A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY ON
WILLIAM KIRBY'S THE GOLDEN DOG 1877-1977

In The Golden Dog William Kirby describes the Chien d'Or tablet erected over the Bourgeois Philibert's doorway, which bears the "enigmatical inscription:"

I am a dog that gnaws his bone,
I couch and gnaw it all alone—
A time will come, which is not yet,
When I'll bite him by whom I'm bit.¹

Kirby originally intended this legend to serve as a vindication of the honest bourgeois, people's advocate in New France during the corrupt Bigot régime. In time the novelist himself, victim of the machinations of unscrupulous publishers, must have identified closely with the vengeful dog.

This year (1977) marks the centennial of the publication of The Golden Dog — an appropriate time to acknowledge Kirby's achievement as a historical novelist by setting the record straight about the publishing history of his famous novel, and by documenting its bibliographical aspects.

For those of us concerned with nineteenth-century Canadian literature, it is gratifying to observe the recent rebirth of interest in our early writers and the recovery of their major texts. The growth of Kirby's reputation is intriguing: while he had many legitimate grievances as a writer, neglect by critics or by the reading public was certainly not one of them. He very early won acclaim for The Golden Dog, a novel which continues to claim our appreciation. Throughout the century following its first appearance in 1877 critics of the novel have consistently acknowledged both its intrinsic literary merit as one of the finest Canadian historical novels and its salutary influence on the development of the genre in Canada. In the nineteenth century the American historian Francis Parkman, J.G. Bourinot, and Sir Gilbert Parker were among those who paid high tribute to the novel.²


Pierce, and Desmond Pacey have singled it out as a great achievement. At a time when a mere handful of Canadian writers had been accorded such treatment, Kirby was the subject of two literary biographies—William Renwick Riddell's *William Kirby* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1923) and Lorne Pierce's *William Kirby: The Portrait of a Tory Loyalist*. In 1973 the most perceptive and thorough appreciation of the novel to date appeared, John Robert Sorfleet's "Fiction and the Fall of New France: William Kirby vs. Gilbert Parker."

Sales of the novel testify to its perhaps unprecedented appeal to a mass reading public in this country. It has been published in Canada, the United States, and England; has appeared in six editions and more than sixty impressions in English; in two editions in French; has been published in limited, deluxe gift editions, and in paperback as early as 1888; and, during the 1930s and '40s, was authorized for school use by the Ministers of Education for British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec, and Nova Scotia. So far as I can determine, *The Golden Dog* has never been out of print during the past one hundred years.

Recent publications have made available to modern students of Kirby the following titles. A new (abridged) edition of *The Golden Dog* appeared in 1969 in McClelland and Stewart's 'New Canadian Library' Series. Pamphile LeMay's 1884 translation of the novel into French was reprinted in 1971 by Editions Garneau. 1972 saw a reprint by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society of *Annals of Niagara*. In the following year Kirby's long poem *The U.E.* was issued in the University of Toronto's 'Toronto Reprint Library of Canadian Prose and Poetry.'


In this centennial year we note, then, *The Golden Dog* 's obvious literary merit, its status for decades as a 'best seller,' and its historical importance to anyone interested in the Canadian literary ancestry of the genre. Honesty now compels one to remark that it is not an occasion Kirby himself would have celebrated. The reason for this is, I think, closely linked to the curious fact that

---


7 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), Chapter 4.
the novelist, a man whose research and other publications attest to his abiding interest in Canadian history, a man eminently qualified to write historical novels, produced only one. The treatment Kirby received from his publishers and the consequent fate of the intended text of *The Golden Dog* left him an embittered man, one who could remark: "I shall never write anything more except for my friends, for it is an unpleasant thing to have one's hard labor and mental treasures stolen from him as though they were worthless trash."8

My documentation of the publishing history of *The Golden Dog* explains Kirby's extreme vexation and completely vindicates his persistent complaints that no edition of the novel published in his lifetime embodied his original intentions—a problem that has been exacerbated further by later editions. In his article "Nineteenth-Century Canadian Bibliography," Professor Douglas Lochhead, in the course of describing the kind of bibliographical studies needed in this area, offered the parenthetical (but apropos) remark: "I happen to feel that it is important to have full bibliographical evidence about editions of, say, Haliburton, before one would attempt a proper edition of even his best-known work, *The Clockmaker.""9

The following "bibliographical evidence" about editions of *The Golden Dog* is intended as the requisite prolegomenon to the definitive edition, on which I have been working for some time: it serves as an aid to the precise identification of the six editions of the text, and to determining the varying degrees of textual authority which they evince.

The system of classification follows Fredson Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949), supplemented by G. Thomas Tanselle's "The Bibliographical Concepts of 'Issue' and 'State'," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (1975), 17-66. The names of the cloth patterns and their reference figures are based upon the system outlined by Tanselle in "The Bibliographical Description of Patterns," *Studies in Bibliography*, XXIII (1970), 71-102; the designations of the cloth colors follow Tanselle's "A System of Color Identification for Bibliographical Description," *Studies in Bibliography*, XX (1967), 203-34. A full description of all impressions within the important first edition, and of the first impressions only of subsequent editions is provided; a briefer description is given for later impressions, issues and states of those editions.

A selective list of locations is given. The symbols used for the locations of copies in Canadian libraries are those used by the National Library; for American libraries, those used in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress. 'BM' indicates the British Museum; 'BRADY' a copy in my collection; and 'GREIG' a copy in Mr. Peter Greig's collection. The symbols with asterisks represent the locations of those copies actually examined.

I would like to record my indebtedness to Dr. Robert C. Braadeis, Chief Librarian, Huron College, London, Ontario whose invaluable advice and encouragement throughout the preparation of this manuscript brought it to completion; to Mr. Peter E. Greig, Head of the Bibliography Section, Public

8Quoted from an interview with Kirby printed in *The Express* (Buffalo: August 17, 1888).

