Skyward Floating Feather: A Publishing History of E. Pauline Johnson's *Flint and Feather*

Linda Quirk¹

Early in the twentieth century, Emily Pauline Johnson (1861-1913) had become one of Canada's most celebrated performers, billed as the "Indian Poet-Reciter," "The Mohawk Poetess," or under her own Mohawk name: Tekahionwake. She was an immensely popular prose author, writing for a wide variety of periodicals, but Johnson is probably best known for her poetry, which has been memorized by generations of Canadian school children. Three volumes of Johnson's poetry were published before her death: *The White Wampum*, *Canadian Born*, and *Flint and Feather*.² The last of these, *Flint and Feather*, is a collection which incorporates all of the poetry from the earlier two volumes along with several additional poems. The collection has been published 35 times in Canada between 1912 and 1997,³ making it, as Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag assert, one of the "most frequently issued" and best-selling collections of Canadian poetry.⁴

1 Linda Quirk is currently a doctoral student at Queen's University. This paper is based on a chapter of her Master's thesis, which is a descriptive bibliography and publishing history of Pauline Johnson's monographs, completed under the auspices of the Collaborative Program in Book History and Print Culture at the University of Toronto. The author wishes to express profound gratitude to Professor Carole Gerson, to Professor Heather Murray, to Dr. Carl Spadoni, and especially to Professor Patricia Fleming, for generosity, wisdom, and encouragement throughout this project.

2 Pauline Johnson, *The White Wampum* (London: John Lane, 1895); *Canadian Born* (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1903); *Flint and Feather* (Toronto: Musson, 1912).

3 In addition to Canadian editions, *Flint and Feather* has been translated for several Russian and Ukrainian editions as well as a recent Chinese edition, entitled *Sui shi he yu mao* (Beijing: Min zu chu ban she, 2002), translated by Zhen Feng.

4 Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction: *The Firm Handiwork of Will*," E. Pauline Johnson, *Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, eds. Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), xxiv; Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 66.

The effort to reconstruct a publishing history for this title is hampered by a lack of primary source material in the form of publishers' records, and the fact that Johnson's early biographers rarely indicate their sources. Johnson's sister, Evelyn, compounded the situation when she destroyed the vast majority of Johnson's papers in an effort to protect family privacy. The story begins to emerge when the bibliographical evidence is supplemented with scraps of archival evidence and a variety of published sources.

In January 1910 the Musson Book Co. wrote to Johnson asking for her permission to reprint *The White Wampum* as part of their Canadian Masterpieces series. Musson's letter survives, in the Johnson fonds at the McMaster University Library, but Johnson's response does not. Clearly she rejected the idea possibly, as Keller's biography suggests, because it would not have been financially rewarding,⁵ or possibly because of her wish to arrange for the publication of her collected verse. One way or another, Johnson managed to convince the publisher to undertake the larger project, and in January 1911 Musson Books announced in *Bookseller and Stationer*⁶ that the collection would be available later that year.

This plan may have been delayed by Johnson's failing health. By the summer of 1911 it was clear that Johnson was dying of breast cancer. She was frequently unable to work, and became concerned that she would be unable to pay for the care and treatments that she would need. Vancouver journalist Isabel MacLean rallied Johnson's friends and colleagues, including several members of the Vancouver Women's Press Club and the Women's Canadian Club, as well as Lionel Makovski and Bernard McEvoy from the *Daily Province*, and lawyer C.H. Tupper, the son of the former Prime Minister, Charles Tupper. MacLean convinced members of the group to establish the Pauline Johnson Trust in order to provide much needed income for their ailing friend by arranging for the publication of a selection of Johnson's Squamish legends. The professionals and socialites who formed the Pauline Johnson Trust, spurred by Walter McRae's distribution efforts, helped to mobilize Johnson's friends and admirers to participate in a remarkably successful enterprise which published and distributed numerous editions and reprints of these stories under

5 Betty Keller, *Pauline: A Biography of Pauline Johnson* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), 255.

6 Thomas Vincent cites Musson's announcement, in *Bookseller and Stationer* 27 (Jan. 1911): 22, in his Bibliofiles Database <<http://www.bibliofiles.ca/listings.cfm?TitleID=182&AuthorID=39>>.

the title *Legends of Vancouver* between 1911 and 1913. Their efforts provided amply for Johnson's needs in her final years.

After the remarkable success of the early editions of *Legends of Vancouver* the Pauline Johnson Trust turned its attention to preparing a new collection of Johnson's poetry, but the extent of their participation is unclear. Marcus Van Steen claims that the selection of the poems to be included in the volume was entrusted to a group of women of the I.O.D.E. in Vancouver and suggests that they overlooked some of Johnson's finest work by considering only those poems which had been published previously.⁷ Johnson's dear friend, former partner, and sometime business manager, Walter McRaye,⁸ contradicts this account, reporting that Johnson worked "feverishly ... selecting those of her fugitive poems that were to be included."⁹ Whether or not they were responsible for selecting the poems to be included in *Flint and Feather*, it is clear that Isabel MacLean's group made important contributions to the project.

