A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF JOHN RICHARDSON

Introduction

With the new interest in Canadiana manifested in such serial publications as the New Canadian Library, the Carleton Library, Pioneer Books and others, and in the new monograph Literary History of Canada, it is more than ever important that bibliographies in this field be made available to scholars and students. Up to the present such studies have been obviously lacking, and Canada in this regard is far behind Britain and the U.S. Bibliography serves to advance scholarship but any bibliography is itself limited by the state of research in its subject. As a result the notes in this monograph include a liberal sprinkling of conjectures. Whenever Mr. Morley has had to insert queries or to use words such as "probably" or "possibly", there is an invitation to research.

Historians have long appreciated Richardson's personal accounts of the War of 1812 and literary critics such as Professors Klinck and Pacey have recently produced some interesting studies of his life and work. But much more needs to be done. If all articles and books on Richardson were brought together, they would occupy very little shelf space.

Casselmann's brief Introduction to War of 1812 is the fullest account of Richardson's life to date, and that appeared in 1902! An exhaustive biographical study has yet to be written in spite of the fact that Richardson is one of the most colourful figures among early Canadian writers. When he was born at Queenston on October 4, 1796, his father was an Assistant Surgeon with Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, a unit that had been formed to protect Canada during the American War of Independence. On those occasions when his father was posted to out-of-the-way garrisons, young John was left at Detroit with his maternal grandfather, a man who had led a relief party bringing urgently needed supplies to Fort Detroit when it was besieged by Pontiac's warriors. It was inevitable that the boy's imagination would be captured by these stirring events and by the history of a fort which, in a period of fifty years, had changed hands five times. If Desmond Pacey is correct in saying that Richardson's grandmother was an Indian, it is not surprising that Pontiac and Tecumseh had a particular fascination for this writer.

With such an ancestry and with such an exposure to the history of heroic military exploits, we can understand why Richardson at a mere fifteen years of age enlisted to fight the Americans in the

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1 Mr. David R. Beasley of New York City indicates that he has begun work on a biography of Richardson.

War of 1812. The battles he participated in and his many months as a prisoner of war in Kentucky provided him with materials which found a place in Tecumseh, Écarté, War of 1812, Hardscrabble, Wau-nan-gee, the lost Westbrook (if, indeed, he wrote it). Not daunted by his experiences as a prisoner of war camp, Richardson volunteered for overseas service upon his return to Canada. He missed being at the Battle of Waterloo by a few short weeks, then served in Barbados until invalided back to England with yellow fever. Many years later in 1834 another chance for active service came when civil war flared in Spain and Richardson was at the storming of San Sebastian. He gained his majority, was made a Knight of Saint Ferdinand by the Spanish Queen and wrote four books about his experiences.

It was typical that Richardson, after a twenty-three year stay in Europe, should be attracted back to Canada by the troubles of 1837. Appointed correspondent for the London Times he was dismissed by this conservative paper when his reports began reflecting the position of Lord Durham with whom he had become friendly. By this dismissal he lost £400 a year and his life from this time on was a restless search for a living. He founded, edited and published newspapers in Brockville and Kingston, and perhaps elsewhere -- all of which he abandoned -- and became Superintendent of Police on the Welland Canal. Finally in 1849, after he had become convinced that Canada offered few pecuniary and literary opportunities for him, he moved to New York City and wrote, revised and had published many works before his death in penurious circumstances at the age of fifty-five.

Whether Richardson's literary efforts are intrinsically valuable has never been thoroughly investigated by critics and this is surprising in view of the international reputation he gained in his own lifetime with the publication of Écarté (in both London and N.Y. in 1829) and Wacousta (in London, 1832 and Philadelphia, 1833 -- and republished a score of times since).

No serious critical study of Wacousta has ever been made in spite of it being a veritable mine for the Canadian literary historian and critic. Just a superficial reading suggests numerous possible approaches. One is Richardson's indebtedness to Scott and Cooper and how he Canadianized border romance and western frontier tales; another is the way in which he was influenced by the Gothic novel and the idea of the "noble savage." It would also be interesting to see how Northrop Frye's idea that fear is the dominant note in Canadian art is applicable to this novel. Ideas contained in Professor John Matthew's important article "The Canadian Experience" in Commonwealth Literature could also be profitably used in any study of Wacousta: for example, the way in which Richardson handles the balance of rights and responsibilities in the Canadian setting, the way in which he reflects the awareness of the importance of British and French traditions as moral and cultural instruments augmenting the physical instruments between white man and hostile

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environment -- these things can be studied within the tight little world of Fort Detroit and the surrounding area. Looming large throughout the book is the conflict between the European moral and military code that must be adhered to if the community is to survive and a code that the individual feels impelled to follow if he is to maintain his self-respect and his humanity. In this connection the decision of Holloway when on guard to allow Charles de Haldimar out of the fort and the decision of the governor (the father of Charles) to execute Holloway for a breach of military discipline, is of great interest -- as is the whole basis of Wacousta's actions in joining the Indians and pursuing his personal vendetta against Governor de Haldimar. Conflicting pulls on various characters in the novel elicit an ambivalent reaction on the part of the reader. Governor de Haldimar at the moment of Holloway's execution demands a response which is at odds with our reaction to him when he is out-verbalizing and outwitting Pontiac in the council room. Wacousta himself, blending as he does the aura of the European gentleman, the coureur de bois and the noble savage, is also a betrayer of his people and a murderous avenger. In artistic terms Richardson says something about the Canadian ability to reconcile cultural inheritance and the exigencies of environment. Survival in Fort Detroit demanded a willingness to blend, rather than to choose between, opposing values and loyalties.

I have used Wacousta as an example of the challenge which Richardson offers to those interested in the development of Canadian literature. With the publication of Mr. Morley's bibliography there is little reason why this early Canadian writer -- still comparatively unknown over one hundred years after his death -- should continue to be relegated to the realm of semi-oblivion. It would be ironic if the man who at the end of his life had to go to the United States to seek opportunity and recognition, had to await the efforts of American scholars and Ph.D. candidates before the value of his work can be appraised.

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Notes on the Bibliography

This study takes note only of monographic works, excepting for Richardson's writings in those periodicals which he himself owned and edited. It would be well-nigh impossible to track down all of his contributions to journals, most of them no doubt published anonymously, and appearing in Canada, England and the United States. I have, however, occasionally referred to such contributions, whenever I came across them, in the notes under the appropriate entries.

The arrangement of the bibliography is alphabetical, to keep like titles together, for many of Richardson's works appeared in several editions and issues (notably Wacousta). It is hoped that the chronological index at the end will help to overcome the deficiencies of this plan.
In transcribing the titles of works I have examined, an upper-case initial letter represents either a capitalized initial letter or a whole word capitalized on the actual title page. It has no seemed necessary to indicate line endings for these nineteenth-century works; nor would a statement of signature marks probably have much meaning in this late period, though when present I have used them in determining format. It may be noticed that my formats often disagree with those given in the bibliographies cited where, I suspect, they have been derived from the general proportions of the books. True, some books may have been imposed and gathered in half-sheets, but proof of this is hard to find, especially in an age of wove paper. Suffice it to say that the formats I give will at least indicate the number of leaves in a gathering. For other purposes, the binding height is given to the next half-centimetre; wherever a book has been examined, the size given is of that copy. All copies seen have been collated. When a copy has been seen this is indicated by a line under the location symbol for the owning library. Where it has seemed to improve clarity, quoted matter in the notes follows a colon and dash (:) and is terminated by an oblique line (/); these marks do not indicate line-endings. The notes were not intended to be essays, and for greater compactness I have avoided paragraphing.

Some bibliographical citations and locations of copies (the latter in a rough geographical order) are given for their possible utility, but completeness is not attempted. The abbreviations in the citations are usually those listed and used in Toronto Public Library's A Bibliography of Canadiana ('TPL') with exceptions and additions as given below. The symbols used for locations are, for Canada, those adopted by the National Library and, for the United States, those used in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress -- excepting that 'LC' is used for the Library of Congress itself. 'BM' indicates the British Museum. The catalogues of these two libraries are not cited, their symbols under locations usually being sufficient indication.

I have bothered a great many libraries for information but am keenly aware that several entries are still lacking in essential details, others could be amplified, while there may be some titles and editions overlooked altogether. I shall therefore welcome new information, corrections, and additional locations of copies, addressed to the Secretary of the Canadian Bibliographical Society.

My debts are numerous. Obviously a great deal is owed to the studies of Casselman and Riddell. To Dr. Derek Craw.ey for his kindness in writing the Introduction, and for his help and encouragement in many other ways, I am especially grateful; and scarcely less so to Mr. H. Pearson Gundy, University Librarian at Queen's, without whose never-failing courtesy and advice this study would hardly have been possible. The number of Richardson titles in the Lorne Pierce Collection at Queen's is unsurpassed, and prompted the undertaking of this study. I must also thank Dr. Pacey and Dr. Klinck for their valued counsel, and my
obligation to the University of Toronto Press for its painstaking typing is gratefully acknowledged. The preparation of this study has involved almost three hundred separate communications, and I cannot conclude without recording my indebtedness to the tireless members of many Canadian, American and British libraries; too numerous to mention individually, some personal acknowledgements are gratefully made in the notes. I alone, of course, am responsible for errors of interpretation.

Bibliographies Cited


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CASSELMAN, Alexander C. Richardson's War of 1812 ... Toronto, 1902. Bibliography: p. liii-lviii; cited by Casselman's numeration. The Introduction includes discussions of Richardson's works.


RIDDLELL, William R. John Richardson. Toronto [1923] Bibliography: p. 211-22; references are to the bibliography only. The text of the work includes discussions of the items in the bibliography.

TPL. Bibliography of Canadiana, Being Items in the Public Library of Toronto ... Edited by Frances M. Staton and Marie Tremaine ... Toronto, 1934. And: ... First Supplement ... Edited by Gertrude M. Boyle Assisted by Marjorie Colbeck ... Toronto, 1959.

TOD & CORDINGLEY. A Check List of Canadian Imprints, 1900-1925, Compiled by Dorothea D. Tod & Audrey Cordingley ... Ottawa, 1950.

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Some Other Sources


CARSTAIRS, John S. "Richardson's War of 1812." (In Canadian Magazine, v. 19, May 1902, p. 72-4)


KLING, Carl F. "Literary Activity in the Canadas, 1812-1841." (In Literary History of Canada. ibid. Chap. 8, p. 137-9)


CANADIAN BROTHERS

1840

[iii]-xii, 220 p. ; 227, [ii], iv p. 19 cm. 12 mo.

Errata for each volume: vol. 2, verso of p. 227. Advertisement: 4 p. following the Errata (partly reproduced in Appendix B) In five of the copies located below (those starred), nothing appears before p. [iii], the title-page. The chapters are numbered separately in each volume. A blank leaf follows p. xii, vol. I. Copyright notice, vol. I, p. [v]: - Province Of Lower Canada, District Of Montreal. No. 33. Be it remembered, that on the Second day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty, Major Richardson, now resident in the City of Montreal, in the said District of Montreal, Esquire, hath deposited in our Office the Title of a Book, in the following words: - "The Canadian Brothers ... in Two Volumes," the right of which he claims as Author. Enregistrer, according to the Act of the Provincial Parliament, by Major Richardson, in the Office of the Prothonotary of the Court of King's Bench for the said District of Montreal. Monk & Morrogh, P. K.B. / Volume 1, p. [vi], and vol. 2, verso of title-page:- John Lovell,
Montreal: John Lovell, Printer.)
Dedication, vol. 1, p. [viii]- To His Excellency Major General
Sir John Harvey, K.C.B.: K.C.H. Lieutenant-Governor of
New Brunswick, Who Bore A Conspicuous Part In The War of
1812, And Who Contributed So Essentially To The Success Of
The British Arms During The Campaigns Of 1813 And 1814,
And Particularly At Stoney Creek In Upper Canada, On The
Night Of The 5th June 1813, When, Entrusted With The Ex-
ecution Of His Own Daring Plan. He, A. The Head Of Five
Hundred Men (in Errata: "720 men") Of The 8th And 49th
Regiments, (The former the Author's Corps, ) Surprised And
Completely Routed At The Point Of The Bayonet, A Division
Of The American Army, (Under Generals Winder And Chandler,)
Three Thousand Five Hundred Strong, Capturing Their
Leaders, With Many Other Interior Prisoners, And Several
Pieces Of Cannon; The Canadian Edition Of This Historical
Tale Is inscribed, With Sentiments Of High Public And
Personal Esteem, By His Faithful And Obedient Servant, The
Author./ Preface, vol. 1, p. [ix]-xii, signed:- The Author./
From the letters reproduced at the beginning of this Preface
and Richardson's comments on them, Canadian Brothers was
written in England; it was therefore completed before the spring
of 1838 when the author left England for Canada. From the
same source it is clear that at least one chapter was finished
by August, 1833, when Richardson was granted permission
to dedicate the work to King William IV; indeed, from the
fact of this permission one is tempted to believe that the
whole tale was completed by that date, or very soon there-
after. Yet the work is only, says Richardson in the same
place, "now for the first time submitted to the public" - that
is, in 1840 (if the Preface were written for this edition), three
years after King William had died. The reason for the delay,
especially in view of the success of Wacousta which this story
continues, is difficult to understand and should be a subject
for further investigation*. Two chapters from the work, each

* There is something bibliographically disquieting about this work.
On the one hand is the Literary Garland's "unpublished continuation
of Wacousta" note in March and April, 1839 (as above; also p. 192,
and p. 240 where early publication of the entire work is hoped for)
and also Richardson's statement in the Introduction to his New York,
1851, Wacousta, that he published the sequel, Canadian Brothers,
some years ago in Canada. Yet on the other hand consider the
following: the Preface is signed without date or place; it is "The
Canadian Edition" (as though there were another) which the author
inscribes in the dedication; the make-up of the first signature of
this twelve-mo is suspicious with, among other things, the second
and third leaves conjugate - the very leaves of the Canadian copy-
right and dedication; then there is the language of the author's
Preface, plainly courting the "American Public" because of whose
interest in the work it is "submitted to the press of this country" -
from the context, could this be the United States? Was there a pre-
1840 edition?
described as:- An Unpublished Continuation Of "Wacousta"/,
did appear in March and April, 1839, in the Literary Garland,
Montreal (vol. I):- Jeremiah Desborough; Of The Kentuckian/
p. 181) and: "The Settler; Or, The Prophecy Fulfilled."/
(p. 225-31); these are almost the identical texts of vol. I, chap.
VII and vol. II, chap. I respectively of Canadian Brothers. As
a sequel to Wacousta, press reviews of that novel are included
at the end of volume two (p. [i]-iv). Favourable reviews of
Canadian Brothers itself are quoted by Morgan (p. 319), from
Others are quoted in New Era, Jan. 26, 1842, from Quebec
Mercury, Sherbrooke Gazette, Montreal Herald and Gazette,
Toronto Commercial Herald and Niagara Chronicle; some re-
viewers had seen only the first volume, while the Quebec
Mercury waited for the second volume before publishing its
review; the work therefore first appeared in two separate and
separately-published volumes (cf. also the copyright notice),
some at least, from existing copies, bound in a coarse book
clutch. Later, in 1842 (cf. New Era, loc. cit.), Richardson
made a special offer of Wacousta (q.v., 1840) and Canadian
Brothers, each to be bound as a single volume; copies of this
binding exist in a thin publisher's clutch over boards. This
edition was therefore issued in two different forms of binding,
two years apart (Queen's University has examples of both).
Canadian Brothers was also published in the United States, re-
vised for American readers, under the title Matilda Montgomerie
(q.v.). Several American issues and editions appeared, but the
Canadian edition was a failure; though Richardson published it
earlier in Canada, he says (Wacousta, New York, 1851, Intro-
duction) "I might as well have done so in Kamtschatka".

Douglas Library: LP P23 R51C

Citations: Porteous, p.12; Riddell, p. 216-7; Casselman VI:1;
TPL:2391; Watters, p.267; Gagnon I:3017; Morgan, p.319;
Sabin:71036; Horning & Burpee, p.51; Dionne III: 386

Locations: (2v. or 1v. form of binding indicated where known):
OONL (2 v.) NSHPL NBS (1 v.) QMM (2 v.) QMBM (1 v.)
OOA (1 v. & 2 v.) OKO (1 v. & 2 v.) OTP (1 v.) OTU (1 v.)
OH (2 v.) OLU (1 v. & 2 v.) AEU (1 v.) BVaU (2 v.); MH NN IGU
ICN CSmH
2. Canadian campaign. London, 1826?

