Small Books, Small Screens: From the Phylactery to the Cellphone

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A recent survey funded by the Pew Internet project found that 63 percent of American adults now access the Internet through a mobile device like a cell phone, laptop, e-reader, or tablet. The same survey found that “Groups that have traditionally been on the other side of the digital divide in basic internet access are using wireless connections to go online.”¹ This trend is even more evident in the developing world. For instance, in Africa access to wired Internet connections has hardly improved over the last five years (0.1 broadband subscriptions per one hundred people in 2009; 0.3 in 2012), while mobile broadband subscriptions have grown from zero in 2009 to 10.9 per one hundred people in 2013.² Therefore, the use of smart phones for reading is

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¹ Kathryn Zickuhr and Aaron Smith, *Digital Differences* (Washington: Pew Research Centre, 2012), 2, http://www.pewinternet.org/-/media/Files/Reports/2012/PIP_Digital_differences_041312.pdf.

² “2006–2013 ICT Data for the World,” International Telecommunications Union, http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Documents/statistics/2012/ITU_Key_2006-2013_ICT_data.xls.

especially important for third-world and emerging economies that have lagged behind the developed world in Internet access via home computers, and are now accessing online content with their hand-held devices.³ Students throughout the world are increasingly relying on their smart phones for access to materials of all types and forms, including books.⁴ Not surprisingly then, university libraries are taking seriously the possibilities of, and increasing demand for, sophisticated reader-functions, from searching and locating, to reading, on mobile devices.⁵ The use of smartphones as serious reading devices has been studied from computer-science and social-sciences perspectives. What we do not have is an examination of this emerging reading platform from a bibliographical perspective.

Implementing New Knowledge Environments (INKE) is an interdisciplinary initiative spawned in the methodological commons of the digital humanities that seeks to gain better understanding of the future of reading by studying reading practices of the past and by exploring the future of the book from the perspective of its history. INKE was founded on the principle that an understanding of developments in reading technologies in manuscript and print can inspire and inform forward thinking about, and development of, new knowledge environments in the digital medium. It is also premised on the conviction that professional readers should have an active role to play in the development of new reading environments in the digital medium. In this paper, we take the long view of

³ See for example Manoj Kumar, "Impact of the Evolution of Smart Phones in Education Technology and its Application in Technical and Professional Studies: Indian Perspective," *International Journal of Managing Information Technology* 3, no. 3 (2011): 39–49; and Qiuyu Huang, "Mobile Services in University Libraries in China," *International Conference on Multimedia Technology (ICMT)*, 2011 26 (2011): 3563–65.

⁴ Fuxin Yu, "Mobile/Smart Phone Use in Higher Education," Southwest Decision Sciences Institute Conference Proceedings 2012, ed. Mohan Rao, http://www.swdsi.org/swdsi2012/proceedings_2012/papers/Papers/PA144.pdf; and Shih-Chun Chou, J. Stu, Yuting Lin, and Wen-Tai Hsieh, "Toward Computer-Based Learning: A Taxonomy of eBook Readers," *2nd International Conference on Computer Engineering and Technology (ICCET)*, 2010, 2 (2010): 431–34.

⁵ Melissa Mallon, "There's An App for That! Part I," *Public Services Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (2012): 146–49, doi:10.1080/15228959.2012.675274; and Eleanor I. Cook and Megan Hurst, "Making Beautiful Music: The State of the Art in Mobile Technology and How We Can Make the Most of It in Libraries," Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference of the North American Serials Interest Group, Nashville, TN, 7–10 June 2012, accessed 7 February 2013, <http://hdl.handle.net/10342/4045>.

small-format reading technology to build a historical foundation for a critical examination of the possibilities for professional reading on smart phones. With a brief survey of small-format books through the age of print, we provide a historical and theoretical context for the implementation of complex reading environments in small-format reading surfaces, with an emphasis on serious reading domains, particularly the scholarly edition. Our particular interest is the way in which small-format literary editions were able to accommodate complex systems of scholarly notation. We conclude by drawing principles from the achievement of minimalist architectures in print to build a model for the delivery of a scholarly edition in the small space of the smart-phone screen.

The ubiquity of the smart phone makes it a compelling option as a mobile reading device, yet small screens clearly pose challenges.⁶ Size mattered in manuscript and print as well, and much can be learned about the ways in which pre-digital producers of complex materials in print managed the challenges of small dimensions. The motives for small-format reading spaces varied from affordability to portability. The desire to hold an extensive library of great books in one's hand could be satisfied with some difficulty and discomfort for the reader in a mini-library of printed books. One could carry the whole Little Leather Library of 101 books literally in one hand, or at least one arm (fig. 1).⁷ In the digital medium, the easy part is putting a whole library into a small space. What remains a challenge is making reading in that library a comfortable and inviting experience.

There is a long history of small-book publication, involving complex motivations and production factors.⁸ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, affordability for the average person was defined by the single-page broadsheet ballad. The broadside was not exactly a small-format publication of the kind we have in mind here: it was small in weight and volume, but large in its page dimensions. By

⁶ Minhee Chae and Jinwoo Kim, "Do Size and Structure Matter to Mobile Users? An Empirical Study of the Effects of Screen Size, Information Structure, and Task Complexity on User Activities with Standard Web Phones," *Behaviour & Information Technology* 23, no. 3 (2004): 165–81.

⁷ *The Little Leather Library*, 101 vols. (New York: The Little Leather Library Company, 1920–24). See "Guide to the Little Leather Library Collection, 1920–1924," Robert E. Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University, http://digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1029&context=lib_spc.

⁸ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982).

Figure 1. The Little Leather Library. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, material factors in book production and a growing readership led to the publication of small, economical books for popular audiences in the form of penny histories and thumb Bibles for children, and chapbook romances for adults.⁹ These small-format books were designed for light reading and presented small amounts of text per page with ample (and often generous) illustrations and margins to make the reading experience as inviting as the small confines would allow. But there were also experiments in fitting more weighty matter into small formats for more serious reading. For ease of illustration, we present examples from two domains that have developed complex and demanding reading practices, and thus have motivated and introduced some of the most significant and powerful advances in reading environments: biblical studies and literary studies.

The principal motive for small-format versions of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures was portability to meet devotional purposes. The Jewish *phylactery*, or *tefillin*, is an early example, dating from well before the common era in its current practice and stemming from the injunctions in Deuteronomy 6:8 and 11:18, and

⁹ See Victor E. Neuberg, *The Penny Histories: A Study of Chapbooks for Young Readers Over Two Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); and John Simons, ed., *Guy of Warwick and Other Chapbook Romances: Six Tales from the Popular Literature of Pre-industrial England* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998).

Exodus 13:9, 16 (fig. 2).^{10,11} Only a few passages were contained in these tiny bags and, later, boxes, but the idea of using a miniature format in order to have scripture in one's intimate space is a consistent theme in later developments of portable scriptures. In the Christian tradition, the miniature book of hours could be carried easily about by (usually) young women as a sign of their religious devotion and for use in their devotional practices (fig. 3). In both these cases, reading was selective: brief passages could be sampled and meditated upon in short snatches. These were not texts for continuous reading.

**THE HEAD-PHYLACTERY OF THE JEWS,
COPIED FROM SURENHUSIUS.**

Figure 2. Illustration of a phylactery. Thomas Maurice, *A Dissertation on the Oriental Trinities* (London, 1800), 204.

¹⁰ *JewishEncyclopedia.com*, s.v. "Phylacteries ('teffilin')," unedited full text of the Jewish Encyclopedia, (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1906), <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12125-phylacteries#1109>.

¹¹ Thomas Maurice, *A Dissertation on the Oriental Trinities* (London, 1800), 204, Google Books, <http://books.google.ca/books?id=oetAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Figure 3. A miniature book of hours with a $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ inch text block. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

With the growth of emphasis on personal bible reading during the Reformation, portability and affordability became imperative. The Bishops' Bible was fine for the pulpit, but too unwieldy for the pew. The Puritan-produced Geneva Bible reflected this new reading culture in its smaller dimensions, appearing in quarto, octavo, duodecimo, and even sextodecimo.¹² The 1647 Geneva Bible printed at Amsterdam by John Canne has a text block of 67×123 mm, including marginal notes that are 4 mm wide (although the paratext is not the fulsome commentary provided in the earlier versions, but a new set of

¹² Lloyd E. Berry, "Introduction," *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 12, 14.

cross-references and light annotations produced by Canne himself).¹³ While many bibles remain comparatively large books, publishers have also continued to experiment with small-size formats, even into the present time. The reading surface of the New Testament distributed by the Gideons, for example, is not much larger than a typical smart phone. Yet, even in smaller formats, bibles often retain relatively complex page architecture, including cross-references and annotations.

