Cultural Taste, Literary-Scholarly Publishing, and James De Mille’s *Strange Manuscript*

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This research tracks and questions the publication history of James De Mille’s *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder* from the New Canadian Library’s 1969 edition, through to the two academic renditions of the novel, the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Text’s edition, edited by Malcolm Parks, and the Broadview Press edition, edited by Daniel Burgoyne. This study builds on the elegantly conducted editorial and bibliographical work done by scholars including Reginald E. Watters, Malcolm Parks, Patricia Monk, and Daniel Burgoyne to contribute to a history of taste in Canadian literature studies and publishing between the 1960s and early-2000s. Through the use of a multidisciplinary and mixed-methods approach, primarily utilizing descriptive bibliography, personal interview, archival work, and book history, this research questions the motives of Canadian scholarly-literary and trade publishers, and questions the authenticity of new editions nineteenth-century Canadian texts, illustrated through the treatment of De Mille’s novel, in the present, digital age.
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Table 1.1: Introductions, Glossaries, and Appendices in Broadview’s Edition
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The lengthy, complex history of the publication of James De Mille’s richly historical and satirical novel *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder*’s is ultimately a prosperous place to examine the assembly of cultural studies in Canada. De Mille’s *Strange Manuscript* was first published after his 1880 death as short, anonymous pieces in *Harper’s Weekly*, a periodical published in New York City. With his widow’s selling the text to the editorial staff at *Harper’s* for a sum of $800,¹ the novel was serially published in 1888. Each section of the text, which was divided and published as per the prescribed chapters, was accompanied by an illustration by Gilbert Gaul that reflects a particularly interesting or striking part of each chapter—often monopolizing on the fantastic, scientific-romance imagery in the novel. Upon the completion of the text’s serialization, many subsequent editions would follow throughout the late nineteenth century, beginning with its first full-novel form publication by *Harper & Brothers* in the same year. With frequent American, British, and Canadian editions being released into the early-1900s, it is most evident that its romantic and satirical qualities gained the novel popularity amongst nineteenth-century readers. However, the Macmillan 1910 edition was the last to be published before the New Canadian Library’s 1969 edition. This late twentieth-century resurgence of editions of De Mille’s novel is the central focus of this paper.

This project tracks and questions the publication history of *Strange Manuscript* from the NCL edition to the two scholarly renditions of the novel, the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Text’s edition, edited by Malcolm Parks, and the Broadview Press edition, edited by Daniel Burgoyne. Attention to trends of literary publishing in Canada beginning since the 1960s, this study builds on the elegantly conducted editorial and bibliographical work done by scholars including Reginald E. Watters, Malcolm Parks, Patricia Monk, and Daniel Burgoyne to contribute to a history of cultural practice, and trends/evaluations in cultural practices in Canadian literature studies and publishing between the 1960s and early 2000s.

This study relies on a multidisciplinary and mixed-methods approach, primarily utilizing descriptive bibliography, personal interview, archival work, and book history. Examining De Mille’s novel through these lenses, historical background, trends in Canadian literary publishing,

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and the advent of the study of Canadian literature in the Academy functions as the backbone to this work. Complementing these traditionally effective approaches to literary and historical studies, this analysis seeks to encounter and interact with curious sources—namely, websites, both personal and professional, as a means of providing editorial information and drawing attention to popular publishing trends and methods in the twenty-first-century. Ephemeral and popular material, which has been so heavily influenced and mediated by technology and digitized publications, cannot be discounted, as these sources provide first-hand witness to cultural and literary trends in Canada.

How do scholars and publishers find a balance between emphasizing genre or historical analysis without potentially manipulating, or even misrepresenting, an early-Canadian text for a particular market, whether commercial or scholarly? Where does the main priority of readers and reproducers of Canadian literature fall: in creating high-minded editions, or trying to reach a wide readership for nationalistic or ephemeral purposes? Does the shift from nationalist literary publishing to mass-market trade and digital publications move smoothly? And, most importantly, what does the transition between traditional print culture and online reproduction say about the treatment of early Canadian texts—for instance, *Strange Manuscript*? These are the questions asked when the motivation behind and consequences of Canadian literary publishing and Canadian literature scholars are explored, and when the treatment of early-Canadian texts, exemplified through the capitalization of the historicity and unique genre of De Mille’s novel, results in de-Canadianization and questions textual authenticity in the digital age.
Strange Manuscript’s transmission into the hands of both the public and to Canadian literature scholars and students is indebted to the 1969 New Canadian Library (NCL) publication. Launching on January 17, 1958, the NCL was the first serial library of its kind in Canada. Functioning as a kind of national anthology, which would aid in “imagining a country, imagining a community, [and] imagining an identity,” the NCL would become responsible for establishing the foundations of the Anglo-Canadian canon and its literary culture, while simultaneously making efforts to increase the accessibility and transmission of Canadian literature, pre-twentieth texts most significantly, into the hands of Canadian scholars, students, and general readers. The NCL focused on nineteenth and early-twentieth century Canadian texts, written primarily by Anglo-Canadian authors (whether born in Canada, or those who settled from European countries including Germany, England, and Ireland), about Anglo-Canadian culture and history—most notably, texts that aid in or represent nation-building and the curation of Canadian history. The NCL, in essence, was a key proponent of Canadian literary canonization, and of perpetuating the both the study and leisurely read of Canadian texts.