Services Branch, National Library of Canada, for his generous assistance and for putting at my disposal his *Golden Dog* collection; to Mr. Richard G. Landon, Head of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, for reading and advising me on the first draft of this manuscript; and to Mr. David Mason, Toronto antiquarian book dealer, for drawing to my attention a number of *Golden Dogs*, including the important copy of the Worthington impression annotated by Kirby.

THE FIRST EDITION: PUBLISHING HISTORY.

The fate of *The Golden Dog*, from the completion of the manuscript in 1873 until its first publication in 1877, provides a painful commentary on the dilemma of the nineteenth-century Canadian writer with respect to finding a market for his book and obtaining adequate copyright protection for it. After working on his novel for more than a decade, Kirby submitted the completed manuscript to several American and English publishers, who responded to his 'colonial' product with haughty indifference. He never forgot this snub—writing to the Duke of Argyle in 1905 he remarked:

> It looks to writers in Canada as if there were a prejudice among English Publishers writers and critics against Colonial productions — and these hardly receive fair play in the literary arena.

> I had myself a rude example of this some 25 years ago — I sent a MS to the publishing house of Trubner & Co. London. It was returneÁ with the curt remark that no Canadian book whatever its merit could expect the sale of a single copy in England! That was a douche of cold water which I feel to this day.

Finally the manuscript obtained the serious interest of G. Mercer Adam of the firm of Adam, Stevenson and Company (Toronto) who, after failing in turn to procure a publisher, secured arrangements for its publication with John Lovell of Montreal.

Because this account of Lovell’s subsequent dealings with Kirby may seriously call into question Lovell’s integrity, it is important to recall that he is an exemplary figure in the history of Canadian publisher-writer relationships. As founder-editor of this country’s first successful literary journal, the *Literary Garland* (1838-51), Lovell set a noteworthy precedent by paying his contributors. He was the first Canadian publisher to commission fiction and, throughout his career, actively encouraged and published a number of talented writers, including John Richardson, Anna Brownell Jameson, Catharine Parr Traill,

10 Many details in the following account are drawn from William Kirby, Jr., “Brief of the Publications of William Kirby’s Novel ‘Le Chien d’Or’ (The Golden Dog) to Dr. Lorne Pierce,” currently in the collection of the Metropolitan Toronto Library Board. In subsequent references to this document, page numbers will be enclosed within parentheses and inserted in the text. Pierce used this “Brief” as the main source of his version of the novel’s publishing history in Chapter XVI, “The Golden Dog,” of his biography.

Susanna Moodie, and Rosanna Leprohon. In 1872 he travelled to England to lobby (unsuccessfully) for an amendment to the inequitable Imperial Copyright Act. In view of all this, then, the most likely explanation for the morass into which he plunged Kirby is simply that, owing to the pressing financial difficulties into which his firm had fallen during this period, Lovell failed to handle in a thorough-going and professional manner certain of his business negotiations.

By 1873 Lovell had moved his printing plant from Montreal to Rouse’s Point, New York, in order to escape the penalties imposed under Imperial Copyright upon colonial publishers who reprinted British authors. Lovell Sr. placed his son, John W. Lovell, in charge of the new plant. In his paper “The Development of Trade Book Publishing in Canada,” H. Pearson Gundy assesses Lovell’s ploy:

It was a clever strategem, but in making the move Lovell overextended his resources and before the end of 1876 the New York State operation was forced into receivership. William Kirby was one of the chief losers, for in the confusion over the bankruptcy Lovell failed to register The Golden Dog for U.S. copyright and the author lost control over the novel.13

The Golden Dog had been printed at the Rouse’s Point plant, and was issued in February 1877 under the imprint ‘Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Company’. This new firm Lovell Jr. had established in New York in 1876 in partnership with G. Mercer Adam and Francis L. Wesson: the partnership dissolved in 1877. Prior to publication, Lovell had agreed to protect Kirby’s novel by copyright at the time of publication, and to pay Kirby a stipulated royalty after half the publishing costs had been recovered from sales. But because the American publication preceded the issue of a Canadian edition, the author lost Canadian copyright protection. He was informed “through certain channels” that “the copyright you speak of is Lovell’s copyright on the Library [i.e. ‘Lovell’s Library’ series] not on your book” (“Brief,” p. 4). In 1888 Kirby was quoted in a newspaper interview: “My most popular book, Le Chien d’Or, was stolen by the Lovell Brothers, but under the conditions of the American copyright law I have no redress.”14

14 From The Express interview; see above, footnote 8.
DESCRIPTION OF FIRST EDITION, FIRST IMPRESSION.

1 A THE CHIEN D'OR | THE GOLDEN DOG | A LEGEND OF QUEBEC | BY WILLIAM KIRBY | [Chien d'Or tablet (5.0 x 7.5 cm.)] | NEW YORK AND MONTREAL: | LOVELL, ADAM, WESSON & COMPANY. | 1877.

Collation: (cut: 18.5 x 12.0 cm.): signed, π³ 1-42⁸ 43³, 342 leaves, pp. [i-v] vi, [1] 2-678.


Paper: White wove unwatermarked, all edges cut and undecorated.

Casing: Material: diagonal fine rib-cloth (102be), deep blue (Centroid 179). Front: [thick black rule] | [double black rule (thick-thin)] | [on black ornamental background Chien d’Or tablet (2.2 x 3.1 cm.)] LE CHIEN D’OR [fancy] | [jagged rule] | WILLIAM KIRBY [fancy] | [double black rule (thin-thick)] | [thick black rule]. All in gilt. Spine: [thick black rule] | [black ornamental border] | LE | CHIEN D’OR | (THE GOLEEN DOG) | [thin short rule] | WM. KIRBY. | [black ornament] | [publisher’s monogram] | [black ornamental border] | [thick black rule]. All in gilt. Back: [identical blind-stamped rules top and foot as front cover but otherwise plain]. Endpapers: gray yellowish brown (Centroid 80) coated paper front and back, heavier in weight than sheets. No binder’s leaves.