Dimensions of early manuscript and print bibles were adjusted in various ways. For example, the title-page of *The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible*, which is really a collection of excerpts rather than a complete Bible, advertises itself as “fit for the Soldier's, or Seaman's Pocket, when he is not furnish'd with, or cannot well carry a larger Volume, in time of War.”¹⁴ The book was kept very thin at sixteen pages, making it comfortable for the pocket. Like the phylactery and book of hours, this was a devotional aid for the possessor, and was meant to be kept close to one's person so it could be accessed immediately, and usually briefly, as need arose, for reminders regarding already learned ideas located in familiar texts. Although its page dimensions are not particularly small, with a text block of 65 × 140 mm, the soldier's bible nonetheless illustrates a complex page architecture for a small book, through its inclusion of headings and marginal notes for navigating by topic and for correlating biblical references (fig. 4).

Even more confined text blocks were used for biblical material that needed to be portable for personal use, but did not need to be comfortably concealed. A copy of Theodore Beza's translation of the New Testament, printed in 1615, is very small – 80 × 109 mm – but would have been too bulky at 30 mm deep for the pocket of a man of action, though it is still eminently (if not intimately) portable.¹⁵ In addition to the New Testament, this volume reproduces the whole book of Psalms in double columns: the wide one, at 45 mm, displays the verse text in very small print, and the narrow one, at 18 mm, contains the prose, in even smaller print. There are even some music scores provided. The text of the New Testament itself is in very small

¹³ *Holy Bible* (Amsterdam: John Canne, 1647).

¹⁴ *The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible. Shewing from the Holy Scriptures, the Soldier's Duty and Encouragement. Being a Brief Collection of Pertinent Scriptures ... in Time of War.* (London: printed by R. Smith for Samuel Wade, 1693), Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/christiansoldieroofryf>.

¹⁵ *The New Testament ... Translated out of the Greeke by Theod. Beza, and Englished by L. T.* (London: Robert Barker, 1615).

Figure 4. Page from *The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible*
(London: printed by R. Smith for Samuel Wade, 1693), 6.

print in a 53 mm column (approximately sixty characters across) with marginal notes in a second, 9 mm column. The first eighteen verses of Mark 3, plus a two-line heading, fit on a single page. An even smaller version of the New Testament was printed in 1625 in London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, with dimensions of 52 × 103 × 17 mm and a text block that is 40 mm wide with no marginalia.¹⁶ This is smaller than the reading surface of a common Android Bible app

¹⁶ *The New Testament ... Newly translated out of the originall Greeke* (London: imprinted by Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1625).

on a Samsung Galaxy SII, which measures 45 mm across. The printed bible contains Mark 4:15–31 on a single page; the Android Bible app is able to contain only Mark 4:15–22 in the standard reading font. The British Library copy of the Bonham Bible is bound together with a Book of Common Prayer in an unusual configuration, with the back cover of the New Testament serving as the back cover of the Book of Common Prayer, so that the spines are in an inverse relation to each other: from the ends, the covers and spines form an S shape. The cover is ornate and made of silk embroidered with beads and fine wire with the edges tooled in a weaving pattern. Like miniscule manuscript books of piety in the Middle Ages, this compound book would have been carried by ladies as both an aesthetic accoutrement and a symbol of devotion.¹⁷ It would have been read, but probably only in snippets for meditation.

There is also evidence that small, personal versions of the complete Bible were used for more extensive reading. One of the key developments in bible publishing was the new emphasis, in the sixteenth century, on personal study, driven by the core values of the Protestant Reformation, though a similar emphasis on Bible reading is also evident in the Counter-Reformation. Large pulpit bibles served a purpose in public reading, both symbolically and logistically (a large bible with generous whitespace is amenable to the mechanics of public reading), but in situations that privileged exegetical sermons over liturgy, where congregants were expected to participate in the examination of a Biblical text, a smaller book, yet one that facilitated study, was required. The bible at the centre of the lay scholarship movement in England was the Geneva Bible. Although still large by today's standards, this bible was refreshingly portable, but more importantly, it presented motivated and demanding readers with equally demanding page architecture, both in its page complexity and in its type size (fig. 5). Although the page itself was large in comparison to the bible examined above, its double column structure, with densely packed marginal notes, presented the text in a scale very similar to that of its pocket-sized cousins.

¹⁷ On the mixed motives of piety and self-representation in the aesthetics of the late medieval book of hours, see Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 3, 28–29; on the aesthetics of books of piety in early modern England, see Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3, 42.

Figure 5. Geneva Bible (1560) in quarto. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. Used by permission.

Another instructive domain for informing the design of serious small-screen reading environments is that of the literary edition, particularly in its implementation of notation systems. The incorporation of annotations into small-format editions poses a

number of challenges to printers, who are limited by technical constraints; writers and editors, who work to maintain the coherence of a text while adding supplementary paratextual material; and readers, who are confronted with the demands of deciphering the complex varieties of *mise en page* that printers, writers, and editors craft in order to accommodate annotations. Fortunately for readers, the ingenuity of printers, writers, and editors has spurred the development of sophisticated means of annotating small-format books. Ideally, these books lose none of the rich supplementation allowed by the inclusion of marginal notes, footnotes, and endnotes into a text. Annotated, small-format books facilitate the intellectual rigour of demanding readers. These books have therefore been a valid format for scholarly publication; however, the solutions determined by printers, writers, and editors in the face of constraints in annotating small-format texts are idiosyncratic compared to those adopted by the producers of larger-format print materials. What follows is a brief survey of annotation in small-format books, with an emphasis on solutions to the challenges posed by constraints and limitations of size.

Annotations can be used to incorporate a vast range of bibliographical, explanatory, and contextual information into a text. In small-format books, such a variety of information placed onto a single page, in the margins or in the footer, can undermine textual coherence and defy comprehension. An elegant solution to the threat of information overload is the use of different symbols to indicate different types of annotated information. In John Gay's *Poems on Several Occasions*, two types of footnotes are used.¹⁸ The two types are distinguished both by their use of symbols or line numbers, and by the different kinds of supplementary content they contain. On page 65 (fig. 6), for example, a symbol (*) is used to indicate a footnote that explains the etymology of the word "Dumps." Below that, another note, indicated by a line number corresponding to the verse above it, provides a selection from Virgil to supplement and contextualize Gay's poem. Readers are thus provided an easy means of parsing the annotations and their content.

¹⁸ John Gay, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Glasgow: A. Foulis, 1776).

Figure 6. Different classes of notes in Gay's poems. Architectures of the Book Image Database. <http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook//images/>. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

Layering annotations is another strategy for dealing effectively with large amounts of supplementary materials. An 1827 edition of William Gifford's satirical poems *The Baviad* and *The Maeviad* includes multi-layered annotations.¹⁹ For example, page 3 (fig. 7) is divided into a hierarchy of annotations. The main body of text is annotated by two footnotes. The second of these footnotes, in turn, includes two additional footnotes of its own (using, somewhat confusingly, the same note markers, * and †). From the title, to the main text,

¹⁹ William Gifford, *The Baviad and Maeviad* (London: J.F. Dove, 1827).

to the two layers of footnotes, the font size decreases to distinguish visually the levels of text on the page. Horizontal bars further effect this differentiation. Layering annotations in this way facilitates (for good or ill) non-continuous reading. If the reader desires the available supplementary information and chooses to read the annotations, the multiple layers draw the reader further and further away from the main text; however, because Gifford's book uses footnotes, which are placed in close proximity to the main text (as opposed to endnotes), the discontinuity effected by this manner of layering is perhaps less pronounced than it might otherwise be. This sample page is very complex, and contains multiple levels of information, all fit into a 55 × 105 mm text block.