The NCL began with no external funding, given that the Canada Council (CC) was not created until 1957, past the initial years of the NCL’s development, and that the Ontario Arts Council (OAC) did not come to offer substantial grants until the 1970s. Studies of Canadian literature were only beginning to blossom in light of the World Wars and the introduction of American culture and literature in Canada. However, although markets for literature and for education in Canada were still relatively meagre, Malcolm Ross, one of the library’s founders, believed:

[the] availability of books would create the market for them. The basis for Ross’s belief was twofold. First, he had witnesses an increase in post-secondary teaching of American literature, itself a relative newcomer on the English university curriculum in Canada, with the availability of paperback editions. Second, his academic colleagues across the country

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5 Ibid., 11.
included a small but highly committed coterie of scholars and critics who wished to make Canadian literature a central component of their research and teaching careers.\(^6\)

With this mindset, Malcolm Ross and partner Jack McClelland of McClelland & Stewart selected their published texts on the premise of expanding both familiarity with Canadian literature and the frequency of Canadian literary analysis of Canadian texts. As McClelland stated, “’We have always said that the reason that inexpensive editions of Canadian classics . . . are not available is that there is not a sufficient market for them. This experiment should answer that question. Another reason we are publishing them is that we feel they should be available for students and for people interested in Canadian writers.’”\(^7\) Thus, the NCL’s editorial team, alongside the pioneers of scholarly study of Canadian literature, began consciously and carefully selecting those texts they deemed significant enough to indoctrinate into their canonical serial library. For early Canadian texts, as reflected by De Mille’s *Strange Manuscript*, being included in the NCL would be crucial in establishing their place in the Canadian canon, and would ultimately prompt the continued study and circulation of the texts into the twenty-first century.

With that said, having a vision of publishing early Canadian texts does not necessarily correlate to the materialization of this task. The process of bringing the NCL’s edition of *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder* into fruition was anything shy of a simplistic task, even though Ross’s hope was to "find a receptive audience among the Canadian reading public and an academic community willing to embrace it as part of a larger endeavour to establish firmly the teaching and research of Canadian literature within post-secondary institutions across Canada.”\(^8\) Reginald Eyre (R. E.) Watters, who would later write the text’s foreword, proposed De Mille’s text for publication in 1960, and by 1962 Ross had approved the text to be published. While Ross was strongly in support of transmitting De Mille’s text on a grand scale, many people involved in the publishing company, including business partner Jack McClelland, were not keen on the derivative and fantastical text, and as a result the text’s publication was frequently stalled.

As Robert Lecker claims, the contents included in anthologies are scrutinized and challenged for their canonicity, because “editors have to wrestle with questions about how the

\(^6\) Ibid., 4.  
\(^7\) Ibid., 4.  
\(^8\) Ibid., 3.
nation is mirrored in its literature and about the extent to which its existing literary canons (when such canons exist) should be repudiated or reproduced."^9 Because of the fantastic and satirical quality of De Mille’s text, which calls into question the idea of utopia, typical gender roles, and flips the typical travel narrative on its head, the work received harsh criticism from editorial staff for not fitting within the Anglo-Canadian canon that they aimed to perpetuate. Rather than closely recounting the settlement of Canada, and without dealing with Canadian history and culture in its narrative, *Strange Manuscript* criticizes Victorian-Canadian culture through a playful, utopian lens. Thus, members of the NCL who aimed to maintain the national imagination and identity that the serial library typically produced scrutinized De Mille’s text. Being called “‘an irritating mixture of fact and fantasy’” by Diane Mew, who concluded her review by saying the work was “‘stodgy and old-fashioned, but without any period flavour’” and that “‘the book is not Canadian content and would not seem to be up to the literary standards we are trying to maintain in the NCLs,’”^10 De Mille’s text is concretely outside the usual frame of the NCL. With *Strange Manuscript* being compared to successful works by writers such as Ryder Haggard and Edgar Allen Poe, because of its lack of easily discernable Canadian content^11, and because of its Anglo-Canadian canonical deviance, De Mille’s supposedly redundant, low-brow, and non-literary text was not again suggested for publication until 1966, and it took until the spring of 1968 for McClelland to approve it, finally being released as the serial’s 68th publication in 1969.

Although to some extent the NCL editions were intended to bring seminal Canadian texts into common literary discourse amongst widespread readers in Canada, its notable success was in making Canadian literature accessible and credible in academic contexts. Producing editions of previously published texts accompanied by forewords written by pioneers of Canadian literature scholarship allowed the texts being generated, particularly nineteenth-century publications, to be situated and analyzed within the literary, cultural, and historical contexts in which the text was written. Not only does this provide both literature scholars and the general public with background information to take into consideration during their reading, it also *birthed* the study of Canadian literary analysis. The NCL introduction embodies a shift in the

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^11 The text centres on British characters and is heavily concerned with artic exploration, with most of the narrative taking place in an imaginary setting.
treatment of Canadian literature, as early Canadian texts are given due acknowledgement of their literary historical value, and the criticism of Canadian texts becomes productive and fruitful.

In the case of *Strange Manuscript*, R. E. Watters, the individual who strongly pushed for the NCL publication of Strange Manuscript, wrote the introduction. He was a scholar in Canadian literature, having attended the University of Toronto for his BA and MA, and Wisconsin for his PhD. He is well known for his *Check List of Canadian Literature and Background Materials 1628-1950* (1972), a comprehensive list of the works, primarily books, which make up Canadian literature written in English. In his introduction to this edition of *Strange Manuscript*, Watters begins by praising the text for its mix of genre and replication style of previous well-known satirical/scientific romance writers. He also uses this opportunity to provide a brief analysis of the Kosekin tribe, and of the four yachtsmen, so that readers enter the text with a critical eye. The foreword to the NCL’s edition of *Strange Manuscript* not only provides historical context that justifies the text’s romantic nature, but also takes this text, which the NCL itself deems canonical, and undercuts the pedestal of canonicity by encouraging all readers, particularly those in academic circles, to approach this fantastical narrative in a critical way.

Although McClelland was once opposed to *Strange Manuscript*’s printing, he ultimately recognized the importance of expanding the readership of early Canadian texts, concluding that he was glad that the work would appear in the NCL collection, but not without stating, “‘[He was not] confident that it’s going to make everyone wealthy, but it is a useful book and should be in print.’”

His prediction was not wrong. Despite the years of effort put into publishing *Strange Manuscript*, it was quite far from being an NCL bestseller. The only years in which more than 1000 copies of the text sold between its 1969 release and 1979 were 1972-1976, with a total of 11,349 copies sold by the edition’s 10-year anniversary.

The derivative plot and style/genre of the De Mille’s book may have hindered its ability to reach a mass-readership, alongside the fact that De Mille’s other publications were primarily young adult serials, thereby downplaying the author’s creative and critical literary skills. However, despite the text’s relatively low sales rate, Ross deemed the publication successful, given that this edition of *Strange Manuscript*, as well as other nineteenth-century texts, resulting in “‘much more specialized [university] courses [were]...