Bound after sig. 43 is publisher’s advs. (in 4’s) paged [1] 2-8, with p. [1] headed ‘LOVELL, ADAM, WESSON & CO.’S RECENT AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS. First item advertises Letters from High Altitudes, last item Silicote of Silicates.

Some copies of this impression do not have inserted after the text the 8-page publisher’s advs., and have pale yellow (Centroid 89) endpapers. Notes: On January 12, 1877 John Lovell wrote to Kirby: “We have completed the printing of Le Chien D’Or. The binding is delayed for brass stamping dyes, but hope to issue the work next week.” On January 16,
1877 Kirby was informed: “The whole of Le Chien D’Or is printed. The dyes for cover only are holding it up.” And finally, on February 21, 1877 the publisher wrote: “Le Chien D’Or is issued at last” (“Brief,” pp. 3-4). P. 2 of the publisher’s advs. (described above) lists Le Chien D’Or as being “in preparation”.


Locations: BRADY* (2 copies), OKQ* (2 copies), OONL* (2 copies, both rebound and copy 1 defective), GREIG*, OSUL, BVAU, MBC, QMSS, QMU, QQLA, NSHPL; DLC, OKentU.

SUBSEQUENT IMPRESSIONS (AND ISSUES) WITHIN THE FIRST EDITION.

This account of the impressions and issues is by no means definitive, as after an intensive search I have been unable to locate sufficient copies for examination. For this reason I have not designated them specifically as being the ‘second’, ‘third’, etc. but have listed them ‘B’, ‘C’, ‘D’, etc. in the order in which I infer their appearance.

1B Title-page: identical with 1A except for reset imprint at foot ‘NEW YORK:  ./ R. WORTHINGTON, 750 BROADWAY. | short rule (0.5 cm.) | 1878.’

Collation: (cut: 18.5 x 12.5 cm.): signed, pi² 1+2⁸ 43⁴, but gathered in 12’s: 1-28² 29², 342 leaves, pp. [iii-vi] vi, [1]2-678, [679-680].


Typography and Paper: Identical with 1A.

Casing: Material: diagonal fine rib-cloth (102be), dark olive green (Centroid 126). Front: the whole within black-stamped double rule frame, thin-thick, outer rule (18.5 x 11.1 cm.): black-stamped ornamented inner frame. Spine: [thick black rule] | [thick gold rule] | [thin black rule] | [in gold]: LE | CHIEN D’OR | (THE GOLDEN DOG) | [thin short rule (1.0 cm.)] | WM KIRBY. | [thick black ornamental rule] | [in gold: publisher’s device] | [thin black rule] | [thick gold rule] | [thick black rule]. Back: identical with front cover, but blind-stamped. Endpapers: brown gray (Centroid 64) coated paper front and back, heavier in weight than sheets. One binder’s leaf tipped-in front and back.

Notes: When his firm failed early in 1878, Lovell offered Kirby the opportunity of purchasing the stereotype plates of his novel. Unknown to Kirby, however, Lovell at the same time was engaged in a piece of double-dealing with another firm which was also negotiating for the plates. This trickery caused the asking price of the plates to rise in direct proportion to Kirby’s growing interest in them, with the final result that they were
acquired by the firm of Richard Worthington, New York ("Brief," p. 4). In 1878 Worthington brought out a second impression of The Golden Dog, which is listed in The American Catalogue: 1876-1884 at $2.00. Number of copies printed unknown.

The copy described above is Kirby's annotated copy. Inscribed in the author's hand: on the recto of the front binder's leaf 'This is a pirated edition published in New York'; on the verso of the front binder's leaf a quotation from the Italian historical novelist Manzoni, followed by its translation into English; on the title-page 'W. Kirby | Niagara'. The majority of Kirby's holograph emendations are corrections of accidentals, rather than substantives: most of these corrections were incorporated into the Page edition (1897).

Two years after the publication of this impression, Kirby wrote to Worthington:

> It is useless for me to find fault with you for publishing my book, nor can I prevent it, seeing that my original publishers failed to register copyright for me as they should have done. What I wish to say is that if you are going to continue the issue of it I should like it for my own sake to be corrected. The original work was got out in such a hurry by Messrs. Lovell, Wesson & Co., and was stereotyped without being revised, and contains many errors which I would willingly correct merely for the sake of seeing my work as free from error as I wrote it. If you will send me a copy I will correct it and add the preface which Lovells by oversight left out ("Brief," p. 4).

It is possible that Kirby corrected his copy in the expectation that a favourable response from Worthington would be forthcoming; however, after acknowledging Kirby's letter, the publisher ignored his request.

Locations: MASON* (Kirby's annotated copy), OTMCL, OTU, OOP, OPET, NSHPL, NSWA; DLC, TNJ


Unseen; information from The American Catalogue: 1884-1890. Paper, 40¢.

The 'Lovell's Library' series was begun in 1882.

Locations: none discovered in Canada; DLC, NIC; BM


Unseen; information from The Annual American Catalogue: 1890. Paper, 50¢.

The 'American Novelists Series' was one of a number of series added to 'Lovell's Library' after Lovell's purchase of the famous Munro Library in 1888.

Locations: none discovered.
THE GOLDEN DOG | (LE CHIEN D'OR) | A ROMANCE OF THE DAYS OF LOUIS QUINZE IN QUEBEC | BY | WILLIAM KIRBY, F.R.S.C. | [Chien d'Or tablet (5.0 x 7.5 cm.)] | NEW YORK | LOVELL, CORYELL & COMPANY | 310-318 SIXTH AVENUE

Collation: cut: 18.2 x 12.2 cm.): signed as for 1A, but gathered in 16's: 1-216 228, 344 leaves, pp. [1-2], [i-v] vi, 1-678 [679-680].