Figure 7. Layered notes in Gifford's 1827 edition of *The Baviad and Maevid*. Architectures of the Book Image Database. <http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook//images/>. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

In contrast, the layering of annotations in Walter Scott's *Marmion* and *Lady of the Lake*, both published by Charles Daly, prompts discontinuous reading more forcefully than Gifford's *Baviad* does.²⁰ Scott's volumes join paratext to text with multi-levelled notes. For example, the verse of page 16 (fig. 8) is annotated by a footnote that reads: "The rest of this old ballad may be found in the note." The note in question is an endnote that contextualizes and completes the ballad. In this fashion, then, large amounts of supplementary material can be included in a small-format book and, crucially, represented on the page. The endnote is itself annotated by footnotes that refer readers to other books, gloss words, and phrases, and generally explicate the content of the endnote (fig. 9). A similar strategy of annotation is used in Daly's edition of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. In addition to having footnotes of its own, one endnote, which covers seven pages and both contextualizes and includes a ballad mentioned in the main text, adds a glossary of terms used in the ballad (fig. 10). The layering of footnotes and endnotes in these editions of Scott's books thus takes the reader further away from the main text than in Gifford's book, which only layers footnotes. However, the use of endnotes in Scott's books permits the inclusion of greater amounts of supplementary content than can be accommodated in Gifford's. It is hard to imagine the effective placement of a glossary or a complete ballad in a footnote, let alone in a footnote in a small-format book. Space constraints thus necessitate the effective and appropriate organization of annotations in these books by printers, writers, and editors. In the end, selective readers, that is, readers who are willing to engage at will with annotations in order to attain the specialized information they offer, must confront the advantages and disadvantages of the methods of notation adopted by makers of small-format books. The more complex and extensive the content, and thus the architecture required to represent this content, the more demands there are in turn on the level of engagement and the effort required by readers.

²⁰ Walter Scott, *Marmion* (London: Charles Daly, 1836) and *The Lady of the Lake* (London: Charles Daly, 1838).

Figure 8. A footnote directing readers to an endnote in Scott's *Marmion*. Architectures of the Book Image Database. <http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook//images/>. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

Figure 9. An endnote with footnotes in Scott's *Marmion*. Architectures of the Book Image Database. <http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook//images/>. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

Figure 10. A glossary in an endnote in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. Architectures of the Book Image Database. <http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook//images/>. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

Early printers developed various strategies for extending the limits of the small format to include more expansive information. For example, a small-format edition of Curtius Rufus's *History*, printed in 1633, uses a fold-out to accommodate a detailed map beyond the boundaries of the page (fig. 11).²¹ In many cases, these strategies for expanding information on the small page are much easier to achieve in print than on a digital device. The fold-out was an old device that was quite simply and easily adapted to any page size, but other elements of page architecture, including complex notation, required technical developments in the hardware and techniques used to produce books.

²¹ Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Q. Curtii Rufi Historiarum Libri: Accuratissime Editi*. (Lugd. Batavorum: ex officina Elzeviriana, 1633).

Figure 11. Fold-out map in Curtius Rufus, *Q. Curtii Rufi Historiarum Libri*. Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

In creating small scholarly editions, printers had to grapple with a number of technical challenges and limitations. The most obvious was type. When Aldus Manutius embarked on a program of producing smaller books, he had his typesetter, Francesco Griffo, cut the first italic types. Although the impetus for the typeface was most likely an attempt to recreate the cursive script popular at the time, italics provided the additional benefit of allowing more text to fit on a line.²² The Aldine small octavos published in italics were a resounding success; the diplomat Sigismund Thurzo wrote to Manutius, “[Y]our books – which are so handy that I can use them while walking and even so to speak, while playing the courtier, whenever I find a chance – have become a special delight to me.”²³ Authors also wished to see their works in this new portable format; Erasmus famously wrote of

²² Joseph F. Loewenstein, “*Idem*: Italics and the Genetics of Authorship,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 2 (1990): 217n33. Loewenstein argues that while Aldus may have not used the typeface for economical reasons, those after him certainly did.

²³ Quoted in Anthony Grafton, “The Humanist as Reader,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 186.

his desire to have his own book printed in “those small types, the most beautiful in the world.”²⁴ Not all experiments in reducing the size of type, and thus the size of books, were as universally lauded. In the seventeenth century the Elzevir printing dynasty introduced affordable 32mo editions of the classics. While a commercial success, they also had their critics. In 1651, Nicolaas Heinsius wrote to Johann Friedrich Gronovius, “The Dupuy brothers wish your Livy had been printed in a larger format. They say the small types are a continual subject of complaint by scholars of their city.”²⁵ Despite these complaints, other printers adopted the format, and typesetters managed to cut types down to 3 pt., otherwise known as Excelsior. Printers also refined techniques for printing such small types cleanly so that they remained readable, a process greatly assisted in the nineteenth century by the harder type metal used for steam presses and the smoother surface of machine-made paper.

In addition to creating smaller typefaces suited for condensed formats, printers introduced a variety of design strategies for condensing information onto the small page and for using features of the codex, such as the two-page opening and fold-out leaves, to expand the surface area available for displaying information. When we look to moving the small book format onto the small screen, the technical challenges of increasing the number of words on a small page disappear. The only limitations on decreasing the size of digital typefaces are the quality of the display surface and the reader’s comfort, and as displays continue to improve in pixel density, ever-smaller type sizes become more comfortably legible. However, when it comes to display size, the printers of small books had much more room to work with than the designers of smart-phone apps do. The average smart-phone screen is about the same size as a single page of a 32mo, but, thanks to the opening, the printers of 32mos actually have twice the display surface of a smart phone, and far more if they include a fold-out (fig. 12). Thus, the more accurate digital analogue for the small book is actually a small tablet like the Kindle Fire or Samsung Galaxy Note. But, as not everyone has pockets large enough to carry one of these devices, digital book designers should not give up on the smart phone as a reading interface.

²⁴ Quoted in Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), 130.

²⁵ Quoted in David W. Davies, *The World of the Elzevirs 1580–1712* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954), 147–48.

Figure 12. A small-format edition of Sir Walter Scott's *Marmion* beside a Samsung Galaxy SII displaying a text in the Kobo app with text rendered in the smallest font setting. University of Saskatchewan. Used by permission.

This brief history suggests that good design can maximize the affordances of the available hardware and software. But perhaps the most important lesson we have learned from looking at small books is that demanding readers, such as scholars, are motivated enough not to reject books that make demands upon them. For example, they will navigate through multi-layered notes in ever-decreasing type sizes in order to find the information they are looking for. With this in mind, we set about designing a reading interface that takes as its starting point the limits of the Amazon Kindle Android app. Our default text display is modelled on the Kindle's maximum text block dimensions, minimum type size, and standard line spacing (fig. 13). This model equates to thirty lines of 7 pt. Times New Roman font with 8 pt. line spacing, which allows for the display of about two hundred words per screen. This text size is still considerably larger than that used in the smallest books, but given the current state of screens, we felt that if Amazon tested this app and found it to be the smallest acceptable size to readers, we should not make our display any smaller, at least for the primary text. We also felt it was important to have a defined text and page size so that readers could utilize spatial memory. In our example, note 3 occurs approximately two-thirds

down the page. It is important for the note always to occur there so that at a later date the reader will know where to look for it. A defined text and page size also necessitates a page-flipping style of navigation instead of vertical scrolling.

I.	
Day set on Norham's castled steep, ¹	
And Tweed's fair river, broad and deep,	
And Cheviot's mountains lone:	
The battled towers, the donjon keep,	
The loophole grates, where captives weep,	5
The flanking walls that round it sweep,	
In yellow lustre shone.	
The warriors on the turrets high,	
Moving athwart the evening sky,	
Seem'd forms of giant height:	10
Their armour, as it caught the rays,	
Flash'd back again the western blaze,	
In lines of dazzling light.	
II.	
Saint George's banner, ² broad and gay,	
Now faded, as the fading ray	15
Less bright, and less, was flung;	
The evening gale had scarce the power	
To wave it on the Donjon ³ Tower,	
So heavily it hung.	
The scouts had parted on their search,	20
The Castle gates were barr'd;	
Above the gloomy portal arch,	
Timing his footsteps to a march,	
The Warder kept his guard;	
Low humming, as he paced along,	25

Figure 13. Model of text block for Kindle's Android app.

To access the supplementary notes in our model, one can either pull down or pull up an overlay. If one pulls the overlay up, the notes appear in order (fig. 14), while if one pulls down, they appear in reverse order (fig. 15). Because of limited screen space, these overlays must necessarily cover some of the original text. By using this system we hope to minimize situations in which the overlaid note obscures the referenced passage in the main text. If one pulls a small overlay, the notes appear as one-line snippets, with a clear indication if there is more text available. This feature allows the reader to determine quickly whether the note is worth following and whether the notes are interrelated. If the notes are of interest, pulling the overlay to full screen fully obscures the original text but makes more of the note text available (fig. 16). If, as in the case of note I, this is still not enough space to display the entire text of the note, the reader can select just that note and have it appear alone in the overlay (fig. 17). At this point the reader is fully committed to the search for information,

so in order to fit the full note text we reduced the type size and line spacing even further, on the principle that motivated readers are willing to work hard to get the information they need. Closing the overlay returns the reader to the original text.