Little is known of this work beyond the probable and most obvious place of publication, and its appearance some time between 1823 and 1828. Its existence is known from a passage by Richardson in the Preface, dated May 18, 1828, to Tecumseh (London, 1828, p. vii) where he says:

Many of the notes to Tecumseh betray its Author to be that also of the "Canadian Campaign," several passages in both being written nearly in the same words. The fact is, that the Poem was composed five years ago, and before he had thought of compiling the latter narrative. In the hurry of composition, he had recourse to his notes for matter which he felt too indolent to dress in a new garb. Hence the necessity for explanation.

Riddell (p. 7-8) is of the opinion that "Canadian Campaign refers to some form of Richardson's War of 1812, not published under this title till 1842 but perhaps appearing earlier, complete or in part. Dr. Desmond Pacey agrees, and further suggests that it may have appeared in a British periodical such as a military journal, in 1827 or 1828 (I have dated it nearer midway between the terminals). This is only conjectural, but if the narrative were only a journal article this might explain the lack of extant copies and the absence of its title from the usual 'author of' notes on the title-pages of Richardson's other works; a journal deadline would also account for the "hurry of composition" Richardson mentions (though it is not clear to me if this refers to "Canadian Campaign" or the Notes to Tecumseh). However, a contemporary manuscript note inside the front cover of the copy of Tecumseh (1828) at Queen's University ascribes authorship of the poem to Richardson in these words:

Supposed by an officer of my fathers Regt the
41st But in reality by Major Richardson author
of a Canadian Campaign, "Ecarte" "Wacousta"
Movements of Brit Legn in Spain

This note suggests that "Canadian Campaign" was just as well known as the other separately-published works mentioned; and this at a time presumably before 1842 when War of 1812 was published since the writer does not mention

*Richardson was an officer in the 41st Regiment; cf. the Dedication in Wacousta, 1832, the text of War of 1812, etc.
it (though published in Canada, the writer, Canadian or English, would be keenly interested in this account of his father's regiment), yet after 1836 when Journal Of The Movements Of The British Legion appeared. This is over a decade after "Canadian Campaign" was written and (since its similarities to the Tecumseh Notes are publicly explained) evidently published—rather a long time to remember a magazine article, or even a series of articles. This is inconclusive evidence, but it presents another view; and monograph or article, it is no doubt based on the same notes and experiences as enabled the author later so rapidly to compile "Operations Of The Right Division" and War of 1812. In any case, no bibliographical citations nor copies of the work have been traced.

CANADIAN LOYALIST

1843 (?) - 44

3. Canadian Loyalist, & Spirit of 1812. Kingston, January 5 (?) 1843 (?) - May 2 (?), 1844, vol. 1, no. 1 - vol. 2, no. 16 (?) 49.5 cm.

A weekly newspaper, with four pages of four columns each, edited, published and largely written by Richardson. The earliest issue discovered, dated May 18, 1843, notes that his office was "in Brock Street, immediately opposite the Catholic Seminary", the printer being J. Gorbler (who also printed New Era). No printer is given in the issues for June 29 to September 7 that year, though the proprietor's office continues in the same place; and from November 2, 1843 to March 7, 1844, the printer is named as L. J. Selby. According to Morgan (p. 318) the paper had the title The Native Canadian and Spirit of 1812, and other sources have repeated this; but no issues with this title have been found. Morgan may have seen one or more issues so titled, but it is more likely that he erred. No copy of volume 1, number 1, has been found, but the thirty-one issues in PAC, from Jan. 29, 1843 to May 2, 1844, are sufficiently consecutive to permit the deduction that the journal appeared at quite regular weekly intervals; in this period there are only three fortnightly gaps, where issues failed to appear. The issue for May 18, 1843, at Queen's University, is called volume 1, number 20, so the likelihood is (referring to a perpetual calendar) that the journal began with an issue for Thursday, January 5, 1843. This agrees with Casselman's "beginning of 1843" (p.xxxvi). The possibility must be admitted, however, that publication began at the end of 1842, from the following considerations: if only one week before May 18, 1843, were missed, the first issue would have appeared on December 29, 1842; in the May 18 number is a prospectus still being printed announcing that "On the 4th of January, 1843, will be published the first number of Wilmer & Smith's
European Times." In the future tense, this refers to the day before the tentative date of the first issue in which it could have appeared; and again in this May 18 issue appears a copy of a pre-publication announcement of the Canadian Loyalist itself, with a statement of editorial policy, dated at "Kingston, 1st November, 1842" - in plenty of time for number 1 to have appeared that year. Nothing here though is conclusive for an 1842 beginning (the last two points could be accounted for by a delay in publication of the first issue); unless a copy of number 1 is found showing otherwise, January 5, 1843, is presumed to be its date. The newspaper probably ceased publication in the late spring of 1844, a victim of the local depression caused by the transfer of the seat of government to Montreal on May 10. The latest issue in PAC is dated May 2, 1844 (volume 2, number 16), but there is a reference on page 3, column 1, to the next issue; it is not known if it or any others ever appeared. The paper was mainly political, strongly Tory ('virulent' says Riddell, p. 96) in opposition to the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry of the day, but it also contained literary items, including Écarté in serial form (see item 7); but the proprietor serialized none other of his works in the issues extant.

Information kindly supplied by the Public Archives of Canada.

Douglas Library: LP fAN5 O5G2 v.1, no. 20

Citations: Morgan, p. 318.

Locations: OOA (v.1, nos. 26, 29, 32, 33, 36, 38-47, 49-51, [Jun. 29-Dec. 28], 1843; v.2, nos. 1, 3-6, 8-13, 15, 16, [Jan. 4-May 21], 1844) (microfilm copy: OKQ OKQ (v.1, no. 20, May 18, 1843)

CORRESPONDENCE (SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT)

1846

4. Correspondence (Submitted To Parliament) Between Major Richardson, Late Superintendent Of Police On The Welland Canal, And The Honorable Dominick Daly, Provincial/

* From Richardson manuscripts in the Douglas Library, Queen's University, the author was still in Kingston on September 24, 1844, but was in Montreal by March 22, 1845.
Secretary; Also, Between Major Richardson, And Lieutenant Colonel Elliot, Lately Commanding Niagara Frontier; Major Macpherson, Royal Canadian Rifles; Hamilton H. Killaly, Esq.; S. Power, Esq. Chief Engineer Welland Canal, &c. &c. &c. Montreal: Donoghue & Mantz, Printers. Notre Dame Street. 1846. iv, [3]-62 p. 22.5 cm.

John Richardson. Montreal, Canada, May 15th, 1846/ The "more fitting publication" Richardson mentions (p. iv) that he had hoped to dedicate to Lord Metcalfe, but which had been delayed, is of course his Eight Years in Canada; by the time it appeared in 1847, Lord Metcalfe had resigned from office and (September 5, 1846) died. The "Prefatory Notice" (p. [3] - 8), addressed "To The Public", outlines the author's claims to a government appointment and the neglect with which they had been regarded; the circumstances of the correspondence (but not the pamphlet itself) are described by Casselman, p. xxxvii. Richardson (more the compiler than the author of this work) lost no time in presenting the documents in his case to the public; the last letter is dated April 17th and the Dedication May 15th, 1846, while the Errata slip mentions "the hurry of preparing the pamphlet for publication". Riddell gives the publication date of Columbia University's copy wrongly as 1848; this 1846 edition was the only one issued. It appeared in paper covers. In the following year the printing establishment of T.J. Donoghue (or 'Donoughue' as The Montreal Directory for 1845-6 has it) and George Mantz also produced Richardson's Eight Years in Canada. (Some information kindly supplied by Columbia University Library)

Douglas Library: LP TC627 W4R52 facs.

Citations: Riddell, p. 219; TPL:2797; Watters, p. 407; Beals, p. 47; Dionne 111:482.

Locations: NSWA (facsimile copy: OKO) OTP; NNC

ÉCARTÉ

1829

5. Écarté; Or, The Salons of Paris. "His very faults shall afford amusement, and under them he may, without the formality of a preceptor, communicate instruction". Preface to 1st Ed. Disown'd. "In a novel, not professing to be a mere tale, (with which it is often confounded, but from which, I think, it should be carefully distinguished,) the materials for interest are not, I apprehend, to be solely derived from a plot". Ibid. In Three Volumes. Vol. I
Errata given on the last page of each volume, where the printer is identified: - London: Shackell And Baylis, Johnson's Court, Fleet-Street./ Published anonymously. Separate chapter numbering for each volume. This is undoubtedly the first edition, for Richardson was resident in London at this time. Horning and Burpee list an Écarté with the date 1828, but this must be an error; Dr. Pacey (no. 2, p. 27) mentions a pre-publication notice in the Athenaeum of Feb. 25, 1829. Richardson's novel was reviewed the same year in the Literary Gazette, Mar. 28 (first publication of Écarté was thus between the Athenaeum notice and this date).

Spectator, Apr. 18, New Monthly, May 1, and Westminster Review (unfavourably but with malice towards the publisher), in October, all London journals. The story is evidence that Richardson had lived in Paris long enough to become familiar with its mode of life. An outline of the novel is given in Riddell (p. 34-42), who conjectures (p. 23-6) that it was written about 1825-26; but neither he nor Casselman had seen this edition. All North American copies, below, have been rebound.

Citations: Riddell, p. 213; Casselman II:1; Watters, p. 267; cf. Horning & Burpee, p. 51.

Locations: NBFU; LC IU; BM


Douglas Library: LP PZ3 R51E

Citations: Morgan, p. 319.

Locations: OKQ; NN
ÉCARTÉ;

OR,

THE SALONS OF PARIS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK

SOLD BY G. LONG; WHITE, GALLAHER & WHITE; COLLINS & CO.; COLLINS & HARLEY; D. FELT; W. M. BURGESS, JR.; O. A. ROOBRECHT; W. E. HOLMES; W. E. GILFREY; U. & C. R. CARRIL; A. T. GOODRICH; E. BISH; C. F. FRANCIS.

PHILADELPHIA—TOWER & HOGAN; T. DE METER; J. GRIFFIN.

BALTIMORE—W. & J. NEAL.

BOSTON—RICHARDSON & LORD.

1829.

Number 6. From the original in the Lorne Pierce Collection, Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.
7. "Écarté, Or The Salons of Paris". Kingston, 1843. 49.5 cm. (In Canadian Loyalist, & Spirit of 1812, vol. 1, no. 1 (?)-32, January 5 (?) - August 10, 1843)

Caption title. This is a serial reprint in Richardson's own journal, in thirty-two probably successive weekly issues. Generally each installment appeared as a numbered chapter, but the thirty-second installment contains chapter thirty-three; the chapter divisions do not agree with those in the 1829 editions (comprising twenty-four chapters and a Conclusion), but seem to have depended for length on the space available in each issue after news and advertisements had been placed. The text is the same however. Judging from the progress made up to the May 18th issue, volume 1, number 20 (the earliest extant issue discovered), the series probably began with the issue for January 5, 1843, assumed to be the first number of the Canadian Loyalist (q. v.). It seems unlikely that Richardson's sophisticated novel found a very wide readership in the Kingston of 1843, even though it was then the capital of the Province of Canada.

Douglas Library: LP iAN5 OSC 2 v.1, no. 20

Citations: cf. Riddell, p. 96 & Morgan, p. 318

Locations: OOA (v. 1, no. 26-32, [Jun. 29-Aug. 10] 1843) ORQ (v. 1, no. 20, May 18, 1843)

1851


Verso of title-page: Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by DeWitt & Davenport, In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York. / The author's revisions consist of the translation into English of most of the numerous French words and phrases, division into shorter chapters, and a substantial abridgement by omission of passages from the original three-volume text. A smaller type and an enlarged page also contribute to the great reduction in the total number of pages.

Issued in illustrated paper covers, price fifty cents a copy, in the same publishers' series as Wacousa, Monk Knight, Hardscrabble, and Matilda Montgomerie. Ecarte was favourably reviewed in the International Monthly Magazine, New York (published 1850-52).

Unseen; information kindly supplied by Mrs. Anne Yandle, University of British Columbia Library.

Citations: Riddell, p. 213-4; Casselman II:2; Watters, p. 267

Locations: BVaU; MB ViU

1888


This is a cheap reprint, using the same plates as the DeWitt & Davenport 1851 edition preceding but "cut down to fit a shorter page" (Casselman), i.e. smaller than 23 cm. It was issued in two publishers' series, no doubt running concurrently: Number eighty-three, P. & M. 12 mos., bound in cloth, 50 cents a copy (the 1851 edition was 50 cents for paper covers); and number thirty-one, Echo series (see next entry). Richardson's Wacousa, Matilda Montgomerie, and Hardscrabble also appeared in each of these series, using the DeWitt type.

Unseen; information from Riddell and Casselman, and from publishers' advertisements.

Citations: Riddell, p. 214; Casselman II:3; Watters, p. 267


10. [Same] New York, Pollard & Moss, 47 John Street. 1888.

This is another form of the preceding, no doubt using the same sheets, but issued in paper covers price twenty-five cents. It appeared as number thirty-one in the publishers' Echo series.

Unseen; information from Riddell and Casselman, and from publishers' advertisements.

Citations: Riddell, p. 214 (where the publishers' address is given as "42 Park Place and 37 Barclay St."); Casselman II:3; Watters, p. 267

Locations: None discovered.
EIGHT YEARS IN CANADA

1847

11. Eight Years In Canada; Embracing A Review Of The Administrations Of Lords Durham And Sydenham, Sir Chas. Bagot, And Lord Metcalfe; And Including Numerous Interesting Letters From Lord Durham, Mr. Chas. Buller, And Other Well-Known Public Characters. By Major Richardson, Knight of the Military Order of St. Ferdinand, Author Of "Ecarté," "Wacousta," "The Canadian Brothers," &c. &c. &c. De Omnibus Rebus Et Quibusdam Aliis. Montreal, Canada: Published By H.H. Cunningham, 50 Notre Dame Street. 1847. 232 p. (p. 183-4 & p. 197-8 are cancel leaves) port. (in some copies?) 22 cm. 4 to.

Both Riddell and Casselman report a lithograph portrait of the author in "some copies" (as in the case of Guards In Canada), and TPL and Gagnon have a portrait in their copies; but none of the other citations below mentions one, nor do the catalogues of LC and BM, and none was found in the copies of the few libraries surveyed. The copy examined appears to have had a frontispiece cut out of it, but this does not seem to be the invariable position of the plate. Also in the copy seen, and in that of the Royal Military College Library, Kingston, besides the cancel leaves noted above, there are loose or tipped-in leaves in the first three gatherings ([A]-[C]), some at least of which may be cancels. On the verso of the title-page is a quotation from "Lord Durham's Report, page 47" and also the following (brackets as given):-[Entered according to Act of the Provincial Legislature, in the year 1847, by Major John Richardson, in the Office of the Registrar of the Province of Canada; and at Stationers Hall, London.] Donoghue And Mantz, Printers, Montreal. / This firm also printed Richardson's Correspondence, published the year before. Sabin gives the imprint as:-Montreal: Printed for the Author. 1847/ probably a corruption of the imprint proper to his next entry, Guards In Canada. The "Introduction" (p. [3]) is, in fact, a dedication to Lord Durham and Lord Metcalfe, and is signed:-J. Richardson. Montreal, March 1st, 1847/ The verso is blank (chapter one begins on p. [5]) as is the verso of p. 225; and "Appendix", composed of thirteen letters dated from 1828 to 1843, follows on p. [227]-32.

* Interestingly, in both copies the p. 197-8 cancelland leaves have been used by the binder inside the front and back covers, and can be seen under the endpapers.
This work is largely autobiographical, and the administrations reviewed cover the years 1838 (Richardson arrived back in Canada in April of that year) to 1845. A manuscript draft of thirteen pages entitled "On Desertion in Canada", afterwards incorporated in substantially amended form in Eight Years In Canada (p. 73-84), exists in the Douglas Library, Queen's University; it was submitted unsuccessfully to United Services Journal, London (cf. Douglas Library Notes, Dec., 1959), is written entirely in Richardson's hand, and includes a letter signed by him and dated at Kingston, September 24, 1844.

Eight Years In Canada must be the work referred to by Richardson in the dedication of his Correspondence, dated at Montreal, May 15, 1846: ... circumstances over which I have no control, have hitherto delayed the appearance of a work that has been some months in England. As noted above, this work was copyrighted in London as well as in Canada, though a footnote in Guards In Canada (p.27) published in 1848 mentions that Eight Years In Canada was "not yet published in London". I have not found any copies of this title with a London imprint.