Contents: Identical with 1A except for reset title-page (described above), and its verso which is blank. No publisher's advs.

Typography and Paper: Identical with 1A except for the dedication (p. iii) which has a comma inserted between 'NIAGARA' and 'ONTARIO'. Pagination for p. 212 is correctly printed in this and all subsequent impressions and issues.


Notes: Published in December, 1891 by Lovell, Coryell & Company at 50¢. No. 3 in the 'Series of American Novels'. Number of copies unknown.

In July 1890 Lovell formed a trust, The United States Book Company, which had, for a short time, a subsidiary Lovell, Coryell & Company, organized (according to one source) in 1892. However, the date on the spine of this impression establishes that by late in 1891 the subsidiary was issuing books under its imprint. In March 1893 the stock and plates of the parent firm and its subsidiaries were sold: the receiver carried on the business.\(^{15}\)

Locations: BRADY*

1F Title-page, Collation, Contents, Typography and paper: identical with 1E.

Casing: Note: because this copy has been rebound (with the front and back wrappers tipped-in) the following necessarily omits a description of the original spine. Colour of paper wrappers and lettering and design of front wrapper identical with 1E. Back: list of recent issues in the 'Series of

---

American Novels and new issues in the 'Belmore Series'; at foot: LOVELL, CORYELL & COMPANY, 310-318 Sixth Avenue, New York. First item advertises Anna Bowman Dodd's Struthers and, The Comedy of the Masked Musicians, last item W.E. Norris' The Countess Radna.

Notes: Exact date of publication unknown. The OONL copy has the owner's signature and the date '1st Oct. 1894' inscribed on the recto of the front free end-paper. Anna Bowman Dodd's Struthers, listed on the back cover, was not published in the 'Series of American Novels' until 1894. Number of copies and price unknown.

Locations: OKQ* (rebound with original covers), OONL* (rebound with original covers)


The address of the American Publishers Corporation given in this advertisement is '310-318 Sixth Avenue, New York'; this is also the address of Lovell, Coryell & Company.

Locations: none discovered.

1H THE GOLDEN DOG | (LE CHIEN D'OR) | A ROMANCE OF THE DAYS OF LOUIS QUINZE IN QUEBEC | BY | WILLIAM KIRBY, F.R.S.C. | ILLUSTRATED [Italic] | BOSTON | JOSEPH KNIGHT COMPANY | 1896

Collation: (cut: 18.7 x 12.5 cm.): signed, π 1-42 43 (sig. 28 is unsigned), 344 leaves, pp. [i-v] vi [vii-viii], [1]2-678, [679-680].


Typography and Paper: Edges: all edges cut, top edge gilt.


The following illustrations have been tipped-in incorrectly, and so their positions differ from the positions provided in the list of illustrations: 'A


Some copies of this impression have a variant casing. Material: linen cloth (304), medium brown (Centroid 58). Rule frame on front, rules on spine, and all fleurons stamped in dark brown.

Notes: Published in 1896 in the 'Classics of Fiction' series at $1.25. Number of copies unknown.

The stereotype plates evidently passed from either Worthington or Lovell to Joseph Knight Company, Boston. When this impression of the novel was published L.C. Page, in his capacity as President of the firm, wrote to Kirby on December 5, 1896: "We should be very glad indeed if it were possible to have an authorized edition from you, which would prevent the original pirate from having a sale from their book, and give us a good sale." ("Brief," p. 6). By March of 1897 Page had taken over Knight's firm as L.C. Page and Company; he continued to negotiate for an authorized edition.

Locations: OSUL*, OKQ* (variant binding), OCCC, NBS; DLC, MH, OCl, OO

11 Title-page: identical with 1E except for reset imprint at foot 'MONTREAL NEWS COMPANY, LIMITED | MONTREAL'.

Collation: (cut: 19.5 x 13.5 cm.): signed, n² 1-428 43² x² (sig. 2₈ is unsigned), 344 leaves, pp. [iii-vi] vi, [1] 2-678, [679-682].


Notes: Exact date of publication, number of copies and price unknown.

Locations: OTV*

11 Title-page: identical with 1E except for reset imprint at foot 'THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY | LIMITED'
Collation: identical with 1A except sig. 2g is unsigned.


Illustrations: Frontispiece only, facing p. iii: ‘Angélique and Bigot in the Garden,’ signed ‘J.W. Kennedy’. Photogravure from a painting. This plate appears facing p. 334 in 1H.


Notes: Exact date of publication, number of copies and price unknown.

Locations: GREIG*, BRADY*, OPAL* (defective), NBFU

1K Title-page: Identical with 1E except for rest imprint at foot ‘TORONTO | THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, | LIMITED’.

Collation: (cut: 18.7 x 12.5 cm.): signed as for 1A (i.e. 1-428 433), but gathered in 16’s: 1-2116 228, 344 leaves, pp. [i-vi], 1-678 [679-682]. Sig. 2g is unsigned.

Contents: Identical with 1J but adds 4 blank pages (pp. 679-682) after text.

Illustrations: Identical with 1J.

Typography and paper: The pagination for p. 212 is correctly printed.

Casing: Identical with 1J except for imprint at foot of spine which reads ‘MUSSON’.

Notes: Exact date of publication, number of copies and price unknown.