Figure 14. Model showing pull-up notes.

Figure 15. Model showing pull-down notes.

Figure 16. Model of the first layer.

Figure 17. Model of second note expanded to full view.

In this model we have adopted for the hand-held digital environment a print strategy of layered annotations exemplified in the nineteenth-century small-format editions of Scott and Gifford. And, like the printers of small books dating from the late sixteenth century, we have pushed the limits of readability by using as small a font size as the screen technology can support.

In conclusion, the model we describe here illustrates the importance of book history to the development of new professional reading environments in the digital medium. This history tells us that certain kinds of readers and reading situations create a combination of need and motivation that make very small reading environments not only tolerable, but desirable. Moreover, certain kinds of readers and reading practices have made demands of these reading environments that have pushed the limits of current technologies. This pressure continues into the digital medium for professional readers who, to take our example, require complex referencing systems that are not currently available in mobile-phone reading apps. What we present here is a first step toward a fuller design and the implementation of a new reading environment aimed at one of the most demanding and motivated kinds of readers, the professional scholar.

SOMMAIRE

Un nombre sans cesse grandissant de gens s'adonnent à la lecture sur des téléphones multifonctions et autres petits appareils électroniques. L'utilisation de ces téléphones intelligents en tant qu'instruments de lecture a dès lors été abordée sous l'angle de l'informatique et des sciences sociales, mais aucune étude de cette plateforme émergente n'a été faite dans une perspective bibliographique. Après un bref survol des livres de petit format en usage à l'ère de l'imprimé, nous replaçons dans un contexte historique et théorique l'implantation de cadres de lecture complexes sur des petites surfaces en mettant l'accent sur les domaines du savoir, en particulier l'édition savante. Nous nous intéressons notamment sur les moyens qu'empruntent les éditions littéraires sur petits supports en vue de répondre aux systèmes complexes d'évaluation scientifique. En guise de conclusion, nous discutons des avancées informatiques accomplies au niveau de la reprographie afin de mettre au point un modèle d'édition savante qui puisse s'adapter dans un espace aussi réduit qu'un écran de téléphone multifonctions.

Contingencies of *Wacousta*'s Value: Revaluation, Reproduction, and Retroactive Invalidation

Alana Fletcher*

Canada's geographical position on the far edge of the British Empire and the northern edge of the United States was a major factor in the publishing history of early colonial texts, many of which were pirated in the United States due to the exclusion of foreign authors from American copyright before 1891.¹ John Richardson's 1832 novel *Wacousta* is one such text, as its piracy in *Waldie's Select Circulating Library* in 1833 was a determining factor in the text's history. Waldie's abridged and altered text, a derivation of which served as the copy-text for the 1967 New Canadian Library (NCL) edition of *Wacousta* edited by Carl Klinck, was later seen by Mary Jane Edwards, the general editor of the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts (CEEECT), and by Douglas Cronk, editor of the CEEECT edition of *Wacousta*, as "bad" and "textually corrupt." Cronk, for example, considered the Musson copy-text derived from the Waldie edition to be "the most textually corrupt of all the textually corrupt and unauthorized editions of Richardson's novel" and "the most corrupt copy-text that could have been chosen" for the NCL's 1967 edition.² Cronk's CEEECT edition of *Wacousta*, published in 1987, undertook to remedy these perceived corruptions. It sought to "provide the reader with an unabridged text that reflects as perfectly as possible the author's known intentions,"³ using the first edition as copy-text.

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¹ See Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) for a comprehensive examination of the way a national mass market for books in antebellum America was built and sustained through piracy of foreign works.

² Mary Jane Edwards, "Early Canadian Literature in English: A Survey and a Challenge," *College English* 51, no. 5 (1989): 508–16 (514); Douglas Cronk, "The Editorial Destruction of Canadian Literature: A Textual Study of Major John Richardson's *Wacousta*; or, *The Prophecy*" (master's thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1977), 1–2, 56.

³ Douglas Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," in *Wacousta; or, The Prophecy: a Tale of the Canadas*, by John Richardson, Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts 4 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987), xvii–lvi (xlvii).

The legitimacy of this attempt to restore the novel to an ideal state based on authorial intention has recently been critiqued by Dean Irvine, who points out how much unauthorized editions reveal about the instability of the colonial text, asserting that “[t]o say that the London edition fully manifests Richardson’s intentions is to ignore its textual history, not least its mediation by multiple non-authorial intentionalities.”⁴ The divergence of editorial positions on *Wacousta* evinced by Waldie, Klinck, Cronk, and Irvine suggests that the text has been evaluated by different criteria over time, as its perceived purpose or use value changes. This paper uses Barbara Herrnstein Smith’s comprehensive explanation of the interrelation of need or desire, perceived functionality, and evaluation of literary objects to explain the process by which editions of *Wacousta* that were well suited to the particular needs of certain subjects have been devalued by others with different needs and functional expectations. Viewed through this lens of value contingency, the enduring value of *Wacousta* clearly appears to be the result of persistent revaluations and editorial reproductions of the text according to new purposes, accompanied by a retroactive invalidation of the editorial models, purposes, and evaluations of previous editions. Approaching *Wacousta* in terms of value contingency follows Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Stanley Fish, and others in extending textual meaning-making to shifting audiences and challenging the romantic construction of single-author intentionality.

Wacousta was first published by T. Cadell of London and W. Blackwood of Edinburgh in three volumes in 1832. Adam Waldie pirated the novel in serial form in his “New, Cheap, and Popular Periodical,” *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library*, in four instalments between 16 April and 7 May 1833.⁵ In this edition, Richardson’s novel was edited and abridged in ways specifically intended to make the work more appealing to an American audience. For this “first

⁴ Dean Irvine, “Editing Archives] Archiving Editions,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2006): 183–215 (189).

⁵ In fact, *Wacousta* appeared in the *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library* twice, the second impression stemming from the same setting of type as the first; this series ran concurrently with the first. Douglas Cronk, “The Americanization of *Wacousta*,” in *Recovering Canada’s First Novelist: Proceedings from the John Richardson Conference*, ed. Catherine Sheldrick Ross (Erin, ON: Porcupine’s Quill, 1984), 33–48 (34). William F.E. Morley speculates that “Possibly the number of subscriptions exceeded anticipation and a new series was produced to satisfy the demand.” William F.E. Morley, *A Bibliographical Study of Major John Richardson* (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1973), 67–68.

American edition" of the novel,⁶ either Waldie or his editor, John Jay Smith, cut somewhere between fifteen and twenty thousand words from the novel's one hundred and seventy-five thousand, changing its political orientation, language, and characterization.⁷ As Cronk notes, "[r]eferences to Canada and Canadians, passages of patriotic enthusiasm, [and] historical references that did not show Americans in a favourable light" were removed.⁸ The first clear change of this nature is the subtitle: Richardson's original "a Tale of the Canadas" was removed in favour of "a Tale of Detroit and Michillimackinac." The introductory chapter, in which Richardson gives a detailed description of the geographical and political setting, was also heavily edited. Turns of phrase in which the original used "we" to denote the British or British Canadians are changed to "the British," so that an American audience may more readily identify with the text.⁹ As Cronk has pointed out, not only references to British Canada, but also portions of the text which complicated the characters of, most notably, Wacousta and de Haldimar, were excised in the Waldie edition, presumably in order to streamline the plot. Such omitted passages included revelations of Wacousta's more reflective, emotional side, such as a passage in which he describes his former self to Clara.¹⁰ In the Waldie edition, Wacousta is a less sympathetic character, and his exoticism is more pronounced. Richardson's emphasis on de Haldimar's integrity and honour is likewise lost in the Waldie edition, in which de Haldimar appears an "arrogant, unbending, unemotional villain."¹¹

These changes can be read as reflections of an alteration of the function of Richardson's text, a change affecting perceptions of its value. To clarify this idea, I turn to Barbara Herrnstein Smith's "Contingencies of Value," a 1983 essay that foregrounds the notion of functionality in literary evaluation. "Of particular significance for the

⁶ Note to the first American edition of *Wacousta; or, the Prophecy: A Tale of Detroit and Michillimackinac*, Waldie's *Select Circulating Library*, 16 April 1833, 209–70 (209).