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12 Ibid., 107.
13 Ibid., 199.
being introduced.”

The NCL’s efforts to make De Mille’s text more accessible in the academy proved instrumental in prompting later publications, as well as in keeping the text as part of the Canadian canon. As per all NCL texts, the edition was produced with minimal cost as to ensure the text was affordable, thus increasingly the likelihood that the edition would be purchased in large quantities for classrooms. Although there were relatively minor consequences for the 255 page mass-market production of De Mille’s text as a result of its Anglo-Canadian and heavily nationalistic marketing, such as Gilbert Gaul’s illustrations being cut for the purposes of keeping costs low, the pros ultimately outweigh the cons, given that the text was circulated effectively in Canadian school systems and amongst Canadian readers generally.

Moreover, through recirculating De Mille’s text and solidifying its presence in the study of Canadian literature, the NCL edition of *Strange Manuscript* inherently inspired and facilitated a series of subsequent editions published. Moreover, with the turn of the century approaching, subsequent editions, namely Malcolm Parks’s 1986 edition, the 2001 Bakka Books (Insomniac Press) edition, and the 2011 Broadview edition, pay respects to the groundwork that the NCL put in in terms of solidifying a Canadian literary canon that would warrant later academic editions to be circulated in post-secondary classrooms. These editions, with the inclusion of emerging critical perspectives such as gender studies, post-colonial studies, and bibliographical analysis, then signalled a shift in the treatment of Canadian literature, where early Canadian texts, such as De Mille’s, would be viewed through a literary lens as opposed to a historical one. Through including *Strange Manuscript* in their series, the NCL established De Mille within the Canadian canon, “consolidat[ing his] status within Canadian literary history,” and firmly established the importance of calling upon the origins of Canadian literature to speak to Canadian history and the development of Canadian nationalism.

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14 Ibid., 81.
15 Ibid., 182.
In thanks to the NCL’s efforts in the 1960s to improve the accessibility of early Canadian (pre-1900s) texts, there were a few considerable undertakings done to maintain the rather public transmission of these works, including the inclusion of early prose texts in anthologies such as *The Evolution of Canadian Literature in English: Beginnings to 1967*, and the transferring of these texts from paper form into microfiche that was prepared by the Canadian Institute for Historical Micro-reproductions (CHIM).\(^\text{16}\) In this regard, the NCL’s objective to encourage the dissemination and publication of Canadian texts was successful, given that both physical and microfiche copies of this text carried into the twenty-first century. However, where the NCL editions of early Canadian works fell short, despite the notable and instrumental roles they had in bringing Canadian literature into classroom settings, was in prompting *scholarship* surrounding these texts. Although the critical lens for Canadian literature that was established by the earliest Can-Lit scholars of the NCL was useful, there were no scholarly editions of nineteenth-century text being produced.

This was the gap that Professor Mary Jane Edwards and the editorial team of the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts (CEECT) at Carleton University on Ottawa filled. The CEECT would, as explained in their 1980 SSHRCC Application for a Negotiated Grant for a Major Editorial Project, create scholarly editions of several pre-twentieth-century Canadian texts:

By ‘scholarly edition,’ we mean an edition of a work which has two main characteristics. It has, first, a ‘critical text.’ That is, it has a text established by its editor after he has taken several steps. To begin with, he researches the history of the composition and publication of the work he is editing. Next, using this material and all the biographical, critical, and historical material about the author and his works available to him, he chooses the copy text . . . which most nearly reflects the author’s intentions. After that, he collates the copy text with one copy of each of the other versions of the work which he deems to have some authority. Finally . . . he emends the cop text by incorporating into its variants from the other versions.\(^\text{17}\)

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\(^\text{17}\) Application by Carleton University to SSHRCC for Negotiated Grant for Major Editorial Project. Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts, CEECT-036 1995-17, 16-17. Archives & Research Collections, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
With the project beginning in 1979, and with an intended run time of 12 or more years\textsuperscript{18}, the
texts chosen, primarily being fictional\textsuperscript{19}, were ones where

In the literature which emerged in [this] period, all the political and economic
developments, and the cultural and intellectual evolution that went with them, were
caught and fixed. This literature, therefore, has significance not only for the scholar of
literature, but also for the historian, the political scientist, the cultural geographer, the
anthropologist, and other students of Canadian values, institutions, and society.\textsuperscript{20}

The case made for the significance of studying early Canadian texts, especially in consideration
of the scholarship emerging from Canadian scholars about American literature and the desire to
promote the teaching and research of Canadian history, culture, and nationalism, landed
successfully, and the project received SSHRCC funding on June 26, 1981 for a total of $455, 997
between 1981-1986.\textsuperscript{21} Upon receiving funding, the CEECT staff began to pursue the researching
of their proposed texts, and finding editors for their editions whose experience with and
appreciation for early Canadian texts would ensure that the work done was productive and
critical. Alongside the editions of Frances Brooke’s *The History of Emily Montague* and
Catharine Parr Traill’s *Canadian Crusoes* that were released in the early 1980s, the CEECT’s
third publication, an edition of James De Mille’s *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper
Cylinder*, was well under way.

