov. 1914): 22-24.

36 Visual and cultural origins of the chivalric ideals in late nineteenth and early twentieth century male war games are examined in Mark Girouard's *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

37 Hugh Eayrs, “Canadian Publishers and War Propaganda,” *Canadian Bookman* 1 (Jan. 1919): 48.

and even The Emporium book shop in San Francisco requested one, but there were only enough for the Canadian trade.³⁸ In his enthusiasm for the war effort, Wise canvassed his fellow publishers to subscribe to a relief fund for Belgian "Sufferers," and sent \$100 on behalf of Macmillan of Canada.³⁹ Wise also distributed a circular entitled "Belgian Book Trade Relief Fund" to the members, but W.E. Robertson of the Westminster Company, W.P. Gundy, and William Gage refused, having already contributed to relief funds.⁴⁰

The War itself had a very positive effect on the market for books, which had been in fairly good shape throughout the past decade, but few people in 1914 could have foreseen how the War would change distribution, production, and reading tastes, to say nothing of a new demand for works on Canada – such as memoirs, anthologies, poetry, and even studies of Canadian literature. In the first weeks of the conflict, *Bookseller and Stationer* advised its readers to keep a "strict vigil" on credit granted to new accounts and to old accounts that had run too long.⁴¹ The English publisher John Lane, visiting Toronto in October, declared, "The War has not seriously affected the publishing business. There is a great demand for books relating to the War, all countries involved, and history leading up to it; and yet there has been no diminution in the demand for fiction."⁴² In December Henry Button stated that the Canadian office of J.M. Dent & Sons had done a record business in the last four months of 1914, while Ernest Walker of Briggs expressed caution lest the general competition from the different publishing houses ruin the business for everyone. Walker found business as good in Ontario as other years, but noted a "falling-off in the volume of business" in the West.⁴³ There were,

38 Macmillan Canada Fonds, Folder 15, Box 1, Board of Trade, McMaster University Library, Hamilton, contains correspondence, cards, and materials related to this project in 1914. The breakdown of costs for printing and distributing are among the early records of the Publishers' Section of the Board of Trade of Toronto. These materials were not catalogued when I examined them in April 2001: While these materials were on loan to me, I labelled them: Book Publishers' Council/ Book Publishers' Section, Carton IV, Bundle 1. I am grateful to the Book Publishers' Council for permitting me to examine their records.

39 Frank Wise to Frank G. Morley, Secretary of the Toronto Board of Trade, 21 Oct. 1914, Folder 15, Box 1, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

40 See, for example, Wise to Henry Brophy of the Toronto News Company, 23 Dec. 1914; W.P. Gundy to Wise, 24 Dec. 1914, Folder 15, Box 1, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

41 "Editorial Survey," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Sept. 1914): 22.

42 "The War and the Bookseller," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Nov. 1914): 21.

43 "Book and Stationery Trade Tendencies and the Outlook," 31 (Feb. 1915): 17.

nevertheless, marked changes in reading habits. The Regina Public Library reported that interest in the War accounted for an increase in the circulation of books, 40% over the previous year, pushing figures over the 100,000 mark.⁴⁴ George H. Locke reported by war's end that the Toronto Public Library had supplied some 25,000 books to soldiers in Ontario camps and hospitals.⁴⁵

The excellent Christmas sales would be repeated for the next four years. During that period inflation and the costs of raw materials forced book prices up by about one-third, while costs of labour, equipment, and transportation more than doubled. By late 1916 wholesale paper prices were so "disorganized" that deliveries of stationery were affected, and paper shortages forced publishers to drop several series of books for the duration; but *Bookseller and Stationer* tried to calm dealers, saying that so many varieties of books were available that "there is really no cause for alarm."⁴⁶ Nevertheless, one bookseller in Western Canada insisted "there *is* cause for alarm," because some American publishers refrained from placing books on the market that year due to the paper shortage, and that English sixpenny books now cost seven pence.⁴⁷ New fiction in 1914 retailing at \$1.25 and \$1.35 had increased by war's end to \$1.50. In 1918 five-shilling books cost \$1.60, and 65¢ American reprints climbed to 75¢. At Macmillan of Canada Hugh Eayrs observed, "In over four years of war Canadian publishers have distributed probably at least one thousand different war books, all of which have had sales varying from one hundred only to twenty-five, thirty and forty thousand – old books and new books, wise books and foolish books, books intimately connected with and bearing on the Great War and books that had no possible relation whatsoever."⁴⁸ On 23 December 1918 C.L. Nelles of Guelph, wrote *Bookseller and Stationer* that the "December business has been far beyond my expectations and greater than any month in twenty-five years.... I am too much of an optimist concerning Canada's greatness

44 "Latest Books about the Great War," *Bookseller and Stationer* 31 (Feb. 1915): 33.

45 George H. Locke, "Canadian Libraries and the War," *Canadian Magazine* 52 (Nov. 1918): 588-91.

46 "Editorial Chronicle and Comment: Push the Book Business," *Bookseller and Stationer* 32 (Oct. 1916): 33.

47 "Editorial Chronicle and Comment: State of the Book Market," *Bookseller and Stationer* 32 (Nov. 1916): 33.

48 Hugh Eayrs, "Canadian Publishers and War Propaganda," *Canadian Bookman* 1 (Jan. 1919): 47.

to think that there will be any heavy depression in business now that the war is over."⁴⁹ Other retailers and publishers would say much the same thing in December 1945.

By early 1917 a minor scandal emerged over the high cost of newsprint and book paper, and intensified by claims of price fixing, especially when publishers learned that Americans bought Canadian paper at a cheaper price. As one of his last duties as chair of the Publishers' Section, Wise on 8 February fired off a day-letter to Sir Thomas White, the Minister of Finance, stating that prices had increased by 300%, from about 4¼ - 4½¢ per lb. to 11¾¢. "Increases possible only by the holdup of the well known pulp ring. Same grades in United States made from Canadian pulp are one third cheaper than here."⁵⁰ White sent a memorandum by Wise to Sir George Foster, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, but Wise insisted that White's department give publishers permission to import paper from the United States. Wise began to get a bureaucratic run around, for Foster asked for another memo addressed to himself. Wise told Foster that the pulp makers and producers had "unreasonably enhanced" the price of pulp and he demanded an enquiry. When Foster insisted on facts, Wise sent him on 23 February copies of letters from Provincial Paper Mills declining to sell paper at previous rates. Prices would not be set in advance but on the day of delivery. By 9 March Wise informed the Executive Council of the Board of Trade that Foster had "forced the newsprint manufacturers to cut their profits and accept only a ½¢ per lb. increase." White had earlier told Wise that "the daily press was a quasi-political institution and moreover very useful in war time."⁵¹ Printer T.H. Best claimed he had lost printing orders, and for one large order for printing from a Chicago firm he had to purchase paper from the United States. Best's employee Dan A. Rose wrote to Wise that the G. Howard Smith Paper Company had done very well during the War, had made improvements, and had paid up back dividends.⁵² By mid-April an investigation into newsprint prices

49 "What Some Leading Retailers Say: Best in Twenty-five Years," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Jan. 1919): 29.

50 Frank Wise to Sir Thomas White, 8 Feb. 1917, Executive Correspondence. Wise N - Si, Correspondence, Correspondence and Clippings Concerning Price-Fixing, Folder 9, Box 8, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

51 Frank Wise to Executive Council, Toronto Board of Trade, 9 Mar. 1917, Folder 9, Box 8, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

52 T.H. Best to the Toronto Board of Trade, 23 Mar. 1917; Dan A. Rose of T.H. Best Co. to Frank Wise, 3 Apr. 1917, Folder 9, Box 8, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

headed by R.A. Pringle was under way, and Wise insisted that paper for books be included. On Tuesday 24 April, Wise led a delegation to the premier of Ontario, Sir William Hearst, and presented him with a memorandum along with a note for the Minister of Education, R.A. Pyne. The Publishers' Section and T.H. Best sent memoranda to Hearst, explaining how rising paper prices were inflating the costs of textbook production. Both memoranda accused the Provincial Paper Company, the Canada Paper Company, and the Toronto Paper Company of refusing to fill a large order: one textbook of 40,000 copies requiring 620 reams of paper had to be abandoned.⁵³ Pringle's investigations continued through the summer of 1917.

What was most striking, however, was that the continuing demand for books caused a realignment in the distribution channels from Britain and the United States into Canada. The War had a devastating effect on the market for British books in Canada. At first, war propaganda from Britain in the form of current history and biographies cut into the sales of fiction and poetry, but by 1916 readers were tired of books about the War, and when the United States entered the conflict in 1917, a whole new wave of war books flowed from American publishers. English authors still had good sales in Canada, but increasingly their books appeared on shelves in American and Canadian editions, for British publishers found that increased costs, difficulties of Atlantic transport, and the reading requirements of British troops were causing them huge losses in the Canadian markets. (See Appendix.) Because Dent's *Temple* and *Everyman* series were widely used as textbooks in many provinces, Henry Button in the spring of 1916 warned that net prices of English books would go up, but without any increase in profits to the publisher or bookseller.⁵⁴

V. Publishers and Authors in Wartime

One of the popular writers of the War years, Stephen Leacock, the chair of the Department of Political Science and Economics at McGill University, was a veritable writing machine through his 40-year career

⁵³ The textbook example is found in the 5-page typescript presented by Wise to Sir William Hearst, 24 Apr. 1917. The three paper companies are mentioned by name in the memorandum from T.H. Best Company, 24 Apr. 1917, Folder 9, Box 8, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

⁵⁴ "British Books in Canada," *Bookseller and Stationer* 32 (Apr. 1916): 44.

as a professor, succeeding in a range of genres. Leacock grew up on a farm near Lake Simcoe, north of Toronto, where his ne'er-do-well father proved to be an agricultural as well as a business failure. Early poverty convinced Leacock that he wanted to live well and securely as an adult. He never felt he had enough income, even though his comfortable house in Montreal, the legendary dinner parties in his male enclave at the University Club, the rambling summer home in Orillia, and the jealousy of his fellow academics belied that view. Educated at Upper Canada College, he taught there briefly (one of his students was B.K. Sandwell) before graduating from the University of Toronto. He obtained his PhD from the University of Chicago, where Thorstein Veblen had a profound influence on Leacock's conservative and imperialist views.

Leacock established his scholarly reputation with a profitable textbook, *Elements of Political Science* (1906), which was reprinted frequently, and with his volume in George Morang's *Makers of Canada* series, *Baldwin, Lafontaine, Hincks: Responsible Government* (1907), which was also reprinted frequently.⁵⁵ He tumbled into his other career as an internationally celebrated humorist almost by accident. Contributing humorous sketches to newspapers and magazines, he wondered if he could make money from them in book form. He sent a manuscript to the publisher of his textbook, Houghton Mifflin, who thought that humour "was too uncertain."⁵⁶ Sandwell, then employed at the *Montreal Herald*, argued that such work might ruin Leacock's professional reputation. But Leacock and his brother George persisted, with Leacock eventually paying the *Montreal Gazette* for 3,000 copies. These were distributed by the Montreal News Company (1910) and sold for 35¢ a copy. The edition sold out in two months and Leacock made \$230. By chance, John Lane purchased a copy as light reading on his return voyage to London; from there he cabled for permission to publish a trade edition of *Literary Lapses* and Leacock replied, "I accept with thanks." Lane published Leacock's humour in editions from his London and New York companies, and promoted him as the Canadian Mark Twain.⁵⁷

55 Ralph Curry, *Stephen Leacock: Humorist and Humanist* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959), 83.

56 Ralph Curry, 79.

57 I am indebted to Carl Spadoni's excellent study *A Bibliography of Stephen Leacock* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1998).