⁷ Cronk, "The Americanization of *Wacousta*," 36; Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," xxix.

⁸ Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," xxix.

⁹ For an expanded discussion of the changes Waldie made to the Canadian context of the novel see Cronk, "The Americanization of *Wacousta*," 44–46.

¹⁰ John Richardson, *Wacousta; or, The Prophecy: a Tale of the Canadas* (London: Cadell; Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1832), 3: 221–22, Early Canadiana Online.

¹¹ Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," xxx; Cronk, "The Americanization of *Wacousta*," 41.

value of ‘works of art’ and ‘literature,’” she writes, “is the interactive relation between the classification of an entity and the functions it is expected or desired to perform. In perceiving an object or artifact in terms of some category – as, for example, ‘a clock,’ ‘a dictionary,’ ‘a doorstep,’ ‘a curio’ – we implicitly isolate and foreground certain of its possible functions and typically refer its value to the extent to which it performs those functions more or less effectively.”¹²

The 1832 Cadell and Blackwood edition was classified as a novel written from the perspective of a Canadian in Britain, and was evaluated on its ability to perform the function of, among other things, promoting British colonial nationalism among British and Canadian audiences. As Cronk himself observes, Waldie was aware of a very different audience for the *Wacousta* that would appear in *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library*: “an American, anti-British, and Puritanical audience.”¹³ Once classified by Waldie as a popular serial publication, the function *Wacousta* was expected to perform changed to one of entertaining Americans and eliciting subscriptions for the periodical. That Waldie’s editing was intended to enable the performance of this new function seems confirmed by his remarks in the introduction to *Memoirs of Dr. Burney* regarding his practice of taking “the liberty of omitting” sections of texts from the British edition “that would be entirely uninteresting beyond the precincts of Great Britain.”¹⁴

Contemporary reviews and advertisements of *Wacousta* reflect the extent to which the value of each edition of the novel hinged on the different functions it was expected to perform. A review in the British journal *The Satirist* in December 1832 noted the charm with which the writer of this “Tale of the Canadas” “occupied the new ground” of North America, and with which he “described [its] localities and the incidents to which they give rise.” Richardson’s ability to weave Britain’s military history in Canada and the geographical details of the area into his novel formed the basis of this review’s conclusion that *Wacousta* is “one of the most delightful stories that has issued from the press for some time.”¹⁵ A review in the London *Athenaeum* in the same month tied the value of Richardson’s London novel even more

¹² Barbara Herrnstein Smith, “Contingencies of Value,” in “Canons,” special issue, *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (1983): 1–35 (13).

¹³ Cronk, “The Americanization of *Wacousta*,” 44.

¹⁴ Introduction to *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library*, 18 June 1833, 145.

¹⁵ Literature, *The Satirist; or, the Censor of the Times*, 30 December 1832, 424.

closely to its representation of “the many exertions, both of valour and prudence, by which the Canadas were secured to England.”¹⁶ By contrast, American reviews based their evaluations of the *Wacousta* they read on the novel’s ability to entertain. An 1851 announcement in the New York *Daily Tribune* of the recent publication of the Dewitt and Davenport *Wacousta* (an edition based on Waldie’s)¹⁷ proclaimed the novel “the best Romance of the day,”¹⁸ while an 1851 Hartford publication notice for *Matilda Montgomery*¹⁹ described Richardson as an author skilled at choosing, multiplying, and arranging incidents, but one who “fails in conciseness and condensation.”²⁰ Interestingly, early Canadian reviewers exhibited the same focus on the work’s literary nationalism that later scholars and editors like Cronk would emphasize. In March 1839, Montreal’s *Literary Garland* published a chapter of the forthcoming *Canadian Brothers*, along with a notice of appreciation for the permission to do so. This expression of appreciation saw the sequel to *Wacousta* and its potential Canadian publication as ushering in “an epoch in our history, well deserving of record in [the] annals” of Canadian national literature – an epoch the reviewer was optimistic about, due to “the host of authors of eminence at present among us.”²¹ These reviews clearly indicate the link between function and value perception, as each one justifies a particular evaluation of *Wacousta* through references to the text’s ability to perform expected functions.

Herrnstein Smith also reminds us that the process by which the function of a literary work dictates its value is not one-way, but interactive: “the relation between function and classification also operates in reverse.” Expanding on her previous examples of the relationship between perceived function and value for a clock,

¹⁶ “Wacousta; or, The Prophecy – A Tale of the Canadas,” *Athenaeum*, 29 December 1832, 837–38 (837).

¹⁷ For a description of additional changes made in the Dewitt and Davenport edition see Cronk, “The Americanization of *Wacousta*,” 35.

¹⁸ Just Published, *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 February 1851.

¹⁹ *Matilda Montgomery* is a shortened and slightly different version of the 1840 edition of *The Canadian Brothers*, the sequel to *Wacousta*, which was printed from a copy Richardson had slightly altered. Donald Stephens, “Editor’s Introduction,” in *The Canadian Brothers; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled, A Tale of the Late American War*, by John Richardson, Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts 9 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1992), xvii–lxxxii (lxxi).

²⁰ New Publications, *Hartford Daily Courant*, 23 September 1851, 2.

²¹ “To the courtesy of the author, we are indebted...,” *The Literary Garland*, 1 March 1839, 192.

dictionary, doorstep, and curio, she explains that “under conditions that produce the ‘need’ for a door-stopping object or an ‘interest’ in Victorian artifacts, certain properties and possible functions of various objects in the neighborhood will be foregrounded, and both the classification and value of those objects will follow accordingly. As we commonly put it, one will ‘realize’ the value of the dictionary as a doorstep or ‘appreciate’ the value of the clock as a curio.”²²

We can read this reverse process in action in the editorial choices made by Waldie to change Richardson’s text into an Americanized potboiler. Because there was a need or desire for cheap, entertaining local colour in the American literary market of the period, Waldie “realized” the value of *Wacousta* in terms of its entertainment value and transferability to an American consciousness, and emphasized these aspects of the text while altering it to fit the format of his cheap periodical. This recognition adds important context to Cronk’s lament that Americans, unlike Canadians, “were quick to see the value of Richardson’s work.”²³ The work Americans valued was a textually different one performing different functions than the British edition.

The Waldie serial was to be the basis for all other reprints of *Wacousta* for many years, including the first American book edition, published by Key and Biddle in 1833, the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition mentioned above, and the Musson edition of 1924, which became the copy-text for the NCL edition of 1967 (NCL no. 58). The NCL was a self-consciously canon-creating venture imbued with the liberal humanist nationalism common to Canadian critics of the middle decades of the twentieth century.²⁴ It was also, however, a series within a financially insecure publishing house which

²² Herrnstein Smith, “Contingencies of Value,” 13.

²³ Cronk, “The Americanization of *Wacousta*,” 34.

²⁴ “Liberal humanist nationalism” is Paul Litt’s term for the type of cultural nationalism represented by Canada’s mid-twentieth-century elites. In this conflicted ideology, the liberal humanist appreciation of cosmopolitan high culture was coupled with a romantic nationalist valorization of the popular and nation-specific. Paul Litt, “Liberal Humanist Nationalism,” in *The Muses, The Masses, and the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 104–120. As Janet Friskney points out, the tension between aesthetic merit and nationalist authenticity runs throughout the history of the NCL, and was a clear influence on Malcolm Ross, who included certain titles in the series for “extra-aesthetic” reasons, and believed that the NCL had contributed to “the self-knowledge of Canadians, even if such self-knowledge has not always flattered self-pride.” Janet B. Friskney, *New Canadian Library: The Ross-McClelland Years, 1952–1978* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 13.

sought, primarily, to bring back out-of-print Canadian works in an inexpensive format suitable for students of Canadian literature. The two functions NCL titles were expected to perform – the promotion of Canadian literature, on the one hand, and the provision of cheap, practical texts to students in particular, on the other – often conflicted with one another. This was the case with the 1967 NCL edition of *Wacousta* edited by Carl Klinck.