Malcolm Parks, a professor of English Literature at Dalhousie University, who had
previously published an article in *Canadian Literature* #70 (1976) about De Mille’s text, and
who believed that the publishing of academic editions of early Canadian texts was “richly

\textsuperscript{18} Application by Carleton University to SSHRCC for Negotiated Grant for Major Editorial
Project. Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts, CEECT-036 1995-17, 1. Archives & Research
Collections, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
\textsuperscript{19} Application by Carleton University to SSHRCC for Negotiated Grant for Major Editorial
Project. Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts, CEECT-036 1995-17, 5. Archives & Research
Collections, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
They also produced scholarly editions of autobiographical texts such as Susanna Moodie’s
*Roughing it in the Bush* and Catharine Parr Traill’s *The Backwoods of Canada*, given that they
hold significant literary-historical value, and are considered to be among the earliest publications
of Canadian literature, or, literature that is written both in and about Canada.
\textsuperscript{20} Application by Carleton University to SSHRCC for Negotiated Grant for Major Editorial
Project. Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts, CEECT-036 1995-17, 8.
\textsuperscript{21} SSHRCC Annual Report 1982-86; Negotiated Grant No. 432-80-0001, June 26, 1981. Centre
for Editing Early Canadian Texts, CEECT-09 2006-26. Archives & Research Collections,
Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
deserved,” was selected to be the text’s editor. He promptly began performing editorial tasks, including the preparation of the crucial introductory and prefacing notes, explanatory notes, and developing an overall image for the presentation of the text itself as to ensure that the edition, although scholarly, reflects the manuscript (being the 1888 Harper’s serialization in lieu of an original manuscript) accurately and intentionally. As such, he was keen to include a photo of De Mille within the text, to use a high-resolution copy of Gilbert Gaul’s illustration on page 236 of the first novelized edition as the cover for the CEECT’s publication, and to use the first page of the serialization for the title page of the scholarly edition. Parks’s approach to publishing the edition in an authoritative and authentic way is indicative of a shift in the treatment of early Canadian texts, as the literature of this period becomes separated from nation formation.

The text, formatted with a larger font and margins than the NCL edition, did not diminish the appearance of the text in an effort to push for accessibility in post-secondary settings. Gaul’s illustration, surrounded by a solid orange background (matching the colour-block backgrounds of previous and later editions) draws direct attention to the creative and playful nature of the text. Moreover, Parks and the CEECT editorial team truly qualified their academic edition through developing and including an extensive foreword, an editor’s preface and introduction, using illustration of the first page of the text’s first serial appearance, explanatory notes (271-304), including a description of the novel’s serialization/first appearance in Harper’s Weekly (305-312), providing a list of other publications/editions of the text (313-318), emendations in the copy-text (319-322), and listing line-end hyphenated compounds in both the copy-text (323-324) and the CEECT edition (325-326). The inclusion of these kinds of notes speaks not only to the painstaking but detailed copyediting and collation work of the project, but also to the progressive nature of the enterprise. Including discussions of De Mille’s text in terms of its bibliography, its embodiment of late-nineteenth-century literary practice, and in terms of its representation of the period’s scientific thought as opposed to its canonicity or its relation to the physical, cultural, and

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ecological settlement/invasion of Canada, Parks and the CEECT editorial team effectively not only brought *Strange Manuscript* into thorough academic discourse, but ultimately into academic discourse at the turn of the century, which saw the implementation of interdisciplinary approaches to both literature and historically-significant literary texts. Through this canonical deviance, the CEECT’s edition of De Mille’s text thus became an indicator of Canadian literary development, and its status as a historical document or small piece of the Canadian nationalism puzzle, which had been its past-prescribed cultural role, was removed.

Thus, the CEECT’s edition of *Strange Manuscript* was ultimately able to establish the text as something worth talking about in academic contexts. Not only could and would De Mille’s text be analyzed in the light of colonial history, fantasy writing, gender studies, and satirical travel narratives, but it would be studied “in particular in the tradition of utopian fiction was attracted most of the critical attention, but some consideration has been given to the question of De Mille’s literary influences, and to the problem of structure in the novel.”25 The CEECT edition of *Strange Manuscript* steps away from the imagining of a collective Anglo-Canadian country, community, and national identity26 that previous anthologies and collections such as the NCL so highly valued, and instead aims to bring about sprightly scholarship that takes genre, gender, biography, and other up and coming theoretical lenses into consideration. The perpetuation of scholarship on *Strange Manuscript*, particularly in the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries, is thus indebted to the work done by Parks and the editors of the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts. Without the introduction of a truly scholarly edition, which was also financially accessible for classrooms in its paperback form, selling at $9.9527, future scholarly editions that were created for classroom use, namely the 2011 Broadview edition, would not exist without the introduction of the NCL and the work of the CEECT. Moreover, for better or for worse, by distancing De Mille’s text from its association with nation-building and instead examining its unique genre and scientifically accurate qualities, later mass-market publications by genre-specific publishing houses, such as the 2001 Bakka Books edition, would also be lacking. The CEECT’s development of a scholarly edition of *Strange Manuscript* is

indicative of a shift away from treating early Canadian texts in purely literary-historical or outright historical way, and instead prompted the *literary* analysis of nineteenth-century Canadian literature.
EXPANSIVE AND EXTENSIVE: THE BROADVIEW EDITION

Following the CEECT 1986 edition of Strange Manuscript,28 there was once again a notable pause before another scholarly edition of De Mille’s text was undertaken. The scholarly work done by Malcolm Parks and the CEECT editorial team had been used a sufficient and stable analysis by Canadian literature scholars for many years. While the CEECT’s establishment of and commentary on De Mille’s text prompted a blossoming of a critical approach to Strange Manuscript, further editorial work unsurprisingly lagged behind. It was not until Daniel Burgoyne, an Edgar Allen Poe specialist with an interest in literary hoaxes and scientific romances29, proposed to Broadview in 2007 that they release an academic edition of the text, which consists of appendices and critical content that will be highlighted later in this section.30 By this point, making the case for Strange Manuscript called for justification of its relevance to colonial, gender, and genre studies:

[Strange Manuscript] doesn't really fit within the typical canonical constructions for the period, in part because De Mille was publishing popular American fiction via Harpers. While one can't separate out the construction of the Canadian literary canon from attention to this book, my own sense is that its critical prominence has more to do with rise (and awareness of) postmodern and postcolonial theory in the last few decades of the twentieth century. There is some attention to its status as Canadian, but more to the postcolonial and especially postmodernist aspects.31

No longer was Strange Manuscript purely a product and representation of Canadian nationalism or Canadian nation-building, and Daniel Burgoyne was determined to highlight as much in his 2011 Broadview edition, indicating a change in literary studies, where national origin of a text is no longer central, but instead the text is analyzed for its innovative or problematic literary and sociological qualities.