Between 1910 and 1914 Leacock's books of humour were issued by five different Montreal and Toronto publishers in editions that were provided by sheets from either Lane's London or New York houses. In 1910 Lane published *Literary Lapses* (the title page indicates 1911), now augmented from 26 to 40 sketches, and the Montreal News Company reissued it in sheets from the London edition. It sold out so quickly that Leacock arranged for Lane to send an additional 1,000 sheets to the Montreal News Company. Meanwhile, as was common with many books of the period, Leacock serialized his new work "Novels in Nutshells," in *Saturday Night* and other magazines. Lane published these as *Nonsense Novels* (1911), and its Canadian edition was issued by the Publishers' Press of Montreal, a company that went bankrupt in early 1912. Leacock then turned to the Musson Book Company as his agent, which issued several editions of *Nonsense Novels*. However, by the spring of 1912, the agency had passed to Musson's former employee, W.C. "Billy" Bell, who had been a traveller for Copp, Clark and for Musson. Bell and Malcolm J. Cockburn went into partnership in 1911.

The first Canadian edition of the perennial bestseller *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* (1912) had the joint imprint of John Lane The Bodley Head, London; John Lane Company, New York; and Bell & Cockburn of Toronto. During the 1912 Christmas season 6,000 copies were sold in Canada.⁵⁸ Leacock then contracted with Bell for his next two books. In 1913 Bell & Cockburn issued the Canadian edition of *Behind the Beyond, and Other Contributions to Human Knowledge*, with elegant illustrations by Annie Harriet Fish. This edition was printed in England. The Bell and Cockburn edition of *Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich* (1914) was printed in the United States. Months later, when Leacock wondered why his royalty payment was late, he learned that the partners had declared bankruptcy when their Christmas supplies from Britain were severely reduced. They were the only firm felled by the War. Cockburn retired from the trade and Bell joined Oxford University Press for a year, where he still handled Leacock. By 1917 he was in business on his own within the Oxford premises; he continued to travel for Oxford in Quebec and Ontario, and became agent for William Heinemann, John Murray, and T. Fisher Unwin.

⁵⁸ "News Notes of the Book Trade," *Bookseller and Stationer* 29 (Jan. 1913): 26.

When Bell & Cockburn dissolved, they lost their John Lane agency to S. Bradley Gundy at Oxford,⁵⁹ who inherited two of Lane's authors, William J. Locke and Leacock. Leacock's bestseller that year was *The Fortunate Youth*. Gundy's other bestseller in the first Christmas of the War was the sentimental *Bambi* (by Marjorie Benton Cooke), not the deer of the similar title. Locke's books that followed from John Lane and S.B. Gundy humorously allude to the events of the War, and he contributed to the Belgium Relief Fund the earnings from his readings. By war's end Leacock had been showered with honours; he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1919, and received honorary degrees from Brown University, Dartmouth College, and Queen's University.

In 1912 McLeod and Allen had to relinquish one of their profitable agencies, Cassell & Co. of London, which opened its own branch in their building under the management of a personable young Englishman named Henry Button. In January 1916 they dissolved their partnership, and McLeod remained in the partners' former premises at 266-268 King St West, and continued to represent Hurst & Co., Grosset & Dunlap, A.L. Burt, and Bobbs Merrill & Co. Allen opened his own publishing offices at 219 Victoria Street, retaining the agencies of Rand McNally & Co. and M.A. Donahue & Co. of Chicago, and acted as the "selling representative" of J.M. Dent & Sons.⁶⁰ Allen's first big seller was from the author of *Pollyanna*, Eleanor H. Porter's *Just David*. Nellie McClung gravitated to the list of Tom Allen, her old friend from Briggs. McClung's speeches *In Times like These* (1915) had a first edition of 10,000, a record for non-fiction in Canada.⁶¹ In 1918 Allen published *Industry and Humanity*, a monograph on industrial relations by William Lyon Mackenzie King.

VI. The End of the William Briggs Era

On 29 January 1910 the "Old Boys" of the Methodist Book Room held a dinner for William Briggs, now in his 74th year, "in appreciation of their esteem." In attendance were S. Bradley Gundy, Thomas Allen, John McClelland, Fred Goodchild, Edward Caswell, who was the recently appointed secretary of the Toronto Library Board, Edward Huestis, A.G. Watson, and E.C. Berkinshaw of

59 "Big Change among Toronto Publishers," *Bookseller and Stationer* 21 (Jan. 1915): 35.

60 "Important Announcement" [J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd, Toronto], *Bookseller and Stationer* 32 (Jan. 1916): 16a.

61 "Nellie McClung Scores Big Success," *Bookseller and Stationer* 31 (Nov. 1915): 45.

Scribner's of New York City.⁶² Briggs's good health into old age permitted him to maintain a heavy daily work schedule and detailed supervision over publishing decisions, which began with his early morning "Parades" when the department heads gathered in his office. Here he corresponded with authors, met with officials of the Methodist Church, and listened to each and every staff member's problems. At noontime he would circulate in the cafeteria to converse with an office boy or one of the drivers of the delivery rigs.⁶³

Briggs could look back on achievements almost unparalleled in the book industry. The manufacturing departments churned out the Methodist papers: circulation of the 10 Sunday school publications increased from 345,717 in 1906 to 458,482 in 1914, while in that same period the *Christian Guardian* dropped from 24,357 to 22,029.⁶⁴ (The *Canadian Methodist Magazine* ceased in 1906.) Diversification into printing and binding of school books, catalogues for both Eaton's and Simpson's department stores, printing and binding for the Ontario legislature between 1910 and 1914, and printing the Butterick fashion magazines, generated more revenues. As well, the production of non-denominational books – that is, trade books – for the Briggs imprint as well as for publishers such as the Westminster Company, had risen. In 1906, the first year that in-house printing and binding was separated from outside work, combined sales amounted to \$923,912.43, while in 1914 combined sales of printing and binding reached \$1,887,227.92.⁶⁵ As Book Steward, Briggs was responsible for management and profits,

62 "News from Various Sources," *Bookseller and Stationer* 26 (Feb. 1910): 15.

63 E.J. Moore, "Canada's First Publishing House: A History and an Appreciation," *Canadian Bookman* 1 (Jan. 1919): 72.

64 Christiana Burr, "The Business Development of the Methodist Publishing House, 1870-1914," *Ontario History* 85 (Sept. 1993): 254. See Table 1.

65 Christina Burr, 258. Burr's Table 4 shows how outside work surpassed in-house work:

	1906	1910	1914
Printing Office, outside work	384,630.88	505,750.72	962,433.94
Printing Office, inside work	329,210.40	382,009.31	451,967.27
Bindery, outside work	111,582.12	147,271.69	342,257.12
Bindery, inside work	98,489.03	117,875.32	130,569.59
TOTAL	923,912.43	1,152,907.04	1,887,227.92

and he reported to the Book Committee of the General Conference of the Methodist Church. Because there were no shareholders looking for dividends, E.J. Moore pointed out that a large amount of annual profits went into the Superannuated Ministers' Fund, for "the support of the worn-out Methodist preachers, their wives and children,"⁶⁶ and the rest was ploughed back into maintenance and capital investment.

The Richmond Street premises were strained to capacity, and in 1912 Briggs was authorized to purchase a property at Queen and John Streets, four blocks to the west. The new five-storey, 100,000-square-foot Wesley Building was erected at 299 Queen Street West, and opened in August 1915. Briggs's new office was on the third floor. Touted as costing almost two million dollars, but closer to \$822,000,⁶⁷ the building was a fanciful architectural symbol of the Methodist impact on Canadian culture and politics. "A wedding cake," reporter Douglas Saunders enthused in 1998, "of gothic delights – spires, scowling gargoyles, crenellations, reliefs depicting readers and scribes, all done in terracotta tiling – covers one of Canada's earliest steel-girder buildings."⁶⁸ Television viewers and teenagers in our time, who have never heard of Service or McClung, know this building as the home and logo for the media empire of Bravo, CITY-TV, and MuchMusic.

Sadly, the last decade of Briggs's mandate was characterized by a growing dependency on agency books and a loss of the earlier enthusiasm as his most talented employees, his "Old Boys," became his competitors. Briggs once asked young John McClelland what he could do if Briggs weren't there. McClelland replied he could take over Briggs's job and do it better. The next day Briggs told McClelland he was the only person around the place without a swelled head.⁶⁹ Given the structure of the Methodist Book and Publishing House, department managers like S. Bradley Gundy or John McClelland could never hold positions as Book Steward or as editors of the periodicals, posts that were reserved for Methodist

66 E.J. Moore, 73. See also Christina Burr, 261-62.

67 "News of the Trade," *Bookseller and Stationer* 34 (Aug. 1918): 22. I am indebted to Janet Friskney for drawing my attention to this article.

68 Douglas Saunders, "Building an Image for TV," *Globe and Mail* 19 Dec. 1998: C5.

69 John McClelland, personal interview, 31 Aug. 1967.

clergymen.⁷⁰ Several authors also moved on, notably Nellie McClung to Thomas Allen and Robert Stead to Musson, although Agnes Laut, Robert Service, and Ernest Thomson Seton remained with Briggs through the War years. What also affected the House's diminished roster of books were the changes in the publishing department. The departure in 1909 of Edward Caswell marked the loss of the first real literary editor in Toronto publishing. As manager of the book publishing department, he had dealt with such authors as Catherine Parr Traill, Theodore Harding Rand, and Nellie McClung, but jumped at the opportunity to become secretary-treasurer and assistant librarian at the Toronto Public Library, working with the recently appointed chief librarian George H. Locke to build the Library's great Canadiana collection. The new post doubled Caswell's salary.⁷¹ His successor, F. Sidney Ewens (1872-1914), who had risen from printer's apprentice to head of the publicity department, apparently carried on in Caswell's tradition, but he died unexpectedly in early 1914. He was replaced by E.J. Moore, a printer and journalist who joined the House in 1914. Janet Friskney notes that Moore "demonstrated poor editorial and proofreading skills and questionable judgment with respect to manuscripts."⁷² Thereafter, Moore and Ernest Walker, manager of the wholesale department and its overseas traveller, had great influence over publishing decisions, and their inclination was to purchase books through Walker's contacts abroad. Writing about this decade, Lorne Pierce – who would become the company's literary editor in 1920 – stated that "the publishing programme of the House gradually slowed down to almost zero. The House had taken on a large number of important foreign agencies, which provided each year roaring sales of bestsellers from New York and London. It was a time when the trade departments dominated the policy of the House. If agency titles could be had, with little or no risk, why waste time

70 Janet B. Friskney, "Beyond the Shadow of William Briggs Part I: Setting the Stage and Introducing the Players," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 33 (Fall 1995): 150. This useful article contains capsule biographies of Methodist employees during the William Briggs's regime as Book Steward including Briggs himself, E.H. Dewart, William Withrow, Edward Caswell, S. Bradley Gundy, F. Sydney Ewens, Ernest W. Walker, and E. J. Moore.