The affordability of this edition, which sold for two dollars and fifty cents in 1967, is foregrounded on the front cover, where “\$2.50” is printed in type about half the size of the title, next to the words “New Canadian Library,” which appears in type of the same size. The fact that the text was abridged is mentioned on neither the front nor back cover; rather, the words “an abridged edition” appear on the title-page. Neither this identifier nor the small paragraph on the copyright page, which insists that all necessary rewriting in this abridgement is based on “Richardson’s own words” and is in keeping with “the sense of the original,” indicates the extent of the textual alteration, which was considerable. Compared to the original three-volume set numbering 903 pages in total, this one-volume NCL *Wacousta* numbers 298 pages.²⁵ Many of the alterations to this edition were carry-overs from Klinck’s chosen copy-text. Klinck had decided on the Musson text because his investigations indicated that it was a complete version of Richardson’s original, though in 1977 Klinck became aware that this edition was in fact not complete but rather based on Waldie’s abridgement.²⁶ This choice of copy-text ensured that the political and geographical decontextualizations and character simplifications first made by Waldie would reoccur in the 1967 NCL edition. Klinck then added to the changes that already existed in a number of ways; for instance, his edition excises the contextualizing introductory chapter altogether, in favour of Richardson’s introduction to the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition. Klinck also added to the entertainment-value edits made to the Musson copy-text by further altering the text for “the modern reader,” through the removal of overly romantic language, characterizations, and whole passages. Most of the omissions, he explained, were made “where Richardson presented a major happening from several points

²⁵ It should be noted that type size, typeface, and layout choices also contribute to the difference in page totals.

²⁶ Friskney, *New Canadian Library*, 139, 141; Cronk, “Editorial Destruction,” 55–6, 119.

of view,” and were accomplished by lifting some of the “heavy load of sentiment” from the narrative and reworking it “with respect for the taste which favours the ‘lacrosse’ scene.”²⁷

Like other NCL editors of pre-1900 titles, Klinck showed dual concerns for making “stiff, rhetorical, even archaic prose”²⁸ palatable for modern readers while cutting production costs. It should be noted that Klinck lamented the necessity of abridging *Wacousta*, which largely followed a measure instituted to cut the costs of producing longer pre-1900 prose works: after the fall of 1961, the directors of the NCL had decided to limit the length of all novels to 256 pages, “a quota they felt would allow them to ‘accommodate a normal 320-page book.’”²⁹ Abridgement was especially common for pre-1900 prose works, which tended to be lengthy; eight of seventeen pre-1900 prose works issued in the main series of the NCL were abridged, including *Wacousta*, all of which were originally quite long. Indeed, *Wacousta* ran substantially over the suggested 256-page limit even when heavily abridged. McClelland and Stewart’s considerable financial concerns³⁰ were cited as “the compelling reason for such abridgement.”³¹ In all,

²⁷ Carl F. Klinck, introduction to *Wacousta; or, The Prophecy*, by John Richardson, ed. Carl F. Klinck, New Canadian Library (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), v–xiii, (xi, xii).

²⁸ Ibid., vi.

²⁹ Friskney, *New Canadian Library*, 140–1, 58.

³⁰ McClelland and Stewart’s (M&S) initial difficulties financing the NCL had persisted into the 1960s. As Janet Friskney notes, the success of the series had prompted other publishers to reprint titles from their own backlists, impeding M&S’s ability to obtain paperback reprint rights to those houses’ titles. New Canadian publishing houses were also popping up, some of which began to print Canadian quality paperbacks and educational materials for students of Canadian literature, competing for the NCL’s target audience. Friskney, *New Canadian Library*, 45, 62–63, 68, 72, 79. M&S’s decreasing annual revenue throughout the decade was exacerbated, George Parker points out, by competition from American “jobbers” in the Canadian market, cutbacks in textbook purchasing by provincial departments of education, and generally a decline in the condition of the book trade in Canada. George L. Parker, “Trade and Regional Publishing in Central Canada,” in *History of the Book in Canada*, vol. 3, 1918–1980, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 168–78 (174). M&S’s mandate for the NCL, to keep an exhaustive inventory of titles on backlist, was also proving detrimental to the survival of the enterprise; as Roy MacSkimming observes, the company’s financial health was threatened less by operating costs than by the demands on capital made by its massive backlists. Roy MacSkimming, *The Perilous Trade: Publishing Canada’s Writers* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2003), 141.

³¹ Friskney, *New Canadian Library*, 137.

Klinck's abridgement removed twenty-six thousand words that he deemed unnecessary to the central action or unappealing to modern readers, which, added to the fifteen thousand words removed from the Musson edition, made for a total of approximately forty thousand words removed between the 1832 edition of *Wacousta* and its 1967 NCL abridgment.³²

The editorial principles of abridgement, non-authorial emendation, and minimal bibliographical scholarship used to produce the 1967 NCL *Wacousta* were in keeping with McClelland and Stewart's mandate quickly and cheaply to produce useful, affordable texts for classroom use and general trade rather than exhaustive editions requiring funding and time. This reprint of *Wacousta*, like most, if not all the NCL titles of the Ross-McClelland years, was a practical rather than a scholarly or definitive text – the kind of text which, in the words of Fredson Bowers, “present[s] to a broad audience as sound a text ... as is consistent with information that may be procurable through normal scholarly channels and thus without more special research than is economically feasible,” as opposed to the scholarly or definitive edition, a “unique creation of scholarship in which, ideally, the profit motive does not enter.”³³ Using a practical edition of a text with as complex a textual history as *Wacousta* to promote cultural nationalism is an inherently conflicted endeavour, as biographical and bibliographical contexts are essential to the text's national flavour. The edition fulfilled its main function, which was to provide Canadian students with an inexpensive Canadian text. However, as the degree of importance assigned by critics and reviewers to this function began to wane and the degree of importance assigned to the function of the edition as an object of cultural nationalism rose, the value of the edition was called into question.

In the mid-1970s, critics began to voice concern over the accuracy of reprinted materials, citing a lack of sustained bibliographical research in Canada and calling for full-scale endeavours of textual scholarship. In terms of the NCL, “abridgement of pre-1900 prose titles [was] the editorial intervention for which the NCL of the Ross-McClelland era [was] most well known and most often criticized.”³⁴ To recall Herrnstein Smith, under conditions that produce certain

³² Cronk, “Editorial Destruction,” 120.

³³ Fredson Bowers, “Practical Texts and Definitive Editions,” in *Two Lectures on Editing*, ed. Charleton Hinman and Fredson Bowers (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 21–70 (25–34).

³⁴ Friskney, *New Canadian Library*, 123, 137.

needs or interests, certain properties and possible functions of various objects will be foregrounded, and both the classification and value of those objects will follow accordingly. The interest in scholarly editions of pre-1900 prose works that arose in Canada in the 1970s foregrounded the functionality of the NCL edition of *Wacousta* as a scholarly edition, but because the edition did not effectively perform functions expected of a scholarly edition, its value dropped. The increased emphasis placed on bibliographical scholarship, and therefore on the expected scholarly function of historical Canadian texts, was tied to the rise in cultural nationalism post-1965. At this point, the Americanization of *Wacousta* began to affect the text's perceived value in Canada, as the "renewed interest in Canadiana" and in "great figures of our past," like John Richardson, was tied, according to Derek Crawley in 1973, to "the upsurge of nationalistic feeling in Canada in recent years."³⁵ The basing of the 1967 NCL *Wacousta* on a non-Canadian copy-text that negated authorial intent thus came to be seen, in John Sorfleet's terms, as "a distortion of our literary heritage."³⁶

This shift of evaluation onto the text's performance of literary nationalism was strongly tied to authorial intent, as Richardson himself saw *Wacousta* in a nationalist light. That Richardson regarded *Wacousta* as a novel of Canada, which he wanted to make available in its entirety to Canadian readers, is evident from a number of his statements and actions. These include his description of *Wacousta* and its sequel, *The Canadian Brothers*, as "the only two tales connected with the early history" of the Canadas, his description of himself as Canada's "first and only author," and his attempts to distribute *Wacousta* in Canada, first in an unrealized eight-part serial (advertised in Ontario newspapers in the summer of 1838), and next by importing, in the spring of 1841, the original edition of *Wacousta* for sale to Canadian audiences.³⁷ This last effort was a response by Richardson to an enthusiastic American reception of *Wacousta*, which outstripped its lacklustre reception in Canada, as well as to the American serial publication itself. Richardson found the Waldie text to be "an abridged and very imperfect edition," and included this

³⁵ Derek Crawley, introduction to *A Bibliographical Study of Major John Richardson*, by William F.E. Morley (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1973), xiii–xix (xiii).

³⁶ J.R. Sorfleet, "The NCL Series: An Appraisal Past and Present," *Journal of Canadian Fiction* 1 (1972): 92–96 (96).

