The Golden Dog and *Le Chien d'or*: Le May's French Translation of Kirby's Novel

David M. Hayne

DR. ELIZABETH BRADY'S EXCELLENT 'BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY ON WILLIAM Kirby's *The Golden Dog* 1877-1977,' published in the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of Canada in 1977 (vol. xv, pp. 24-48), concludes with a brief note on the French editions. The present article is an attempt to expand on this note by tracing the publishing history of Pamphile Le May's French translation of Kirby's novel, as recorded in the Kirby Papers held by the Archives of Ontario¹ and in other documents.²

William Kirby's interest in Quebec and his contacts with Quebec historians and men of letters began nearly forty years before the publication of his famous novel. He made his first visit to Quebec City in 1839, at which time the publisher John Neilson had shown him the sights of the old capital, including the celebrated carving of a dog on the stone house built in 1688 by the surgeon Timothée Roussel. A quarter-century later, during the threat of a Fenian invasion on the Niagara frontier, Kirby made the acquaintance of a young Quebec journalist and amateur historian, Benjamin Sulte. Sulte was a sergeant in the militia force sent in April of that year from Three Rivers to Niagara, where he and Kirby met at least once.³ They began to correspond, in French, during that summer, and when Kirby went to Quebec City in August to do some political lobbying, Sulte acted as his guide.⁴

While in Quebec City, Kirby read James MacPherson Le Moine's *Maple Leaves: A Budget of Legendary, Historical, Critical and Sporting Intelligence* (Quebec, 1863), which included passages on the golden dog, the so-called 'château Bigot,' and the ill-fated Marie-Josephte Corriveau, executed for murder in 1763. Kirby later told Le Moine that reading *Maple Leaves* had started him on the trail of the golden dog and given him the idea of composing a novel on the subject.

Returning to Niagara, Kirby resumed his correspondence with Sulte. One of the first subjects discussed in their letters was strangely anticipatory, although neither recognized its significance at the time. In September 1865 Léon-Pamphile Le May, then twenty-eight years old, had published his first collection of verse in Quebec City, and had been criticized for his romanticism. Kirby, writing to Sulte in November⁶ of that year, expressed his

sympathy for all misunderstood poets. Sulte replied that he had been trying to obtain a copy of Le May's volume to send to Kirby, which he did early in 1866.⁷ After reading Le May's poems, Kirby wrote Sulte again, praising particularly Le May's verse translation of Longfellow's *Evangeline*, which occupied one-third of his volume of poems:

J'ai lu avec attention la traduction de l'*Evangeline* et je l[*sic*] trouve bien faite très bien faite. L'*Evangeline* est un [*sic*] oeuvre des plus difficile [*sic*] à traduire en Français et à cause de son metre si different de tout ce qu'exige le genie Français, et a cause de son style idiomatique jusqu'à l'excès. M. Lemay a réussi à merveille de [*sic*] maîtriser ces difficultés et de donner au monde un [*sic*] oeuvre qui vaut des applaudissmens [*sic*] partout ou l'on comprend votre belle langue.⁸

As he wrote these words, Kirby had no way of knowing that he was evaluating the work of his future translator. By the spring of 1867, Kirby was speaking in his letters to Sulte of his intention to write a novel: 'J'ai eu depuis long temps, quelques beaux dessins [*sic*] en tête, d'écrire un roman!...' Sulte encouraged the project and volunteered to assist with information.¹⁰ In November 1870 Kirby reported that the novel was half written,¹¹ but he was still putting finishing touches on it in August 1872 when Sulte wrote him twice¹² in response to a request for information about the Intendant François Bigot.

When, after years of negotiation and frustration, *The Golden Dog* finally appeared in 1877, it rapidly became known in Quebec. Kirby announced the book's publication to Sulte early in February,¹³ and by the first week in March Le Moine had seen advertisements in the Montreal newspapers.¹⁴ The most important Montreal monthly magazine, *La Revue canadienne*, reviewed the novel promptly in its March issue: Pantaléon Hudon found it patriotic, moving, and rich in historical detail.¹⁵ The Quebec Literary and Historical Society, at Le Moine's prompting,¹⁶ purchased *The Golden Dog* for its library,¹⁷ and subsequently invited its author to become an honorary member of the Society.¹⁸