71 For a full account of Caswell's editorial career, see Michael A. Peterman and Janet B. Friskney, "'Booming' the Canuck Book: Edward Caswell and the Promotion of Canadian Writing," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30 (Autumn 1995): 60-90. For Caswell's new salary at the Toronto Public Library, see p. 83, and note 110.

72 Janet B. Friskney, "Beyond the Shadow of William Briggs," 149.

and money on Canadian ventures?"⁷³ Pierce himself would have his run-ins with Moore and Walker in the 1920s.

The modest Canadian ventures during World War I were chiefly accounts by service men of their war experiences, beginning in 1916 with George Herbert Rae Gibson's *Maple Leaves in Flanders Fields*. Robert Service published his *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man* and Carrie Ellen Holman compiled a popular anthology *In the Day of Battle: Poems of the Great War*, which went through two more editions in 1917 and 1918. In 1917 Briggs published Harold Peat's *Private Peat: His Own Story* and a non-war doctoral dissertation by the young Methodist minister who would soon be a poet and professor, Edwin John Pratt. In 1918 came Frederick Arthur MacKenzie's *Canada's Day of Glory* and Stanley Rutledge's *Pen Pictures from the Trenches*. In 1919 there were two intriguing works, Henri Séverin Béland's *My Three Years in a German Prison*, and the most famous volume of poems of the War, the late Colonel John McCrae's *In Flanders Fields and Other Poems*, edited by his friend and mentor from McGill's medical school, Sir Alexander Macphail. Like so many minor poets known for one memorable poem that encapsulates the feelings of a lost generation, McCrae's "In Flanders Fields" is an elegy to one of his dead companions killed in the second battle of Ypres, and on its first publication in the humorous weekly *Punch* (8 December 1915) became an instant classic. Like that other soldier poet who died near the beginning of the War, Rupert Brooke, McCrae's death in January 1918 behind the battle lines stirred sympathy all over the Allied world.

One of the last major projects under Briggs's management was the publication in October 1918 of the new Methodist hymn book, the first such work to be entirely typeset, printed, and bound in Canada. Following his retirement in 1919, the Rev. Samuel Fallis was appointed Book Steward. On 1 July 1919 the trade division was renamed the Ryerson Press and the imprints "William Briggs" and "The Methodist Book and Publishing House" disappeared. With the 1925 union of the Methodist, Congregational, and many of the Presbyterian churches into the United Church of Canada, the denominational division was renamed the United Church Publishing House, which published the widely circulated *United Church Observer*. On 1 July 1920 the Ryerson Press hired Lorne Pierce in the new post of literary editor, a decision possibly influenced by Edward Caswell, who was appointed

73 Lorne Pierce, *The House of Ryerson 1829-1954* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1954): 46.

lay member of the Book Committee of the Methodist Church that year. It was an auspicious reinvigoration for the old company.

William Briggs was one of the far-sighted bookmen of his era, and his gift for spotting a good book was as important as his business acumen and his ability to nurture imaginative employees who became publishers in their own right. In the 1920s the canonization process began. Lorne Pierce hailed the firm as the "Mother Publishing House of Canada"⁷⁴ and W.S. Wallace anointed Briggs "the first Canadian publisher to undertake, on a large scale, the publication of books by Canadian writers."⁷⁵ Thus emerged the myth of a one-firm publishing industry that began with Egerton Ryerson's Methodist Book Room in 1829 and reached its culmination in the Briggs years, which all but obliterated the names of other pioneers in the early book trade of central Canada. Under Pierce it had a renaissance in the 1920s and the 1940s. Ryerson was sold in 1970 to the Canadian subsidiary of McGraw-Hill, an event that closed a chapter in the story of agency publishing, and an ironic end to the company that had done so much to develop the agency system in Canada.⁷⁶

VII. Macmillan of Canada

From 1912 until his retirement in 1920 Frank Wise had not only the challenges presented by war conditions but the repayment of loans for the new building on Bond Street and the loans on the purchase of Morang Educational Company. The latter payments took six years, during which time no dividends were paid out to shareholders, which was all the more depressing because Macmillan of Canada had returned excellent profits between 1906 and 1912. Then an economic downturn occurred throughout central Canada and the West in 1913. In early 1914 Wise told Sir Frederick Macmillan that conditions were "still very poor but things on the whole seem to be loosening up a

74 Lorne Pierce, "The Ryerson Press," *CLA Bulletin* 9 (Mar. 1953): 135.

75 W.S. Wallace, *The Ryerson Imprint: A Check-List of the Books and Pamphlets Published by the Ryerson Press since the Foundation of the House in 1829* (Toronto: Ryerson [1954]): 4.

76 George Parker, "The Sale of Ryerson Press: The End of the Old Agency System and Conflicts over Domestic and Foreign Ownership in the Canadian Publishing Industry, 1970-1986," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 40 (Fall 2002): 7-56.

little,"⁷⁷ and he requested another traveller to be based in Regina and trained under John Saul. In March 1914 Wise announced a new 50¢ library of 459 cloth-bound titles comprising fiction, juveniles, history, biography, economics, theology, and travel.⁷⁸ Besides those Macmillan lines from London and New York, Wise republished many of the Morang textbooks authorized for Nova Scotia, Ontario, and the West, now known as Macmillan's Canadian School Series, Macmillan's Canadian Text-Book Series, Macmillan's Literature Series, and Macmillan's Prairie Classics.

The outbreak of war gave Wise, who was an ardent imperialist, the opportunity to issue pamphlets related to Britain's defence of the War by English writers. Among these were Edward Cook's *Why the Empire is at War* (1914) and Rudyard Kipling's *The Fringes of the Fleet* (1915). There were few original Canadian titles, however. Bruce Whiteman notes that of the 160 titles published by Macmillan of Canada between 1906 and 1921, textbooks accounted for 53% of them, while only 26% were by Canadian writers, even during the War.⁷⁹ These included a republication of Charles G.D. Roberts's 1897 *A History of Canada* (1915), and Hugh Eayrs's *Sir Isaac Brock* (1918). The few books by Canadians about the War itself included *The War and the Jew: A Bird's Eye View of the World's Situation and the Jew's Place in It* (1915) by S.B. Rohold, the pastor of the Christian Synagogue of Toronto; and *The Belgian Mother and Ballads of Battle Time* (1917), a volume of poems by Thaddeus Browne. Several Canadians tackled the national crises of 1916-17 over Canada's changing role in the Commonwealth and Conscription: e.g., Lionel Curtis's *The Problem of the Commonwealth* (1916), and Z.A. Lash's *Defence and Foreign Affairs: A Suggestion for the Empire* (1917). William Hamilton Merritt defended Conscription in *Canadian and National Service* (1917), and John Boyd's biography *Sir George Etienne Cartier* (1914) was reprinted in 1917 in the Bonne Entente Edition. The Bonne Entente association was organized to improve deteriorating relations between French- and English-speaking Canadians. William Wood's *Flag and Fleet: How the British Navy Won the Freedom of the Seas* (1919) was a lively account aimed at those many Canadians still stirred by stories about the Empire.

77 Frank Wise to Sir Frederick Macmillan, 5 Feb. 1914, Folder 19, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

78 "News of Books and Bookmen," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Mar. 1914): 26.

79 Bruce Whiteman, "The Early History of the Macmillan Company of Canada, 1905-1921," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 23 (1984): 70, 74.

Although well respected as a businessman, journalist, and copyright expert in his own day, Frank Wise exhibited the same aggressiveness and lack of diplomacy in his dealings with authors, other publishers, and booksellers that he had displayed in the negotiations with George Morang. These attitudes were especially marked in disputes over the importation and distribution of fiction for which Macmillan of Canada held, or was supposed to hold, the rights. For instance, one of the first Macmillan of Canada imprints was Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906), published while the author was still an important star in the London Macmillan firmament. Wise irritated Doubleday, Page of New York by objecting to "the export of their editions (of Kipling for example) into the Canadian market" and offended Kipling and his wife during their 1907 tour of Canada by insisting that they "publish in Canada exclusively through Macmillan"⁸⁰ even though they had also signed a new contract with Methuen of London. Complaints from Mrs Kipling forced Frederick Macmillan to admonish Wise. In 1918 Macmillan of Canada suffered a serious blow when the Canadian rights to Kipling were transferred to S. Bradley Gundy of the Canadian branch of Oxford University Press.

Wise was always cautious about publishing fiction, a point he made in an anonymous 1913 article for *The Author* entitled "The Book Market in Canada," which was reprinted by *Bookseller and Stationer* (Toronto) that identified him as its writer. He explained that Canadian reading tastes were American-oriented, and asked rhetorically if the Canadian market for English novels could not be "fostered by printing in Canada? No. The sale for any one book is so small that it would not, it could not, pay. It is doubtful if more than one or two novels, either English or American, are printed in Canada in any one year."⁸¹ His own experience with fiction that was printed in London or New York and published as a Toronto imprint with a cancel title page, or with editions printed in Canada from borrowed stereo plates, was not consistently successful. When he complained that the Canadian rights for books by Edith Wharton and Maurice Hewlett were held by Scribner's of New York and those for Winston Churchill (the novelist) were held by George P. Brett of the New

80 A.B. McKillop. "Mystery at Macmillan: The Sudden Departure of President Frank Wise from Macmillan of Canada in 1921," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 38:1 (Spring 2000): 76-77.

81 "Talks of Canadian Book Tastes," *Bookseller and Stationer* 29 (Mar. 1913): 28.