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30 Broadview Press is a Canadian publisher who creates financially affordable editions of texts that are intended for student use. Broadview editions aim to strike a balance between affordable editions while also offering extensive analysis through appendices and historical contextualization. See pages 18-20 for detail on the sorts of measures taken by Burgoyne to produce an authoritative and historically accurate edition of Strange Manuscript.
31 Daniel Burgoyne, e-mail message to author, October 5, 2017.
It was when teaching a “Scientific Romance” (in other words, Nineteenth-Century Science Fiction) course that Burgoyne learned of De Mille’s text. A student approached him and asked if she could write on Strange Manuscript in her final paper for the course, using the CEECT edition (given that it was the most recent and most scholarly edition of the text) as an initial point of scholarly reference. It was after this introduction to Strange Manuscript that Burgoyne began including it in later “Scientific Romance” courses, which then prompted his research into the novel, and the eventual proposal to Broadview.  

Believing the text warranted further study by scholars in the areas of Canadian literature, nineteenth-century studies, the history of science fiction and the scientific romance, and post-colonial studies, Burgoyne proposed his edition to Broadview as a comprehensive and thorough presentation of De Mille’s text that takes into consideration both the accelerated new scholarship surrounding the novel, and the literary and sociological disciplinary developments that surfaced with the turn of the century. In his proposal for the edition to the editorial staff of Broadview Press, Burgoyne wrote,

_A Strange Manuscript_ is a novel that came into attention in the latter part of the 20th century due to certain critical and scholarly dispositions. These initially involved an interest in Canadian writers, but since the 1980’s this interest has shifted, growing in intensity with the emergence of postcolonial approaches to literature and growing interconnectivity between traditionally isolated nationalist literatures and artificially regimented literary periods. The growing interest in the novel is illustrated by the fact that over 75% of the articles written on it have been published in the last 15 years.

Understated in the published edition but explicit in the proposal, Burgoyne’s establishment of the text of _Strange Manuscript_ depends on a quite exhaustive study of previous editions. Not only does this function as a means of tracking the growth of scholarship surrounding the text that Burgoyne deems key to modern interpretation of De Mille’s novel, but also it also simultaneously speaks to the shift in treatment of early Canadian texts that the CEECT both embodied and, to some degree, initiated. Burgoyne’s awareness of editions not only ensures that the research he conducts in his appendices is productive rather than extractive, but provides future De Mille scholars with a relatively comprehensive list of editions of _Strange Manuscript_, pre-twenty-first-century ones most notably, thereby keeping the, arguably, only Canadian-

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32 Daniel Burgoyne, e-mail message to author, October 5, 2017.
34 Ibid.
oriented context in the edition. Although the Broadview edition of *Strange Manuscript* is aware of the text’s earliest publications, the fact that its Canadian origin is hardly touched on, even in the appendices, is indicative of Broadview’s, and perhaps Canadian publishers generally, interest in consciously partaking in the international academic publishing market.

Burgoyne’s work extended to a fine level of magnification, to take account of multiple reprints of the text by a single publisher in a single year. Burgoyne categorizes editions by geographic region: editions published in the United States (the 1888, 1889, and 1900 editions by Harper & Brothers, as well as Arno Press’s 1975 reprint of Harpers’ 1888 imprint); editions published in England (by Chatto & Windus, whose first edition appeared in 1888, the second in 1888, the third and fourth in 1888, the fifth “new edition” in 1894, and the sixth and final edition, also called “new edition,” in 1900); and Canadian editions (the Robinson 18—? edition, the “Second Canadian Edition” by Spottiswoode & Co. in 1910, the 1910 edition published by Macmillan, and the NCL in 1969, the 1986 CEECT edition, and McGill-Queens University Press reprint in 2000).35 As it does in the present discussion, the publication history that Burgoyne traces can be seen to mirror the transitions that early Canadian texts have undergone over the last century or so: first, functioning as products of colonization, or more clearly, as trophies or celebrations of the cultural values of the motherland; second, as instances of nationalism, used to advance Canadian literary culture and history; third, as artifacts to be challenged and explored by Canadian literature scholars.

Informed by this shift in the study of early Canadian literature36, Burgoyne’s edition is ultimately concerned with “framing the novel with contextualizing, scholarly information.”37 It features an extensive look at the *Strange Manuscript*’s publication history, as well as chronology of De Mille’s life, while simultaneously working to bring De Mille’s text into modern-day literary and historical discourse. While the NCL had integrated De Mille’s text into the Anglo-Canadian canon, and CEECT had drawn attention to issues of collation, and incorporated *Strange Manuscript* into early Canadian literary and textual studies, Burgoyne found scope for

36 Broadview’s philosophy is grounded in proving academic and political perspectives to a range of texts, with a focus on Canadian literature. As they state in the “About Us” section of their website, “[their] individual titles often appeal to a broad readership; [they] publish many titles that are as much of interest to the general reader are they are to academics and students” (https://broadviewpress.com/contact-us/about-us/?ph=052216213796b53102946d02).
37 Ibid., 6.
new contributions to exegesis: in his proposal, he noted that the CEECT notes are “full of interesting information, but . . . don’t facilitate interpretive exploration of the novel,” given that the scholarly work done by the CEECT editorial staff centres on collation and historical context rather than extensive literary analysis. While Burgoyne aimed for an authentic representation of De Mille’s text, he was motivated especially by the goal to be accessible to and helpful for university students particularly. Not only does the edition cost $22.95, which compares most fairly to the cost of other editions of the text, but also it provides ample historical context, regarding literary movements, science, and sociological perspectives, which are crucial for studying the text accurately and critically in the twenty-first century, in light of the emergence of critical literary, historical, and cultural theory and social movements.