It was issued in full cloth with a printed paper label on the spine:- Eight Years In Canada By Major Richardson. Price 7s. 6d. A review appeared in Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany, London.

Douglas Library: LP F102.5 R5

Citations: Porteous, p.17; Riddell, p. 218-9; Casselman VIII; TPL:2870; Watters, p. 407; Gagnon I:3019; Morgan, p.319; Casey:2079; Sabin:71037; Dionne III:525

Locations: NBFU QMSS QMBM QMM QMU OOP OOG OOA OKQ OKR OTP OTU OH OLU SSU AE BVaU; LC MWA OGI MIU ICU; BM

GUARDS IN CANADA

1848

12. The Guards in Canada; Or, The Point Of Honor: Being A Sequel To Major Richardson's "Eight Years In Canada." Montreal: Published For The Author, By H.H. Cunningham. 1848. 54. [1] p. col. front. (in some copies) 20.3 cm. 4 to.

"Erratum":-1 p. at end; verso blank. The frontispiece, with a guard sheet, is a head-and-shoulders portrait of the author, drawn by the Montreal artist F.W. Lock, and lithographed by another Montrealer, George Matthews (cf. Montreal Directory, contemporary issues); it is captioned by a facsimile of Richardson's autograph. Some copies were evidently issued without the plate, as was probably the case with Eight Years In Canada. On the verso of the title-page of the copy seen is a quotation from "Cooper's Crater; or, Vulcan's Peak, vol. ii., pages 70, 71", followed by:- J. W. Harrison, Printer.
Cunningham also published Eight Years In Canada the previous year. This is a documented narrative of Richardson's various affairs of honour, mainly in Canada, and including that with Colonel Williams described in the pamphlet Major Richardson's Reply, 1840. On p. [3] the author seems to address the work to the "Court of Honor" of the London clubs, but no London edition has been traced. This was the last title of Richardson's which he himself saw through the press in Canada. It was issued in yellow-coated paper covers, printed in red and blue, with the title on the front cover and the Royal Arms of Great Britain on the outside of the back cover.

Douglas Library: LP F1032.5 R52

Citations: Porteous, p. 18; Riddell, p. 219; TPL:2928; Watters, p. 407; Morgan, p. 319; Beals, p. 50; Gagnon L:3020; Sabin:71038; Casey:2106; Dionne III:543

Locations: NSWA QMBM QMSS QMM OOA OKQ OTP OTU SSU BVaU; NN MiD-B; BM

13. [Same]

This is a variant of the preceding, differing only (so far as I can judge) in the presence of an 1847 copyright registration notice, presumably on the verso of the title-page. As recorded in Casselman it reads:- Entered according to the Act of the Provincial Legislature, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, by Major Richardson, in the office of the Registrar of the Province of Canada. / (cf. also Casselman, p. xxxviii). The work must surely have been complete and printed in 1847 for copyright acceptance, but both variants bear the date 1848 on their title-pages. In the case of the two variant states of War Of 1812, 1842, the one with the copyright entry reproduced on a separate leaf (in almost the same words as this 1847 notice) must have been the later of the two. In the present case the differing dates introduces a complication, but as with War Of 1812 distribution was most probably continuous. No notice appears in five copies of this title surveyed, nor is it mentioned in any of the bibliographies cited under the foregoing entry.

Unseen; information from Casselman.

Citations: Riddell, p.219; Casselman IX

Locations: None discovered.
1851?

14. **Hardscrabble; or, The fall of Chicago. A tale of Indian warfare.** By Major Richardson. ... New York, DeWitt & Davenport. 1 p.l., [7]-99 p. 23 cm. 8 vo.

This has not been found under the year 1851 in any bibliography; it is usually given the date 1856, but the two names in the imprint preclude a date later than 1852, after which time the partnership seems to have been dissolved (cf. the notes to Wacousta, 1851). Ecarné, Wacoustia, and Matilda Montogomery were issued in 1851 in the same publisher's series, and all mention Hardscrabble on their title-pages; this was almost certainly published in the same year, (Casselman, p.xi, thinks even earlier, 1850 or before), as the earliest appearance of this title, and the only one preceding the first issue of the sequel Wau-nan-gee (preface dated March 30, 1852). The citations and locations below all have the date as [1856], which is too late. Allibone, published in 1870, is the earliest record I have found showing the year 1856 for this work; it is probably the common source of the error. Of the two Canadian locations in Watters, 'OOP' (now reported to be in the National Library) is actually the 1855 (?), 160 and 162 Nassau Street, issue, and 'QMSS' is the 1888 Pollard and Moss Echo series reprint; both are described further on in this study. The title given above is from the Library of Congress Catalog, with its capitalization, and the format is from Allibone; the full title-page is no doubt the same as that for the 1855(?) issue, with "Tribune Buildings" in place of the street address. The peculiar collation is also the same as that in several following entries, of which this must be the first issue from the same stand of type used in printing them all. Of the collation, by referring to the subsequent issues this may be said: the first page of text (immediately following the title-leaf) is p. [7], the verso, p. 8, being the first numbered page; but the ninth leaf has the gathering number 12", so that the preceding title-leaf and seven leaves of text could very well be a complete first gathering. The material for this tale, its sequel Wau-nan-gee, and the unpublished (probably unwritten) third volume of the proposed Massacre at Chicago trilogy, was apparently gathered during the author's trip to Walpole Island in October, 1848 (cf. notes to A Trip To Walpole Island). It was written in Montreal between the middle of October (when the trip ended) and March, 1849, when the Literary Garland, Montreal,

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* This is not the Parliamentary Library copy described by Riddell however, for it is not bound with other titles nor is the date supplied in ink.
announced Richardson's public reading of the work on the
evenings of March 12, 14 and 15, 1849 (cf. Brown, p. viii).
This is a tale of the War of 1812, its incidents centered about
Fort Chicago and a nearby pioneer farm called 'Hardscrabble',
'on account of the hard struggle the fellows [Winnebago Indians
who attacked the farmhouses] must have had with Mr. Heywood',
whose farm it was (p. 92 of the text). The story covers the
period from April to July 4, 1812; it is taken up from there in
Wau-nan-gee.

Unseen; sources of information given above.

Citations: cf. Riddell, p. 220; cf. Casselman X:2n; cf. Watters,
p. 267; cf. Sabin: 71046n; cf. Hornig & Burpee, p. 51 (dated
1850; the others give the date 1856)

Locations: None found in the National Union Catalogue
of Canada; LC NN MiD LNHT (listed with date as [1856])

1855?

15. Hardscrabble; Or, The Fall Of Chicago. A Tale Of Indian
Warfare. By Major Richardson. Author Of 'Wacousta',
'Écarts', 'Matilda Montgomerie', Etc., Etc. New York:
Robert M. De Witt, Publisher, 160 & 162 Nassau Street.
1 p. i. [7] -99 p. 21.5 cm. 8 vo.

This is no doubt printed from the same type as the preceding
issue, judging from the publishing history of the other three
Richardson titles (named on the title-page) which appeared in
this same publisher's series. It has the same title and collation.
The verso of p. 99 is blank. It was not published as
early as 1850, the date Casselman suggests, for Matilda
Montgomerie mentioned on the title-page was first published
under this title in 1851. Further, DeWitt had been in partners-
ship with Davenport (from 1848: U.S. Copyright Office) only to
the end of 1852 (New York City directories; cf. notes to
Wacousta, 1851); the absence of Davenport's name in the im-
print denotes a date after 1852. The address 160 and 162
Nassau Street points to the year 1855 as that of publication
(cf. notes to Wacousta, 1855?). Issued in paper covers, price
fifty cents, as were the other titles mentioned on the title-page.

Citations: Riddell, p. 220; Casselman X:1 (see also the pre-
ceding and succeeding issues)

Locations: OONL; None recorded in the National Union Catalog
of the U.S.

* The word was used in Canada too, in reference to both the
pioneer's 'hard scrabble' or struggle for existence, and to the
sometimes poor land he tried to cultivate.
16. [Same?]

This is probably a 'ghost', raised by Allibone in 1870 when he assigned this date to the 1851 (?) - or 1855 (?) - issue; the bibliographies usually have not sufficiently complete entries to determine which, or even if a separate 1856 edition or issue exists at all. The Library of Congress Catalog and Watters are exceptions, and these are discussed under the 1851 (?) issue.

Citations: see under 1851 (?)

Locations: None discovered.

1861?


This is printed from the same type as the 1855 (?) issue, with the same title-page but the imprint reset. There is a slight but definite deterioration in the condition of the type, and the page-numbers have dropped out from page fourteen. The date 1860 is the earliest possible from the evidence of the list of DeWitt publications "Important Trials", advertised on the verso of p. 99. Unfortunately I have been able to date only four of the six trials listed. Of these four "The Burch Divorce Case" is the latest; it is listed in the Library of Congress Catalog as published by DeWitt, with the date [c1860] (two of the other titles are dated 1859). The earliest year in which I have been able to place DeWitt at 13 Frankfort Street, however, is 1861 (cf. Wacousta, 1851), the date therefore assigned to this work. This was probably issued in paper covers (the copy seen has a modern binding), with an illustration on the front and advertisements on the other cover pages.

Douglas Library: LP PZ3 R51H

Citations: None found.

Locations: OKQ: none recorded in the National Union Catalog of the U.S.

1868?

18. [Same?] Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson And Brothers, 306 Chestnut Street.

This is taken from Riddell, no copy of which had he seen, with imprint information expanded from that in Wau-nan-gee.
1868(?). Riddell says this was published "about 1866" but I have used the Wau-nan-gee date since it was most probably in the same publishers' reprint series. It seems unlikely that this was printed from the De Witt type of the preceding item, since De Witt was still in business (till at least the 1870's; cf. the 1875(?) Wacousta) and the type was passed on to Pollard and Moss (cf. next entry).

Unseen.

Citations: Riddell, p. 220

Locations: None discovered in the National Union Catalogues of Canada or the U.S., and not in BM Catalogue.

1875?

19. [Same?] New York: Robert M. De Witt, Publisher, No. 33 Rose Street. (Between Duane and Frankfort Streets.)

This is no doubt printed from the same type as the earlier DeWitt issues, with a reset imprint. Other details probably applicable to this, and the reason for the date assigned above, are given in the notes to Wacousta, 1875(?). This issue is listed inside the back cover of that work as one of "DeWitt's Fifteen Cent Novels", and the same statement is printed on the back cover of this work itself. It was issued in paper covers.

Unseen; title from the typed title-page of the copy seen of the second 1888 entry, and other information kindly supplied by Detroit Public and the Newberry Libraries.

Citations: None found.

Locations: None discovered in Canada; MiD-B ICN

1888


This is printed from the same type (though on inferior paper) as the issues of the earlier De Witt edition; the misprint 'fonr' (for 'four') in the third line of Chapter 1 is but a single example of the evidence for this. The poor condition of the type is the result of its nearly forty years of standing. The title-page is completely new, the numbers of the gatherings removed, and
pagination and running heads have had to be reset to accommodate a shorter type-page and the resulting new imposition of the pages of type. Seven pages of advertisements at the end (plus two pages on the back lining papers) include a list of numbered titles in "The P. & M. 12mos." series, and another list of numbered titles in "The Echo Series. A Weekly Library Of Standard Fiction", by the same publishers; Waccusta, Matilda Montgomery, Écarté, and Hardscrabble are named in each series. The latter is number eighty-seven in P. & M. 12 mos., issued bound in publisher's cloth with decorated front cover and spine, price fifty cents. This and the next item are the only ones of the eight Pollard and Moss issues of Richardson titles to bear this particular address on their title-pages, though Riddell gives this address to other titles in the four issues of the Echo series. All eight issues bear the same date on their title-pages however.

Citations: Riddell, p. 220; Casselman X:2

Locations: NSWA OKR; No copies found in the U.S.

21. [Same] New York: Pollard & Moss, 42 Park Place And 37 Barclay Street. 1888.

This is a cheaper form of the preceding, probably made up from the same sheets, but in paper covers, price twenty-five cents. It was issued as number forty-two in the publishers' Echo series. The copy seen is assumed to be in this series; it is in the same format, and is printed from the same type, in the same condition, as the preceding item, but in a modern rebinding (probably because originally issued in paper) and with a different advertisement on the verso of p. 113. It has a typed title-page (the original is lacking) with the imprint wrongly given as in the 1875 (?) entry.

Citations: Riddell, p. 220; Casselman X:2

Locations: QMSS; MiD-B
22. "Jack Brag in Spain", by Mr. Hardquill [pseud.] Brockville, 1841-42. 31-35.5 cm. (In New Era or Canadian Chronicle, vol. 1, no.1(?) - 33(?), June(?), 1841(?)-February, 1842)

This was Richardson's own journal. Only a single issue of volume 1 is known to me (Riddell may have seen others for he does not mention that his account of the tale, p.69-90, was based on the examination of but one issue, though on investigation I find it could have been), and the specific numbers in which the instalments appeared have not been determined. That issue (vol. 1, no.30, Jan. 26, 1842) carries the end of chapter 26 and the beginning of chapter 27, suggesting the possibility that the first instalment began with volume 1, number 1. This extant issue also bears the notice:

We have to announce to our Subscribers that, as Mr. Hardquill's "Jack Brag in Spain," will be concluded in the third number after the present, the "Operations of the Right Division," will immediately succeed.

"Jack Brag" should therefore have concluded with volume 1, number 33, some time in February, 1842. The "Operations" began in volume 2, number 1, March 2, 1842, exactly five weeks after the date of the single extant volume 1 issue - so that there could have been a number 34 in volume 1. The principal character of Jack Brag in Spain was the creation of the English novelist Theodore Edward Hook (1788-1841), in his work Jack Brag, London, R. Bentley, 1837. In Richardson's Eight Years in Canada (Montreal, 1847, p.8-10) the author recalls the circumstances of his writing "between my return from Spain and departure for Canada, in the continuation of the adventures of his [Hook's] celebrated hero"; Hook had left his Jack Brag with the staff of General Sir De Lacy Evans in Spain, and Richardson could not forgo the opportunity, in writing his continuation, of satirizing his former commander (cf. Movements Of The British Legion, 2d ed., and Personal Memoirs). This was in 1837, and in Eight Years he describes his efforts to have Jack Brag in Spain published in London; but he failed, and its publication in New Era seems to have been its only appearance in print - though the title is mentioned on the title-page of Wau-Nan-Gee (New York [1852]) along with those of several separately-published works. There are no locations in the National Union Catalogue of Canada and the U.S.

Information from Miss Edith G. Firth, Toronto Public Library.

Citations: Riddell, p. 218 (mention only); Morgan, p. 318

Locations: OTP (microfilm copies: NBFU OKQ)
KENSINGTON GARDENS

1830


Verso of title-page: G. Woodfall, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London./ This is repeated at the foot of page thirty-two, with the word "Printer" inserted after the name. Issued anonymously, as was Écarté, published the previous year. The title-leaf is followed by the first stanza, headed by a caption title and "Canto I"; on the last page is stanza 58 of the same canto, and the words "To Be Continued". The last four stanzas promise a second canto, unless the repssing muse of the first is "lamed ... by some snarling critic or reviewer"; but no sequel has been found. This poem, in the style of Byron's Don Juan, is fully discussed by Dr. Carl F. Klinck in "Major Richardson's 'Kensington Gardens In 1830'", Ontario History, vol. 48 (1956), no. 3, p. 101-7. The article was reprinted by the Bibliographical Society of Canada in its Facsimile Series, no 6 (see next entry), where Lorne Pierce in his Foreword describes Richardson's "swashbuckling satire" as "one of the rarest of all Canadiana" titles.

Unseen; information from the BSC facsimile, and Dr. Klinck's article.

Citations: Watters, p.121

Locations: None discovered in North America, but NBFU has a microfilm of BM copy; BM

1957

This is number six in the Society's Facsimile Series. It has a Foreword by Lorne Pierce (p. v), and Dr. Klinck's Introduction is reprinted from Ontario History (see preceding entry). The title-page is numbered p. iii; before it is a blank leaf and another appears after p. xiii, the verso of which is also blank. There follows a facsimile reprint from the microfilm (in the University of New Brunswick Library) of the British Museum copy of the first edition - the only copy of the only other edition known.