York Macmillan Company, he found that London could not help him or supply him.⁸²

Bruce Whiteman explains what happened with the works of Winston Churchill and H.G. Wells. Churchill's *The Inside of the Cup* (1913) was imported in sheets from New York and published with a cancel title page. Churchill's *A Far Country* (1915) was printed in Canada from stereo plates imported from New York, and it sold moderately well.⁸³ In the case of *The Inside of the Cup*, Wise was a victim of "buying around" by his Toronto rivals McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, who imported what he called "prohibited books." Wise had to import his edition from Macmillan of New York and sell it at \$1.50. He offered to sell this edition for a "liberal discount" to John McClelland at a 50% discount f.o.b. Toronto. When Wise's sales of *The Inside of the Cup* fell off, he learned that McClelland himself had imported and sold the colonial edition issued by Macmillan of London at "a competitive low price ... [McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart] are absolutely unscrupulous however and have caused a great deal of trouble to us in a great many ways and I learn also to other first class houses here. A short time ago they interfered with John Lane's agent here by importing colonial editions and selling them against the regular 6s editions."⁸⁴ Wise believed that Lane addressed this problem by requiring English jobbers to indicate for which country his colonial editions were intended, Wise informed Sir Frederick Macmillan, and asked him to get the assurance of Simpkin, Marshall and other jobbers not to export "prohibited books" to Canada. Wise then asked Toronto copyright lawyer John Moss for a ruling on *The Inside of the Cup*. Sir Frederick replied that Macmillan tried to prevent the importations into Canada, but pointed out that the difficulty was the price at which Wise sold the novels he obtained from London or from Brett. London sold the colonial editions to Wise at 2s, the same price they sold to exporters, and he advised Wise to sell these editions for 3s6d, which would be about 85¢. Sir Frederick added that authors might object if they learned that the Canadian price was more like 5s or the

82 Daniel Macmillan to Frank Wise, 5 Jan. 1914, Folder 19, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

83 Bruce Whiteman, 76.

84 Frank Wise to Sir Frederick Macmillan, 21 Sept. 1914, Sir Frederick Macmillan, Correspondence with Frank Wise, Folder 14, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

equivalent of \$1.25 net.⁸⁵ Wise, of course, had to take the Brett edition of *The Inside of the Cup* for the Canadian market. Wise explained to Sir Frederick how the markup in Canada forced him and other publishers to charge \$1.25 for fiction. The 2s colonial edition cost Macmillan of Canada 52c and was wholesaled as low as 68c; Wise had in mind the books in Macmillan's Empire Library series. George Brett's regular editions were wholesaled for 75¢ and retailed for as high as \$1.50. "Unless you can do that and give a big discount," Wise explained, "the dealers refuse to lay in a stock. It has been tried over and over again not only by ourselves but by all the English houses that have come over here and by a number of local houses who act or acted as agents for English publishers."⁸⁶ Wise soon found a solution. By 15 June 1915 he reported to Sir Frederick that "a 50¢ Edition we have published of 'THE INSIDE OF THE CUP' and *A Far Country*, both by Churchill, are the only books selling well."⁸⁷ *The Inside of the Cup* ultimately sold 30,000 copies in Canada.⁸⁸

For Wells's *The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman* (1914), Wise paid an \$800 advance royalty, and imported 3,500 copies from New York with his imprint. For Wells's *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* (1916), Wise ordered 5,000 copies from New York, concerned that freight problems and paper shortages might prevent further shipments; this novel eventually sold 20,000 copies in Canada. Once again Wise was faced with "buying around," because the book buyer at Simpson's ordered the colonial edition from England at a cheaper price than the edition from Macmillan of Canada. This situation was complicated by the fact that with *Mr. Britling*, Wells had shifted from Macmillan to Cassells, whose colonial edition circulated in Canada. Possibly to send a message to other retailers and jobbers, Wise arranged that Wells's *The Soul of a Bishop* (1917) be printed in Canada from stereo plates supplied from New York. This edition of 5,000 did not sell more than 1,500 copies.⁸⁹ In December 1916 Wise informed Sir Frederick Macmillan that "Sales of Kipling have fallen

85 Sir Frederick Macmillan to Frank Wise, 2 Oct. 1914, Folder 14, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

86 Frank Wise to Sir Frederick Macmillan, 13 Oct. 1914, Folder 19, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

87 Frank Wise to Sir Frederick Macmillan, 15 June 1915, Folder 14, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

88 Bruce Whiteman, 76.

89 Bruce Whiteman, 75-76.

off because the salesman says the 'Kipling readers are all at the Front.' This was true especially in the West, for Wise was of the opinion that bookselling in Vancouver and Victoria "has almost disappeared owing to the fact that the Englishmen in British Columbia, and especially on Vancouver Island, who were the book-buyers of the province, have all gone – many, of course, never to come back."⁹⁰ Wise's experience with diminished fiction sales during the War was echoed by other Toronto publishers because of the growing taste for non-fiction books.

In 1914 two respected booksellers complained to the London directors about Wise. A.H. Jarvis of Ottawa wrote that after altercations with Wise, his supply of books was cut off and Jarvis had to "procure [Macmillan's] school and college books through other agencies." C.L. Nelles of Guelph, representing "The Booksellers of Canada," requested that the Toronto manager be changed because Canadian retailers did as little business as possible with Toronto.⁹¹ Wise replied that Nelles was well known for a "lack of sobriety," among other *ad hominem* insults, and that Jarvis was a "selling agent" for Musson, and added that he was considering a suit against W. Foster Brown of Montreal, who was always late settling accounts.⁹² Sir Frederick, who saw that Wise was always right and his correspondents always wrong, cautioned Wise: "it is always wise in such cases to control your temper and not to let violent language on the part of your correspondent be answered by any similar terms."⁹³ Three years later bookseller Russell, Lang of Winnipeg made similar complaints to London.⁹⁴

In 2000 Wise was revealed to have been something of a con-man whose activities were hushed up when the Macmillan directors in London and New York realized in 1920 that they had a scandal in the making at the Toronto branch. A.B. McKillop has unravelled in his fascinating article "Mystery at Macmillan," how Wise used the

90 Frank Wise to Sir Frederick Macmillan, 5 Dec. 1916, Folder 21, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

91 A.H. Jarvis to Sir Frederick Macmillan, n.d. 1914; C.L. Nelles to Sir Frederick Macmillan, Memo, n.d. 1914, Folder 19, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

92 Frank Wise to Sir Frederick Macmillan, 8 Apr. 1914, Folder 19, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

93 Sir Frederick Macmillan to Frank Wise, 5 May 1914, Folder 19, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

94 Frank Wise to Sir Frederick Macmillan, 21 June 1917; and John Saul to Frank Wise, 22 June 1917, Folder 22, Box 6, Macmillan Canada Fonds.

Macmillan premises, its staff, and revenues, to subsidize three of his own operations during World War I, and in the process forced John Saul to quit, and alarmed Sir Frederick Macmillan and George P. Brett over his criminally "lax accounting methods."⁹⁵ In 1912 Wise became an "organizer and leading spokesman" for the Empire Home Re-Union Association, which brought British workers' families to Canada, and in 1913 he created the British Employment Association, a bureau that arranged cheap transportation within Canada for unemployed British labourers, a profitable venture "not exactly born of philanthropic motives."⁹⁶

Then there were staff problems directly related to his ventures. In October 1917 William Whitney, the secretary treasurer since 1905, was fired and Wise installed another employee, Horace Purver, in his place. Possibly Whitney became critical of Wise's questionable practices. For the year ending 31 March 1917 Brett and Sir Frederick Macmillan were puzzled by the high expenses because the gross profits of 30% yielded only a net profit of 6%. In May 1918 they discovered that Canadian sales of over \$250,000 for the year ending 31 March 1918 returned net profits of less than \$1,000.⁹⁷ When John Cameron Saul, his respected textbook editor and salesman, was dismissed in January 1919 (Saul soon moved into a similar position at W.J. Gage & Co. at a much better salary), Wise vilified him to New York and London, even though their correspondence indicated they had been on good terms. Another of Wise's ventures, Sales Unlimited, was set up for the Canadian promotion of the London *Times*' History of the Great War, which was in competition with a similar series from Macmillan of Canada. He used Macmillan's Regina distributor, MacVicar-Newby Agencies, to handle the Sales Unlimited business, and that firm was soon threatening to sue Macmillan of Canada.

In the spring of 1920 Brett was so anxious about personnel and financial discrepancies that he visited Toronto to see the situation for himself; several days later Wise's secretary Mae Mercer sent Brett a confidential letter summarizing Wise's unethical practices. Brett was then instructed by London to take personal control of the Toronto operations. In December 1920 Hugh Eayrs, the young Englishman who had joined the branch in 1916 as Manager of the Educational Department, travelled to London, and the Macmillan

⁹⁵ A.B. McKillop, 94.

⁹⁶ A.B. McKillop, 82.

⁹⁷ A.B. McKillop, 83.

directors were impressed: "I believe that Mr. Eayrs is a young man of considerable enterprise, great energy, and possessing a fairly good taste in literature and matters pertaining to books."⁹⁸ When Wise submitted his resignation in January 1921, Eayrs succeeded him as president. A new era was under way.

Wise's career thereafter was less happy. In 1929 he was found guilty of fraud in a scam to bring Italian emigrants to Canada, and spent a year at Kingston Penitentiary. He moved to Montreal and was involved in the Oxford Group's "moral rearmament" crusade. He took up water colours, and became a printer of "fine watercolour illustrations, a binder of fine books."⁹⁹ He died at 91 in December 1960.

In February 1921 *Bookseller and Stationer's* farewell to Wise was kinder.¹⁰⁰ He was a Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute and the Royal Canadian Institute. He was recognized as an expert on copyright, often called on by Ottawa in this regard, and had served as chairman of the Publishers' Section of the Board of Trade for three years. The mystery is not merely the scandal that was hushed up for many decades but how easily his offensive behaviour could arise from the already complex manoeuvring required of publisher-agents who managed branch plants in Canada.

VIII. The War Years at McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart

*Late to bed, and late to rise / Hustle all day and advertise.*¹⁰¹

— John McClelland

Business was very good for McClelland and Goodchild before the War, as they accumulated profitable agencies and attracted best selling authors from rival publishers. They had already shifted into high gear in 1911 as wholesale importers. In January McClelland was on the first of many annual winter trips to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia arranging for imports.¹⁰² In March the partnership became a limited

98 Quoted in A.B. MacKillop, 101.

99 A.B. MacKillop, 102.

100 "Frank Wise Leaving Book Trade," *Bookseller and Stationer* 37 (Feb. 1921): 57.

101 Quoted in Elspeth Cameron, "Adventures in the Book Trade," *Saturday Night* 98 (Nov. 1983): 30.

102 "News of the Publishing Houses," *Bookseller and Stationer* 27 (Feb. 1911): 30.

company with John McClelland as president, Fred Goodchild as secretary, along with Alice McClelland (bookkeeper), Earl Goodchild (salesman), and solicitor Robertson Davidson Hume as the directors. The company was capitalized at \$40,000 through 400 shares of \$100 each.¹⁰³ In August McClelland entertained Alex Grosset of Grosset & Dunlap and F.L. Howell of A.C. McClurg & Co. at the golf links and then paid a “flying visit” to Boston and New York. Meanwhile, Goodchild was calling on booksellers in Western Canada.¹⁰⁴ They brought out their first catalogue of 900 titles, and in 1912 issued *Canadiana: A List of Books on Canada and Canadian Questions, Books by Canadian Writers*, which contained 600 titles. These catalogues in fact listed the titles they carried as agents for a dozen or more of their principals, and as “special selling agents” for Henry Holt & Co. and Little, Brown.¹⁰⁵ At the first directors’ meeting on 12 March 1912, George McLeod and E. Atherton Goodchild attended as directors, and Thomas Allen was also present.¹⁰⁶ Increasing business necessitated the move in June 1913 to spacious new quarters at 264 King Street West, with offices furnished in fumed oak and “frosted glass partitions of ornamental design,” to ensure privacy.

In December 1913 they took on a new partner, George Stewart (1876-1955), and the firm style between 1914 and 1918 was McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart. Stewart had joined Briggs in 1891 and soon became a successful salesman, known through his long career as Canada’s “leading Bible Salesman,” whose catchy slogan was “The Devil Weeps when he sees Bibles sold as cheap as these.”¹⁰⁷ Stewart left Briggs’s employ in 1904 to join S. Bradley Gundy at Oxford University Press as the Canadian agent and traveller for the Cambridge Bibles. A sociable man, with a Scottish burr and a friendly nod for

103 Carl Spadoni and Judy Donnelly, “Historical Introduction,” *A Bibliography of McClelland and Stewart Imprints, 1909-1985: A Publisher’s Legacy* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1994): 23.