Locations: OTMCL*, OONL* (rebound), NSHPL; NcU, WaSp, CrU

In order to determine conclusively whether the printings subsequent to the first impression derive exclusively from one set of stereotype plates, or from duplicate sets, one would have to subject the reimpresse pages of the later printings to machine collation. To date two factors have mitigated against such a determination: the difficulty a Canadian scholar experiences in gaining access to a Hinman Collator and the fact that, in choosing copy text, the textual editor of The Golden Dog is dealing with only two potentially relevant printed forms—the first edition (first impression) and the second edition (first impression). No other copies of the text demonstrate any evidence of authorial revision: those later forms dating from Kirby’s lifetime are piracies and there are extant no authoritative documents which may have been used in the preparation of posthumous editions.
In the absence of such a conclusive demonstration, I suggest that, on the basis of external evidence (the history of the various publishing firms) and a limited amount of internal evidence of progressive type deterioration, it seems more likely that the later printings derive from a single set of plates. The following is a proposed reconstruction. Upon acquiring the plates from Lovell early in 1878 after the failure of Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Company, Worthington printed the 1878 impression. By 1884 Worthington had purchased the rights to all of Lovell’s ‘clothbound’ books—excluding the ‘Lovell’s Library’ Series. At this point in time Lovell had reorganized his firm, the John W. Lovel Company, primarily with a view to exploiting the cheap paperback market; the foundation of his new enterprise was the ‘Lovell’s Library’ Series. It seems likely, then, that during the course of his negotiations with Worthington, he reacquired the Golden Dog plates and subsequently issued the novel in the ‘Lovell’s Library,’ ‘American Novelists,’ ‘American Novels,’ and ‘Fortnightly Series’ (the latter appeared under the ‘American Publishers Corporation’ imprint, the reorganized firm which came into being after Lovell’s United States Book Company went into receivership). The American Publishers Corporation itself went into receivership, to be reorganized as the Publishers Plate Renting Company. Joseph Knight then acquired the plates for the 1896 impression, subsequent issues of which appeared under the imprints of Knight’s distributors, the Montreal News Company, the American News Company, and the Mussun Book Company. Lorne Pierce states that the plates “passed from Worthington to Joseph Knight & Co., Boston;” however, this statement is unreliable because Pierce was unaware of the Lovell paperback issues which intervened between the Worthington and Knight impressions (William Kirby, p. 253).

THE SECOND EDITION: PUBLISHING HISTORY.

After taking over Joseph Knight’s business in 1897, L.C. Page repeated his offer to Kirby to publish a new edition of the novel. Kirby corresponded with him in good faith, eager to grasp this long-awaited opportunity of having his book appear in a form that faithfully incorporated his original intentions. The publisher asked Kirby to abridge the novel to about 500 pages (from its original 678 printed pages), and to provide a prefatory statement of authorization. Ignoring Kirby’s stated reluctance to condense his story so drastically, Page had the book rewritten and a new set of plates made. In order to obtain from Kirby the important statement of authorization, Page deceitfully agreed to “set the book in its present exact form” (i.e. incorporating Kirby’s few corrections, additions and deletions) (“Brief,” p. 9).

The ‘Author’s Prefatory Note’ which subsequently appeared in the ‘authorized’ second edition reads:

In the year 1877 the first edition of “The Golden Dog” (Le Chien d’Or) was brought out in the United States, entirely without my knowledge or sanction [this is a misrepresentation of the real facts of the case]. Owing to the inadequacy of the then existing copyright laws, I have been powerless to prevent its continued publication . . .
It was, consequently, a source of gratification to me when I was approached by Messrs. L.C. Page & Company, of Boston, with a request to revise "The Golden Dog," and re-publish it through them. The result is the present edition, which I have corrected and revised in the light of the latest developments in the history of Quebec, and which is the only edition offered to my readers with the sanction and approval of its author.\footnote{The Golden Dog (Boston: L.C. Page & Co., 1897), p. [iii].}

The true degree of "gratification" and indebtedness Kirby registered towards his publisher, upon reading this 'authorized' edition, is revealed in his stubborn refusal to acknowledge the work as his own, describing it instead as "not his book but the publisher's, a poor mutilated thing."\footnote{Quoted in Pierce, William Kirby, p. 255.} William Kirby, Jr., grandson of the writer, represented Page's DEALINGS as "one of the most outrageous literary thefts ever made from an author," and Page's edition as a "fraudulent misrepresentation of Kirby's work in order to deceive the public into purchasing his (Page's) edition" ("Brief," p. 6).

Kirby took legal counsel on the whole matter but, owing to his advanced age (over 80) and ill health—and the knowledge that the legal costs would exceed any royalties he might receive as a result, he did not prosecute the publisher, from whom he received less than $100.00 in royalties. One might add that his case against Page was stronger in its moral aspects than its legal aspects: because Kirby did not have copyright protection on his novel it was fair game to all comers. Page's dealings with Kirby (however shoddy and however remunerative they proved to the publisher) could be interpreted as a courtesy to the writer, rather than a legal obligation on Page's behalf.

The seriousness of the Page edition's lack of textual integrity is underscored by the fact that it remained the only edition available in the United States, Canada (through Page's distributor, the Montreal News Company and, later, through the Musson Book Company), and England (where it was published by Jarrold & Sons in 1899) for a twenty-five year period—from 1897 to 1922, the publication date of a new Musson edition. During this 'peak' period the novel underwent at least thirty-two impressions.

2A DESCRIPTION OF SECOND EDITION, FIRST IMPRESSION.


Collation: (cut: 18.7 x 12.5 cm.): unsigned, 1-39\textsuperscript{6}, 312 leaves, pp. [1-2], [i-iv] v-vi [vii-viii], 11-624.


Text: 41 11.; 14.3 x 8.9; 8-pt. Old Style.

Paper: white wove unwatermarked, all edges cut, top edge gilt.


The following illustrations have been tipped-in incorrectly, and so their positions differ from the positions provided in the list of illustrations: 'Arrival of Pierre Philibert.' faces p. 88 rather than p. 89; 'Quebec from Point Levis.' faces p. 128 rather than p. 129; 'Angélique and Bigot in the Garden.' faces p. 344 rather than p. 345; and 'Death of the Bourgeois.' faces p. 572 rather than p. 573.