Douglas Library: LP Z1008 C2F no. 6

Citations: Watters, p. 121

Locations: NSM NSHPL NBFU OOCO OKQ OTP OTU OH BVaU; LC MH Cty NN NCU MD CLU

MAJOR RICHARDSON'S REPLY

1840

25. Major Richardson's Reply To Colonel Williams' Gasconade, 6 p., 1 l. 20.5 cm. 4 to. (?)

This 'squib', showing Richardson at his most scornful, in a mood of injured military honour, contains a letter dated: Brockville, Sept. 17, 1840. / From the incidents described, this was no doubt printed on the spot in Brockville, Ontario, perhaps by the press of the Statesman or possibly by J. Corbier who soon afterwards printed Richardson's journal New Era. To be effective this must have been issued at the time of the events, in 1840. The title-leaf (verso blank) is followed by four pages of text and a final leaf headed "Postscript", printed only on the verso. The altercation occurred mainly in Montreal and Brockville (where Richardson had taken up residence in July, 1840), through the columns of the Montreal Herald and the Brockville Statesman, and in personal letters, placards, and two pamphlets (of which this is the second), during 1839-40. Lieutenant-Colonel W.F. Williams' pamphlet, mentioned in the Postscript, has not been identified, but the circumstances of the dispute between the two men may be gathered from this Reply; they are fully described and documented in Richardson's The Guards In Canada (p. 32-41), where the two pamphlets are referred to (but not identified) on page thirty-nine. Issued without covers, and circulated "among the different regiments and corps in Canada" (Guards In Canada, loc. cit.).

Douglas Library: LP IT028 1840R

Citations: Porteous, p. 12

Locations: OOA OKQ; None in National Union Catalog of the U.S.; BM
MASSACRE AT CHICAGO (trilogy), see HARDSCRABBLE and WAU-NAN-GE, and also A TRIP TO WALPOLE ISLAND.

MATILDA MONTGOMERIE

1851


Verso of title-page: Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by Dewitt & Davenport, In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York. / Verso of p. 191 is blank. This was advertised as 'nearly ready' on the cover of the c. 1851 Écarté (cf. Riddell, p. 214). It is a new edition of The Canadian Brothers, Montreal, 1840, issued under a new title; the other principal changes in the American edition are: dedication, Preface, and Advertisement at the end, are omitted, errata corrected, issued in a single volume with continuous chapter and page numbering, and numerous textual changes. The latter consist mainly of the omission of passages which might offend the patriotism of American readers, and of Cranston's conversation in an attempted Scottish dialect for which Richardson had apologised in the Preface to Canadian Brothers; Riddell noted over seventy omissions, many of which, with other changes, he has carefully recorded (p. 57-62). The general outline of the tale remains the same however. This was issued in the same publishers' series, and in the same year, as Écarté, Wacousta, and Hardscrabble, and probably in similar paper covers, price fifty cents. The copy seen is bound with the 1851 Wacousta, in half-morocco, but the binding is not original.

Citations: Riddell, p. 217; TPL:2392; Watters, p. 267; Morgan, p. 319

Locations: NSHPL OTP; None recorded in the National Union Catalog of the U.S.; BM

28. [Same] 191 p. (p. 17 unnumbered) 23 cm. 8 vo.

This was no doubt published in New York by Robert M. DeWitt, at his 33 Rose Street address, and is printed from the same type as the issues in the two foregoing entries, differing from that immediately preceding only in the omission of the copyright notice on the verso of the title-page and of the advertisement on the verso of p. 191 (blank in this issue). The paper however is far poorer, of modern newsprint quality and now quite brittle; and the condition of the type is greatly deteriorated, with numerous bent and broken letters and the page number on page seventeen dropped out. This evidence, while not specific as to year, places the date of publication very much later than that of the preceding two issues. It is presumably not later than 1888, when the standing type passed to Pollard and Moss (see next entry), and in tentatively assigning the imprint and date above I have been guided only by the publishing history of two other titles in the DeWitt series: Wacousa and Hardscrabble.

Citations: TPL:2393

Locations: OONL OTP; None recorded in the National Union Catalog of the U.S.
29. Matilda Montgomery: or, The Prophecy Fulfilled. A tale of
the late American War. Being the sequel to Wacousta. By
Major Richardson, author of "Wacousta," "Hardscrabble," "Écante," etc., etc. New York: Pollard & Moss, 47 John
Street. 1888. 226 p. 19 cm.

This is quite certainly another issue of the Dewitt &
Davenport 1851 edition, using the same stand of type. The
title-page is evidently new (or Casselman did not transcribe
verbatim), with the verso blank. As with the 1888 Écarté,
Wacousta, and Hardscrabble, the gathering numbers have no
doubt had to be removed, and the page numbers and running
heads reset, because of the use of a shorter type-page. By
using the old type however, the new publishers were able to
market this issue, in cloth covers, for fifty cents a copy.
This is number eighty-one in their "P. & M. 12mos " series.
Écarté, Wacousta, and Hardscrabble appeared in the same
series.

Unseen; information from Casselman and publishers' advertisements.

Citations: Riddell, p. 217; Casselman VI:3

Locations: No Canadian or American locations recorded in the National Union Catalogues.


This is the same as the previous work, no doubt composed
from the same sheets, but published in paper covers price
twenty-five cents (cf. the three titles mentioned on the title-
page, all published in 1888 and also in the Echo series). It was
issued as number twenty-eight in the publishers' Echo series.

Unseen; information from the same sources as are given in the preceding entry.

Citations: Riddell, p. 217; Casselman VI:3

Locations: OTU; No American locations found.
MONK KNIGHT

1850

31. The Monk Knight Of St. John. A Tale of the Crusades by
Major Richardson, Knight of St. Ferdinand, author of
"Ecarm.," "Wacousta," etc. New York, De Witt & Davenport,
Tribune Building, 1850. 192 p. 8 vo.

Written no doubt soon after Richardson had removed from
Canada to New York City, and published at a time of fierce
competition between cheap-reprint publishers. The author
was in straitened circumstances, and this "shocking tale of
love and lust" as Riddell describes it (perhaps somewhat
exaggeratedly) was little more than a pot-boiler. Apart from
the issue in the next entry it has never been reprinted, and
surviving copies are few. Riddell saw a copy belonging to Mr.
Charles J. Musson of the Musson Book Company, Toronto;
I am indebted to his grandson, Mr. Charles J. Musson of
Toronto, for the information that this copy is still in the
possession of the family. The British Museum Catalogue and
Watters err in giving the word "Crusaders" in the subtitle.
This was issued in paper covers illustrated on the front, as
were several other Richardson titles by the same publishers
(cf. Wacousta, 1851); but at fifty cents a copy Richardson's
penury could not have been greatly relieved. This is a late
example of the Gothic romance. Its author purports to be
translating an ancient French manuscript which he came
across on his way back to England from the Carlist War in
Spain (a transparent device considering the nature of the tale);
but Riddell points out (p. 151) Richardson's indebtedness to
Ambrosio; or, The Monk, by Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775-
1818), first published in London, 1795, but itself modelled on
an earlier work (cf. DNB).

Unseen; title from Riddell.

Citations: Riddell, p. 221; Watters, p. 267; cf. Casselman XII
& Horning & Burpee, p. 51

Locations: Musson copy, mentioned above, but no other copies
found in Canada; CtY; BM

1850

Major Richardson, Knight Of St. Ferdinand, Author Of "Ecarm.,"
"Wacousta," Etc. Published For The Trade. 192 p. (p. 131
numbered 13) 8 vo.

The verso of the title-page is blank; p. [3] follows, beginning
the text, and p. 4 is the first numbered page. The second '1'
in the number of p. 131 is broken and almost entirely dropped
out. This is probably another issue of the preceding, from the same type, but with the imprint omitted; but I have not been able to see an actual copy for comparison. The title, pagination and format are the same, and there may be a similar publishing relationship between these two works as that existing between the two 1851 issues of Matilda Montgomerie: one has the same imprint as that in the foregoing entry but with the date 1851, while the other has no imprint information. On this slender evidence have I assigned the date above. Morgan lists this title with the date 1854.

Microfilm copy only seen.

Citations: cf. Casselman XII, Morgan, p.319, and Horning & Burpee, p.51

Locations: NBFU OKO (both microfilms of NN copy); NN

MOVEMENTS OF THE BRITISH LEGION

1836

33. Journal Of The Movements Of The British Legion. By An Officer, Late Of The Quarter-Master-General's Staff. London: Published By Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, Cornhill. 1836. xv, 262 p. 4 lithograph plates. 23.5 cm. 4 to.

Half-title and frontispiece ("View Of San Sebastian") precede the title-page. Verso of title-page and at foot of p. 262:- Lewis And Co., Printers, 15, Frith-Street, Soho. / Preface (p. [v]-ix) signed:- "The Author." London, June 7th, 1836. / This was only a month after Richardson and his Company had assisted in raising the siege of San Sebastian during the Carlist War in Spain, and for which Richardson was awarded the Cross of the Military Order of St. Ferdinand so often noted on his title-pages. The anonymous author says that the narrative consists of his unembellished notes from daily observation, that any errors are "purely typographical, and the result of my return to San Sebastian, at the moment when my MSS. is consigned into the Printer's hands"; and that he reserves further details for a future volume (see next entry). A reference to his return to England because of wounds is substantiated in the list of casualties in the Appendix where, under the officers of the Light Brigade, 6th Regiment, is the entry (p. 260):- Capt. Richardson, severely, (returned slightly)./ Contents: p. [xii]-xv. Then appear three plates: "Route Of March ... To Vitoria" (map), "View Of The Enemy's Position", and "View Of Passages", all captioned:- Madeley lith., Wellington St. Strand. // In the British Museum copy they appear opposite p. 57, 249 and 254 respectively, the first two as in the second edition.
taken from the sketches of an eyewitness, but the original
artist is not identified. The text follows, covering the period
from July 23, 1835 to May 7, 1836. The Appendix, listing
casualties of the British Auxiliary Legion: p. [255]-262.
The copy seen has been rebound, but Riddell mentions the
binding as "boards".
Some information kindly supplied by Mrs. Brenda Grassau,
University of Toronto Library.

Citations: Riddell, p. 217; Casselman IV:1; Watters, p. 407
Locations: OTP (microfilm copy: OKQ); BM (microfilm
copy: OKQ)

1837

34. Movements Of The British Legion, With Strictures On The
Course Of Conduct Pursued By Lieutenant-General Evans,
By Major Richardson, K.S.F. Author Of "Écarté," "Wacousta,"
&c., &c. Second Edition. To Which Is Added, With New Views,
A Continuation of the Operations from the 5th of May, 1836, to
the close of March, 1837. London: Published By Simkin,
Marshall, And Co. Stationer's Hall Court; J. Macrone, St.
James's Square; And E. Wilson, Royal Exchange, Cornhill.
1837. 1 p. 1., [v]-xii, [xi]-xvi p., I I., 330 p. 7 litho-
graph plates. 23.5 cm. 4 to.

In this edition the half-title is omitted but the first-edition
frontispiece is retained. The printer (verso of title-page and
foot of p. 330) is the same. The four-leaf gathering of the
entirely new "Preface To The Second Edition" (p. [v]-xii) is
inserted between the new title-page (now revealing the author's
name, and for the first time under his now-familiar designa-
tions 'Major' and 'K.S.F.'), and two conjugate leaves from the
first edition's Contents (p. [xi]-xiv); a discontinuity in the
preliminary paging results. The Preface is signed: "The
Author." London, March 12th, 1837. In it Richardson,
again returned from Spain, explains his change of opinion
towards General Evans, Commander of the British Legion
in Spain, from a highly favourable one in the first edition to
"an extreme qualification of that opinion" in "Movements Of
The British Legion. Part II" appended to this edition. He
also refers to a "forthcoming volume" on his "oppression" by
General Evans; this was published as Personal Memoirs,
Montreal, 1838 (Evans is further satirized in "Jack Brag In
Spain"). The new third leaf of the Contents (p. xv-xvi) is
conjugate with the title-page, and the new leaf "Directions For
The Binder" is tipped onto the first page of text. Page 1]-254
of the text is composed of the sheets of the first edition. The
new Part II (p. [255]-310, concluding with "The End.")
Additional Movements (p. [311]-25, concluding "Finis.")
and Appendix (p. [327]-30), follow. Additional Movements
begins "Scarcely had my volume ... issued from the press, when accounts from the 10th to the 16th of March inclusive, announced that General Evans had at length taken the field". The Preface is dated March 12th, so there may possibly be two variant states of this edition, one with and one without the two complete gatherings (with signature marks 2S-2T) of the Additional Movements. "Issued from the press" need not mean bound and published though, and since publication had already been delayed for nearly a month (Preface, p. xi) Richardson may have waited a little longer and had the two extra sheets printed, folded and sewn in before any copies had reached public sale. Casselman mentions (p. xxi) also that, after publication, Richardson withdrew some "irritating paragraphs and substituted others less incisive" in his Preface. I have not found any variant of the edition described here among the seven copies checked (those starred in the locations below). The Appendix differs from that of the first edition, and includes "Errata In Part I"; two letters explaining the errata follow, the first of which has a footnote correcting its own errata, signed: Printer's Devil. / This edition has the plates of the first edition and three extra ones: "Santa Barbara ...", "Alza ...", and "Advanced piquet house ..."; by the same firm of lithographers, artist still unidentified; the seven plates are distributed throughout the volume in accordance with the "Directions For The Binder". Contemporary (probably original) bindings are boards, quarter-cloth, and full publisher's cloth, each with a paper label on the spine.

Douglas Library: LP DP219 R5

Citations: Riddell, p.217; Casselman IV:2; Watters, p.407; Morgan, p.319; Gagnon 1:3015

Locations: NSHPL NSHD QMBM QMM QMSS OOA OKO (3 copies) OKR OTP OTU OLU BVaU; LC CtY; BM

NATIVE CANADIAN AND SPIRIT OF 1812. see CANADIAN LOYALIST

NEW ERA

1841 (?) - 42

35. The New Era or Canadian Chronicle. Brockville, June (?), 1841 (?) - August 19, 1842, vol. 1, no.1 - vol.2, no.18. 31 cm. (v.1, no.30) & 35.5 cm. (all others)

A periodical* edited and published by Richardson, who also

* In the issue for Mar.25, 1842, Richardson regrets the irregularity of publication and says that the New Era "does not profess to be a News paper".
wrote all the original work it contained (for a sampling of the
copied material, see Riddell, p. 20, n. 22). Local news and
paid advertisements were excluded, though not advertisements
of Richardson's own works. It was published in eight pages
(usually) of two wide columns each; at the bottom of the last
page in almost every issue:- Printed and Published for the
Proprietor, every Wednesday [every Friday after Mar. 2, 1842]
by J. Corbier, at the office of the New Era, Brockville,
Canada. / (Corbier also printed at least one number of Richard-
son's Canadian Loyalist in Kingston the following year.) It is
clear the journal was intended to be a weekly, but several
numbers carry editorial apologies for delays caused by mis-
printing or the exacting demands of writing all the copy; in
fact, the issues were just as often fortnightly. Toronto Public
Library's holdings (the only originals recorded in the Union
Catalogues of Canada and the U.S.) are as follows:
vol. 1, no. 30, Jan. 26, 1842; vol. 2, no. 1-13, Mar. 2, 11,
25, Apr. 1, 15, 29, May 13, 20, 25, Jun. 9, 17, 24, Jul. 8;
no. 15-18, Jul. 22, 29, Aug. 12, 19, 1842. The date of the
first number is usually given as June, 1841, but until more
evidence is found this date should not go unquestioned.
Volume 1, number 30 appeared on January 26, 1842, so that
earlier publication must have been at more regularly weekly
intervals than subsequent issues were for number 1 to have
appeared the previous June. Perhaps even Morgan's '1840'
beginning date cannot be discounted. The 'new era' refers
to the implementation of the Durham Report (which Richard-
son and his paper strongly supported), particularly the union
of the Canadas proclaimed in February 1841; but the Act of
Union was passed the previous year. Casselman (p. xxxiv)
says Richardson's "necessary machinery for printing" did
not reach Brockville till June, 1841; but other presses were
at hand, including that of the liberal Brockville Recorder.
Richardson himself, never inactive for long, had been
resident in Brockville since July, 1840. The final number
is identified by a farewell notice from Richardson on page 1.
Here he states that the New Era was "not only a source of no
gain, but a positive loss" to himself. This is readily believed.
The last subscription list printed (Aug. 12) gives sixty-one
names, at least one of which, that of the Governor-General,
was probably an honorary subscriber; at four dollars a year
the journal's revenue could hardly have exceeded $240, from
which the cost of printing, paper and postage would have to be
deducted. However, says Richardson (Aug. 19), "the prepa-
ration of a weekly literary periodical" is a labour of love,
and he suspended New Era only to devote full time to writing
his War of 1812. After that is completed, he says, he may
return to literary publication; he did, but the Canadian Loyalist
was almost as short-lived. The New Era included Richardson's
'Operations Of The Right Division of the Army Of Upper
Canada, During The American War Of 1812"', in vol. 2, no. 1-15,
Mar. 2-Jul. 22, 1842 (reprinted as War of 1812); "Recollections
Of The West Indies", in vol. 2, no. 1-12, Mar. 2-Jun. 24, 1842;
"Jack Brag in Spain", vol. 1, no. 1(?) -33(?), Jun. (?) 1841
(?) Feb, 1842; and "Tecumseh, A Poem In Four Cantos", in vol. 2, no. 15-18, Jul. 22-Aug. 19, 1842. For details see the separate entries.