104 “The Holiday Season,” *Bookseller and Stationer* 27 (August 1911): 27, 36.

105 Carl Spadoni and Judy Donnelly, “Historical Introduction,” 24.

106 George L. Parker, “A History of a Canadian Publishing House: A Study of the Relation between Publishing and the Profession of Writing, 1890-1940,” diss., University of Toronto, 1969, 102. See also Minute Book, AGM, 16 Mar. 1912. Many items pertaining to the early business records, sales, correspondence with authors and publishers that were transcribed by this writer in 1966-67 were subsequently destroyed. Copies of the transcriptions and notes are in the George Parker Folder, McClelland and Stewart Archive, McMaster University Library, Hamilton.

107 “George Stewart,” *Quill & Quire* 21 (May 1955): 7

the ladies, his departure from Oxford, bearing the Cambridge Bible agency, was a financial blow. His colleagues gave him a splendid farewell dinner. S. Bradley Gundy presented him with a diamond stick pin, and when the staff gave him an umbrella for good luck, the office poet, writing in the vein of George McIntyre, the Ingersoll Great Cheese Poet of southwestern Ontario fame, declaimed this doggerel:

Oxford's Lament

There'll be quiet now in the warehouse
 A sadness for many a day,
 For George has gone and left us,
 He has gone and went away.
 He's gone from the University Press
 To camp on another trail
 And the only consolation we have—
 We know he will never fail.

We'll miss the bright 'Good Morning',
 His 'Hoots mon! Such blathers—' and all
 His queer old slangy phrases
 When he comes in, in the fall.

We'll miss the chocolates and candies
 That from Victoria came,
 And many another kindly deed
 That puts us now to shame
 To send this poor umbrella
 To wish George Good Luck away—
 A pleasant trip to old England's shores
 And quick back to Canaday.¹⁰⁸

As those final lines indicate, Stewart was in England with McClelland in January 1914 completing the transfer of the Cambridge Bibles. They returned as agents also for Constable and Co., John Murray, Lawrence and Jellicoe, and Greening and Co.¹⁰⁹ Stewart quickly proved to be a far more productive and congenial associate than Goodchild.

When serious personality differences between Goodchild and the others reached the breaking point in the summer of 1918, Goodchild

¹⁰⁸ "News of Books and Bookmen," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Jan. 1914): 34.

¹⁰⁹ "News of Books and Bookmen," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (Feb. 1914): 29.

departed, either because his excessive drinking habits failed to endear him to McClelland or because – according to a fascinating story mentioned by Elspeth Cameron and repeated by James King – McClelland walked in on an “office party one Sunday afternoon to find a lot of naked women running around.”¹¹⁰ So much for the privacy of frosted glass. There is no mention of this incident in the cool “Dear Fred” letter sent by McClelland to Goodchild at his home on 65 Westmount Avenue on 24 July 1918. Goodchild had been absent from the offices for long periods without any explanations, and McClelland pointed out, “An organization to maintain its standard must have complete harmony and unity of action among its principals, otherwise there is sure to follow an atmosphere that is not in the best interests of the organization.” When McClelland asked him to leave, Goodchild sold his stock of \$14,250 to the other two partners.¹¹¹ The firm assumed the name by which it is now known, McClelland and Stewart. Whatever his private situation, as F.D. Goodchild Co. he issued distinguished works such as Lytton Strachey’s *Eminent Victorians*, first published in England in 1918; Edward O’Brien’s *The Best Short Stories of 1920*, a series begun in 1915 and which has continued under different publishers and editors to the present day; and Canon Frederick George Scott’s memoir as a chaplain to the First Canadian Division, *The Great War as I Saw It* (1924). After Goodchild’s death on 1 October 1924, following a long illness, his business was absorbed a year later by Thomas Allen.

Besides the arrival of George Stewart, 1914 was a banner year in other ways. In May McClelland and Charles Musson attended the American Booksellers’ Association convention, and McClelland returned full of enthusiasm for a similar organization in Canada.¹¹² On 18 June John McClelland married Ethel Bunting of St Catharines and they honeymooned in Boston, New York, and the eastern United

110 Elspeth Cameron, “Adventures in the Book Trade,” *Saturday Night* 98 (Nov. 1983): 30. James King, *Jack, A Life with Writers: The Story of Jack McClelland* (Toronto: Knopf, 1999): 3. Asked about Goodchild’s departure, John McClelland said, “He drank” (John McClelland, personal interview, 31 Aug. 1967).

111 John McClelland to Frederick Goodchild, 24 July 1918; memorandum of agreement between Frederick D. Goodchild and John McClelland and George Stewart, 15 Aug. 1918, File 6, Box 29, 1988, Jack McClelland accession, cited in Carl Spadoni and Judy Donnelly, “Historical Introduction,” 26n5.

112 “News of Books and Bookmen,” *Bookseller and Stationer* 30 (June 1914): 22.

States. Throughout the summer there were rumours of war from Europe.

The partnership of McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart straddled the very profitable war years. In 1913 McClelland announced at the first annual meeting "a stock dividend of 40% upon the paid up capital of the company."¹¹³ Sales rose from \$124,526.87 in 1913 to \$140,609.03 in 1915. In 1917 sales had doubled to \$277,408.32 and in 1919 to a record \$431,667.96.¹¹⁴ These significant results prompted some crowing in the company's 1917 greeting to the trade that "last year has proven to be a record breaker. This encourages us to greater efforts and we are now planning still bigger things for 1917."¹¹⁵ In 1917, 44 of its 91 titles were by Canadians and in 1918, 42 of its 91 titles were by Canadians, totals not matched by McClelland and Stewart until the 1960s.

Many of these books, whether by Canadian or foreign authors, were published in sheets purchased from the firm's principals in London and New York. Some of these imprints were simply agency books for which McClelland anticipated either a good Canadian sale or as a way of preventing importations by his competitors. Such may have been the case with the first McClelland and Goodchild imprint, John D. Rockefeller's *Random Reminiscences of Men and Friends* (1909), published from sheets of the Doubleday, Page edition. McClelland went specially to New York to negotiate with Doubleday, Page, which remained for decades one of the firm's important principals. This process of buying sheets was hastened by wartime problems of labour, shipping, and paper shortages, as well as tight deadlines. McClelland's delicate manoeuvring with both London and New York convinced him that he had a new advantage as a publisher. This meant crossing swords with his principals and some of his local competitors much as Wise did, several blocks north at Macmillan. In the first weeks of the War, for example, there was suddenly a demand for Friedrich von Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War* (London: Edward Arnold, 1913). The cloth edition was shipped to Canadian booksellers in great quantities, but Arnold agreed to ship no more copies when he permitted McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart to manufacture the "Sixteenth Impression," a 50¢ paper reprint known

¹¹³ George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 103.

¹¹⁴ Sales for 1913, for 1915 and 1917, and for 1919, cited in Carl Spadoni and Judy Donnelly, "Historical Introduction," 24, 26, 28.

¹¹⁵ Advertisement in *Bookseller and Stationer* 33 (Jan. 1917): 11.

as the "Popular Edition," for sale in Canada only.¹¹⁶ Until copies of the English edition were sold out, presumably it and the Canadian edition were on sale at the same time in many bookstores. In 1916 the firm cashed in on the publicity generated by the death in 1915 of soldier poet Rupert Brooke, who had visited Canada in 1913. Brooke's *Collected Poems*, *John Webster* and *the Elizabethan Drama*, and his *Letters from America* were published from the sheets provided by Brooke's British publisher, Sedgwick and Jackson.

As importing books and sheets of British authors became more unpredictable, McClelland began to rely on their American editions or sheets, and to supplement these with a Canadian printing. To market Boyd Cable's *Action Front* (1916), he planned to import 500 copies from its London publisher Smith, Elder and 500 copies from its American publisher E.P. Dutton. When Smith, Elder tried to force him to take 1,000 sheets from Britain, hinting that Copp, Clark or Briggs would be quick to take this offer, McClelland instead imported his 1,000 sheets from Dutton and paid Smith, Elder a 15% royalty, claiming that "shipments from England are very uncertain at present."¹¹⁷ The McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart edition was printed and copyrighted in the United States. When Cable's *Who Goes There* (1917) was issued by Burns and Oates (the British title was *Grapes of Wrath*), their Canadian agent, Henry Button of J.M. Dent & Sons, instructed McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, in order that "the American edition [by Putnam] will not enter Canada, either directly or indirectly, you will protect the Canadian market by printing here immediately, thus insuring absolute copyright." Button, a long-time friend of McClelland and working in the same building, easily arranged the license for the local edition.¹¹⁸ Occasionally British authors negotiated directly with the Toronto house. Because Alan Bott signed a contract with McClelland to publish *An Airman's Outing* (London: Blackwood, 1917) exclusively in Canada, McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart took the precaution of printing Chapter 2 and registered it at Stationers' Hall in London. The Toronto edition came from sheets from the Doubleday, Page edition, entitled *Cavalry of the*

¹¹⁶ Edward Arnold to McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 28 Oct. 1914, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 130-31n35.

¹¹⁷ John McClelland to Smith, Elder, 28 May 1916, McClelland and Stewart Archive, McMaster University Library.

¹¹⁸ Henry Button of Dent (Canada) to McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 3 May 1916, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 132.

Clouds.¹¹⁹ The Toronto and New York editions also carry the same running title *The Flying Ace*, which was Doubleday, Page's first title, but changed shortly after publication day to *Cavalry of the Clouds*. There was a variation on this with Donald Hankey's *A Student in Arms* (1917). McClelland's contract with Andrew Melrose of London stipulated that 260 copies of each of the British and the American (E.P. Dutton) editions would be imported, and that McClelland was to print a Canadian edition as soon as possible. Between the agreement with Melrose on 28 February and McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart's report to Melrose on 29 April 1917 over 3,000 copies of all three editions were sold in Canada.¹²⁰

Many of the books by Canadian service men – and, indeed, by other Canadians – were also issued by McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart's principals, who provided sheets for the Canadian edition. Such was the case with Sir Gilbert Parker's analysis of the origins of the War, *The World in the Crucible* (1915), arranged through Dodd, Mead, and Major John Currie's account of the First Canadian Division in France, *The Red Watch* (1916), with sheets from E.P. Dutton of New York. George Doran of New York published a number of Canadians and provided sheets for Frederick McKelvey Bell's *The First Canadians in France*, *The Chronicle of a Military Hospital in the War Zone* (1917); and Douglas Durkin's *Fighting Men of Canada* (1918). Doran also provided the sheets for two POW stories, John Harvey Douglas's *Captured: Sixteen Months as a Prisoner of War* (1918); and the escape story of Corporal E. Edwards as told in George Pearson's *The Escape of a Princess Pat* (1918).