Having in the interval received a copy of the novel from the author, Le Moine wrote to congratulate Kirby on his historical information and on the 'elegance' of the printing and binding. He urged Kirby to send both bound and unbound copies of the book to Dawson & Company's Quebec City branch for sale there, and to provide 'unbound copies' for review to the *Quebec Morning Chronicle* and *Journal de Québec*, offering if necessary to write the reviews himself.¹⁹ Dawson's Montreal office had apparently anticipated Le Moine's suggestion, because only two days later Le Moine reported to Kirby that 'without any advertising, Dawson & Co of Quebec have sold all the copies their Montreal house sent them.'²⁰ Le Moine, as good as his word, reviewed *The Golden Dog* in both *Le Journal de Québec*²¹ and the *Morning Chronicle*,²² praising it warmly. Later that month Le Moine wrote Kirby to say that he was

re-reading the novel and had expanded his *Morning Chronicle* review for publication in the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*.²³

Sulte, meantime, had been equally active on Kirby's behalf. He had prepared a lengthy and very favourable review of the novel for publication in the Montreal illustrated weekly *L'Opinion publique*,²⁴ and in an enthusiastic congratulatory message to Kirby, had suggested the desirability of having a French translation made.²⁵ A few weeks later Sulte, speaking of the difficulty of persuading publishers to finance works of literature, returned to the question of translation:

... Traduire le *Chien d'or* est un problème à cause de cela. Ce sera déjà une assez forte affaire de trouver un traducteur approprié à cette tâche. Comme c'est moi qui ai parlé de l'entreprise le premier, je ne cesserai pas d'y penser, et s'il se présente une occasion je vous la signalerai avec empressement. Il est possible aussi que quelque écrivain Canadien-français s'offre de lui-même pour ce travail. Dans le moment, je ne vois personne sur qui me reposer ou que je vous recommanderais. Enfin, nous verrons.²⁶

Absorbed, however, in his own work – he was then publishing a book every year – Sulte let the matter drop, although he again praised *The Golden Dog* in the January 1878 number of an Ottawa monthly magazine, *Le Foyer domestique*.²⁷

Then, early in 1880, Sulte raised the question of a translation once more, saying that George Bull Burland, owner of *L'Opinion publique*, had asked him to translate the novel for serial publication in his weekly, and enquiring what fee Kirby would ask for his authorization. Sulte, with his publishing experience, foresaw the importance of securing rights to the French version, which he offered to share with Kirby.²⁸ The novelist, having obtained no rights to his original novel, was determined not to lose out again, and he immediately sought advice from three knowledgeable friends, the Rev. William Henry Withrow, editor of the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, Senator Josiah Burr Plumb, who made enquiries of the Copyright Branch of the Department of Agriculture, and the Toronto publisher, G. Mercer Adam. Their replies assured Kirby that he could secure copyright by publishing the translation in Canada, or by publishing in France and then seeking British copyright at the Stationer's Hall in London. The Rev. Mr. Withrow added some practical advice:

I think the best plan is to arrange for a percentage on the sales ... I suppose, if Sulte translates the book & assists in its publication in Paris, he will want a share of the royalty – probably half. The royalty should not be less than 10% – which would give you only 5% each ... If you give Sulte half of the royalty on the Paris Ed., I think he should give you half of what he gets from Burland for the use of it in *l'Opinion Publique*. Could you arrange with Sulte to translate it yourself? In that case you should have a much larger share of the royalty on French sales.²⁹

The proposal bore no fruit, however, as *L'Opinion publique* was already in financial difficulty; Burland's company sold the paper in January 1881 and it ceased publication in December 1883.³⁰

After the demise of *L'Opinion publique*, a new candidate appeared to propose translation of *The Golden Dog*. Louis Fréchette, Quebec's most prominent literary figure since his recognition by the French Academy in August 1880, wrote to Kirby on behalf of an unidentified Montreal newspaper to suggest serial publication of a translation, to be undertaken by Fréchette himself.³¹ Kirby replied cautiously, saying he had been thinking about having a friend make enquiries in Paris 'to see about getting it translated there, with a view to its publication in Paris either in book form or as a feuilleton ...' Fréchette's proposition seemed attractive, nevertheless, and Kirby asked him to suggest a figure for the translation rights.³² Fréchette responded by offering a division of territory: Kirby would have the French market, and Fréchette and his colleagues the Canadian one.³³ Unwilling to risk publishing the translation himself, Kirby withdrew,³⁴ and thus the second attempt at translating *The Golden Dog* collapsed like the first.