This 2011 edition of Strange Manuscript conforms to Broadview’s standard format, a trade paperback, with text printed on high-quality, ESC certified, and 100% recycled paper, and with a cover featuring a black-and-white photograph that reflects the sombre, brooding atmosphere of the novel and perhaps hints at the accompanying commentary. Burgoyne selected a photograph taken by his father on Papa Stour, in the Orkneys. Alluding to the subterranean setting for much of the novel’s action, the image is apposite. Perhaps the exact location has special significance: the Orkneys played an important role in Canadian colonization as the place of origin for a significant proportion of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s employees. Given De Mille’s own colonial origins, Burgoyne selected the image of a cave on Papa Stour because it “intersects and thematizes British colonist discourse” while also anticipating the novels’ scientific associations. Although the cover of the edition aligns with standard Broadview practice of alluding to the historical contextualization provided within, Burgoyne pays homage to the original Harper’s edition by recreating, in black and white, on the page opposite to the half-title page of his edition, the embossed silver swirly wave-like image that Harper’s used as the

38 Ibid., 6.
42 Daniel Burgoyne, e-mail message to author, October 5, 2017.
cover of their first edition. In this sense, Burgoyne has prioritized representing the text authentically by referring to the history and presentation of the earliest editions of *Strange Manuscript*, those witnesses to which his edition of the text is especially indebted.

What especially distinguishes Burgoyne’s edition is that it accurately presents the sections as given sequentially in the original serialization. In his proposal for the edition to Broadview’s editorial staff, editor Daniel Burgoyne stated, “I propose to prepare a Broadview Edition based on the original *Harper’s Weekly* series. In the absence of a surviving manuscript, the series is considered to be the most accurate text, with subsequent book publications having derived from it.”43 Therefore, the Broadview edition follows the chapter numbers (31 chapters), but it interrupts chapters, creating two separate entries (often divided by an illustration), just as many of the chapters were presented in the serialization. For example, Chapter 2 is divided into two separate sections, with “[TO BE CONTINUED]” listed at the end of the first half.44 Only in a few instances are the images moved to ensure they correspond to the appropriate point in the narrative: thus illustration 19 is relocated after the final pages of the novel. Moreover, each section is also accompanied by a date which corresponds to the date in which the section was originally published in *Harper’s Weekly*. By representing the text in this way, Burgoyne has uniquely emphasized the publication history. Moreover, by reuniting the text with Gilbert Gaul's original illustrations, Burgoyne restores the pictorial element integral to the serial. Editor and publisher evidently deemed this restoration sufficiently important to warrant the cost. They did not discount these illustrations simply because they were the work of an American illustrator and appeared in an American serial magazine. The result is a representation of the text accurately, as something other than exclusively a Canadian production. Instead, the inclusion of these illustrations sets the stage for the analyses that appear in the appendices (especially in Appendix B, “Nineteenth-Century Geography and Paleontology”). Burgoyne and Broadview’s decision about the representation of the structural units of *Strange Manuscript* provides the edition’s readers with a comprehensive and accurate depiction of what it means to read De Mille’s text in its entirety.

Building on this representation of the text’s creative components (including its illustrations), the academic content of the edition is also organized in such a way that it is accessible and stimulating for any reader—whether a specialist researcher, a post-secondary student, or a general reader with a taste for scientific romance or Victorian satire. In his proposal for the edition, Burgoyne outlined his plan for the organization of the edition as such:

The introduction, notes, and especially the appendices of the proposed Broadview Edition will dramatically tap into recent scholarship to bring De Mille’s genre innovations, and his participation in and subversion of dominant cultural practices such as Orientalist and colonialist discourse; they will make the novel easier to appreciate for the contemporary reader.45

With the appendices as printed closely matching the proposal, Burgoyne’s edition of *Strange Manuscript* offers extensive commentary on and history of the literary, cultural, and scientific practices of the time in which De Mille was writing. Thus the editor takes into consideration a growing interest among twenty-first-century scholars in undertaking an interdisciplinary and theoretical study.

The critical contents of the edition are organized as follows:

Table 1.1: Introductions, Glossaries, and Appendices in Broadview’s Edition  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>The introduction offers a brief history of publication and comments on the frame of the narrative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology of De Mille’s Life</td>
<td>This primarily recounts the author’s publications and their release dates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Note on the Text</td>
<td>This acknowledges the <em>Harper’s Weekly</em> serial as manuscript and account for Gaul’s illustrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary of Kosekin Terms</td>
<td>A tool for readers to review language of fictional culture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix A</th>
<th>Antarctic Exploration, including a timeline of voyages with a focus on exploration in 1860 and earlier. This includes historical maps of the area that are cross-referenced with the novel.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>Nineteenth-Century Geology and Paleontology. This section verifies and/or debunks the existence and/or accuracy of the animals, terrains, and landscapes that are referenced to in the novel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C</td>
<td>Savages and Cannibals. This section uses scientific and historical examples to recount the history of human tribal mentalities and practice of cannibalism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D</td>
<td>Historical Mythology: Caves and Troglodytes, providing examples such as Plato’s Allegory of the Cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E</td>
<td>Scientific Romances and Lost Worlds. This appendix offers references to literary traditions that De Mille either conforms to or violates. It also addresses theories of orientalism, utopianism, satire, hoaxes, and gender in the context of colonial exploration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F</td>
<td>Reviews. This is a summary and bibliography of the novel’s reception by scholars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommended Readings and Works Cited</td>
<td>Including all sources used and sources to provide more theoretical, literary, and historical background.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The richly informative Appendices point to a transition away from reading early Canadian texts as indicators or embodiments of Canadian nationalism. Instead, the appendices direct attention towards reading these texts as politically and historically charged pieces of nineteenth-century literature. It must be noted that while a chronology of De Mille’s life is offered, which links him rather directly to colonialism in Canada, there is no appendix or introduction that is focused on the text’s place in the Canadian canon, its publication history within Canada exclusively, or even offering a commentary on the narrative’s satirical approach to Victorian-Canadian ideologies and cultural practices.