Information kindly furnished by Miss Edith G. Firth and Mr. Michael Pearson, Toronto Public Library.

Citations: Casselman VII.n; Morgan, p. 318; TPL: 1006n.

Locations: OTP (microfilm copies: NBFU OKQ)

OPERATIONS OF THE RIGHT DIVISION

1842

36. "Operations Of The Right Division of the Army Of Upper Canada, During The American War Of 1812."
Brockville, 1842. 35.5 cm. (In New Era or Canadian Chronicle, vol. 2, no. 1-15, March 2-July 22, 1842)

The first appearance of the text of Richardson's War Of 1812 (q.v.), this was published serially in fifteen successive issues of his own journal (following his "Jack Brag in Spain"): Mar. 2, 11, 25, Apr. 1, 15, 29, May 13, 20, 25, Jun. 9, 17, 24, Jul. 8, 15(?), 22, 1842. Casselman (p.xxxiv-xxxvi) relates the circumstances of the undertaking, and Riddell (p.92-5) characterizes it as "Richardson's best work". In an insertion repeated in all the extant 1842 issues of New Era, Richardson says he embarked upon the task after suggestions "that an accurate account of the events of the war of 1812 in this country [Canada], should be given by those who participated in it", and that the Montreal Herald had named Richardson, among others, as one who should contribute his personal experiences. The author concurred by announcing that he would write and publish in New Era a narrative of the Right Division, and appealed to other participants to send him details of the operations of the Centre and Left Divisions that he may complete the narrative, which Richardson preferred to base on personal accounts. The latter two parts were never published, though the author suspended New Era to devote his time to writing them (cf. New Era, Aug. 19, 1842). This first part was reissued in book form immediately succeeding the final instalment, from the same stand of type (the newspaper columns are 9.1 cm. wide), under the title War of 1812. First Series. Another, perhaps similar, account of the war seems to have appeared earlier under the title Canadian Campaign (q.v.).

Information from Miss Edith G. Firth, Toronto Public Library.

Citations: Riddell, p. 218 (mention only); Casselman VII.n.; TPL: 1006n.; Watters, p. 408.

Locations: OTP (microfilm copies: NBFU OKQ)
37. Personal Memoirs Of Major Richardson, [Author Of
"Movements Of The British Legion," &c. &c. &c.] As
Connected With The Singular Oppression Of That Officer
While In Spain By Lieutenant General Sir De Lacy Evans.
A man who is too proud to acknowledge a fault
when he is conscious of having committed one, and
thereby wounded the feelings of another, shows
himself to be, instead of elevated rank, very low
indeed in the scale of intellectual worth. His
pride is of the meanest kind, and to him even
more disgraceful than his fault. - Anonymous.
Montreal: Armour & Ramsay: W. Neilson, Quebec;
R. Stanton, Toronto; And J. MacFarlane, Kingston. 1838.
145. [I], iv p. 23.5 cm. 4 to.

Errata: verso of p. 145. The brackets in the title are
actually given on the title-page. Verso of title-page is blank;
the dedication, p. [3], follows: - To The Honourable The
Members Of The Commons [letter 'N' backwards] House Of
Parliament [letter 'N' backwards] Of Great Britain And Ireland,
Before Whom A Partial Account Of The Court Of Inquiry,
Held Upon Major Richardson. Has Appeared, This Full And
Ample Statement Of The Proceedings In Question, Together
With The Most Singular Incidents And Persecution Connected
Therewith, Is Very Respectfully Inscribed, By Their Obedient
Servant, The Author. / "Appendix. Maxims For Officers
Joining The British Legion": p. [ii] iv at end; at the foot of
p. iv: Montreal: Printed By Armour And Ramsay. / This
work was promised in the Preface to Movements Of The
British Legion, second edition, and continues in greater
detail the "Affair of disunion between Sir De Lacy Evans and
myself" (p. 5) begun in Part II of Movements, published the
previous year. General Evans is later satirized in "Jack Brag
in Spain". Richardson had arrived back in Canada in April,
1838, and he very soon acquired the final documents in his
case, for presentation in his Memoirs (cf. Casselman, p.xxi);
published the same year, this became his first book to bear a
Canadian imprint. It was issued by subscription (cf. H.P.
Gundy, Douglas Library Notes, Dec. 1959), bound in boards,
quarter-cloth, with a printed paper label on the spine-
Personal Memoirs Of Major Richardson. Price 7s. 6d. / No
further edition is known; Richardson had made his point.
Douglas Library: LP DP 219 R5P

Citations: Porteous, p.11; Riddell, p. 218; Casselman V;
TPL: 2209; Watters, p. 407; Gagnon 1:3016; Beals, p.36;
Casey: 1637; Dionne 3:346

Locations: OONL NSWA QMSS QMBM QMM OOP OKO
OKR OTP OTU OLU MWU BVaU; LC CtY; BM
RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WEST INDIES

1842

38. "Recollections Of The West Indies." Brockville, 1842. 35.5 cm. (In New Era or Canadian Chronicle, vol.2, no.1-12, March 2-June 24, 1842)

No record can be found that this was printed elsewhere but in New Era, a newspaper edited and published by Richardson himself; a note at the head of the first instalment seems to suggest that the Recollections were printed from the author's "loose notes". Riddell mentions (p. 7) some sketches of West-Indian life written in London for magazines, but he gives no further details. This was issued in twelve successive instalments (following upon his "Jack Brag in Spain", and in the same numbers as appeared the first twelve parts of "Operations of the Right Division"): Mar.2, 11,25, Apr.1, 15, 29, May 13, 20, 25, Jun.9, 17, 24, 1842. Here is Richardson's only account of his service in the Barbados with the 2nd Queen's Regiment, from November 1816 to 1818. Some highlights of his descriptions are given by Riddell (p. 90-92) and Dr. Desmond Pacey (no.2, p.23-4).

Information from Miss Edith G. Firth, Toronto Public Library.

Citations: Riddell, p.218 (mention only)

Locations: OTP (microfilm copies: NBFU OKQ)

RICHARDSON'S WAR OF 1812, by A.C. Casselman, see WAR OF 1812, 1902

SENTINEL, Prescott, Ontario (newspaper), see SKETCH OF THE LATE BATTLE
SKETCH OF THE LATE BATTLE

1839


Almost certainly not written by Richardson. The Introduction (p. [2], verso of the title-page), dated 19 January 1839, says this is an enlargement, with corrections, of an article which originally appeared in the Prescott Sentinel 16th November 1838. The copy in McGill University Library has a ms. note on the title-page: - This was written by Major Richardson who Edited the few nos. of the Prescott Ont. Sentinel as were printed. The Public Library in Toronto values this scant file at over $150.00. / This ascription of authorship is apparently accepted by McGill and, from this source, by Watters. The handwriting appears to be of the twentieth century, as does the valuation placed on the file, so the statement is probably without any special validity of nineteenth-century contemporaneity. The opening sentence of the text does not seem to suggest Richardson’s authorship:- As we have long predicted would be the case, judging from the conduct of the American Government, and American citizens, during the last two or three years, our town has been invaded... /; yet Richardson had returned to Canada only in the spring of that year, 1838, after a 23-year sojourn in Europe. Even so, the statement may be impersonal, the ‘editorial we’ - though perhaps not meaning ‘long predicted’ by the Sentinel for it was short-lived, but by local opinion. More weighty evidence against Richardson’s authorship may be found in his Eight Years In Canada (Montreal, 1847). Although Richardson here gives a detailed account of the Windmill skirmish "from my notes recorded each day" as he says (p. 64-6), he goes on to say "I left Montreal [where he was living] for Toronto a few days after the Prescott invasion. Everything was tranquil in the neighbourhood of the late scene of contest" as he passed through Prescott. His daily notes must have been compiled from reports read and heard while he was in Montreal (or picked up later, during his visit to Prescott and Kingston for example); the battle lasted from November 12 to 16, and such reports would themselves have to reach Montreal, so that there would hardly be time for Richardson to get his story back to the Prescott Sentinel by November 16. Nor would a second-hand account be likely to reach publication in the journal when its own staff was at the scene of action. If the original Sentinel article were not by Richardson, it is difficult to see how he could have authored the pamphlet on which it was based. In that part of Eight Years In Canada covering Richardson's activities during this period there is no mention of the pamphlet nor of the Sentinel, and from his whereabouts given in this source it is also reason-
ably certain that he could not at this time have edited the 
Prescott Sentinel.
Douglas Library: LP F1032.6 S62

Citations: Watters, p. 408

Locations: QMM (facsimile copy: OKO) OOA: No locations recorded in the National Union Catalog of the U.S.

TECUMSEH

1828

40. Tecumseh: Or, The Warrior Of The West: A Poem, In Four 
Cantos, With Notes. By An English Officer. London: 
Printed For R. Glynn, 36, Pall Mall. M.DCCC. XXVIII. 
vi, 135 p. 19.5 cm. 12 mo.

R. P. Baker states (p. 127) that this was first published 
"some time before March, 1825", but in a communication 
quoted in Riddell (p. 211), Baker says this date is probably 
a typographical error for 1828. However Baker left the 
matter open for he did recall "some contemporary refer-
ences" indicating pre-1828 publication, but he gives no 
specific sources. A letter of thanks to Richardson from 
Captain Barclay (of the Dedication and lauded in the text) 
dated February 18, 1828, is cited by Casselman (p. liii) as 
evidence of publication before that date. The letter is re-
produced in Richardson's Eight Years In Canada (Appendix 
10, p. 230), and although Barclay is replying only to "your 
letter on the subject of your Poem", the second paragraph 
makes it clear that Barclay had read the poem itself. How-
ever the following letter in Eight Years (Appendix :1), also 
from Barclay but apparently not seen by Casselman, refers 
to the Prospectus of the poem and asks Richardson to 
include a tribute from Barclay to "Commodore Perry's 
gallantry in action". This is dated April 17, 1828, and 
Richardson's Preface to Tecumseh dated a month later duly 
includes Barclay's tribute to the "gallantry of his opponent in 
action" as expressed in "the private professions of his 
esteem" - a reference to Barclay's April 17th letter. Hence 
there can be no doubt that his February 18th letter refers 
only to some pre-publication form of Tecumseh. Dr. Carl 
F. Klinck, a Richardson authority, informs me that he knows 
of no publication of this poem before 1828. According to the 
author's Preface (p. vii; written in the third person), dated 
May 18th, 1828, "the Poem was composed five years ago", 
that is, in 1823, and later "he had recourse to his notes" 
when borrowing from it. (The paragraph is quoted in full 
under Canadian Campaign.) 'Composed' is not the same as 
'published', and Richardson's "recourse to his notes" 
suggests, even implies, that Tecumseh was not in print at
TECUMSEH;

OH.

THE WARRIOR OF THE WEST:

A POEM,

IN FOUR CANTOS,

WITH

NOTES.

BY AN ENGLISH OFFICER.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR R. GLYNN, 36, PALL MALL.

M.DCCC.XVIII.
the time Canadian Campaign was in preparation. Implicit also in the statement is an indication that this poem was not the author's first published work - see under Canadian Campaign. Tecumseh was published anonymously. Verso of title-page: - London: James Moyes, Took's Court, Chancery Lane. / Dedication (p. [iii]): - To Captain Barclay, And Other Officers Serving With The Right Division Of The Army Of Upper Canada, During The Late American War, This Little Volume Is Inscribed By Their Companion In Arms, The Author. / This is a narrative poem, in Byron's ottava rima, of the exploits of the Shawnee Indian chief during the War of 1812, up to his death at Moraviantown®. Issued bound in plain boards, quarter-cloth, with a paper label on the spine.

Douglas Library: LP PR5226 R5 T2

Citations: Riddell, p. 211-13; Casselman I; Watters, p. 121; Morgan, p. 319

Locations: QMM OKQ; NN; BM

TECUMSEH

1842

41. "Tecumseh, A Poem In Four Cantos." Brockville, 1842. 35.5 cm. (In New Era or Canadian Chronicle, vol. 2, no. 15-18, July 22-August 19, 1842)

Edited and published by Richardson, the New Era reprinted most of the original poem and notes in four successive instalments: Jul. 22 (which contained also the final part of "Operations of the Right Division"), 29, and Aug. 12, 19, 1842, these being the last four issues of that journal. In the first article of the issue for August 19, Richardson writes that the present number will terminate both Tecumseh and volume 2 of his "short liv'd literary periodical", and that it will be the final issue. This appears to be the only

® It is no part of the bibliographer's task to speculate on the meaning of the blank stanza 53 in canto 4; it is evidently not publisher's suppression however, for in the abridged reissue of the poem in New Era (see next entry), published by Richardson himself, this is omitted and the adjacent stanzas brought together.
printing of the work in separate form other than the 1828 edition, though excerpts have been published in collections of poetry. At the conclusion of his Preface to the London edition Richardson says his pages "will shortly find their way across the Atlantic"; he probably meant only copies of the work, but if he were referring to an expected U.S. edition, no record of it has been found. Earlier in New Era (Jan. 26, 1842) Richardson, attempting to dispose of remaining copies of Wacousta and Canadian Brothers as a set, offered to throw in a copy of the London Tecumseh at half price, the last copy to be placed under the foundation stone of a proposed monument to Tecumseh; after this, he continues, "it is intended to reprint from the original MSS." This New Era printing of six months later must be the result, and it may have been in the author's mind to use the same type to produce a separate volume of the poem, as he later did with his "Operations Of The Right Division". Whether or not he consulted the original Tecumseh manuscript, fourteen years after its first appearance in print (and nineteen after the poem was composed), the poet's style and taste must have changed; at any rate, the poem is greatly abridged, nineteen stanzas being dropped - twenty if the blank stanza 53, canto 4, is counted - from the new version (canto 1: 36, 38-41 (50); canto 2: 44, 45, 53, 54 (54); canto 3: none omitted (48); canto 4: 9, 10, 32-39, 53 (56) - total stanzas, 1828 edition, in parentheses). Numerous verbal substitutions are introduced without much changing the sense (though improving the art I would say), and punctuation and capitalization is altered. Riddell indicates the omitted stanzas and lists the verbal changes in canto 1, stanzas 1-10. The Notes which follow are reduced in number from those in the Brockville text, and quite freely re-edited. While the gist is preserved the phraseology differs and, in a passage compared, the later text is in the third person while the original is in the first.

Information from Miss Edith G. Firth and Mr. Michael Pearson, Toronto Public Library.

Citations: Riddell, p. 211-13; Casselman I; Watters, p. 121

Locations: OTP (microfilm copies: NBFU OKQ)

**TECUMSEH AND RICHARDSON, see A TRIP TO WALPOLE ISLAND**
A TRIP TO WALPOLE ISLAND

1924


Verso of title-page:--Copyright, Canada, 1924 ...

The Introduction includes "The Career Of Major Richardson" and "The Career And Qualities Of Tecumseh", following which appears "A Trip To Walpole Island And Port Sarnia" (p. [45]-101). This latter work is attributed by scholars, including Riddell from internal evidence, to Richardson. Colquhoun says (p. 12) only that "The material was discovered by Mr. W. R. Haight of Toronto, who, observing an anonymous contribution in the fugitive magazine literature of Canada of seventy-five years ago, found that Richardson was the Author". Richardson's contributions to journals (other than those he edited) do not come within the stated purview of this study, so the article is not listed separately; but through Mary Markham Brown's invaluable Index to the Literary Garland (Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1962) the first printed appearance of "A Trip To Walpole Island" may now be identified: The Literary Garland, Montreal, vol. 7, n.s., January, 1849, p. 17-26. It must therefore have been written between the middle of October (when the trip ended) and the middle of December (to meet the Garland's deadline), 1848. This confirms Colquhoun's statement (p. 11) that it was "composed thirty-five years after the events which brought Tecumseh and Richardson together [i.e. 1848*], and now appearing in book form for the first time". He also tells us that this was written in Montreal and suggests (p. 24) that it was "one of the last, perhaps the last" of Richardson's works to be written in Canada. The account concerns an annual trip for the distribution of presents to the Indians at the places named, and which Richardson had accepted an invitation to join. The narrative begins on the 9th of October, and the year is given in the reproduction of a letter (p. 52-5) to Richardson (addressed only as "Brother") from the former Indian aide-

*Richardson refers in a footnote on p. 54 to Tecumseh's death 'nearly five and thirty years' ago, but the narrative does not begin till October 9th 1848, while Tecumseh was killed October 5th 1813.
de-camp to Tecumseh, giving an account of the death of his Chief at Moravianstown in 1813. It was during this trip apparently that Richardson gathered the material for his proposed fictional trilogy Massacre at Chicago (cf. Mary Markham Brown, above, p. viii), only the first two volumes of which reached print: Hardscrabble and Wau-nan-gee.