Notes: Exact date of publication unknown. The last letter Kirby received from Page prior to publication of this edition is dated May 19, 1897. Upon hearing from a friend that the Page edition was "on the market," Kirby wrote on September 19, 1897 complaining that the book had been published without his having been informed. On September 22 the firm replied: "We hope you will pardon our carelessness in not notifying you of the publication of the new edition of the Golden Dog which came out some time ago" ("Brief," p. 10).

Page was unable to copyright his edition of The Golden Dog in Canada as Kirby had copyright only on Pamphile Le May’s French translation (1884) of the first edition.

Locations: BRADY*, OONL* (rebound), OOP, OOU, OPAL, OPET, OWTU, OTV, OTU, BVAU, BVIV, NSHPL; DLC, OrP, TxB, MH, MB, OC1W, V1W

Variant Binding: Second edition sheets were later bound in medium olive green (Centroid 125) linen boards lacking the dark green-stamped fleurons on the front board and spine; rule frame on front cover and rules on spine are black-stamped.

Locations: BRADY* (2 copies)

Variant Binding: Bound in diagonal fine rib-cloth (102be), very dark red (Centroid 17). White wove unwatermarked end-papers. Top edge not gilt. Adds 8-page publisher’s advs. ‘Selections from L.C. Page and Company’s List of New Fiction’ following text. First item advertises Robert Neilson Stephens’ An Enemy to the King, last item Giovanni Verga’s Cavalleria Rusticana; or, Under the Shadow of Etna.

Locations: BRADY*

SUBSEQUENT IMPRESSIONS (AND ISSUES) WITHIN THE SECOND EDITION.

I have limited the description of these impressions to a brief entry which records the place of publication, publisher, and the date of publication (when known). An additional line notes any special features of the impression (i.e. school edition; deluxe edition; appearance in a publisher's series; the impression statement, when it exists, taken from the copyright page; and a register of locations). Variations in collation, position of illustrations, casing, etc. are not described.

L.C. Page issued these impressions (printed at the 'Colonial Press, C.H. Simonds & Co., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.') under his own imprint 'L.C. PAGE & COMPANY', and under the imprint of his Canadian agent 'THE MONTREAL NEWS COMPANY LIMITED'.

Montreal: News Co., [1897]. Not seen; information from Canadian Union Catalogue of Books in the National Library of Canada (18.6.1976) which lists numerous Canadian locations, and from NUC: Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 297 which lists a number of American locations. However, my examination of a number of these copies has failed to verify a copy bearing an '1897' date on the title-page: it is possible that the inferred date which appears in these catalogues is taken from the copyright page.
London: Jarrold & Sons, [1899]. 6 shillings. Date and price from The English Catalogue of Books, Vol. VI (January 1898 to December 1900). This English issue is commonly referred to as the ‘third edition’ of The Golden Dog. It is, however, an impression printed from plates of the Page typesetting. (OTMCL*, OKQ*, QMBN; BM)


Boston: Page, 1903. (OONL*, OHM, OOB, OTU, QSheru, NBFU, NBS, NFSM; NN)

Montreal: News Co., 1903. Several issues, including one in paper wrappers. (BRADY*, OKQ*, OOA*, ViU, MH; BM)


Boston: Page, [1908]. Date inferred from publisher's advs. (BRADY*)


Boston: Page, 1926. ‘Twenty-ninth Impression, January, 1926’. Also appeared the same year ‘Thirtieth Impression, September, 1926’. (GREIG*)


Undated impressions:


Montreal: News Co., [n.d.]. Two issues. (OONL*)

3A DESCRIPTION OF THIRD EDITION, FIRST IMPRESSION.

THE GOLDEN DOG | (LE CHIEN D'OR) | A ROMANCE OF THE DAYS OF LOUIS QUINZE IN QUEBEC | BY | WILLIAM KIRBY, F.R.S.C. | [Chien d'Or tablet (5.0 x 7.5 cm.)] | TORONTO: | MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LIMITED | DISTRIBUTORS

Collation: (cut. 18.7 x 12.4 cm): signed 1-1616 1710 (116 and 116 are unsigned), 266 leaves, pp. [i-iii] iv, 1-528.


Text: 51 11.; 14.7 x 9.2; 8-pt. Old Style.

Paper: white wove unwatermarked, all edges cut and undecorated.

Illustrations: Frontispiece only (13.5 x 11.3 cm.) tipped-in facing p. i: photolithograph from a watercolor painting "'The whole troop plunged madly at the crowd. A violent scuffle ensued; many habitants [Italics] were ridden down.'" Unsigned, C.W. Jefferys. On glossy stock, heavier than text.


Locations: OLUL*, GREIG* (2 copies), OKQ, OTMCL, BVAS, AEU, MWP, QLB

41
SUBSEQUENT ISSUES WITHIN THE THIRD EDITION.

3A1 Identical with 3A except for reset imprint at foot of title-page ‘MONTREAL, QUE.: I F.E. PHELAN, LIMITED’.

Locations: BRADY*

3Aii Identical with 3A except for reset imprint at foot of title-page ‘CHATEAU CIGAR AND NEWS STAND | CHATEAU FRONTENAC | QUEBEC | TORONTO: | MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LIMITED | DISTRIBUTORS’. The lines ‘BY | WILLIAM KIRBY, F.R.S.C.’ are printed above the Chien d’Or tablet. Colour of casing material is dark red (Centroid 16).

Locations: BRADY*; MH

3Aii Identical with 3Aii title-page except for reset imprint at foot ‘QUEBEC: | CAMBRIDGE BOOK STORE | HEADQUARTERS FOR SOUVENIRS’. Copyright page has printed above printer’s name the additional line ‘PRINTED IN CANADA’. Size of frontispiece illustration is reduced to 11.0 x 9.1 cm.; caption typeface also reduced from 8-point to 6-point. All gatherings unsigned. Casing material is fine bead-cloth (202b).