Although the contract with Torontonians William Gray's mother survives, there is no record of sales for Gray's *A Sunny Subaltern: Billy's Letters from Flanders* (1916), which was printed and bound in Toronto. The sales must have been satisfactory because there was a fourth impression in six months and a British edition issued by Constable. The sequel, *More Letters of Billy* (1917), paid a royalty of 15% on the first 1,000 copies and 25% thereafter. McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart had the world rights for the sequel, which was published in New York by George Doran.¹²¹

119 George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 129.

120 Letters between Andrew Melrose and McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 27 and 28 Feb., 20 Mar., and 28 Apr. 1917, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Publishing House," 131-32, and n36.

121 McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart contract with Mrs Gray, 25 Apr. 1917, McClelland and Stewart Archive.

The first of McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart's original ventures were two poetry anthologies edited by John Garvin, *Canadian Poets* (1916) and *Canadian Poems of the Great War* (1918). The first volume may have been issued to compete with William Wilfred Campbell's *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* (1913) and the second, with Carrie Ellen Holman's *In the Day of Battle* (1916), for poetry anthologies were more in vogue with readers than they would be in the 1920s. Garvin may not have been puffing when he spoke in his Editor's Foreword to *Canadian Poets* of a "renaissance of Poetry" (p. 5). The negotiations for both volumes involved a long process in the choice of selections from the 50 contributors, squabbles over permissions with the contributors and other publishers, what looked like Garvin's unauthorized tampering of poems, and even threats of legal action by Garvin against McClelland and Stewart in 1920. In a modest way, these two ventures, like those major series, Morang's *Makers of Canada* and Glasgow's *Canada and its Provinces*, illuminate the connections among Canadian writers. Indeed, the volume of war poems jolted some contributors into uncomfortable reflections about the War itself. Both volumes borrowed Edward Caswell's format for *Canadian Singers and their Songs* (Briggs, 1908) by using signed photographs and brief biography-appreciations.

John William Garvin (1859-1935), the husband of Amelia Beers Warnock – herself a well-known poet and journalist who wrote under the pseudonym of Katherine Hale – was a literary dilettante and a publicist with a prickly and combative ego. He started out as an English teacher and school principal, gravitated into the "promotion of joint stock companies,"¹²² and had saved Isabella Valancy Crawford from certain obscurity with his edition of her *Collected Poems* published by William Briggs in 1905.¹²³ A life-long booster of Canadian writers, he wrote a series on poets when he was editor of the *Public Health Journal*, and as a reader for McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, provided dust-jacket blurbs for their books.

For the most part, Garvin had little trouble obtaining permissions. Duncan Campbell Scott told Garvin to make his own selections, but refused to send a photograph, and asked that Archibald Lampman

122 John Garvin, ed., *Canadian Poets* 2nd Rev. Ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1926): 264.

123 "A Lack of Appreciation," *Canadian Magazine* 29 (May 1907): 98. This note bemoans the lack of interest in Canadian poets, yet claims that Crawford's *Collected Poems* had sold 500 copies in 18 months.

be prominently represented.¹²⁴ C.J. Musson demanded that his poets William Wilfred Campbell and Frederick George Scott receive royalties, and because Musson may have misunderstood arrangements between Garvin and the two poets, Musson then threatened McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart with an injunction.¹²⁵ William Briggs told Garvin to get permission for Robert Service directly from the poet, who sent an okay from Brittany on 4 July 1916. But Garvin may not have been as prudent with other Briggs authors because in November, while the volume was in press at Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Briggs wrote McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart that "it does seem peculiar, that a firm of publishers who are no doubt thoroughly acquainted with copyright matters should, as we understand has been done, proceed with the printing of a volume such as this without previously applying for the requisite permissions."¹²⁶

Garvin's contract gave him a \$300 advance, a generous 10% on the first 1,000 copies sold, and 12½% on the next 12,000. He insisted that the volume be printed in Canada, was delighted with the dummy that Warwick provided, and ordered 1,000 copies to sell on his own.¹²⁷ There was probably only one print run, of which 2,111 copies were bound between April 1916 and January 1922. Frederick Stokes of New York took 750 copies that he published as *Canadian Poets and Poetry* (1916). For four years Garvin bickered with McClelland over the royalty on the American edition, his denials that he had agreed to take 1,000 copies on his own, and over payments to a Professor J.C. Fields, who apparently contributed \$1,700 towards the publication costs.¹²⁸ There were disputes over other costs that Garvin possibly tossed in with the anthology expenses.

124 Duncan Campbell Scott to John Garvin, 14 and 24 Jan. 1916, 27 May 1916. This and the following correspondence concerning Garvin's two anthologies were originally bundled in their own *Canadian Poets* file in the McClelland and Stewart records at Hollinger House, Toronto, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of A Canadian Publishing House," 146n54.

125 C.J. Musson to McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 28 Aug. 1916, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 146n53.

126 William Briggs to McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 8 Nov. 1916, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 146-47n56. Jack McClelland told me that perhaps Garvin, not McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, was responsible for obtaining permissions, and was slow doing so.

127 John Garvin to McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 22 May 1916, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 147n57.

128 Undated agreement between John Garvin and J.C. Fields; letter from McKay, Dodds and Gorant (solicitors) to McClelland and Stewart, 23 Sept. 1920, cited

In spite of their disagreements, sales trumped litigation and animosity, and Garvin and McClelland and Stewart signed another contract in July 1926 for a revised and enlarged edition (66 more pages). It is likely that Donald French, the company's literary editor, had a considerable hand in producing this volume. By this time Garvin was president of the Radisson Society, a company set up to publish the Master-Works of Canadian Authors to compete with Lorne Pierce's popular series from the Ryerson Press, *Makers of Canadian Literature*. The 1926 edition of *Canadian Poets* had a first printing of 2,958 copies and a second printing in December 1930 of 1,992. It was often used as a textbook. Whatever profits went to the publisher, the contributors themselves did not financially benefit. This time Duncan Campbell Scott asked that Archibald Lampman's heirs be sent \$5 for each poem (12 in all).¹²⁹ Lorne Pierce told Garvin that Tom MacInnes "swore by all his Chinese deities that he would never appear in another anthology," but MacInnes relented and would have liked \$25 for his trouble, and allowed book reviewer William Arthur Deacon to make the selection.¹³⁰

Back in 1918, however, McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart undertook another anthology by Garvin, *Canadian Poems of the Great War*, but for this project Garvin had strong support from most of his contributors, and his publishers had faith in his capacity to deliver a saleable product. W.D. Lighthall, the compiler of *Songs of the Great Dominion* (1889), and now head of the Union of Canadian Municipalities, gave Gavin *carte blanche* to use his poems, and Helena Coleman gave Garvin permission to use poems from her recent collections. Florence Randall Livesay, who wrote from her sickbed where she was confined after the loss of a baby, also told Garvin to make his own choice.¹³¹ Isabel Ecclestone Mackay sent the names of some Vancouver poets, and asked Garvin to read the manuscript of her novel *Mist of Morning*, which was published by McClelland and

in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 148n59, n58.

129 Duncan Campbell Scott to McClelland and Stewart, 24 June 1926, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 150n63.

130 Lorne Pierce to John Garvin, 29 Oct. 1925; Letter from William Arthur Deacon to John Garvin, 13 July 1926; Tom MacInnes to McClelland and Stewart, n.d., received 23 Aug. 1926, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 150-51, n64-66.

131 Florence Randall Livesay to John Garvin, 17 July 1918, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 157-58n83.

Stewart in 1919.¹³² Charles G.D. Roberts, working in the Canadian War Records Office in London on the third volume of *Canada in Flanders*, brought Garvin's attention to the poetry of his brother Theodore and his son Lloyd. Roberts hoped that Garvin would include James Cappon's "interesting and valuable extracts" about his poetry in the new anthology.¹³³ Bliss Carman used the stationery of the New York Vigilantes ("A Patriotic, Anti-Pacifist, Non-Partisan Organization of Authors, Artists, and Others") to offer his poems. Duncan Campbell Scott and Loftus MacInnes used the stationery of the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. Scott at first refused to send poems but finally agreed on the condition that he could see the proofs because in the 1916 anthology, "someone imported several words into one of my lines which quite spoiled the line, and, therefore, the poem."¹³⁴ Frederick George Scott also cautioned Garvin to be careful because one of his stanzas was dropped in the anthology issued by the Canadian War Records Office, *Canada in Khaki*.¹³⁵ Thomas O'Hagan was even angrier, for he had allowed Garvin to make changes to his poems and then was insulted when Garvin passed on to him Professor John D. Logan's critiques of O'Hagan's work. "I would by no means subscribe to or accept his judgments on poets or his rating of their work," O'Hagan wrote. "Neither do I ever invite counsel as to whether I should write prose or poetry."¹³⁶ When she was threatened with exclusion if she did not provide a photograph and a biography, 79-year-old Agnes Maule Machar lectured Garvin on publishing proprieties, in her characteristic Victorian style of underlining that this was "a thing repugnant to any sensitive woman." But she remembered in time her importance as a "pioneer in Canadian Literature" and directed him to her biography in *Who's Who* and sent

132 W.D. Lighthall to John Garvin, 17 Sept. 1918; Henry Button to McClelland Goodchild & Stewart *re* Helena Coleman's poems, 18 Aug. 1918; Helena Coleman to John Garvin, 22 July 1918; Isabel Ecclestone Mackay to John Garvin, 26 June 1918, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 152-53; n69, n70, n71, n73.

133 Charles G.D. Roberts to John Garvin, 18 Aug. 1918, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 153n74.

134 Duncan Campbell Scott to John Garvin, 15 July 1918; Duncan Campbell Scott to John Garvin, 6 Aug. 1918, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 155n75, 156n76.

135 Frederick George Scott to John Garvin, 7 Oct. 1918, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 156n77.

136 Thomas O'Hagan to John Garvin, 26 Sept. 1918, cited in George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 156n79.

a photo for this “limited public.”¹³⁷ L.M. Montgomery first declined, but a walk on the Cavendish beach inspired a poem about the role of women.¹³⁸ Arthur Stringer was unsatisfied with most of what he had written, for they were “expressions of horror against war in all its aspects – and that is a note on which the poets are requested to be discreetly silent during the present circumstances.”¹³⁹ Reluctantly, Stringer sent them along. Tom MacInnes’s son Loftus, who was married to Archibald Lampman’s daughter, was not sure his poems were worthy of publication; “filled with gloom and bitterness,” he wrote them “merely to express my own feelings upon hearing, one by one, of the death in action of so many of my dearest friends.”¹⁴⁰ He enclosed two sonnets.