Following Richardson's text is "The Story of Walpole Island" from an official report of 1845, and a useful index.

Douglas Library: LP F1059 S3R5

Citations: Riddell, p.222; Watters, p.408; Tod & Cordingley, p.284

Locations: OONL NSHPL NSHD NBFU QMM QMSS OOA OOP OOC OOCit OKQ OKR OTP OH OLU MW SSU BVa BVaU; LC MB NN MIU TxU CU; BM

WACOUSTA

1832


Errata for each volume: at end of volume 3. First issue of the first edition. Presented anonymously, as Écarté mentioned on the title-page had itself been up to this time. Each volume has a half-title: - Wacousta. Vol. I. [Vol. II. etc.]/ On the verso of the half-titles and at the end of each volume: - London: Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode, New-Street-Square./ Dedication (vol. 1, 3d p.1.): - To His Majesty's 41st Regiment, Who Bear On Their Colours The "Détroit," Connected With Which Are The Principal Incidents Of His Tale, These Volumes Are Inscribed, By A Once Sharer In Their Service, The Author. London, Dec. 1832. / This was early in December, for a copy of the book was acknowledged by the Private Secretary to the King in a letter dated December 18, 1832 (Preface to Canadian Brothers). The tale is based on the events of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763-65. It became Richardson's most widely-known and frequently-published work, and was "read by the whole Court" of William IV (ibid.). It was favourably reviewed in the Athenaeum, Atlas, Morning Post, Court Magazine, Sun Satirist, and United Service, all London journals ("Extracts" appear at the end of Canadian Brothers, vol. 2, and in Richardson's New Era, Jan. 26, etc., 1842).
Some contemporary bindings are in half-calf with marbled boards, or in paper-covered boards; but the volumes were probably issued unbound. Richardson says in New Era (loc. cit., p. [7]) that the three volumes had "always been sold in England for no less than seven dollars".

Citations: Riddell, p.214; Casselman III:1; Sabin:71041; Watters, p.267; Horning & Burpee, p.51

Locations: OONL, OLU, BVaU; MH, CtY, MIU, IU; BM

1833

44. Wacousta; or, the Prophecy: a Tale of Detroit and Michilimackinac. By the author of Ecarté. London, 1833.

This if from Sabin (vol. 17, published in 1888), who has the following note to his entry for the preceding title: - Also included in Waldie's Circulating Library, vol. I. London, 1833. Reprinted with the title, "Wacousta ..." [as above] / The subtitle is that of the Waldie edition (see next entries), but Morgan (published in 1867) has the subtitle of the most recent edition available to him, that of New York, 1851. Morgan (copied in Sabin: 41042) has: - ... an Indian tale. London: - Philadelphia, 1833, 2 vols., 12mo. / I have not found any copies with a London, 1833 imprint in North America, nor in the British Museum. The National Union Catalog in the Library of Congress has several locations with this imprint, but with the date queried; on inquiry, each was found to be the London, 1832 imprint. I would suspect that Morgan simply omitted the "1832" after his "London", and that Sabin mixed the Waldie title and date with the place in the 1832 edition; in short, that no London, 1833 edition or issue ever appeared. From a note in Riddell however I hesitate to pronounce it a 'ghost', and have therefore included it here. Riddell says: - Apparently there was a reprint in London, in 1833. Professor Ray Palmer Baker informs me that he has seen an advertisement of such an edition. / Possibly Professor Baker referred only to the 'advertisement' in Morgan or Sabin. Another explanation is that the volumes of the three-volume 1832 edition were issued successively, one or more not actually appearing till 1833; for though the title-pages all read 1832, the dedication is dated as late as December of that year.

Citations: Riddell, p.214; Morgan, p.319; Sabin:71041n. & 71042

Caption title. This was issued anonymously, and without benefit to the author ("a piratical reprint" Richardson calls it in New Era, Jan. 26, 1842, p. [7]), who was living in England at this time. The special title-page to this volume reads: The Select Circulating Library. Containing The Best Popular Literature, Including Memoirs, Biography, Novels, Tales, Travels, Voyages, &c. Vol. II. Philadelphia: Printed And Published By Adam Waldie, 1833. / Issued weekly in thirty-nine numbers, Wacousta occupies the whole of the first three numbers in this volume, and most of the fourth, in three-column pages. Beneath the caption title is: Note to the first American edition. / Written by the publisher, the note begins by pointing out that although the work has gained favour in England, since its scene is in America its merits can best be tested here (cf. Riddell, p.215, for the full note). Then follows "Chapter I. Introductory", as in the London editions, substantially the same, but with minor adaptations for American readers (whose views on the British cause had changed since Pontiac's time!). Richardson himself, pressing the sale of the English edition on his readers, describes it (New Era, loc. cit.) as "incorrect, several of the most forcible passages in the book, being left out altogether". The same stand of type was used for the second series (see next entry).

Douglas Library: LP fAPZ S46 v.2 1833

Citations: Porteous, p.8; ULS, p.2527

Locations: (vol.2, no.1-4): OKQ; LC CthW CtY GDC GHi ICH ICL ICM ICN ICU la InU KyU LU MBAAt MH MWA MdBP MiD MnU MoS MoSW N NB NBu NN NNC NeD Nh NhD OC OC1 PP PPHi PPi PU RP TNG TxHR WHi

46. [Same] (In Waldie's Select Circulating Library, vol.1, New Series, no.14-17, p.209-71, April 16-May 7, 1833)

This printing of Wacousta, also published anonymously, ran concurrently with that in the original series, the text being from substantially the same stand of type. Possibly the number of subscriptions exceeded anticipation and a new series
was produced to satisfy the demand; certainly the principal contributions to the first series are here duplicated. The original series began October 1, 1832, volume 1, number 1, and April 16, 1833, volume 2, number 1; the New Series began January 15, 1833, volume 1, number 1, and July 16, 1833, volume 2, number 1 (to January 7, 1834, number 26). The notation "New Series - 1" is inconspicuously printed at the lower left corner of volume 1, page 1.

Unseen; information kindly supplied by Mr. John Mullane, Cleveland Public Library.

Citations: Riddell, p. 215; Sabin: 71041n; ULS, p. 2527

Locations: (vol. 1, no. 14-17): BVaU; LC GDC ICU MdBE NNC-OC PHC PP PPHI PSC TxU

"Vengeance is still alive ..." The Revenge. [quotation; cf. item 43] By The Author Of Ecarré." In Two Volumes. Vol. I. [Vol. II.] Philadelphia: Key And Biddle, 23 Minor Street. 1833. 2 v.: 264 p.; 274 p. 16.5 cm. 12 mo.

Dedication (p. [3]): To His Majesty's 41st Regiment, Who Bear On Their Colours The "Detroit," Connected With Which Are The Principal Incidents Of His Tale, These Volumes Are Inscribed, By A Once Sharer In Their Service, The Author. London, Dec. 1832/ This is the first American edition in monographic form. Another pirated reproduction of the London first edition and also issued anonymously, the "Chapter I. Introductory" copies the text in Waldie's serial but omits his "Note to the first American edition" which preceded it. The copy seen is bound in marbled boards, half-calf.

Citations: Riddell, p. 215; Casselman III:2; TPL:1736 (has "Ray" as publisher, in error); Watters, p. 267 (calls this "First Am. ed."); Morgan, p. 319; cf. Sabin: 71042

Locations: OONL (2 v. in 1) QMBM OTP OTU; MH CTY NN NBug MdBP ICN

1839

Errata for each volume: at end of volume 3. Still issued anonymously, though Richardson was now living in Canada. On verso of half-titles and at end of each volume: - London: Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode, New-Street-Square./ This is the third issue of the sheets of the first edition, with the same errata (still uncorrected) and a cancel title-page, but with the dedication leaf (vol. 1, 3d p.l.) omitted. Some contemporary bindings are half-morocco with marbled boards, and quarter-cloth with plain boards; but the whole edition was most likely issued unbound. I see no reason to suspect that this issue was imported into Canada in sheets in the manner of the 1840 issue, and published here.

Douglas Library: LP PZ3 R51W 1839

Citations: Porteous, p.12; Riddell, p.214-5

Locations: NSWA QMSS_OKQ

49. The Prophecy; or, Wacousta: A Romance of the Canadas.
By Captain Richardson ... London: T. Cadell. 1839.

This is Sabin: 71040, but I have not been able to find a copy. The imprint and pagination are very similar to the foregoing issues of the first edition, and it is more than likely that Sabin refers to the preceding one but has transposed title and first part of subtitle. Richardson's Introduction to the issues of the 1851 edition mentions (p. vii and viii) The Prophecy Fulfilled, but in context this is obviously his sequel, The Canadian Brothers. However, if such a work exists, it is the only one to have the title and subtitle reversed, and to contain in its title the phrase "A Romance of the Canadas" (other editions have variously: "A Tale of the Canadas", 1832, etc.; "A Tale Of Detroit And Michillimackinac", 1833; "An Indian Tale", 1851(?), etc.; and "A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy", 1906, etc.). More importantly, this would be the earliest edition in which the author's name is revealed on the title-page.
Errata for each volume (still uncorrected): at end of volume 3. This is not a second edition but the fourth issue of the first edition, for it has the same sheets, with new title-pages, half-titles omitted, and a new dedication leaf added. At the end of each volume: London: Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode, New-Street-Square. / Dedication (vol. 1, 2d p. 1):- To Her Majesty's 8th (Or King's) Regiment, Who Were In Garrison At Detroit, And Served In The Pontiac War At The Period Connected With Which Are The Historical Incidents Of This Tale, This Second Edition Is Inscribed, By A Sharer In Their More Recent And Glorious American Campaigns, The Author. / If the preceding item is discounted, then it is in this issue that Richardson, now living in Canada again, first lifts the veil of anonymity and reveals himself as the author of both Wacousta and Écarté. A Canadian edition of Wacousta was projected by Richardson soon after his return to Canada in the spring of 1838, but even though it was well advertised [cf. note under item 53] the response was too weak to warrant the risk of publication. After comparing this with the first issue of 1832, Casselman concludes that the new title-pages were printed in Canada for "several copies" of the first issue which Richardson brought with him from England in sheets; also that Richardson had had them bound in Canada uniformly with his The Canadian Brothers (mentioned on the title-page above), published at the beginning of 1840. In general, most of this can be substantiated by Richardson's own advertisement in New Era, Jan. 26, 1842, p. [7] (see Appendix A to this study). Here he makes a special offer of Wacousta and Canadian Brothers for five dollars, five volumes in all; "The two sets", he says, "will be neatly and separately bound, so as to make two books". Two such copies of Wacousta exist (at the Nova Scotia Provincial Library and at the University of Alberta Library, Calgary campus), three volumes in one, in the original (Canadian) publisher's cloth. Richardson then says "The English Edition of Wacousta [was] sent for to this country [Canada], Expressly For Canadian Readers", evidently in sheets, to be bound here. He continues "The Edition of Wacousta, embraces not more than 300 copies" - the balance, one supposes, of those that were sent for "at great expense and serious inconvenience to the author". When half that number is subscribed for, he says, "the set will be ready for delivery", that is, bound together. As such copies exist we

If Sabin: '71040' is not a 'ghost', this is the fifth issue.
may presume the public demand was sufficient this time; it was doubtless stimulated by the Imperial Copyright Act of 1842 which, among other requirements, prohibited the importation of cheap American reprints into Canada. The foregoing special offer was announced in 1842 however, while the title-page of this issue is dated 1840. Light is thrown on the earlier year by an advertisement at the end of Canadian Brothers for an 1840 Canadian 'edition' of Wacouta, to be published that summer (see Appendix B); here then is the first appearance of this fourth issue. It must have been separately bound, to contrast with Richardson's later innovation and to conform with the first binding manner of Canadian Brothers (q.v.); two such sets exist: at Queen's University, in contemporary half-calf with marbled boards, and at McGill University, in a modern rebinding. The 1840 Wacouta was thus issued in Canada in two different forms of binding, one in 1840 and the other in 1842, but each no doubt continuing for a year or two thereafter. There remains Casselman's theory that the title-page was printed in Canada, and I am not quite convinced of this. The 1840 advertisement in Canadian Brothers also says that Wacouta was to be "got up precisely in the same style with the present work" in a "revised republication", and was to "issue from the press" in Montreal. The "Second Edition" on the title-page of this 1840 Wacouta was well calculated to foster the illusion of a revision issuing from the press (being the same sheets as the 1832 first issue it certainly was not), but this does not explain the London imprint so obviously not "in the same style" with Armour and Ramsay's Montreal Canadian Brothers. This very lack of title-page uniformity strongly suggests that the London sheets were imported complete with the cancel title-pages, and that the "same style" refers only to the Canadian binding. About distribution arrangements I can only speculate. Armour and Ramsay advertised in 1840, probably expecting the London sheets to arrive that summer, to be bound as demand required; this is consistent with the wholesale practice of their business, for they pioneered in the novel scheme of importing over-runs of British periodicals for cheap distribution in Canada (cf. H. Pearson Gundy, Book Publishing and Publishers in Canada Before 1900. "Toronto, B.S.C., 1965."). On the other hand, Richardson speaks of his "great expense" in 1842. Perhaps there was more than one importation, only the first in 1840 (one assumes the 1839 issue, bearing the publishers' names, was actually released in Britain); or perhaps, sales being slow as Richardson complains in New Era, he bought Armour and Ramsay's remainders in 1842 and undertook to promote demand in his own journal. Or it may have been an agency agreement, for the bookstores Richardson mentions as being his agents for subscriptions no doubt included those of Armour and Ramsay, they having branches in Kingston, Toronto and Hamilton.
1851


On the verso of the title-page: - Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by Dewitt & Davenport, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York. / The title-leaf is conjugate with the last leaf of the first gathering. Introduction, p. [iii]-viii, signed: - The Author. New York City, January 1st, 1851. / Written for his New York publishers, the author gives us an interesting account of the historical background to Wacousta and a defence against some criticisms of it. This replaces the "Chapter I. Introductory" of the earlier editions and issues, while chapter one of the story here is the same as the earlier chapter two - and similarly with the Montreal, 1868 edition. Two later issues of this (items 52 and 54) were printed from the same stand of type, and Riddell and Casselman date those also as 1851, the terminus a quo set for all three issues by the dated introduction. This is the earliest of the three however, on the basis of condition of type and quality of paper. In reaching a more precise date I have considered other evidence besides the copyright notice. The Copyright Office, Library of Congress, statutory heirs to the copyright records of the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, has no record of this entry in the name of Dewitt up to 1853 - though the partnership had existed (in business other than publishing) since 1848. However, various New York City directories list the partners as publishers during 1851-52 (in 1850 when Monk Knight was issued they were "stationers") and thereafter Robert M. Dewitt continues alone on Nassau Street*. Of these two years, 1851 is favoured because of the following:

* Trow's New York City Directory, for example, indicates Robert M. Dewitt, publisher, Nassau St., in 1853/54-1859/60 issues; then at 13 Frankfort St., in 1861/62-1869/70 issues; and 33 Rose St., in 1870/71-1876/77 issues. This information is also helpful in dating the Dewitt issues of the other titles named above.
Hardscrabble is named on the title-page and the first appearance of this work must have been before its sequel Wau-nan-gee, the preface to which is dated March 30, 1852, and if this Wacousta had been published after that date the title of the sequel would surely also have been named on the title-page; this still leaves the early part of 1852 in question, but the address "Tribune Buildings" was used by the publishers in two other Richardson titles with 1851 copyright dates - Écarté and Matilda Montgomery; then there is the evidence of the copyright notice itself, which appears only in this first of the several later issues printed from the same type. In this issue, therefore, I can see no reason to doubt that the year of copyright is also that of publication. Published in illustrated paper covers, price fifty cents; but though sold cheaply, this was probably the first American edition to bring the author, now residing in New York City, any profit whatsoever for his labours. Écarté, Matilda Montgomery, Hardscrabble, and Monk Knight also appeared in this same cheap publisher's series.