Unlike previous editions of the text, which were intended to introduce and promote the reading of Canadian literature in public and scholarly settings, to promote Canadian nationalism and history, or to develop literary scholarship in Canada about Canadian texts, Burgoyne’s edition reflects the integration of colonialism/post-coloniality, Orientalism, gender studies, and
science fiction into the academy. It continues to reflect and encourage the continuously growing importance to study early Canadian literature, while simultaneously interesting with popular (and somewhat fantastic) fiction of the period, which is relatable to both British and American publications during the nineteenth-century. Although one may see the understated disassociation of *Strange Manuscript* with Canada as a shortcoming of Burgoyne’s edition, it can also be read as the opposite, as indicative of no longer needing to cling to these early Canadian texts as markers of both past and present “Canadianness” or a collective national literary identity that is derivative and static. Instead, the Broadview edition appreciates early Canadian texts, and *Strange Manuscript* particularly, on the basis of the genre innovation, social commentary, and scientific creativity that Canadian writers, even in the infancy of Canadian literature, sought and achieved in their works. It would seem that, through the kinds of analysis and appendices that Burgoyne developed in his edition of *Strange Manuscript*, and supported by the influx in scholarship on the novel, that this is not only the perspective of Broadview’s editorial team, or of Burgoyne himself, but of Canadian literature scholars collectively after the turn of the century.
BAKKA BOOKS AND EPHEMERALITY

Given that the turn of the century signalled a distancing from nationalistic literary
tendencies and towards genre-based and interdisciplinary analysis in academic discourse, it is not surprising that mass-market or non-academic publishers who located themselves within newly
popularized literary niches began to emerge. This, to some extent, boded well for De Mille’s novel, as its fantastic and satirical qualities, which were once used as motivators to not publish the book (as was the case for the NCL edition), became spotlighted and were in some cases the reason that the text was republished prior to Burgoyne’s comprehensive Broadview edition. It was mass-market Canadian Speculative Fiction publisher Bakka Books, an imprint of Insomniac Press and recipient of OAC and CC funding, whose 2001 edition of Strange Manuscript aimed to make De Mille’s text available to a large, Science Fiction reading audience, for a lower price. Labeling Strange Manuscript as Canada’s first Science Fiction text, this edition’s purpose was not to discuss the text in its relation to Canadian history and literary culture, nor to address the text in a critical capacity. Instead, this edition was directed towards two things specifically: accessibility and marketability in light of the popularization of Science/Speculative Fiction in both the academy and within the general reader domain.

These objectives are most apparent when examining the text purely in terms of its presentation, specifically Science Fiction-marketeted cover, and in terms of content, namely the introduction/foreword to the edition, and the lack of apparent critical analysis or copyediting. On a very surface level, the cover Bakka Books edition of Strange Manuscript appears to be aiming simply for mass accessibility over authentic and polished presentation. Its cover draws upon the cover of the Chatto and Windus 1900 publication, but modifies it by giving it a highly pixelated, brightly coloured twist—something more comparable to a Science Fiction serial magazine such as Amazing Stories than previous editions of the text, including Canadian, British, and American publications. More importantly than literally reading the book based on, or through the lens of, its cover, this edition of text is not examined in a critical way whatsoever, unlike the other major editions previously discussed. Even in its attempt to provide critical context to the narrative, which would theoretically provide the opportunity for Bakka to justify their edition as a culturally responsible activity through establishing their credentials in presenting De Mille’s text as the start of Canadian Science Fiction, they have the introduction/foreword to the text written
by science fiction hack writer, Ed Greenwood,⁴⁷ and instead offer no critical commentary on the
text’s publication history, on its author, or on why specifically this text signifies the birth of
Canadian Science Fiction,⁴⁸ yet the text’s description on the back cover dictates it to be Canada’s
first Science Fiction novel⁴⁹. While it would seem that Bakka intends to continue to strongly
Canadianize the text (baring in mind that this edition was released a bit over a decade past the
CEECT edition, and just one year after the McGill-Queen’s reprint in 2000), they make no
efforts in the introductions to edition to inform their choice to do so. Moreover, there appears to
be no significant copyediting done to offer explanatory notes or comments,⁵⁰ suggesting that the
motivation behind producing this text was sheer, raving opportunism. While this could be read as
a sincere form of flattery, it seems more likely that O’Connor and the mysterious copyediting
team of Bakka Books saw the expanding concept of literary culture in Canada, which was now
inclusive of their niche Speculative Fiction press, as a market in which they could partake and
potentially excel. With their edition selling for $20.00,⁵¹ a very slight contrast from the thorough
and informed Broadview edition that would release 10 years later (which costs $22.95),⁵² the
objective to produce a cost-effective edition was successfully done by Bakka, given the lack of

⁴⁸ In an email exchange on July 3, 2018 with Mike O’Connor, the editor of Insomniac Press, he
offer his sole explanation for the choice to publish Strange Manuscript was that “Bakka Books
felt it was an important text in Canadian speculative fiction history and was not widely available
in print form,” which this project has proven to be untrue. He also claimed that the text was
“marketed as speculative fiction because that is the market Bakka Books knew and we felt it had
a better chance in the marketplace under that category,” which still does not explain why the
publisher chose a nineteenth-century Canadian text to include in their lineup.
⁵⁰ In this same email exchange, O’Connor stated both that “the editor who was primarily
responsible [for this publication] is no longer with Insomniac,” and that Stephanie Tombari, who
is listed as copyeditor on the publication information page of their edition, is “unfamiliar to
him.” This implies that little to no editorial work was put into the text, and that the edition
closely follows, as O’Connor states, “an original manuscript.” Of course, unless he is unclearly
referring to the Harper’s novelization, there is no original manuscript.
⁵¹ “A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder,” University of Saskatchewan Bookstore,
⁵² “A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder,” Broadview Press, accessed March 1,
costs gone into editorial or research work performed for the edition. It seems, however, that the innovative and historically rich qualities of the text was lost to marketing and opportunism, given that the true nature of the text, being historically-significant and satirical, is overlooked in an attempt to stamp the text as being the original piece of Canadian Science Fiction, and for Bakka Books to assert themselves as being the appropriate publishers to take on the cultural responsibility of locating and producing this apparently crucial Canadian Science Fiction text.