Once again, C.J. Musson had issues with Garvin. Musson wrote to him on 1 October 1918 flatly refusing any poems by Robert Stead, Frederick George Scott (in spite of what Scott had already told Garvin), and Wilfred Campbell. The Campbell situation was complicated by the fact that after Campbell’s sudden death from pneumonia in January 1918, his widow Mary gave Garvin permission to use Campbell’s war poems that had appeared in the *Ottawa Evening Journal*. Musson claimed he held the copyright for those poems and that Mrs Campbell had no recollection of giving permission. On 15 November he threatened McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart with an injunction, and Garvin tried to get the partners to call Musson’s bluff and print the war poems, promising he’d pay \$200 toward the court costs. Some of this sounds like antipathy between Musson and Garvin’s high-handedness, but Musson may have been protecting his interest in Campbell’s *Collected Poems*, which Musson and Hodder & Stoughton finally published in 1923.¹⁴¹ The 28 August 1918 contract for *Canadian Poems of the Great War* gave Garvin an advance of \$150 and graduated royalties of 10% on the first 2,000 copies, 15% on the next 8,000, and 20% thereafter. Warwick Bros. & Rutter printed 2,000 copies, of which 995 were bound in the week of 14-20

137 Agnes Maule Machar to John Garvin, 15 Sept. 1918, cited in George L. Parker, “A History of a Canadian Publishing House,” 157n80.

138 L.M. Montgomery to John Garvin, 20 July 1918, cited in George L. Parker, “A History of a Canadian Publishing House,” 158n84.

139 Arthur Stringer to John Garvin, 22 June 1918, cited in George L. Parker, “A History of a Canadian Publishing House,” 158-59n86.

140 Loftus MacInnes to John Garvin, 7 Aug. 1918, cited in George L. Parker, “A History of a Canadian Publishing House,” 159n88.

141 George L. Parker, “A History of a Canadian Publishing House,” 154-55.

December 1918, a month after the armistice, and more sheets were bound in 1919, 1920, and 1923.¹⁴²

Canadian Poems of the Great War contains 220 poems by 73 contributors. The best poets were under-represented: Carman (2), Duncan Campbell Scott (3), Lloyd Roberts (3), and Charles G.D. Roberts (3) – perhaps they were not comfortable turning out poems about the War. But “popular” poets fared better: John D. Logan (6), Virna Sheard (7), Alfred Durrant Watson (8), Garvin’s wife Katherine Hale (8), and Garvin himself, with a whopping 9 poems. One is not surprised to find that the volume was an anthology of McClelland and Stewart authors and several who would shift to the house. Besides thanking John D. Logan for “valuable suggestions,” in the Editor’s Foreword (pp. 3-4), Garvin mentioned R.H. Hathaway and M.O. Hammond, all of whom were on the house’s lists. Isabel Ecclestone Mackay and Florence Randall Livesay were McClelland and Stewart authors, soon to be joined by Bliss Carman, Robert Service, and Robert Stead. Of the two major writers to join the house, Lucy Maud Montgomery contributed two poems to the war anthology, while Ralph Connor wisely abstained from writing poetry. Although both authors arranged for McClelland and Stewart to be their publisher in Canada, both came with long-established connections to their American publishers. Montgomery’s move was precipitated by her growing distrust of her American publisher.

Years of apprenticeship and sacrifice had gone into Lucy Maud Montgomery’s first novel, *Anne of Green Gables* (1908), which became one of the best selling Canadian titles ever, a work still cherished by readers all over the world. Born near Cavendish, Prince Edward Island, Montgomery (1874-1942) graduated from Prince of Wales College in Charlottetown, taught briefly and practised journalism in Halifax until she was forced to return home to care for her elderly grandparents. Smarting with ambition, she confided her anxieties and observations to her *Journals* – the first of these was published in 1985 – and told her two correspondents, Ephraim Weber and George Boyd MacMillan, about her writing and her beliefs. For a decade while she ran the local post office, taught Sunday School, and postponed marriage to the Rev. Ewen MacDonald, she was firing off poems and

142 McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart contract with John Garvin, 28 Aug. 1918. Sales Record Book, Entry for *Canadian Poems of the Great War*: Warwick Bros. & Rutter printed 2,000 copies and bound 995 in the week of 14-20 Dec. 1918. More sheets were bound in April and November 1919, March 1920, and October 1923, McClelland and Stewart Archive.

stories to *McClure's*, *Gunter's Magazine*, *The American Home*, and the *Youth's Companion* in the United States and *The Canadian Magazine* and *The Westminster* in Canada. She made nearly \$600 in 1904, she boasted to Weber.¹⁴³ But she complained to him that *East and West* in Toronto offered only \$5.00 per chapter for a six-part serial whereas an American magazine would pay \$10 per part.¹⁴⁴

On 2 May 1907 she had “great news” for Weber. After two suspenseful months, her “juvenilish story, ostensibly for girls” had been accepted by L.C. Page of Boston on “the 10-per cent royalty basis,”¹⁴⁵ that is, on the wholesale price, and he had asked for a sequel. Previously she had sent the manuscript of *Anne* to Bobbs-Merrill, Macmillan, Henry Holt, and Lothrop, and suffered the dubious distinction of being rejected by all of them. “I don’t know what kind of a publisher I’ve got. I know absolutely nothing of the Page Co.”¹⁴⁶ Montgomery would find out in the hardest way possible for an author – to be met with arrogance, treachery, and a lengthy, exhausting court case. From the start their relations were uneasy but polite. Although the contract for *Anne* was not very profitable to her, Page made a small fortune on the novel and did at least compensate her in the sequels and other books; but he held the world rights on her books.

In 1908 *Anne of Green Gables* went through six printings and Isaac Pitman published the British edition.¹⁴⁷ That year the novel had world sales of 20,061, which doubled in 1909.¹⁴⁸ William Briggs asked for her next book but she was bound to Page for the next five years and she was not excited about publishing in Toronto. She had just exhausted herself rewriting and typing *Anne of Avonlea*. Delighted with her success, Weber had begged her, “Don’t follow Roberts, Carman and Stringer to New York, but stay with us like “Kit” Drummond,

143 L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 7 Mar. 1905, in *The Green Gables Letters from L. M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 1905-1909*, ed. Wilfrid Eggleston, (Toronto: Ryerson, 1960), 27.

144 L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 8 Oct. 1906, in *The Green Gables Letters*, 46,

145 L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 2 May 1907, in *The Green Gables Letters*, 51.

146 Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, eds., *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery. Vol. I: 1889-1910* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1985), 331.

147 L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, 22 Dec. 1908, in *The Green Gables Letters*, 80.

148 Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, eds., *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery. Vol I: 1889-1910*, 414.

Scott, Connor, and Lampman.”¹⁴⁹ *Anne of Green Gables* sold well for decades but did not have a Canadian imprint until the Ryerson Press reissued it in 1943, a year after her death. Since the 1960s, the *Anne* and *Emily* series have sold well around the world, and in Japan *Anne of Green Gables* has achieved near cult status. *Anne of Green Gables* has been produced in movie, stage, and television versions, and the musical version at the Charlottetown Festival has had the longest theatre run in Canadian history.

In 1916 her relations soured with Page when the publisher refused a book of her poems, and she offered it to John McClelland of Toronto, who took *The Watchman* as the means of becoming her publisher in Canada. She gave him the Canadian rights to it, and told him that Page could have the American rights. “McC and G[oodchild] looked at each other. They said nothing against Page but all through the interview I felt they could *say* a great deal.”¹⁵⁰ But the American rights went to Frederick Stokes, one of McClelland’s principals, and soon Page was storming against Stokes, McClelland, and Montgomery. McClelland also directed her to his British principal, Constable, but within several years Montgomery made a more compatible shift to Hodder & Stoughton. McClelland found himself drawn into her long-running court battle with Page over the latter’s determination to publish other of her books without her consent, a story that has been told by Carole Gerson.¹⁵¹

In that decade, however, Montgomery was not McClelland’s biggest coup. In the middle of a busy schedule in 1917, Canada’s most popular author, the Rev. Charles Gordon – known to millions by his pseudonym “Ralph Connor” – found time to write *The Major*, the first of his two novels about the War. The author of a string of bestsellers by the time the War broke out, Gordon jumped at the chance to be both participant and propagandist. In 1915 the energetic 55-year-old minister of St Stephen’s Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg went overseas as chaplain to the 43rd battalion of the

149 Ephraim Weber to L. M. Montgomery, 16 Sept. 1907, in *The Green Gables Letters*, 55.

150 Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, eds., *The Selected Journals of L. M. Montgomery Vol. II: 1910-1921* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987): 180.

151 Carole Gerson, “‘Dragged at Anne’s Chariot Wheels’: The Triangle of Author, Publisher, and Fictional Character,” in *L.M. Montgomery and Canadian Culture*, ed. Irene Gammel and Elizabeth Epperly (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999): 49-63.

79th Cameron Highlanders, accompanied by hundreds of men from his own congregation, and with them, saw action in the trenches at Ypres. He witnessed the death of many comrades in his battalion at the Somme. Back home on leave in Canada in late 1916-17, now Chaplain-in-Chief to the Canadian Forces Overseas, he was asked by Sir Robert Borden to promote the Allied cause in the United States on behalf of the British and Canadian governments.¹⁵²

In New York his friend and publisher George Doran, an avid supporter of American participation in the War, warned him about American indifference and hostility towards the Allied side. "Well, at present we are having a little difficulty," Doran admitted, and added, "But never fear, major, give us a little time; we will swing this country all right."¹⁵³ As soon as the ever-optimistic Gordon had met President Woodrow Wilson, Doran found that the business establishments in New York, Washington, and Chicago were anxious to hear Gordon's lectures and sermons. Wearing his Cameron uniform with the kilt – on Wilson's advice – Gordon's first public triumph was a rousing off-the-cuff talk to Yale graduates about his own and Canada's war experiences. Gordon's strenuous tour lasted several months, and while he helped sway American opinion in favour of the Allied side, public opinion was aroused through March by news of the Russian Revolution and anger over the continuing German raids on American ships. On 2 April 1917, as Gordon addressed the Yale Alumni Association, President Wilson was announcing the American entry into the combat. Back in Canada by mid-summer, Gordon was caught up in the conscription crisis and toured the Maritimes in support of Borden's plans for a Union government. In January 1918 he returned to New York at Doran's request to assist in the Northcliffe Mission to improve American active participation in the War. And in November 1918 he was again in New York to attend a boisterous dinner party at the Waldorf Hotel thrown by Doran to celebrate the end of the War. After famed chef Oscar escorted him to Doran's table, Doran said, "Major, there is a general request that you say a few words to this company,"¹⁵⁴ and once again the uniformed Canadian padre wowed the audience. Meanwhile, in those two hectic years Gordon wrote two novels, drawing on his recent experiences

¹⁵² Charles Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 294-5.

¹⁵³ Charles Gordon, *Postscript*, 296.

¹⁵⁴ Charles Gordon, *Postscript*, 354.

in battle and on the lecture platform, and by the fall of 1918 Doran was anxious about the completion of the second book.

Both *The Major* (1917) and *The Sky Pilot in No Man's Land* (1919) employ Ralph Connor's favourite themes of redemption of a young man, this time in the context of the War at home and in the trenches. *The Major*, which ends happily, "was written to expose pro-German sentiment in Canada and to encourage recruiting,"¹⁵⁵ while the padre of *The Sky Pilot in No Man's Land* finds salvation in death along with his men on the battlefield. Production and marketing of *The Major*, one of the biggest bestsellers of the War, involved some complicated negotiations. Because the Westminster Company decided to get out of book publishing in 1917, several of its authors, including Gordon, were transferred to McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart. Because of his friendship with Doran, Gordon wished him to retain his copyrights. Fortunately, Doran already had a good relationship with McClelland. Hence, the Canadian edition of 30,000 copies was printed in the United States and issued under the joint imprint of George Doran of New York and McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart of Toronto. The Toronto publisher's contract of 21 June 1917 was in the form of a letter from Doran, who never forgot that Gordon had provided him with his first success as a new publisher with *The Doctor* in 1909.