Douglas Library: LP PZ3 R51W 1851

Citations: Porteous, p.72; Riddell, p.215; TPL:1737;
Sabin:71043

Locations: NSHPL OKQ OTP (22 cm.) BVa BVaU; LC
MB "OU" OClW MnU

1855?


Another issue of the preceding, printed from the same type (as a single example, the 'm' for an 'h' in "Prophecy" in the headline of p.186), but on inferior paper, with a different imprint and the copyright entry omitted, the verso of the title-page being blank. In this issue the outer forme of the first signature was unlocked, probably when the imprint (in lighter ink) was changed, and p. iv and vi of the preliminaries became wrongly imposed. In the copy seen the title-leaf is tipped in, but it is not a cancel. From the increased number of bent and broken letters this issue was obviously printed after the preceding item - the absence of the name of DeWitt's partner in the imprint indicates a date after 1852, when the partnership was apparently dissolved; and from the Nassau Street address, not later than 1860 (cf. notes to Wacousta, 1851). Between this span, the New York City Directory first gives DeWitt's address as 160 Nassau Street in the 1853/54 issue (prior to this, 156 Nassau) and in the 1854/55 issue as 162 Nassau, while other directories show 160 Nassau continuously to 1860.
The 162 Nassau Street in this imprint seems to point towards 1855 therefore, as the date of publication. Issued in paper covers, price fifty cents, as also were Écarté, Monk Knight, Hardscrabble, and Matilda Montgomery in the same publisher's series. This stand of type was used again by DeWitt in a third issue, 1875(?), with the imposition of the first gathering corrected, and by Pollard and Moss in 1888.

Citations: Riddell, p. 215; Casselman III:4n.

Locations: OONL; no other locations discovered.

1868


This has the same title and subtitle as the issues of the New York, 1851, edition, but with the author's Introduction omitted; the text therefore begins with the same chapter one. Casselman records 168 p., but the verso of p. 167 is blank. Riddell notes that this was "reprinted as a serial" in the Montreal Transcript, but that journal appears to have ceased publication in 1865. More likely it was the other way round for it does seem as though this were printed from a stand of type set up for newspaper use: the book is printed in double columns each of a standard newspaper-column width (5.7 to 5.8 cm.); perhaps it was reprinted from Transcript type-columns remade into pages. Lovell printed and published the Transcript in its beginning years, and that journal usually carried, on its front page, excerpts or instalments from contemporary literature. Baker also mentions (p.131) publication in the Transcript. Originally issued in paper covers, and printed on paper of newsprint quality. Although this most widely known and re-published of Richardson's works was not printed in Canada until sixteen years after his death (perhaps waiting on Canada's first copyright legislation in 1868), the author had attempted to launch a subscription edition immediately upon his return to Canada in 1838; it was widely advertised (cf. H.P. Gundy, Douglas Library Notes, Dec. 1959, for a transcript) from May

* A search through the most likely years of the Transcript, in original and microfilm, has unfortunately not revealed what would probably be the first Canadian printing of Wacousta. Part of a chapter, the first half of vol. 3, chap. 13 in the original edition, was reprinted in The Literary Garland, Montreal, Feb., 1841, vol. 3, p. 133-6.
WACOUSTA;

OR

THE PROPHECY.

AN INDIAN TALE.

"Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,
With all her snaky feet upon her crest.
She stalks in view, and puncs me with her charms."

The Revenge.

BY MAJOR RICHARDSON,

AUTHOR OF "HARMONY," "SCARIE," ETC.

FIRST CANADIAN EDITION.

Montreal:

JOHN LOVELL, ST. NICHOLAS STREET.

1895.

Number 53. From the original in the Lorne Pierce Collection, Douglas Library,
Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario.
to November that year, but he could not induce enough support for the plan. This lack of Canadian interest is noted with surprise in The Literary Garland, Montreal (Feb., 1839, p. 144) where the commentator would fain believe the cause to be "the state of danger and excitement ... of the last three months" and

We confidently hope, that as peace renders
the public mind more easy, the plan of re-
publishing Wacousta may be revived, and that
ere the summer is far advanced, it will be found
in every boudoir from the Atlantic to Lake Erie.

The London issues of 1839 and 1840 must have satisfied the demand (if not the patriotism) of Canadians, for I find no further Canadian monographic edition until the twentieth century.

Douglas Library: LP PZ3 R51W 1868

Citations: Porteous, p.72; Riddell, p.216; Casselman III:5;
Sabin: 71044

Locations: NBFU OKQ; ICN

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1875?

54. Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy. An Indian Tale. "Vengeance is still alive ..." The Revenge. [quotation; cf. item 43]
   By Major Richardson, Author Of "Hardscrabble," "Écarté,"
   Publisher, 33 Rose Street. viii. [9]-223 p. (p.33, 35, 114
   unnumbered; p.53 numbered 5) 23.5 cm. 8 vo.

   This is printed from the same type as two earlier issues of this edition (items 51 and 52); only the imprint is reset, the title-leaf not being cancelled for it is conjugate with the last leaf of the first gathering. The paper is inferior to that of the earliest issue, being little better than newsprint. Quite evident is a further deterioration in condition of the type, standing now for at least twenty years; it accumulates all the bent, broken and missing letters of the preceding issues, and adds many more (e.g. the page numbers dropped, cf. above, and "Prophecy" in the p.186 headline is now "Ropmecy").

   The date of publication is fixed with certainty as after July, 1873: the verso of the title-page is headed "Pierce Egan's Stories", and sixteen titles are listed in the approximate order of their publication; the last, Ever my Queen, first appeared in the London Journal, February 15 - July 5, 1873, no. 1462-62 (cf. DNB). The note to this title mentions "The welcome appearance" of another Egan work, and the note to the title before, Mark Jarrett's Daisy (first printed in London Journal, 1870 - 71) calls that "This latest book"; Wacousta would thus seem to have been published soon after 1873. It was issued in paper covers, price fifty cents. There is a line illustration on
the front and lists of publisher's titles on p. [2] - [4] of the covers. Écarté, Monk Knight, Hardscrabble and Matilda Montgomerie all appeared in this same cheap publisher's series; Hardscrabble is listed inside the back cover as one of "DeWitt's Fifteen Cent Novels" available post free to "any address in the United States or Canada".

Citations: Riddell, p. 215; Casselman III:4

Locations: QMU; no other locations discovered.

1888


Riddell calls this the second American edition but it is more properly called another issue of the De Witt edition (items 51, 52 and 54), for it is printed from the same type. It has all the broken and damaged letters accumulated in the 'Rose Street' issue (item 54) plus further damage sustained during the dozen intervening years. Altogether, the type had been standing for over thirty-five years. This has the same title-page (verso blank) with 'Revised Edition' omitted, and the imprint (of lighter inking) changed as above, the numbers of the gatherings removed, and the pagination and running heads reset. The removal of the old headlines, and page and gathering numbers, was necessitated by Pollard & Moss' use of a shorter page; consequently too, wherever the type-pages of the earlier issues are joined there is a more or less noticeable irregularity of the two newly-adjacent lines of type. The advantage to the public of Pollard & Moss' economy in acquiring De Witt's battered standing type, and in the narrower margins and poorer-quality paper, is that this issue was sold in publisher's cloth at the same price of fifty cents as were the earlier issues in paper covers. Two unnumbered advertisement pages at the end list the titles (102 in all) in a "P. & M. 12mos." series; Wacousta is number eighty. Écarté, Hardscrabble, and Matilda Montgomerie appeared in the same series.

Citations: Riddell p. 216; Casselman III:6

Locations: OTV OHM BVIP; NN

56. [Same] New York: Pollard & Moss, 47 John Street. 1888.

This is a cheaper version of the foregoing, price twenty-five cents in paper covers; it is doubtless composed of the same sheets as the cloth-bound production. It was issued as number twenty-seven in the Pollard & Moss Echo series.
Unseen; information from Riddell (who seems to be incorrect in his imprint address) and Casselman, publishers' advertisements, and facsimile pages from New York Public Library.

Citations: Riddell, p.216; Casselman III:6

Locations: No Canadian locations discovered; NN

1906

57. Wacousta. A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy. By Major Richardson. Author of "The Canadian Brothers," "Fardscrabble," "Écarté," etc. With Illustrations by Charles W. Jefferys. "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert, With all her snakes erect upon her crest, She Stalks in view and fires me with her charms." The Revenge. Toronto Historical Publishing Company 1906 xii, 13-454 p. 6 monochrome plates (including portrait of the author) 18.5 cm. 8 vo.

Title in red and black. The subtitle here is first used in this edition. Introduction signed (p. xii):- The Author. New York City, January 1st, 1851./ This is the author's introduction to the De Witt edition (1851, etc.), written for his American publishers, but with the first two paragraphs omitted. The plates are signed by Jefferys except for the portrait, which is captioned by a facsimile of Richardson's autograph; it is the same likeness and autograph as appeared in Guards in Canada. The artist also designed (and initialled) vignette initial letters to each chapter, and the decorated endpapers bear his name and a date, thus:- C W Jefferys May 1906/ Issued in publisher's cloth with a coloured picture mounted on the front cover, price one dollar and fifty cents. It was reviewed (with the portrait of Richardson) in The Canadian Magazine, Toronto, August, 1906, vol. 27, p. 375-7. Riddell states that Wacousta "was also reprinted in the Toronto News"; this was a daily newspaper published from 1880 to September, 1919.

Citations: Riddell, p.216; Tod & Cordingley, p.284.

Locations: NBS QMM OQCC OTP OTU OH OLU OWU AEU; LC NN; BM

Verso of title-page:-Copyright, Canada, 1923 by McClelland & Stewart, Limited, Toronto Printed in Canada/ Verso of p. 457:- Warwick Bros. & Rutter Limited Toronto Printers & Bookbinders/ This has the same text as the 1906 edition but completely new type and the title-page all in black. However, the plates, vignette chapter initials, and decorated endpapers are the same, including the artist's name and the date "May 1906" on the latter. Since that date, Jefferys had been elected (1912) an Associate of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. Issued bound in publisher's cloth, with a coloured illustration mounted on the front cover. An examination of the possible connection between Canadian editions of Wacousta and Canadian copyright law might prove interesting. The first Canadian edition (1868) appeared in the year of Canada's first copyright legislation; the 1906 edition nicely clears the "life of the author plus fifty years" span; and the series of editions and issues beginning with this in 1923 follows the Canadian adoption of the Revised Berne Convention in 1921, the effective date (January 1, 1924) coinciding with the date Canadians and Americans exchanged copyright benefits.

Douglas Library: LP P23 R51W 1903

Citations: Riddell, p. 216 (mention only); Tod & Cordingley, p. 284

Locations: OONL NBSaM OKO OPet OTP OTU OH BVa; MH NN OC1; BM

1924


The publication date does not appear in the book but was kindly supplied by the publishers, from their Fall Catalogue, 1924, where Wacousta is listed under New Fiction. Some libraries have this work recorded with the date, incorrectly, as [1923]. Verso of title-page:-Printed In Canada Press of T.H. Best Printing Co. Limited, Toronto/ The text is that
of the 1906 and 1923 editions, with new type and without
table of contents and list of illustrations. The coloured
frontispiece (the only plate), vignette chapter initials, and
illustrated lining-papers, are all newly executed by Jefferys.
Issued in publishers' cloth binding with a coloured sketch
printed on the front cover and spine, price two dollars.

Douglas Library: LP P23 R51W 1924

Citations: BM General Catalogue is the only one found.

Locations: OKQ OKR OTV MWP; LU TxU; BM.

1925

60. Wacousta ... Illustrated by C. W. Jefferys. New York,
George Sully & Co., 1925.

The Canadian agent for Sully was the Ryerson Press; in
1921 began a long and close association between Jefferys
and this Canadian publisher, and a warm friendship with its
Editor Dr. Lorne Pierce. No doubt it was through these
connections that the Jefferys illustrations came to be used
by Sully. The Ryerson Press reports that they have no
record of Wacousta appearing under their imprint during
the 1920's. The price of this edition was two dollars.

Unseen; information from The United States Catalog,
edited by Mary Burnham. 4th ed. New York, H.W. Wilson
Co., 1928.

Citations: U.S. Catalog (above)

Locations: None discovered in Canada or the U.S.

[In this year, 1925, the Radisson Society of Canada, Toronto
announced its Master Works of Canadian Authors series,
edited by John W. Garvin, to be published in an Edition De
Luxe of 25 titles limited to 974 numbered sets, at one
hundred dollars a volume. Riddell (p. 216) records that an
dition of Wacousta was promised for inclusion; but although
four titles reached publication before the project was
abandoned\(^{\text{a}}\), after diligent search I must conclude that
Wacousta never appeared in this series.]

\(^{\text{a}}\) Vol. 3, Mackenzie's Voyages; vol. 7, Paul Kane's Wander-
ings; vol. 13, Grant's Ocean to Ocean; and vol. 14, Charles
Mair's Tecumseh. The project was revived in 1935 (J.W.
Garvin letter, Feb. 27, Queen's University Library Archives),
but lapsed again when the Editor died later that year.
1927?

61. Wacousta ... New York, George H. Doran Company.

The source of this information lists all publications in print in the United States on January 1, 1928, so the date assigned above is the latest possible. The work is listed at two dollars a copy. Doubleday and Company, Doran's successors, advise me that their records show a connection with this title through their purchase, on December 12, 1923, of "some copies" (number unknown) from McClelland and Stewart of Toronto - evidently the 1923 edition. If these are the copies described above, they must have been given a new title-page.

Unseen; information from the same source as in the preceding entry, and from Doubleday & Company.

Citations: U.S. Catalog (as above)

Locations: None recorded in the National Union Catalogues of Canada or the U.S.

1928-32

62. Wacousta ... Toronto, McClelland & Stewart.

This is from The Cumulative Book Index, 1928-32, edited by Mary Burnham (New York, H.W. Wilson Co., 1933), a world list of English-language books published during that period. The price is given as eighty-five cents. McClelland & Stewart have not been able to provide any further information, but there can be little question that this is a reissue of their 1923 edition, and in paper covers, to make so low a price possible. No other record has been found, nor is any copy listed in the National Union Catalogues of Canada or the United States.

[Dr. Desmond Pacey mentions (no. 2, p. 20) that Wacousta appeared in some twelve editions. It is a satisfaction to have added to this number (if issues are counted separately) - and there may be still others!]
63. War Of 1812. First Series. Containing A Full And Detailed Narrative Of The Operations Of The Right Division, Of The Canadian Army, By Major Richardson, K.S.F. [Brockville, Ont.] 1842. 2 p. l., 2, 182, (1) p. 21.5 cm.

Second p. 1.: Dedication. To the present United Legislature of Canada, in whom has originated, and by whom has been carried into partial operation, one of the most beneficent measures which can be conferred upon a young country - that of a salutary provision for Education - this Historical Narrative, the first of an important series, (the completion of which must depend upon the countenance and support extended to the commencement) and compiled with a view to the furtherance of their object, is Dedicated, By Their Very Obedient, And Humble Servant, The Author. July 16th, 1842. / The Preface (p. 1-2, first count) describes the purpose of this "first of a series of Historical Narrative [sic] for the use of Schools in Canada" as being to apprise students of "the gallant deeds performed by their Fathers" in the war, before they were forgotten. Casselman points out (p. xxxiv) that historians of the United States at this time allowed anti-British sentiment to distort their accounts, yet these were the textbooks in use in the schools of Upper Canada. Richardson was a participant in or eyewitness of many of the events he describes. From a reference in the Advertisement (final page), concerning the "many glaring typographical errors", it is clear that some copies of this work were issued gratuitously; they might as well all have been for Richardson reports (Eight Years In Canada, p.205) that only about thirty copies were sold, while others were put up for auction. Both Dedication and Preface describe this as the first of a series, its completion (says the Dedication) depending on public support. It was not forthcoming, and the parts on the Centre and Left Divisions were never issued. The work was reviewed in the Literary Garland and the Montreal Gazette (cf. Morgan, p. 319). Casselman notes that this was the third item copyrighted in the Province of Canada. Some contemporary copies are bound in quarter-calf with marbled boards, but at the auction value of "sevenpence half-penny" (Eight Years In Canada, loc.cit.) it is unlikely they were so issued. It was printed from the same stand of type used in printing the serialized form of the work in the New Era, March 2 - July 22, 1842, under the title retained as the caption title

* It was never adopted officially though the author was granted £250 on the vote of the Assembly (cf. Eight Years In Canada, p.203).
WAR OF 1812.

FIRST SERIES.