With that said, the Bakka Books editions is not the only publisher to produce a somewhat low-brow, trade edition of *Strange Manuscript*; rather, it is symptomatic, as opposed to being a one-off. The early 2000s were fruitful for publications of De Mille’s text, with editions by Borgo Press (2002), Wildside Press (2003), Kessinger Publishing (2004), and BiblioBazaar (2006) all released before Burgoyne even proposed his edition to Broadview Press in 2007. Since Burgoyne’s 2011 edition, and with the emergence and dominance of online shopping, websites such as AbeBooks have become increasingly popular means of both publishing and producing texts. Given that texts are presumably more often than not printed on an on demand basis, the financial stakes are not high for publishers, given that they do not need to worry about mass-producing a text only to have the sales be low. When searching for *Strange Manuscript* on AbeBooks, 626 editions appear in the results, and while the NCL, CEECT, and Broadview Press editions are available, a majority of these books are comparable to the Bakka Books edition. With cover art that very actively tries to present the book as being a fantasy text, a travel/exploration narrative, or as a piece of “classic literature,” *Strange Manuscript* seems to be just as manipulated based on its unique genre and history in the digital world as it has been with earlier trade editions, and, to some extent, the scholarly editions of the text put forth by the CEECT and even Broadview. Yet, these trade editions have a bitter taste that the NCL and subsequent academic editions do not simply because they fall short in representing the text

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54 This assumption comes from the fact that on the AbeBooks website, one of the filters to refine the book search by is to have the text “Not Printed on Demand,” which implies that the books are most frequently printed once ordered—otherwise the option to refine the search by would read “Print on Demand.”
56 Some covers, such as that by Dodo Press (2009) attempt to closely mimic the typical covers of Penguin Classics—perhaps in an effort to assign some sort of credibility or status to their edition.
This issue of authenticity of Canadian texts in relation to technology and digitization has been of concern since even the early-2000s, as demonstrated by Mary Jane Edwards, editor and instigator of the CEECT, in her article “CEECT and Cyberspace”:

My real concern is that if we do mount these artifacts in Cyberspace, even if we post them with all the guarantees of textual and other integrities of which we can conceive, their new existence in virtual reality will change and shape them in an unexpected . . . way. Some of these transformations may well be neutral or even theoretically and practically desirable. Some of them, however, will surely detach these editions, as they float through electronic space, from their grounding in the historical and contemporary realities from which they came. These works then, conceived by their authors as contributions to the medium of print, will almost be certainly weakened […] Most importantly for Canadians, however, these foundation texts of our literature will definitely be damaged, perhaps even destroyed, as examples of Canadian culture and identity.57

Strange Manuscript’s Canadian literary-historical significance is instrumental in the interpretation of De Mille’s novel; and while the Broadview edition does take some liberties to create distance between the texts and its historical weight, its contextualization of the novel in gothic and Victorian literary, historical, and scientific discourse functions as a reinforcement and validation of the genre-heavy analysis that Burgoyne conducts. The removal of close ties to these historical literary and historical Canadian contexts that trade editions, such as Bakka Books, perform in favour of marketing to a particular readership inherently undercuts the “Canadianness” that they may be trying to cling to in their publications, just as Mary Jane Edwards expressed concern of. By doing such, these trade publishers are thereby glossing over not only the challenging rich bibliographical history that texts such as Strange Manuscript have, but also ultimately unconsciously dismantling these texts as pieces or artifacts of Canadian literary and cultural history and heritage.

CONCLUSION

As indicated by the bibliographical history of *Strange Manuscript*, the treatment of early-Canadian texts is closely linked with literary and social movements, a linkage which in turn informs cultural taste. Through examining the bibliography of De Mille’s novel, still with consideration of its Canadian literary-historical significance, it becomes crucial to identify trends in Canadian literary publishing, both in academic and trade contexts, as a means through which Canadian literature scholars (and readers generally) can question the status and genre that they assign to these historically significant texts. The present analysis of *Strange Manuscript* has shown that nineteenth-century Canadian texts can easily be labelled in such a way that they can become artifacts of Canadian nationalism and national literary identity, or else develop a break between the text and its Canadian literary-historical significance by de-Canadianizing the text almost completely. As such, it seems that Mary Jane Edwards was justified in her concern about the future of Canadian literature. How do we maintain textual authenticity in the digital age while stepping beyond either opportunism or nationalism in publishing early-Canadian texts?

The next steps in analyzing and republishing *Strange Manuscript* depend on one’s answer to that question—and of course, there is no one person who can predict the future of Canadian scholarly-literary publishing. However, in light of digital publishing and the flourishing of trade editions, it seems that the means through which we as readers and scholars of Canadian literature can continue to claim these early Canadian texts as reflective not only of our literary coming-to-be and the development of Canadian history, but also as distinctive literary creation is through, as trite as it sounds, acknowledging their Canadian roots. In order for the analysis and criticism of Canadian literature to thrive, we must adopt frameworks and theoretical lenses that enhance the study of these texts; yet, as the tracing and analysis of the bibliography of James De Mille’s *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder* indicates, the removal of “Canadianness” from these texts inevitably undercuts the authenticity of the republication. In order to examine and publish De Mille’s text in an authoritative way, the study and challenging of early-Canadian texts must be done in light of changes in cultural taste, rather than using these tastes and trends alongside the literary-scholarly publishing industry as a means of achieving a particular, ephemeral, and inauthentic image of these historically and culturally rich early-Canadian texts, without which Canadian literature studies would not be as productive as they are today.
APPENDIX A: Record of Original Serial Publications of *Strange Manuscript*58


58 The serialized version of *Strange Manuscript*, found in *Harper’s Weekly*, was stored on microfilm and lent to the author in October 2017 by the Killam Memorial Library (NSHD) at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.


APPENDIX B: List of Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Novelized Editions


[De Mille, James.] *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder*. Montreal, Robinson: 1890.\(^{59}\) \(^{60}\)


\(^{59}\) It seems that the only existing copy of this edition is located at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. The condition of the pages is very poor due to the acidity of the paper, and thus the edition cannot be transferred between locations, nor overly handled.

\(^{60}\) Wood Pulp Paper,” The University of Chicago Library, accessed October 12, 2017, https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/coll/exhibits/under-covers/conservation-modern-materials-photoreproductions/wood-pulp-paper/. This acidity is also why there is only the estimated the publication year of 1890 – Dalhousie was not entirely sure of the date, and the publisher no longer exists, so there is no way to verify this. There is no table of contents or illustrations in this edition either. Therefore, finding a lot of solidified information about this text is extremely difficult, and notes regarding it will likely be vague.
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