³⁷ Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," xvii, xxxiii, xxxvii–xxxviii.

description in an advertisement for a "New Edition of 'Wacousta'" placed at the end of the second volume of *The Canadian Brothers* in January 1840.³⁸ This "new" edition was in fact the fourth issue of the Cadell and Blackwood edition of *Wacousta*,³⁹ three hundred copies of which arrived in the Canadas in 1841.⁴⁰ Though the books aroused little interest, Richardson continued to exhort "Canadian readers," for whom they had been "expressly" retrieved, to buy his series of "National and Historical Works," thus relieving the author from "a weighty responsibility incurred in the furtherance of Canadian National Literature."⁴¹ These related intentions on the part of the author to contribute to a national literature and to provide Canadian readers with the "correct" edition of *Wacousta* were taken up by Cronk, Edwards, and the CEECT, who sought to restore the text to the state intended, as far as could be determined, by Richardson.

Cronk saw that the literary nationalism of the 1832 text had been obscured by changes first made by Waldie in accordance with the text's American use value, and reiterated throughout the large part of the novel's textual history. Much of Cronk's "The Americanization of *Wacousta*" is dedicated to delineating the interrelated changes to character, theme, and plot produced by Waldie's editing, a discussion one might conclude simply by noting that the extent of the mediation between the 1832 Cadell and Blackwood *Wacousta* and the 1833 Waldie *Wacousta* made them two very different works.

³⁸ John Richardson, *The Canadian Brothers; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled, A Tale of the Late American War* (Montreal: A.H. Armour and H. Ramsay, 1840), 229, Early Canadiana Online.

³⁹ Fredson Bowers provides the definitions that apply here: an edition is made up of "the whole number of copies printed at any time or times from substantially the same setting of type-pages ... includ[ing] all issues and variant states existing within its basic type-setting, as well as all impressions." An issue comprises "the whole number of copies of a form of an edition put on sale at any time or times as a consciously planned printed unit and varying only in relation to the form of an 'ideal copy' of this unit." Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), 40–42. Because they were printed from substantially the same type-pages – the only difference being the dedication (the 1832 issue included a dedication to "His Majesty's 41st Regiment," while the 1841 works were dedicated to "Her Majesty's 8th") – the copies of *Wacousta* disseminated in the Canadas in 1841 were, from a bibliographical point of view, part of the same "edition" as the 1832 works. Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," xxxviii.

⁴⁰ Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," xxxviii.

⁴¹ "Wacousta and the Canadian Brothers," *The New Era, or Canadian Chronicle*, 26 January 1842, 109.

Instead, Cronk ascribes a moral significance to the 1832 edition, an ascription tied to both his regard for authorial intent and his literary nationalism. According to Cronk, Waldie's editing "changed *Wacousta* from being probably one of the first realistic historical novels into being just another romance" and "turned Richardson's pro-British, pro-Canadian historical novel into a non-British, non-Canadian novel which took as its main geographical setting the U.S.A. rather than Canada."⁴² Cronk's interpretation here links realistic fiction to nationalist literature, reiterating a connection which, as Robert Lecker notes, formed the basis for Canadian literary evaluation post-1965.⁴³ Bound up in valorizations of literary nationalism and authorial intent, Cronk judges Waldie's alterations to be corruptions of an original, authorially sanctioned text, and the NCL edition derived from it as "a fraud on the reading public" and "a national disgrace."⁴⁴ His assertion that the textual history of *Wacousta* "indicates a need for looking at our early literature very carefully and uncovering as much as possible the intentions of the authors" in order to avoid "studying and analyzing works that, because they have been tampered with and perhaps altered by foreigners, bear very little resemblance to the works the authors intended,"⁴⁵ underlines the convergence of authorial intention and literary nationalism in the editorial approach he applied to the CEECT's *Wacousta*.

The CEECT's production of a scholarly edition of *Wacousta*, edited by Cronk, followed editorial principles and procedures derived from the Modern Language Association's Center for Editions of American Authors (CEAA, 1963–75) and its successor, the Committee on Scholarly Editions (CSE, est. 1976), which "respect authorial intention, privilege one version as a copy-text, construct an eclectic text from multiple textual witnesses, and record textual variants only from authoritative editions."⁴⁶ As Dean Irvine notes, this editorial model "foregrounds the authority of the author as the agent of a national literature";⁴⁷ such foregrounding is apparent in Cronk's devaluations of non-authorial, non-Canadian editions of *Wacousta*. The objective of the CEECT in producing an authoritative edition

⁴² Cronk, "The Americanization of *Wacousta*," 36.

⁴³ Robert Lecker, *Making it Real: The Canonization of English-Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi, 1995), 31–32.

⁴⁴ Cronk, "Editorial Destruction," 120.

⁴⁵ Cronk, "The Americanization of *Wacousta*," 47.

⁴⁶ Irvine, "Editing Archives] Archiving Editions," 186.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 190.

of *Wacousta* was, then, to reclaim the novel in terms of Richardson's original intentions, including his claims of instantiating a national literature and his evaluations of various forms of the novel. All alterations and abridgements not authorized by Richardson were considered, in the CEECT's approach, to be corruptions or distortions of the authentic text of *Wacousta*. The CEECT *Wacousta* rectifies such corruptions by providing the unabridged text of the 1832 edition, along with paratextual materials delineating the various editions of the novel, expanding upon references in the novel, and describing emendations made to the copy-text. Extensive textual research was undertaken by the CEECT to ensure that the published manuscript was an accurate version of the 1832 edition, including an analysis of every pre-publication version of the novel "known to exist" (Cronk mentions manuscripts and proofs in his foreword); thorough bibliographical study of every published edition; oral, ocular, mechanical, light-table, and computerized collations; and proofreading against copy-text.⁴⁸ Certain editorial changes were also made to the 1832 copy-text, consisting of both changes requested by Richardson and alterations made by the CEECT editors for the sake of spelling, punctuation, or consistency.⁴⁹

The resulting text is a realization, insofar as possible, of Richardson's "ideal" text, as Irvine calls it. Irvine uses this term to distinguish the text produced by the CEECT from the "real" text, which, from a social-textual editor's view, includes not only the manuscripts, errata lists, and final copy authorized by Richardson, but also all those pirated, abridged, and otherwise altered versions produced without authorial permission or knowledge. "[T]o say that the CEECT edition is the 'real' *Wacousta* is to mistake the editor's intentions for the author's," Irvine asserts, "and thus to misidentify the 'ideal' as the 'real,' since Cronk's critical edition indeed produces an idealized

⁴⁸ Douglas Cronk, foreword to *Wacousta; or, The Prophecy: a Tale of the Canadas*, by John Richardson, Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts 4 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987), xi–xii (xii).

⁴⁹ In 1837 Richardson included a number of corrections along with his selection of the novel in the *Morning Post*, all of which were kept in the CEECT edition. Cronk, "Editor's Introduction," xlviii–xlix. Corrections by CEECT editors include misspellings, missed or repeated words, inconsistencies (such as De/de Haldimar, Will/Dick Burford), and apparently wrong word choices (fragrant/flagrant dereliction of duty). Douglas Cronk, "Emendations in Copy-Text," in *Wacousta: or, The Prophecy: a Tale of the Canadas*, by John Richardson, Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts 4 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987), 575–76.

text that exists only as the aggregate of extant evidence of the author's intentions."⁵⁰ This idealization brackets the "multiple authorial and editorial intentionalities"⁵¹ evident throughout *Wacousta's* textual history by holding up the fulfillment of authorial intent, including intentions of instantiating a national literature, as the only, or at least the most important, function of a scholarly edition. While I do not wish to denigrate the still unequalled amount of research and care put into the CEECT edition of *Wacousta*, I think it worth underlining that the CEECT's valorization of an edition that fulfills this nationalist function gains legitimacy by invalidating all other functions, present and past, that the text has served. The CEECT's editorial approach illustrates a process Herrnstein Smith describes as "privileging absolutely – that is, 'standard'-izing – the particular contingencies that govern the preferences of the members of the group and discounting or ... pathologizing all other contingencies."⁵² Such privileging maintains that the particular functions that a given group – here, the CEECT – expects and desires certain objects – such as editions of *Wacousta* – to perform are "their intrinsic or proper functions, all other expected, desired, or emergent functions being inappropriate, irrelevant, extrinsic, abuses of the true nature of those objects or violations of their authorially intended or generically intrinsic purposes."⁵³ The CEAA, CSE, and CEECT have "'standard'-ized" the value of the scholarly edition as being contingent upon its fulfillment of authorial intentions and its promotion of national literatures, and the institutional nature of these bodies marginalizes alternate or "emergent" functions on which other readers might ground their evaluations of scholarly editions.