Locations: BRADY*, QSherU; NIC

4A DESCRIPTION OF FOURTH EDITION, FIRST IMPRESSION.

[the whole printed in Script and within elaborate ornamental frame, signed at foot ‘C.W. Jefferys Inv. et Del. 1925’]: [title within ornamental scallop frame with seashell top and foot]: The Golden Dog [within braces]: Le Chien d’Or [short rule]: A Romance of Old Quebec [the above scallop frame resting upon Chien d’Or tablet (2.4 x 4.1 cm.)]: [fleur-de-lis] [within small frame]: 1736 [fleur-de-lis]: By William Kirby, F.R.S.C.: [fleur-de-lis]: TORONTO: The Musson Book Company Limited

Collation: (cut: 19.1 x 12.6 cm): unsigned, π3 1-1716 1818, 293 leaves, pp. [i-vi], 1-580.


The following error occurs: ‘Louis IV’ in the List of Illustrations and in the caption of the illustration facing p. 128 should read ‘Louis XIV’. In this edition and all subsequent impressions and issues the word “WILD” in the running-title of Chapter XXXVIII on p. 377 is incorrectly spelled “MILD”.

Text: 41 11.; 14.7 x 9.3; 10-point Cloister Bold.

Paper: white wove unwatermarked, all edges cut and undecorated.


Note: This is the ‘LARGE TYPE EDITION’ published in 1925 at $2.00. Edition quantity unknown.

Locations: BRADY*, OLU*, OOU, BVAU, QCU, QNICS, QQT, NBSAM, PC; ICN

SUBSEQUENT IMPRESSIONS, ISSUES AND STATES WITHIN THE FOURTH EDITION.


4Aia Another State. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, Limited, [n.d.]. Identical with 4A, but with Introduction signed ‘T.G. MARQUIS’ and incorporating a number of minor corrections to the contents pages (with corresponding changes to the appropriate running titles) and to the list of illustrations (with corresponding changes to the appropriate illustration captions): these corrections are included in all subsequent impressions and issues of the fourth edition. (OONL*: 3 copies, BRADY*: 2 copies, GREIG*).


Note: The prices of the ‘C’ impression and issues derive from the front inside flap of the dust jacket which advertises the fourth edition Golden Dog as follows:

43
MUSSON NEW LARGE TYPE EDITION WITH ILLUSTRATION

Cloth ........................................... $2.00
Antique Leather Craft .......................... $2.50

NEW THIN PAPER EDITION

Full Crushed Levant ........................... $3.50
Half Crushed Levant ............................ $3.00
Full Fine Grain Morocco ....................... $3.50


Printed at 'PRESS OF THE HUNTER-ROSE COMPANY LIMITED — TORONTO'. Published c.1941. (BRADY*: 3 copies).


The text is simply a reprinting of the fourth edition, but the remainder of the book has been completely re-designed, with all pages preliminary to the text reset, a new title-page, new illustrations (by 'Estelle M. Kerr'), new casing and dust jacket (signed 'innerman').

Publication date and number of copies unknown: the OH copy was acquired in 1953.

This edition remained in print until 1968, when it was listed in Canadian Books in Print at $4.50. (OKQM*, OHM*, OH*: rebound, OTMCL: 3 copies)

Two unexamined issues within the fourth edition:


5A DESCRIPTION OF FIFTH EDITION, FIRST IMPRESSION.


Collation: (cut: 16.9 x 11.6 cm.): unsigned, 1-716, 818, 120 leaves, pp. [i-v] vi-xii [xiii-xiv], 3-227 [228].

44

Typography and Paper: Pagination in hdl. against outer margin of type-page, except for p. 3 which has pagination centered at foot of type-page. Running-titles in Roman caps.: ‘THE GOLDEN DOG’ on rectos and versos.

Text: 41 11.; 14.5 x 9.4; 10-point Baskerville.

Paper: white wove unwatermarked, all edges cut and undecorsted.

Casing: Material: checkerboard-cloth (122), deep red (Centroid 13). Front: at centre: [publisher’s device (3.4 x 2.7 cm.)]. In gilt. Spine: [ornamental rule] |
ST. MARTIN’S  |  CLASSICS   |  THE  |  GOLDEN  |  DOG  |

Notes: Published in 1931 at $0.50. Edition quantity unknown.

Locations: OONL*, OSTCB* (defective)

SUBSEQUENT IMPRESSIONS WITHIN THE FIFTH EDITION

Subsequent impressions appeared in: 1932 (OKQ*); 1935 (OONL*); 1937 (GREIG*); 1938 (GREIG*); 1939 (OONL*); 1940 (reprinted twice; not seen: information from the copyright page of 1942 impression); 1942 (BRADY*); 1943 (OLU*); 1944 (not seen: information from copyright page of the 1945 impression; BVAU, BVIP); 1945 (BRADY*); [n.d.] c.1947 (OONL*; 2 copies, GREIG*).

This edition has remained in print to the present day. It is listed in Canadian Books in Print (1967) at $1.10; (1968) at $1.20; and (1974) at $1.40.

6A DESCRIPTION OF SIXTH EDITION, FIRST IMPRESSION.

THE | GOLDEN DOG | [within square brackets]: LE CHIEN D’OR | A Romance of Old Quebec [Italic] | by William Kirby FRSC [Roman] |
[ornament] Introduction [Roman] Derek Crawley [Italic] | [small ornament] General Editor [Roman] Malcolm Ross [Italic] [small ornament] |
New Canadian Library No. 65 [Roman] | [publisher’s device] |
MCCLELLAND AND STEWART LIMITED | TORONTO/MONTREAL

Collation: (cut: 18.3 x 11.1 cm.): perfect binding; 162 leaves, pp. [i-iv] v-xi [xii], 13-320, 321 [322-324].