The third, and ultimately successful, effort to publish a translation of *The Golden Dog* was made later that same year. Senator François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel, an ultramontane Montreal journalist and politician, ironically known as 'le grand vicaire Trudel,' had founded his uncompromisingly Conservative daily, *L'Etendard*, in May 1883. Some time thereafter ('en 1883 ou 1884') he read *The Golden Dog*, and, as he later recalled:

... de suite je me suis demandé comment il se faisait que cet homme n'était pas davantage connu & apprécié par les Canadiens Français, aux ancêtres de qui il venait d'élever un aussi remarquable monument. De ce moment je me suis promis de faire tout en mon pouvoir pour réparer cette injustice. C'est la raison déterminante du choix du Chien d'or comme un de nos feuilletons.³⁵

On the recommendation of Sulte and Joseph-Philippe-René Caron, minister of Militia, Trudel wrote Kirby a letter filling six closely written foolscap pages, in which he lavishly praised Kirby's accurate portrayal of the religion, customs, and daily life of New France, and proposed having a translation made for his newspaper, with a book version to follow. 'Je désire,' he affirmed, 'faire traduire le *Chien d'or* & le répandre autant que possible parmi la population française du Canada, des Etats-Unis et même de la vieille France ...'³⁶

Trudel went on to suggest tactfully that some modifications in the amorous passages and in the convent scene might be necessary in order not to give offense to devout French-speaking readers. Not a man to let the grass grow under his feet, Trudel had also approached Miss Félicité Angers ('Laure Conan'), Quebec's first woman novelist, as a possible translator.

Kirby acknowledged this lengthy letter courteously, and, remembering the

Rev. Mr. Withrow's advice, requested a percentage of the sales.³⁷ Trudel wrote back at once to ask what Kirby's 'minimum' percentage would be, adding: 'Notre établissement est nouveau et *pauvre*.' Now intent upon his project, Trudel reported that Miss Angers had declined to undertake such a long translation, but that he had several other names in mind. Benjamin Sulte had begged off, saying he did not have time for the task; Trudel therefore planned to ask 'Mr. Pamphyle [*sic*] Le May qui a fait une traduction très appréciée d'*Evangeline*.'³⁸ Trudel ended his letter with a postscript recounting that he had consulted a priest of high literary repute on the subject of the suggested revisions, and had been assured that the novel would thus be rendered suitable not only for family reading, but even – a point whose importance the shrewd Trudel could readily recognize – for circulation in the convents of the province.

When Kirby requested a ten per cent royalty on the book sales, Trudel agreed, and announced that Le May would probably be the translator; he hoped that Sulte might consent to revise Le May's version for historical accuracy.³⁹ Trudel enclosed in his letter a draft contract, in English, prepared by his administrator, J.A. Prendergast:

In consideration of the right to us granted by W. Kirby, Esquire, author of the book 'Le Chien d'or,' to translate & publish same in french in the columns of *L'Etendard*, & to further publish it as a volume; in further consideration of his authorizing us to register same, & to take a copy-right for our translation, reserving to ourselves alone absolute right to republish same in whatsoever shape; we hereby agree & bind ourselves to pay to said W. Kirby Esquire, a royalty of ten per cent (10%) on all sales made by us of the said 'Le Chien d'or' in book form ...⁴⁰

Kirby would receive no remuneration for the serial publication in *L'Etendard*, but would hold copyright for the French version of his novel, an advantage he had not had when the English original was published. Trudel was anxious to expedite the arrangements, since he wished if possible to begin publishing the translation on the Quebec national holiday, St. John the Baptist's Day (24 June). Kirby, however, was in Ottawa, attending the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, of which he was a founding member, and campaigning for better Canadian copyright protection. Thus he replied to Trudel's English-language letter only on 26 May:

I am glad to hear that you intend to proceed with the translation. I have no doubt that M. Le May will make a good translation. I spoke to M. Sulte about it and regretted to find that he could not undertake it before three or four months from now. If however he would accept to revise or otherwise assist M. Le May in this translation it might be desirable. I only for your own sake as publisher and for mine as author want it to be *well* translated so that no one can need another. However this I leave wholly to you as

being better acquainted with your literary men than I am. I have a good opinion of M. Le May. I did not know you had thought of him else I would have spoken to him about it at Ottawa where I saw him several times last week ...⁴¹

Kirby then suggested minor changes in the draft contract, limiting the terms of the royalty agreement to five years, during which time Kirby bound himself not to allow any other translation or publication in the French language,⁴² and agreeing to waive his royalty on complimentary and press copies of the book. Trudel and Prendergast signed the revised contract on 31 May and returned it to Kirby, explaining in their English-language covering letter that some delay was now inevitable:

... The translator informs me that owing to the fact that the Quebec Session is not finished & to the special care he intend [*sic*] to give to the translation the work will not be sufficiently advance [*sic*] to begin before the 24 june as we expected before ...⁴³

At this point the translator begins to play his part. Léon-Pamphile Le May, born at Lotbinière on 5 January 1837, was a contemporary of Louis Fréchette and Alfred Garneau, the other principal poets of the Quebec Movement of 1860. Educated at the venerable Petit Séminaire de Québec and at the newly founded (1852) Université Laval, he was called to the bar in 1865 but did not practise. He became instead a translator for the parliament of United Canada, and after 1867 was for a quarter of a century the first Librarian of the Legislative Assembly of the new Province of Quebec. Twice gold medalist in the poetry competitions held by the Université Laval, and author of five volumes of poetry, three novels, short stories, and plays, Le May was one of the most respected men of letters in Quebec when he agreed to translate *The Golden Dog*.

French translations of English-Canadian novels for French-Canadian readers, while not frequent, were not unknown in nineteenth-century Quebec. Five novels by Mrs. Rosanna Leprohon had been published in French, as had *Canadian Homes, or the Mystery Solved*, of Ebenezer Cleno ('Maple Knot'), and two historical romances by John Talon Lesperance. The translators of these works, Auguste Béchard, Emmanuel Blain de Saint-Aubin, Henri-Emile Chevalier, Joseph-Auguste Genand, and Edouard Lefebvre de Bellefeuille, all had some reputation as journalists or essayists, or in the case of Chevalier, as novelists, but none enjoyed the eminence of the translator of *The Golden Dog*.

Le May, aware that his friend Fréchette had shortly before been in correspondence with Kirby about a translation of the novel, wished to be assured that he was to be the authorized translator; he therefore wrote to Kirby for assurance,⁴⁴ and when he received it, set to work.

In the interval the indefatigable Trudel had had 50,000 copies of a

prospectus printed up to advertise the translation, and at the beginning of August he sent samples of it to Kirby together with the first instalments of Le May's translation.⁴⁵ Kirby thanked him, although demurring somewhat at the toned-down passages in the translation, for which Trudel had accepted responsibility. 'Il faudra bien *ne pas trop adoucir*,' he chided, objecting also to a suggestion in the prospectus that Sulte had provided a plan and notes for the novel. Kirby had in the meantime applied for interim copyright, which was registered on 12 August 1884; the official copyright was entered eight months later.⁴⁷

Announcements of the serial and eventual book publication of *Le Chien d'or* began to appear daily in *L'Etendard* from 7 August 1884 on. They read as follows:

L'Etendard est à préparer la publication de ce feuilleton, dont il a acquis la propriété, de manière à pouvoir le livrer en format volume à tous ses abonnés.

Les abonnés à l'hebdomadaire le recevront en livraisons séparées avec le journal ordinaire.

Et tous ceux des abonnés aux éditions quotidiennes, *qui auront payé un an d'abonnement d'avance*, outre qu'ils l'auront eux aussi dans le journal, auront droit à le recevoir en volumes brochés immédiatement après la fin de la publication; pourvu qu'ils en fassent la demande au bureau du journal dans les *trois mois* qui suivront. Il formera au moins deux forts volumes de 500 pages chacun.

Soit: deux volumes de prime!