For *The Major*, McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart paid their portion of the production costs (82¢ per copy), a royalty of \$5,000 to Doran, and another of \$7,500 to Connor's Canadian agent and friend W.E. Robertson, who as the Manager of the Westminster Company had published Connor's earlier books since 1899.¹⁵⁶ There was a similar arrangement for *The Sky Pilot in No Man's Land*, but when Doran wrote McClelland on 29 October 1918 he was clearly tired and exasperated, for Gordon was notorious for being late with his copy. With only one-third of the book in the hands of the printers, Doran was still planning to have 50,000 copies printed in New York and another 50,000 in Chicago. "I am going to make the effort of my life to get this book out," he promised, "but each move is costing us double time, and it may be in the end I will have to give up the fight and postpone the book until next year."¹⁵⁷ And that is what happened.

155 Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words*, 153.

156 George Doran to McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 21 June 1917, McClelland and Stewart Archive.

157 George Doran to McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 29 Oct. 1918, McClelland and Stewart Archive.

WM. J. BRADY,
Sales Manager

EDWARD J. BOYD

Figure 6. "Travelers for McClelland & Stewart, Toronto." Reproduced from a copy of the *Bookseller & Stationer* 35 (Mar. 1919): 31, held in the collection of the University of Toronto Libraries.

McClelland and Stewart began the postwar era by moving to larger quarters at 215-219 Victoria Street. The partners arranged to manage the Canadian agencies of J.M. Dent & Sons and Cassell & Co. and distribute their books in Canada. The Dent agreement ran from January 1917 until 1960, and the Cassell one from February 1919 until 1949; McClelland and Stewart were thus guaranteed profits from handling the Dent textbooks and the Cassell dictionaries, technical books, and Chums annuals. Possibly on his first post-war trip to England in 1918 McClelland agreed to employ Cassell's Canadian salesman Edward J. Boyd to have special charge of the Cassell lines (fig. 6). By 1928 Boyd was so successful he became a director of McClelland and Stewart. An agreement with George H. Doran (15 April 1919) appointed McClelland and Stewart as his Canadian agents. McClelland and Stewart would carry a large stock of Doran titles, and be supplied with these at a rate of 25% of the list dollar,

while McClelland and Stewart would pay a royalty of 12 ½% on the nominal selling price of those books. The agreement was not to cover the works of Ralph Connor, Hiram Cody, and Grace Macleod Rogers, whose books would be original publications from McClelland and Stewart through individual arrangement with Doran.¹⁵⁸ With variations, arrangements like these became a pattern for agency publishers over the next half century, and bolstered by such prospects of financial stability, John McClelland was determined to be a "first rate publisher," as he told me near the end of his life.¹⁵⁹

Success prompted McClelland in early 1918 to make one of his earliest statements about publishing Canadian writers, to John Murray Gibbon: "We are specializing as far as possible in the works of Canadian writers, and prefer to give place to a Canadian book every time. We are always on the lookout for good Canadian material, and furthermore, we go out of our way to give editions of Canadian books in both the American and English markets." He was just as proud of the profits from those books: "We have yet to lose a dollar on any Canadian book that we have ever published, and we think we can safely say that during the past two or three years we have published at least as many books by Canadian writers as any other publishing house in Canada."¹⁶⁰

McClelland's enthusiasm in February 1919 set the tone for the post-war decade: "The history of publishing and bookselling shows that, following every war there has been a wonderful increase in the production of literature, resulting in good business for the bookseller and publisher." He rallied his colleagues as if they were troops advancing from the trenches: "Our motto for 1919 is to sell two books where we sold one last year, and we hold no copyright on the slogan, so dealers, take it up and blazon it forth: Two books in 1919 for one in 1918. Let's all say we will do it. Good business, eh? You bet!"¹⁶¹

Throughout the first half of the century agency and branch-plant publishing proved to be a mixed blessing, in which regular income from agency distribution stifled original risky ventures, especially in bad times. In 1967 John Morgan Gray of Macmillan of Canada summed up the 1900-1920 decades in that manner:

158 George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 113.

159 John McClelland, personal interview, 31 Aug. 1967.

160 J. Murray Gibbon, "Where is Canadian Literature?" *Canadian Magazine* 50 (Feb. 1918): 338.

161 "More About the 1919 Trade Outlook," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25 (Feb. 1919): 52.

These rather primitive publishing organisms did not at once develop maturity of editorial judgment or much interest in the craft of bookmaking. They existed chiefly to sell imported books and were chronically short of manpower and of capital, but they did from the first publish their more important books in Canada. The first war checked this promising development and the industry had no time to regain momentum before the depression, followed by the second great war, froze the situation for another twenty-five years.¹⁶²

While John McClelland emphasized the successful financial side of his publishing, he also told John Murray Gibbon of his commitment to Canadian writing. The point of Gibbon's article, "Where is Canadian Literature?" was to investigate the role of publishers, booksellers, and reviewers in fostering an environment for Canadian literature. But he also quoted book people who alleged that reviewers overpraised Canadian books, booksellers shrugged off Canadian books, and the only ones that sold well were promoted by American publishers. Although royalties encouraged professionals, Gibbon emphasized that "literature is not to be considered merely as a commodity," and defined Canadian literature as "the printed expression of an imaginative state of mind."¹⁶³ Four months after Gibbon's article appeared, Robert Stead claimed in a June 1918 speech in Winnipeg, "We have not a Canadian literature, and we never will have while present conditions continue." For Stead literature was "the hopes, ideals, and sentiments of a people, expressed in writing and incorporated into the hearts and minds of the nation,"¹⁶⁴ a creation shared by the artist and his/her community. Stead's litany of forces thwarting the growth of Canadian literature included the impact of American magazines, American textbooks, Canadians who migrate to New York and become American, and publishers who act only as jobbers. He concluded that the only hope for Canadian literature was if such books were printed in Canada. In December 1918 Stead's own novel of the West, *The Cowpuncher*, printed in Canada by the

162 John Morgan Gray, "Canadian Books, A Publisher's View," *Canadian Literature* 33 (Summer 1967): 29.

163 Gibbon, "Where is Canadian Literature?" 336.

164 "Does Canada Have a National Literature?" *Bookseller and Stationer* 34 (June 1918): 30.

Musson Company, sold 10,000 copies within its first month, and was already into a third edition.¹⁶⁵

The great discourse on the whereabouts of Canadian literature was entering a new chapter in 1920.

APPENDIX

These statistics are taken from the annual Trade and Navigation figures found in the Parliament of Canada Sessional Papers. I have selected for comparison only three from the seven to twelve categories of importations of printed matter. There are often detailed breakdowns by country of origin and separate categories for dutiable and free goods. The fiscal year ended on 30 June until 1907 when it became 31 March. Figures are in thousands.

TABLE I

IMPORTS TO CANADA FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES

Bibles and Other Religious Works and Tracts

	United Kingdom	United States
1914	139,788	107,175
1915	120,287	101,220
1916	99,018	92,872
1917	138,650	104,180
1918	112,724	124,253
1919	194,527	149,832

Books, on the application of Science to Industry, and directories; imported for use in public free libraries

	United Kingdom	United States
1914	40,222	214,833
1915	15,438	137,739
1916	19,099	105,363
1917	16,638	132,904
1918	10,380	159,857
1919	11,045	210,522

¹⁶⁵ Musson Book Company's advertisement in *Bookseller and Stationer* 34 (Dec. 1918): 17.

Novels, or Works of Fiction of a Similar Character, Unbound or Paper Bound, or Sheets, including Christmas Annuals or Publications known as Juveniles or Toy Books

1914	46,047	63,574
1915	21,625	45,471
1916	13,325	36,208
1917	15,146	50,332
1918	13,017	56,026
1919	5,622	74,171

Books and Printed Matter

[These are annual totals of dutiable and free imported goods]

Total, all countries

1914	1,409,669	4,966,703	6,754,369
1914	1,266,826	4,353,994	5,854,186
1916	919,860	4,020,795	5,124,806
1917	1,068,766	4,533,372	5,814,764
1918	774,626	5,385,051	6,358,839
1919	743,346	6,784,401	7,695,326

SOMMAIRE

Cet article traite de la prospérité durable que connut l'industrie de l'édition à Toronto entre 1900 et 1920 en mettant l'accent sur les années de la Première Guerre mondiale. Nous avons démontré dans la première partie comment la fin des activités anglo-américaines dans le domaine de la contrefaçon en 1891, la forte croissance économique à partir de l'année 1896 et le fait que le Canada était désormais de plus en plus considéré comme un marché distinct (en théorie du moins) favorisèrent l'établissement de plusieurs nouvelles maisons d'édition agissant à titre de représentantes exclusives auprès des firmes britanniques et américaines. À preuve, on comptait en 1914 une demi-douzaine de succursales britanniques à Toronto. Il faut préciser cependant qu'un plus large public de lecteurs ne généra pas seulement des profits additionnels mais occasionna aussi de nouveaux problèmes comme, par exemple, l'apparition de livres immoraux ou à contenu indécent frappés d'interdiction. On vit en outre des libraires exiger de généreuses remises après avoir commandé des ouvrages chez des fournisseurs autres que ceux approuvés par l'agent canadien agréé, une pratique qui fut assimilée à de « l'achat parallèle ». La rapide croissance

du marché du livre scolaire dans les provinces de l'Ouest entraîna une baisse de certains des risques associés traditionnellement à la diffusion. Malgré les diverses pénuries d'emplois, de pièces d'équipement et de papier combinées avec la hausse des coûts de production, les années de guerre favorisèrent un accroissement des ventes et l'apparition de nouveaux écrivains soucieux de raconter leurs expériences en cette période difficile. Chez Methodist Book and Publishing House, on assista à une dépendance grandissante à l'égard des mandataires. Après le retrait de William Briggs en 1918, la division de commerce fut restructurée et renommée The Ryerson Press. Chez Macmillan of Canada, les pratiques commerciales douteuses commises par Frank Wise obligèrent les directeurs de Londres et New York à le licencier discrètement et à nommer Hugh Eayrs au poste de président. En 1914, McClelland et Goodchild s'adjoignirent George Stewart, mais lorsque Goodchild quitta en 1918, McClelland et Stewart adoptèrent la raison sociale sous laquelle la compagnie est connue de nos jours. Cette firme fut très prospère durant les années de guerre, publiant des écrivains étrangers et des auteurs à succès canadiens comme L.M. Montgomery et Ralph Connor. La firme McClelland and Stewart avait également agi à titre d'agent d'affaires auprès de plusieurs succursales britanniques et américaines, devenant du même coup un modèle que suivirent les éditeurs torontois à travers le siècle. Vu qu'en 1919 le commerce du livre affichait toujours une croissance stable, des intérêts américains finirent par supplanter les Britanniques et occuper la première place au Canada dans le domaine de l'édition.