A NOTE ON THE TEXTUAL AUTHORITY OF THE SIX EDITIONS.

Of the two editions of *The Golden Dog* published in Kirby’s lifetime, the first edition (Lovell, 1877) provides the most reliable text. Unfortunately, its printing was not supervised by Kirby through the final proof stage, and the text contains many careless and corrupt compositorial renderings which he did not have the opportunity to alter. However, all of Kirby’s recorded complaints about the first edition concern only typographical errors — not unauthorized publisher’s revisions or changes which substantively alter the meaning of the novel. The text does not appear to differ materially from Kirby’s intention, and so stands as the most authoritative.

Because the ‘authorized’ second edition (Page, 1897) is the last edition printed in Kirby’s lifetime, it is important to study it carefully for readings of equal or higher authority than those found in the first edition. The following conclusions are based upon my collation of the two editions, and from my study of Kirby’s emendations to his copy of the Worthington impression. Kirby did
intervene in the second edition, but his intervention was by no means extensive: it appears highly unlikely that he considered the text in detail. His emendations give some indication of those printed accidentals which contravene his wishes.

Virtually all of the textual changes which appear in the Page edition were made by the publisher and were not authorized by Kirby. Thus every change marks a step away from what the novelist regarded as the “true text” of The Golden Dog. Kirby made himself perfectly clear in his assessment of the total want of authority of Page’s condensed version: “the excisions were made without my consent or knowledge” (“Brief”, p. 13). Page’s revisions certainly fall into a category far beyond the acceptable limits of editorial intervention. The publisher’s description of his abridgement is a modest one: “I have taken the liberty of cutting out occasional sentences, or parts of paragraphs (mind after receiving the author’s authority and corrected work) which will not affect the contents.” Modest indeed — and a serious distortion of the facts of the case. The “liberty” taken by Page involves hundreds of significant deletions (rarely excisions of single words and sentences), the majority being large blocks of narrative ranging from single paragraphs to an entire chapter, and constituting overall a loss of some 96 pages (or 14%) of the original text. The net effect on the “contents” was more than sufficient to justify Kirby’s unrelenting attempts for the remaining ten years of his life, to have his “true text” restored. And Page’s parenthetical justification of his actions is, quite simply, a lie.

All four subsequent editions of the novel appeared after Kirby’s death in 1906; none is bibliographically significant. Indeed, each successive edition produces a text of inferior authority to that of its predecessor. The third edition (Musson, 1922) is an unabridged reprinting (from a new typesetting) of the first which, although much closer to it in substantive readings, introduces a score of accidental alterations deriving largely from the publisher’s house style. In 1925 Musson issued a ‘new edition’ of the novel, an abridgement which appears to be the work of an editor (T.G. Marquis) who disapproved in principle both of the genre and of its famous progenitor. His Introduction states:

The author gathered together a vast amount of information bearing on the period of his story and of his characters. He saw fit, after the manner of Sir Walter Scott, to incorporate this into his novel. As a result, The Golden Dog, as originally published, contains patches of general and scientific information that mar the flow of the story and weary the reader. Much of this has been judiciously cut out.\(^\text{18}\)

E.C. Woodley, who produced the abridged fifth edition (Macmillan, 1931) for the St. Martin’s Classics Series, betrays in his Introduction a disturbing inability to read the novel. His diligent efforts to produce a text sufficiently short and morally inoffensive for the secondary school student led him into this perverse exercise in sophistry: there are “two complete tales in his book” [the “real story of the Golden Dog” and the “dark tragedy of Caroline of Beaumanoir”]; they are “blended and interwoven, but still distinct;” “one can, nevertheless,
“separate these tales” and discard one of them. Removing the weft strands of a woven carpet yields a fairly predictable result; so does Woodley’s single-strand editorial thesis.

The blurb on the back cover of the sixth edition (McClelland & Stewart, 1969) boasts: “In this newly abridged version, Derek Crawley has cut The Golden Dog to half its original (and somewhat alarming—length of 678 pages.)” If this hasn’t sufficiently undermined one’s confidence in the reliability of the New Canadian Library version, the Note on the Author concludes: “Kirby revised the book for the authorized edition, which finally appeared in 1896.” The revised edition (1897) did not, of course, have Kirby’s authority, and the 1896 publication (in which the novelist did not intervene) was simply a reprint of the first edition. The NCL version retains all the distortions of the Page edition and contributes a host of its own. It is the only Golden Dog currently in print and readily available to teachers and students.

Briefly, then, my advice to readers in search of a reliable text: if possible, obtain a copy of the first edition (available in some public and university libraries, but usually non-circulating); the only really acceptable alternative is the third edition. All other editions stand in relation to Kirby’s intended text as shadowy representations of the literary form they so imperfectly mirror.

THE FRENCH EDITIONS

During the nineteenth century, only two English-Canadian novels were translated into French. Rosanna Leprohon’s Antoinette de Mirecourt; or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1864; trans. J.A. Genand. Montréal: Beauchemin et Valois, 1865) — and The Golden Dog.\(^{20}\)

By 1880, just three years after the publication of the novel in English, plans were underway for its publication in French and, in 1884, Pamphile Le May’s two-volume translation appeared under the imprint ‘Montréal: Imprimerie De L’Étendard.’ This was the only edition of The Golden Dog on which Kirby had copyright protection. Its reception by French-Canadian readers proved to be the real acid test for the verisimilitude of Kirby’s historical characterization of Quebec in 1748: the French-language version immediately received critical acclaim, was widely circulated and is currently in print; A second edition (also 2-volume) (based on Le May’s translation) was published in 1926 under the imprint ‘Québec: Librairie Garneau, Limitée’. A reprint of the second edition was published in Quebec by Éditions Garneau in 1971 at $4.95.

ELIZABETH BRADY

---

\(^{19}\) The Golden Dog (Toronto: Macmillan, 1931), p. [v].