Et pour les abonnés qui n'auraient pas payé d'avance, nous en ferons un tirage limité qu'ils pourront avoir à *moitié prix*, en payant un abonnement d'avance et en même temps tous leurs arrérages jusqu'au temps de l'achat.⁴⁸

Serial publication of Le May's translation began in *L'Etendard* on 30 August 1884 and continued until 16 February 1885, for a total of 138 instalments.⁴⁹ Le May finished his translation at the beginning of November 1884, having spent five months on it and, according to Le Moine, having received \$400.00 for his work.⁵⁰ Le May wrote to Kirby to announce the completion of the translation and added, 'J'ai pleuré plus d'une fois en écrivant ...'⁵¹ The tribute of another reader had already appeared in the form of a letter to the editor of *L'Etendard*: a confirmed opponent of fiction who signed himself 'Patriote' had been persuaded by his wife to dip into *Le Chien d'or* and had been unable to stop reading it. 'Quel admirable ouvrage!' he wrote. 'C'est un vrai monument de littérature nationale et de patriotisme!'⁵²

Le May's translation, made from the 1884 New York printing of *The Golden Dog*, was a very free one, as might have been surmised from his preliminary note to the revised second edition of his translation of Longfellow's *Evangeline*:

Je n'ai jamais prétendu faire une traduction tout à fait littérale. J'ai un peu suivi mon caprice. Parfois, j'ai ajouté, j'ai retranché, parfois, mais plutôt dans les paroles que dans les idées. J'ai respecté partout les sentiments du poète américain. Dans cette deuxième édition, j'ai rendu la vie à Evangéline que, dans ma première traduction, j'ai laissé mourir ...⁵³

His translation of *The Golden Dog* followed the same principles. Although remaining faithful to the spirit of Kirby's romance, Le May did not hesitate to shorten passages he found too long, deleting sentences or whole paragraphs; he occasionally threw chapters together, or even added details from his own knowledge and background. His version was consequently both a French translation and a French-Canadian adaptation of Kirby's original, prepared by an experienced creative writer familiar with the tastes of the French-speaking Canadian reader. Le May thus became a silent collaborator with the novelist, particularly in the passages altered for religious or moral reasons (as, for example, in the scene of the death of Amélie de Repentigny). Kirby had, of course, accepted these in principle when he signed the contract with Trudel.

The publishing of the book version was not unanimously endorsed, as Trudel explained to Kirby at the conclusion of the serial publication:

J'ai réussi, non sans de grandes difficultés, à décider notre administration à publier le *Chien d'or* en volume. Il est de fait que ce choix de feuilleton n'a pas été un succès pour notre journal. Notre public est trop gâté par la lecture des romans français *genre pistolet* mis en honneur par les Richbourg [*sic*] & Cie,⁵⁴ pour apprécier bien un ouvrage de la nature du vôtre ...⁵⁵

In the same letter, Trudel consoled himself with the conviction that the more intelligent readers supported the venture. What disturbed him as a publisher, however, was the fact that envy and hostility to *L'Etendard* had led some readers to circulate the rumour that *Le Chien d'or* 'n'était pas une oeuvre morale'; this despite the fact that the wily Trudel had several times inserted in the footnotes references to Kirby's status as an 'Anglais protestant,' in an effort to protect his newspaper from such criticism.

The book version, although dated 1884 on the title page, did not appear until the spring of the following year; Kirby received his first copies in mid-April.⁵⁶ The two substantial volumes, containing nearly 800 pages,⁵⁷ bore the superscript note 'Feuilleton de l'Etendard' and included Le May's prefatory note, 'Pourquoi *Le Chien d'or* traduit en français,' at the beginning of volume 1. They were advertised in *L'Etendard* from 30 March on, at a price of \$1.00 for the 'Edition de luxe (les 2 vol.),' and 75 cents for the printing 'Sur papier ordinaire.'⁵⁸

On this occasion Le Moine was not able to lend his support as promptly as in 1877. He apologized to Kirby at the end of the year 1885, 'I have been so busy

of late, that I have not yet had time to review in French Le May's translation of your *Chien d'or*.⁵⁹ He was, however, preparing a detailed article on the golden dog story, for which he sought some biographical information from Kirby. Acknowledging this letter, Kirby provided the requested details and again recognized his debt to Le Moine's *Maple Leaves*; he also identified, in veiled fashion, some of the originals of his characters in *The Golden Dog*.⁶⁰ Le Moine was thus able to expand his article, 'Le Chien d'or: son origine, son histoire,' which appeared during January and February 1886 in three different Quebec periodicals.⁶¹ Accepting Le Moine's article for reprinting in *L'Etendard*, Trudel summed up, sadly but unrepentantly, his experience with *Le Chien d'or*:

Les dépenses de publication & de traduction, eu égard à nos modestes ressources, ont été considérables et malheureusement, *comme* d'ailleurs notre administration s'y attendait, le succès n'a pas couronné cette tentative de faire lire & apprécier un livre si éminemment Canadien ... N'importe, je ne regrette l'argent que nous avons perdu en voulant lancer le *Chien d'or*.⁶²

The translator's last word on the subject was more ingenuous. As the book version appeared, Le May wrote to Kirby:

... Je vous l'ai déjà dit, le Chien d'or m'a fort intéressé. J'ai éprouvé un vif plaisir à le traduire, et pourtant, la tâche était ardue pour un traducteur qui ne sait pas l'anglais.⁶³

If the translator's role was finished, however, the author's was not. Kirby apparently had difficulty in collecting his author's royalties from *L'Etendard*, particularly during the instability following Trudel's death on 17 January 1890. Le Moine advised Kirby to seek the help of the literary editor of the *Montreal Gazette*:

Respecting the Etendard folks, I think you will have to prove to these folks you mean business, else you will only come off second best. Why not ask John Reade in Montreal to call on them. I am sure Reade would be too glad to do you this slight favor – his address is 15 Laval Avenue – should he find it necessary to sue – he might suggest to you the name of some reliable lawyer ...⁶⁴

It must have seemed to the unfortunate Kirby that the frustrations of his attempt to secure his rights in connection with the original publication of *The Golden Dog* were being repeated with the French translation. Everyone appeared to be making money from the novel except its author, a fact underlined in a letter the French-Canadian journalist and novelist Rodolphe Girard wrote to a friend shortly after Kirby's death on 23 June 1906:

... Actuellement, je m'amuse à dramatiser le Chien d'Or pour le Théâtre National. Affaire d'argent, voilà tout.⁶⁵

One of the last letters Kirby received was from his old friend Sulte, who, in announcing his retirement, added graciously that, in all his years of historical research, 'Jusqu'à présent, je n'ai rien trouvé pour contredire votre *Chien d'or*.'⁶⁶ During his retirement, Sulte continued to interest himself in the golden dog story, and in 1915 he published a detailed note on the carving in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*.⁶⁷ It is likely that he was already preparing, in consultation with the octogenarian Le May, the introduction and notes for a revised edition of the French translation that Le May wished to issue. The aging poet did not live to see its publication; already in failing health, he died on 11 June 1918. The new edition was completed in manuscript by Sulte before his own death on 6 August 1923, and it appeared, 'remaniée, enrichie et définitive,' in May 1926.⁶⁸ It was preceded by an editor's note praising the novel and justifying a new edition of the out-of-print translation: 'le texte français n'apparaît que peu souvent chez les bouquinistes, et s'y vend fort cher.' The note stressed that the translation, although revised by Le May, was still based on the 1884 impression, and not on the subsequently modified editions.⁶⁹

The 1926 edition of *Le Chien d'or* was greeted enthusiastically by Damase Potvin in his regionalist magazine, *Le Terroir*,⁷⁰ and, the following year, by Gérard Malchelosse in *La Revue nationale*.⁷¹ The most exhaustive historical study of the golden dog legend was provided in 1945 by the retired archivist of the Province of Quebec, Pierre-Georges Roy. His long article in *Les Cahiers des Dix*⁷² included several pages of comment on Kirby's novel. Roy's study may have inspired a radio dramatization of *Le Chien d'or* in Radio-Canada's series 'Les Grands Romans' in September 1951,⁷³ and an uninformative article in *La Revue de l'Université Laval* in 1954.⁷⁴ More recently, Le May's translation has been reissued in a photographic reproduction of the 1926 edition published by Éditions Garneau in July 1971,⁷⁵ and has taken its place in the monumental *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*.⁷⁶

The first French-language reviews of Kirby's novel appeared simultaneously with the English-language notices in the year of publication, 1877. Thus for more than a century, *The Golden Dog* and *Le Chien d'or* of the original title have led a parallel existence, being published and pirated, reworked and revised, admired and adapted. One of the best known English-Canadian historical romances of the nineteenth century has become one of the most applauded French-Canadian translations of the period. Yet the author, alas, profited as little from the one as from the other.