The effects of this standardization are evident in the NCL's approach to the production of a new edition of *Wacousta* in 1991, in response to the progressive devaluation of the 1967 edition. The 1991 edition (reprinted in 2008) is as preoccupied as the CEAA, CSE, and CEECT with authorial intent, and similarly privileges the Cadell and Blackwood iteration of *Wacousta* as its "original" and most authoritative one. The edition presents the complete text of the 1832 London edition in 575 pages, in three volumes, under

⁵⁰ Irvine, "Editing Archives] Archiving Editions," 189.

⁵¹ Ibid., 187.

⁵² Herrnstein Smith, "Contingencies of Value," 18.

⁵³ Ibid.

single cover.⁵⁴ The introductory chapter and all other excisions are reinstated, and the 1851 introduction, substituted for the first chapter in the 1967 NCL edition, appears here as an appendix. The back cover of the work advertises *Wacousta* as “the best-known work of the first Canadian-born novelist,” and notes that this NCL edition “is an unabridged reprint of the complete original text.” Despite the presence of emendations which remedy inconsistencies and correct apparent mistakes in the Cadell and Blackwood edition (changes made more obvious by their correspondence to those made, and identified, in the CEECT edition),⁵⁵ no editor’s introduction or critical apparatus is included, and the afterword, by James Reaney, confines itself solely to plot readings. This unabridged but edited edition is thus an amalgam that emphasizes its presentation of an authoritative, original text, without providing the bibliographical scholarship and explanation of editorial procedure. Such silence suggests that there is nothing to explain or justify regarding selection of copy-text or emendations made: these editorial choices are legitimized because they replicate those standardized by the CEECT.

Irvine’s devaluation of the CEECT’s intentionalist-nationalist editorial policy is based on his application of “emergent” expectations regarding the function of a scholarly edition. Irvine contrasts the functions of editions produced by intentionalist editorial policies with the function of an edition produced by a social-textual approach. “For the intentionalist editor, the pirated edition is the antithesis of the author’s intentions,” he notes, “but for the social-textual editor or critic, these unauthorized editions reveal much about the instability of the colonial text, the legal, political, and cultural liabilities faced by colonial authors, and the history of colonial publishing before

⁵⁴ That the complete text – originally 903 pages – is here presented in 575 pages indicates the extent to which formatting affects page count.

⁵⁵ For instance, the 1832 edition’s inconsistent or incorrect mention of “Dick” Burford (1:119.13) is changed in the 1991 NCL edition to “Will” Burford (72.14), exactly as in the CEECT edition (67.24); its presumably incorrect use of “fragrant” (1:139.1) is changed to “flagrant” (84.15), as in the CEECT (77.36); and where the 1832 edition prints that a shudder pervades De Haldimar’s “fame” (1:189.13), the NCL (113.18), like the CEECT (105.31), substitutes “frame.” The NCL also includes emendations indicated on the errata page included by Richardson in the 1832 edition; for example, the 1832 edition’s “adjutant” (1:200.10) is changed in the 1991 NCL edition, as suggested, to “governor” (120.2), as in the CEECT (111.24). “Pontecac” in the 1832 edition (1:207.22) is changed to “Ponteac” in the NCL edition of 1991 (124.12), again replicating the CEECT (115.33).

copyright legislation in 1891.”⁵⁶ The function that Irvine desires a scholarly edition to perform is the extensive collation of authorized and unauthorized texts in a format that would allow the reader to study “such matters as changes in publishing policies and popular tastes that influenced the various transformations of the text.”⁵⁷ The CEECT’s edition of *Wacousta* poorly performs this function and therefore loses value within his model. Furthermore, the standardized editorial principles behind the edition lose value when the very classification of a scholarly edition is challenged in this manner. Irvine’s critique of authorial intent, authoritative texts, and the medium of print itself opens scholarly editions to evaluations based on non-institutional contingencies and criteria, and demonstrates a shift in value away from intentionalist and towards social-textual editorial approaches.⁵⁸

The publishing history of *Wacousta* makes it particularly clear that “the value of a literary work is continuously produced and re-produced by the very acts of implicit and explicit evaluation that are frequently invoked as ‘reflecting’ its value.”⁵⁹ In each case reviewed in this paper, a need or desire arose that extant editions of *Wacousta* came, by default, to fill, and the value of these editions fell according to the new evaluative criteria accompanying new function ascription. New editions were then created, according to updated editorial principles, that allowed the text to meet the current need, and the functions of previous editions were retroactively devalued or invalidated altogether. Adam Waldie’s serial *Wacousta* adequately fulfilled its function as a cheap source of entertainment for an American audience; this function and its attendant evaluations were devalued by the NCL editors, who sought in 1967 to provide an affordable

⁵⁶ Irvine, “Editing Archives] Archiving Editions,” 188.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 187.

⁵⁸ An initiative that has done much to grant such emergent functions institutional legitimacy is Irvine’s Editing Modernism in Canada (EMiC), which emphasizes editorial collaboration and digital presentation. To my knowledge, a social-textual edition of *Wacousta* such as the one Irvine hypothesizes in “Editing Archives] Archiving Editions” has not been attempted. While very few of the editions in progress under EMiC’s aegis actually need to contend with the same issues of piracy a social-textual edition of *Wacousta* would address, many EMiC editions (such as the digital edition of George Whalley’s selected writings that I am co-editing with Michael DiSanto and Robin Isard) will effectively use digital platforms to present extensive collations of extant versions of texts in the manner Irvine describes.

⁵⁹ Herrnstein Smith, “Contingencies of Value,” 30.

(and profitable), practical edition of the text to modern Canadian readers. The devaluation of this first NCL edition arose from the growing need or desire for scholarly editions of pre-1900 Canadian texts, a function the NCL edition did not fulfill. The unabridged edition of *Wacousta* produced by the NCL in 1991 partially followed the editorial approach exemplified by the CEECT in its attempt to restore the text to an original state intended by the author. The value of this kind of approach and the versions of *Wacousta* it produced may now be falling, as practitioners of social-textual editing perceive an emergent function for the edition beyond the presentation of one editor's interpretation of the authorial intentions behind one iteration of the text.

The canonization of *Wacousta*, then, can best be understood as a process of rejection and renewal, a process in which, as Herrnstein Smith describes it, "an object or artifact that performs certain desired/able functions particularly well at a given time for some community of subjects ... under changing conditions and in competition with newly produced and other re-produced works ... continues to perform some desired/able functions particularly well, even if not the same ones for which it was initially valued."⁶⁰ *Wacousta* is a "classic text" whose value lies not merely in the story it tells, but in its revelation of "a set of shifting values" that are all too often unexplored.⁶¹ Exploring shifts in the expectations and desires governing various evaluations of *Wacousta* allows us to chart the social, political, and economic contingencies out of which these shifts arise; it does not, however, remove the text necessarily from canonical or classic status. *Wacousta* continues to be cited and recited, and to be visible and available, as it is reproduced to better perform functions that become desirable.

SOMMAIRE

L'article retrace les étapes de la publication du roman *Wacousta* à travers la théorie des valeurs littéraires de Barbara Herrnstein Smith, qui focalise «la relation interactive entre une entité existante et ce qu'on anticipe ou désire faire à son sujet». On veut ici élucider l'évolution des manières d'envisager une œuvre au moyen d'éditions

⁶⁰ Herrnstein Smith, "Contingencies of Value," 27–28.

⁶¹ Lecker, *Making it Real*, 187.

variées d'un roman en tenant compte des contextes social et culturel qui ont influé sur les précédentes contributions. L'article examine principalement les approches éditoriales des diverses éditions de *Wacousta* entreprises par Adam Waldie en 1833, Carl Klinck et la maison McClelland and Stewart en 1967 et Douglas Cronk et l'équipe CEECT en 1987 tout en passant en revue leur réception respective à travers ces années. Au lieu de réagir négativement contre toute altération et coupure infligées au texte, l'article les explique comme reflets des choix des éditeurs. L'article fait valoir en dernier ressort que la republication de *Wacousta* doit être perçue à la fois comme un procédé de renouvellement et une sorte de mise à l'écart rétrospective – un procédé dans lequel chaque modèle rédactionnel cherche à invalider et remplacer le précédent.