CONTAINING A FULL AND DETAILED NARRATIVE

OF THE

OPERATIONS OF THE

EIGHT DIVISION,

OF THE

CANADIAN ARMY,

BY

MAJOR RICHARDSON, K. S. F.

1842.
in this book:- Operations Of The Right Division of the Army
Of Upper Canada, During The American War Of 1812. / (q.v.,
item 36), The Preface is dated July 16 so this must have been
printed very soon after the last New Era installment of six
days later, and no doubt published by Richardson himself.
An earlier publication which may have been similar to this
in subject, if not in text, was published in London between 1823
and 1825, under the title Canadian Campaign (q.v.) The follow-
ing entry is a variant.
Douglas Library: LP F1032.4 R5

Citations: Porteous, p.14; Riddell, p.218; TPL: 1006;
Morgan, p.319; Watters, p.408; Gagnon I:3018

Locations: (variants not distinguished except as noted 'this'):
NSHPL NSHD (this) QMBM (this) QMSS OOA OKQ (this)
OTP (this) OLU MWU (this); MB MH MWL-W-C NN NNC OO
OCI OFH MIU MiU-C MnHi


This is a variant state of the preceding, differing only in
having an extra preliminary leaf. This leaf appears either
between the title-page and dedication, or between the dedi-
cation and the Preface (p. [1], first count). It reads:- "Entered
according to Act of the Provincial Legislature, in the year
1842, by Major Richardson, K.S.F., in the Office "of the
Registrar of the Province of Canada."/ This copyright leaf,
evidently tipped in (no copy of the book encountered was bound
loosely enough to confirm this, but in the other variant the two
preliminary leaves are conjugate), must have been added after
the work was entered for copyright - only the third copyrighted
work in the Province of Canada. Copies of this variant would
thus appear to have been released by the publisher (Richardson)
later than those without the extra leaf (always excepting copies
in which the leaf has become detached and lost), though no
doubt distribution was continuous. This is the copyright notice
Casselman places on the verso of the title-page in his type-
facsimile (see next entry). The following locations have been
identified as being among those possessing this variant.
Unseen; information from Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson, Nova
Scotia Provincial Archivist; Mr. H.W. Ganong, Librarian
of Acadia University; the Library of Parliament, and other
libraries.

Citations: Casselman VII; Sabin: 71045; Beals, p.41;
Sheila L. Stewart, Catalogue of the Atkins Collection [NSHP]
(Halifax, 1933) p. 61

Locations: NSHP NSWA OOP; LC
Richardson's War Of 1812 With Notes And A Life Of The Author 
By Alexander Clark Casselman. Historical Publishing Co. 
Toronto 1902. lviii, 320 p. front., plates, ports., maps, 
facsims., plans. 24.5 cm.

This limited edition of 1000 numbered copies (verso of half-
title) is a reprinting of Richardson's complete text, with type-
facsimile title and dedication pages (not included in the above 
collation). On the verso of the facsimile title-page is the same 
copyright registration note reproduced in the preceding entry, 
but I have not found it in this position in any copy of the original 
edition of which I have knowledge. The frontispiece is a port-
rait of Richardson, redrawn from the one in his Guards In 
Canada. The biography and genealogy are the most complete 
yet published, and the bibliography is excelled in completeness 
only (hitherto) by that in Riddell. Contemporary documents are 
reproduced, and useful footnotes and an index are added. 
Chapter divisions, and running heads with chapter titles on the 
versos and page subjects on the rectos, are not in Richardson's 
original. Issued in publisher's red cloth, price three dollars. 
It is reviewed by J.S. Garstair in The Canadian Magazine, 
Douglas Library: LP F1032. 4 R52

Citations: Riddell, p.218; TPL:1007; Beals, p.161; Watters, 
p.408; Tod & Cordingley, p.284

Locations: OONL NSHPL NSWA NBSM NBFU NBSaM 
QSL QMBM QMSS QMU OOP OOA OORD OOC C OKQ 
OKF ORK OPeT OTP OHM OL OLU MW MWU MWP 
SSU AE BVA BVaU BVI BVIP; LC MB MH MWA NN 
NJP PPL PHI PHC ViU NeU NeD LU OCI OCIWHi MiU 
MnHi; BM

The War of 1812 by Major John Richardson, K.S.F. With 
notes and a life of the author by Alexander Clark Casselman. 
The Musson Book Co. Limited London, England Toronto, 
Canada. lviii, 320 p. front., plates, ports., maps, plans, 
facsims. 22 cm.

Another issue of the preceding, with a new title-page, most 
of the plates and ports. in colour, and the edition limited to 
only 100 numbered copies. 
Unseen; information from TPL: 1008, where the date is 
given in brackets.

Citations: TPL:1008; Watters, p.408

Locations: NSHK OOP OTP OTV OTH OWtU MWP BVa 
BVaU; No U.S. locations discovered.

"Prefatory Inscription" (p. [iii]-iv) signed: - The Author. New York, March 30th, 1852. / (Richardson died just six weeks later in a penniless condition). It includes the dedication to "the venerable founder of the City of Chicago - a prominent actor in the scene - as well as to the gallant military survivors of the Massacre, if any yet exist"; and further on "to those who were then our enemies, but whose courage and whose sufferings were well known to all, and claimed our deep sympathy, our respect, and our admiration". Eighteen pages following the text contain advertisements, as do p. [2]-[4] of the original paper covers; mostly illustrated, these pages announce the titles of "Cheap Literature ... the most popular works of History, Biography, Fiction, &c." (p. [1] of advertisements currently available from H. Long and Brother. On the same page, under "Lately Issued", appears the entry: - Wau-Nan-Gee, or the Massacre at Chicago. A Romance of the War of 1812. ... Price 25 cents. / (Evidently Richardson's earnings from Wau-nan-gee were small.) At the head of the illustrated cover-titles: - A Thrilling Indian Tale Of The War Of 1812! / Riddell explains (p. 221) the "American Revolution" of the title-page as an example of the "silly practice of calling the War of 1812, the 'Second War of Independence'". The front cover also carries extracts of favourable press reviews from The Review, Literary Journal ("The Author of Wau-Nan-Gee, since the demise of Cooper, stands unrivalled as a writer of the romance of Indian Warfare"), Western Journal, and the Literary Gazette. Along the spine is printed: - Wau-nan-gee. Entered According to Act of Congress, in the year 1852, by H. Long & Brother, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York. / Riddell lists an edition with copyright entry dated 1850, no copy of which have I been able to trace; probably none ever existed for it is a most unlikely date, placing Wau-nan-gee before Hardscrabble, the story to which it stands in continuation. Casselman gives the imprint as "Long & Bro. New York and London. 1852", but he was unable to examine a copy. This is the sequel to Hardscrabble, continuing the events of that tale beyond July 4, 1812. The "massacre" refers to the Indian attack on soldiers and civilians at Fort Dearborn, site of modern Chicago, August 15, 1812. The material for this, as well as for Hardscrabble and a third novel, was apparently gathered during
WAU-NAN-GEI;

or,

THE MASSACRE AT CHICAGO.

A ROMANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY MAJOR RICHARDSON,

THOR OF "WACOUNTA," "HARDCRABFILLY," "SCARTA," "JACK BRAG IN JOAN," "TCHUMER," &c

NEW YORK:
H. LONG AND BROTHER,
No. 49 ANN STREET.

Number 67. From the original in the Lorne Pierce Collection, Douglas Library,
Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario
Richardson's trip to Walpole Island in 1848 (see item 42). A statement at the conclusion of Wau-nan-gee (p. 125) confirms that Richardson had a trilogy in mind (the third volume to be "on a different topic than that of war, and which ... is not necessary to the others"); but the writing of the final volume would "depend on the interest with which its predecessors shall have been received". Many issues of Hardscrabble, the first of the trilogy, appeared, but this of Wau-nan-gee was the last of his works which could have been printed in his lifetime. He probably had not time even to start writing the third volume before he died on May 12, 1852.

Douglas Library: LP PZ3 R51Wa

Citations: Porteous, p. 72; TPL: 4816; Sabin: 71046; Morgan, p. 319; Horning & Burpee, p. 51; Watters, p. 267 (with the impossible date [1832?]); cf. Riddell, p. 220-21 & Casselman XI

Locations: NBFU OKQ OTP BVaU; LC MB PPL OU; BM

1868?

68. [Same] Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson And Brothers 306 Chestnut Street. iv, [5]-126 p. 24.5 cm. 8 vo.

This is printed from the same type as the preceding, the imprint only being reset; the illustration on the front cover is the same, probably from the same plate, though in this later impression the engraver is identified: - Roberts Sc. / The advertisements on all four pages of the covers, and on one leaf following the text, differ of course from the Long And Brother issue. Only photocopy pages of part of this issue were seen, but the type is quite obviously in worse condition (noticeably, on the title-page some quotation marks have dropped out of the quoted titles), indicating publication later than 1852. The publication date assigned above is deduced from the list of Peterson titles advertised inside the front cover. Of the twenty titles by Mrs. Henry Wood at the top of the page the latest is Red Court Farm, first published London, 1868 (cf. DNB) - providing a terminus a quo; and of the many later titles by Mrs. Wood given in the Library of Congress Catalog of Books as being published by Peterson, but not in the list here, Roland Yorke, Philadelphia [c1869] is the earliest - suggesting that Richardson's novel was published not later than that date or Roland Yorke would have been included in the Peterson list. Further examination of the Mrs. Wood titles published by Peterson shows that the American firm usually reprinted in the same year as the London first edition, so on the basis of Red Court Farm the most probable publication date of this issue of Wau-nan-gee is 1868. Similar con-
sideration of other titles inside the front cover reveals nothing to contradict this deduction. This was issued in paper covers, in "Peterson's Popular Series Of 50 Cent Novels" (front cover) - twice the price of the preceding issue.

Unseen; information from New York Public Library and Columbia University Library, and from photocopy pages kindly supplied by them. (NYPL has assigned the date [1866], and Columbia and Illinois State Historical Library have [1852], from the dated preface).

Citations: None discovered.

Locations: None in National Union Catalogue of Canada; NN NNC IHi

WESTBROOK

1851?

69. Westbrook; or, the Outlaw. New York. 8 vo.

This work is in the same category as "Canadian Campaign", for there is no record of any extant copies. Morgan, the earliest citation I can find (1867), gives title and place of publication only, while Allibone (1870) appears to be an independent source since he adds the format to the title. Sabin (vol. 17, 1888) follows both, but adds [n.d.] - as though he knew the title-page were undated. R. P. Baker (p. 137) suggests the date "1852?" My reasoning for the above date is purely circumstantial. About 1849 or 1850 Richardson removed from Montreal to New York City and there, in his last two or three years of life, wrote or revised in close succession several historical novels, most of them with an American frontier setting and based on real events; Westbrook was published in New York, appears to be an historical novel (cf. Casselman, p. xli and Eddell, p. 221), and Andrew Westbrook (if he is the protagonist) supported the American cause on the Upper Canada frontier in the War of 1812. The writing of Westbrook thus seems to fit into Richardson's New York period, 1849-52. The latter part of 1849 and the first part of 1850 must have been fully occupied in writing Monk Knight, followed by the Introduction to the 1851 Wacousta (dated January 1, 1851). In 1851 only the revisions of Écarté and Canadian Brothers (as Matilda Montomerie) were prepared; Hardscrabble had been written.

\* Richardson was still in Montreal in March, 1849; cf. the notes to Hardscrabble, 1851 (?).
earlier in Montreal. In 1852 Wau-nan-gee appeared, its preface dated March 30, and on May 12 the author died. In these circumstances 1851 would seem to be the most probable year for the writing of Westbrook; in Richardson's condition of poverty, publication would not have been delayed. The most likely publisher is Dewitt and Davenport, the firm who issued all the author's titles of this period excepting the last, Wau-nan-gee. There remains the possibility that this work has been wrongly attributed to Richardson; but Mr. D. R. Beasley of New York, who is preparing a biography of the writer, assures me that he has "Richardson's word that he wrote it". He further suggests that it was published after Richardson's death, but as said above it is unlikely that a completed manuscript would long remain unpublished; and it is even less likely that the work was written in the last months of his life for he was fully occupied with Wau-nan-gee and, if any time were left, the third volume in his Massacre at Chicago trilogy, the materials for which he already had in hand (Cf. Trip to Walpole Island).

Unseen; title from Morgan and Allibone

Citations: Riddell, p. 221; Casselman XIII; Watters, p. 267; Morgan, p. 319; Sabin:71046n; Horning & Burpee, p. 51

Locations: None discovered.
APPENDIX A


Wacousa And The Canadian Brothers.

These National And Historical Works, having been got up at great expense and serious inconvenience to the author, without that re- muneration from the Canadian public, which as a Canadian writer, he has had a right to expect from the more liberal portion at least of the community, are now to be disposed of, at the reduced price of Five dollars for the complete set, containing Five Volumes, three of which alone, (Wacousta) have always been sold in England, for no less than Seven dollars. The two sets will be neatly and separately bound, so as to make two books, which as volumes of reference, it cannot but be supposed, will find their way into the library of every Canadian Gentleman, desirous of knowing any thing connected with the early history of his own country. And it must be borne in mind, that the English Edition of Wacousta, sent for to this country, Expressly For Canadian Readers, is the only correct one that has ever issued from the Press. The piratical reprint in Walde's Circulating Library, is incorrect, several of the most forcible passages in the book, being left out altogether. ...

The Edition of Wacousa, embraces not more than 300 copies - and the moment one half of these are subscribed for, in the manner above named, by those who really intend to redeem their own signatures, the set will be ready for delivery. Independently of private subscription lists, the several Postmasters and the principal Book Stores, will receive the names of those who wish to relieve the author from a weighty responsibility incurred in the furtherance of Canadian National Literature.

APPENDIX B

From p. [i] of the four pages at the end of vol. 2, The Canadian Brothers, Montreal, 1840:

Advertisement.

New Edition Of "Wacousta."

The 'Canadian Brothers' being, as it will be observed, a continuation of "Wacousta" - an abridged and very imperfect edition of which has been printed in the United States, and even it being nearly out of type, a revised republication of the latter work, containing all the passages which have been omitted in the American reprint, will issue from the press during the ensuing summer.
As the publication will be got up precisely in the same style with the present work, and at the same diminished price to subscribers, an opportunity will thus be offered to the possessors of the "Canadian Brothers" to complete their set.

Montreal, January, 1840.
Chronological Index

The titles in quotation marks appeared in Richardson's own journals, New Era and Canadian Loyalist.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Canadian Campaign, London</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Monk Knight, New York</td>
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<td>1828</td>
<td>Tecumseh, London</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Monk Knight, New York</td>
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<td>Écarté, London</td>
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<td>Écarté, New York</td>
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<td>1829</td>
<td>Écarté, New York</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Hardscrabble, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Kensington Gardens, London</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Matilda Montgomerie, New York (two issues)</td>
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<td>1832</td>
<td>Wacousta, London</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Wacousta, New York</td>
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<td>1833</td>
<td>Wacousta, Philadelphia (two issues in Waldie's Select Circulating Library and one monographic edition)</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Westbrook, New York</td>
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<td>1833</td>
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<td>1836</td>
<td>Journal of the Movements Of The British Legion, London (see under Movements ...)</td>
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<td>1838</td>
<td>Personal Memoirs, Montreal</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Hardscrabble (? probably a 'ghost!')</td>
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<td>The Prophecy; or, Wacousta, London (may be a 'ghost!')</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Hardscrabble, New York</td>
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<td>Sketch Of The Late Battle, Prescott (almost certainly not by Richardson)</td>
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<td>Hardscrabble, Philadelphia</td>
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<td>1839</td>
<td>Wacousta, London</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Wacousta, Montreal</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>Canadian Brothers, Montreal</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Wau-nan-gee, Philadelphia</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>Major Richardson's Reply, Brockville</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Matilda Montgomerie, New York</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>Wacousta, London</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Wacousta, New York</td>
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<td>&quot;Jack Brag in Spain&quot;, Brockville</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Wacousta, New York</td>
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<td>1902</td>
<td>War Of 1812, Toronto (two issues)</td>
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<td>&quot;Recollections Of The West Indies&quot;, Brockville</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Wacousta, Toronto</td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>A Trip to Walpole Island, Toronto</td>
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<td>&quot;Écarté&quot;, Kingston</td>
<td>1924</td>
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<td>Eight Years In Canada, Montreal</td>
<td>1928-32</td>
<td>Wacousta, Toronto (year uncertain)</td>
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<td>Guards in Canada, Montreal (two variants)</td>
<td>1957</td>
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William F. E. Morley