NOTES

1. The Kirby Collection in the Archives of Ontario contains four groups of papers relevant to the French translation: the J.M. Le Moine papers (Series A-1), 255 items spanning nearly sixty years, 1870-1929; the B. Sulte correspondence (Series A-2), 41 items, 1865-1906; correspondence with publishers (Series A-6), 204 items,

- 1847-1906; and a small file (Series E-9) relating to the Etendard Publishing Company.
2. I am greatly indebted to Mr. W.F.E. Morley, Curator of Special Collections, The Douglas Library, Queen's University, for providing me with copies of Kirby materials held at Queen's University, and to Mr. Peter Greig of the National Library of Canada for furnishing information about the two editions of *Le Chien d'or*.
 3. Kirby's diary notes (in French) the arrival of the company from Three Rivers on Saturday, 29 April 1865, and records a visit from 'M.B.O. Vadeboncoeur' (Sulte's pseudonym) on Saturday, 1 July 1865. Sulte later published some reminiscences of this expedition under the pseudonym 'Charles Ameau' in the *Album de la Minerve*, 1 no 4 (1^{er} avril 1872) pp. 183-186, but does not mention Kirby. See also Gérard Malchelosse, *Cinquante-six ans de vie littéraire: Benjamin Sulte et son oeuvre* (Montréal: Le Pays laurentien, 1916), p. 18, although some of the statements made by Malchelosse are contradicted by other evidence.
 4. Kirby diary, Tuesday, 8 August, and Wednesday, 9 August 1865. See also Kirby to Le Moine, 7 March 1877.
 5. Kirby to Le Moine, 7 March 1877 and 30 December 1885.
 6. Quoted at length in Lorne Pierce, *William Kirby: The Portrait of a Tory Loyalist* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1929), pp. 186-188.
 7. Sulte à Kirby, 17 janvier 1866. Pierce, p. 189.
 8. Kirby à Sulte, 12 mars 1866.
 9. Kirby à Sulte, 13 mai 1867.
 10. Sulte à Kirby, 6 mai 1869.
 11. Kirby à Sulte, 1^{er} novembre 1870.
 12. Sulte à Kirby, 7 et 15 août 1872.
 13. Kirby à Sulte, 3 février 1877. Quoted, in English translation, in W.R. Riddell, *William Kirby* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1923), p. 142, note 3. Kirby's diary records his receiving of the first copy of his novel on Tuesday, 16 January, and dates the letter to Sulte 2 February.
 14. Le Moine to Kirby, 10 March 1877.
 15. P.H., 'Bibliographie. *Le Chien d'or*, par William Kirby, Niagara,' *La Revue canadienne*, XIV no 3 (mars 1877) p. 227.
 16. Le Moine to Kirby, 10 March 1877.
 17. 'Literary and Historical Society,' *Quebec Morning Chronicle*, XXXI no 11, 568 (17 April 1877) p. 1.
 18. Le Moine to Kirby, 26 April and 10 May 1877; Kirby diary, Thursday, 10 May 1877.
 19. Le Moine to Kirby, 22 March 1877.
 20. Le Moine to Kirby, 24 March 1877.
 21. *Le Journal de Québec*, 4 avril 1877, p. 2.
 22. *Quebec Morning Chronicle*, XXXI no 11, 560 (7 April 1877) p. 1.
 23. Le Moine to Kirby, 29 April 1877. The article appeared in the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, VI no 1 (July 1877) pp. 10-14.
 24. *L'Opinion publique*, VIII no 18 (3 mai 1877) p. 208.
 25. Sulte à Kirby, 9 avril 1877.
 26. Sulte à Kirby, 17 mai 1877.
 27. *Le Foyer domestique*, 3^e année, vol. v, no 1 (janvier 1878) p. 35.
 28. Sulte à Kirby, 28 février 1880.
 29. Withrow to Kirby, 4 March 1880; Adam to Kirby, 17 March 1880.
 30. A. Beaulieu et J. Hamelin, *La Presse québécoise des origines à nos jours, t.II: 1860-1879* (Québec: P.U.L., 1975), p. 149.

31. Fréchette to Kirby, 17 January 1884. Pierce, p. 313.
32. Kirby to Fréchette, 21 January 1884. Pierce, pp. 313-314.
33. Fréchette to Kirby, 27 January 1884. Pierce, p. 314.
34. Kirby to Fréchette, 31 January 1884. Pierce, pp. 314-315.
35. Trudel à Le Moine, 13 février 1886.
36. Trudel à Kirby, 24 avril 1884. Pierce, pp. 252-253.
37. Kirby à Trudel, [?] avril 1884.
38. Trudel à Kirby, 3 mai 1884.
39. Trudel à Kirby, 16 mai 1884.
40. Dated 15 May 1884.
41. Kirby to Trudel, 26 May 1884. Trudel had mentioned Le May in his earlier letter (note 38), but Kirby apparently considered this suggestion as merely one among several.
42. Dated 26 May 1884.
43. Trudel to Kirby, 31 May 1884.
44. Le May à Kirby, 2 juin 1884.
45. Trudel à Kirby, 2 août 1884.
46. Kirby à Trudel, 8 juillet [erreur pour 8 août] 1884.
47. Department of Agriculture, Copyright & Trade Mark Branch, Ottawa, 12 August 1884 and 4 April 1885.
48. *L'Etendard*, II no 153 (7 août 1884) p. 2.
49. Ibid., II no 173-III no 38.
50. Le Moine to Kirby, 20 February 1885. Pierce, p. 377.
51. Le May à Kirby, 8 novembre 1884.
52. *L'Etendard*, II no 212 (15 octobre 1884) p. 2.
53. Québec: P.-G. Delisle, 1870, 'Au lecteur,' pp. 5-10.
54. Emile Richebourg (1833-1898).
55. Trudel à Kirby, 6 mars 1885.
56. Kirby diary, Monday, 13 April 1885: 'Reçu 3 copies du C d'or de Hon. M. Trudel.'
57. Vol. I, [ix], 6, [1]-483 pages; Vol. II, [1]-294 pages.
58. *L'Etendard*, III no 72 (30 mars 1885) p. 3.
59. Le Moine to Kirby, Christmas Day 1885.
60. Kirby to Le Moine, 30 December 1885.
61. *Le Canadien*, XII no 181 (9 janvier 1886) p. 2; *L'Etendard*, IV no 35 (13 février 1886) p. 2; *La Revue canadienne*, XXII no 2 (février 1886) pp. 84-87.
62. Trudel à Le Moine, 13 février 1886.
63. Le May à Kirby, 20 avril 1886.
64. Le Moine to Kirby, 15 April 1890.
65. Girard à Albert Laberge, 1^{er} octobre 1906 (letter in the Archives de l'Université Laval). The typescript of Girard's adaptation, 112 pages in length, is preserved in the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec. I am indebted for these details to Mrs. Madeleine Dirschauer, who is preparing a thesis on Rodolphe Girard.
66. Sulte à Kirby, 12 juin 1906.
67. *Le Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXI no 9 (septembre 1915) pp. 270-273.
68. Québec: Librairie Garneau Limitée, 1926. 2 vol., 369, [2] and 397, [2] pages. The manuscript of this edition passed into the hands of Sulte's biographer, Gérard Malchelosse (1896-1969), but is not among the latter's papers in the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.
69. *Le Chien d'or* (1926), pp. 7-8.
70. *Le Terroir*, VII no 2 (juin 1926) p. 264.

71. *La Revue nationale*, ix no 6 (juin 1927) pp. 177-180.
72. 'L'histoire vraie du Chien d'or,' *Les Cahiers des Dix*, x (1945) pp. 103-168, especially pp. 159-166.
73. *La Semaine à Radio-Canada*, i no 47 (2 septembre 1951) p. 3.
74. A. Charles de Guttenberg, 'William Kirby,' *La Revue de l'Université Laval*, ix no 4 (décembre 1954) pp. 337-345, later incorporated into his *Early Canadian Art and Literature* (Vaduz, Lichtenstein: Europe Printing Estb., 1969), pp. 34-44.
75. *Le Devoir*, 24 juillet 1971, p. 9; *ibid.*, 28 juillet, p. 8. The reprint sold for \$4.95.
76. *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, t.I; des origines à 1900* (Montreal: Fides, 1978), pp. 115-119.