Flint and Feather is dedicated to Prince Arthur, "His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, who is head chief of the Six Nations Indians ... by his own gracious permission," permission granted when he visited Johnson in her Bute Street hospital-room during her final illness. McRaye reports that during the Governor General's visit with his "Wolf-Cousin, Pauline Johnson," her hospital room was decorated with one of Johnson's prize possessions: the red blanket on which her honoured guest had stood in 1869 when her father, Chief George Johnson (Onwanonsyshon), and her grandfather, Chief John "Smoke" Johnson (Sakayengwaraton), had officiated at a ceremony in which Prince Arthur had been inducted as a Chief of the Six Nations¹⁰ and given the name Kavakondge, meaning "the sun flying from east to west under the guidance of the Great Spirit."¹¹

7 Marcus Van Steen, "Her Life and Work," *Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work* (Toronto: Musson, 1965), 34.

8 Walter McRaye's copy of *Flint and Feather* survives in the McMaster University Library. Bound in a hand-tooled navy blue leather dust jacket, it contains a portrait of Johnson and her inscription to McRaye.

9 Walter McRaye, *Pauline Johnson and Her Friends* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), 133.

10 Walter McRaye, 131.

11 Pauline Johnson, "The Duke of Connaught as Chief of the Iroquois Indians," *The Daily Province Magazine* 2 July 1910: 4.

McRae claims that Johnson did not live to see the published version of *Flint and Feather*,¹² but inscribed copies in libraries contradict his account. In a letter which survives in the McMaster University Library, dated December 1912, several months before Johnson's death, the Musson Book Co. wrote to L.W. Makovski at the *Daily Province* about a shipping error relating to Johnson's *Flint and Feather*. Although "2000 copies were printed through [Musson's] London office, the binders shipped ... only 600 copies"; the balance had now been shipped and the advertising would be held back to await the shipment. The letter also confirms that Johnson was to receive six complimentary copies and 25 more for which she would be charged. Later that month, an advertisement in *Bookseller and Stationer* offers this first edition for sale at a price of \$1.25.

Keller reports that the book arrived in December and that Johnson "had been unable to proof it herself but had dictated the necessary changes to Elizabeth Rogers. She was very pleased with the result and now set about autographing every copy that was to go out for the Christmas trade though each signature caused her excruciating pain."¹³ Charlotte Gray agrees that Johnson received copies of the first edition in December 1912, but that it "omitted many of [her] verses, and ... contained many misprints ('a nightmare to me,' Pauline fulminated to a friend)."¹⁴ Johnson's corrections are outlined in a typed list, which she signed, a list which has been glued to the free endpaper in a copy of the first edition in the McMaster University Library. Her frustration is evident from the correction notes which are interspersed with her comments complaining that particular errors are "unpardonable" or "unforgivable, especially in poetry." The errors include: an inappropriate interrogation mark in "West wind blow from your prairie nest?" (31), the inappropriate insertion of the word "tinted" in "The maple-mantled tinted hill" (60), the substitution of the word "first" for the word "firs" in "When the first finger faintly on the strings" (139), the substitution of "Trails that leads" for "Trail

12 According to McRae, "The proofs of the book were in her hands before she died, but she never lived to see the complete edition, or read the charming and gracious words written about it by her old friend ... Theodore Watts-Dunton, the friend of Swinburne, who years before had prophesied her success" (134).

13 Betty Keller, 264.

14 Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 2002), 383-384. Gray indicates that her source was a conversation with Monica Newton, a niece to Johnson's friend and colleague, Beatrice Nasmyth (416).

that leads" (99), the improper spacing of the stanzas in "The Songster" (100), and the lack of pluralization in the title "The Archer" (155), an error which is corrected in the text, but not in the table of contents. In total, there are 17 errors recorded in Johnson's list, all of which are corrected in the second and subsequent editions. Along with the corrected second Musson edition, there was a parallel subedition, in which the same plates were used under the imprint of Hodder and Stoughton, apparently for distribution in London and New York. Although such publishing arrangements were common at the time, the details of the arrangements for *Flint and Feather* are unknown. We do know, however, that in 1913, when both the second Musson edition and the Hodder & Stoughton subedition appeared, Hodder and Stoughton established operations in Canada, with the managing director of Musson Books, Charles J. Musson, as manager.¹⁵

Johnson had intended to write a collection of ballads inspired by the Capilano family's Squamish legends (the source of her *Legends of Vancouver*), but only one of these ballads was ever finished: "The Ballad of Yaada." It was the last poem she ever wrote, appearing in *Saturday Night* shortly after her death, and it was added to *Flint and Feather* along with three other poems ("The Wolf" [157], "The Man in Chrysanthemum Land" [158-9], and "Calgary of the Plains" [160-1]) for the second and subsequent editions. The second impression of this second edition appeared in 1914 and claimed, on its title page, to be a "Revised and Enlarged Edition Including Poem Written During Final Illness" because it included the poem: "And He Said, Fight On." After 1914, subsequent editions incorporated various changes in design and layout, but no further poems were added.

A memorial by Theodore Watts-Dunton introduces the volume for most editions, beginning with the second edition, which was released shortly after Johnson's death in 1913, and ending with the final impression of the PaperJacks edition in 1987. Watts-Dunton was a respected and influential British literary critic, in part because of his intimate friendships with Swinburne, Rossetti, and Tennyson. Johnson felt a deep gratitude to Watts-Dunton for his patronage early in her career, in particular for the fact that he had praised her genius and unique voice in an article on Canadian poetry that was

15 John Attenborough, *A Living Memory: Hodder and Stoughton, Publishers, 1868-1975* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), 73.

published in the London *Athenaeum* in 1889.¹⁶ On the strength of Watts-Dunton's memorial, as well as numerous corrections and four additional poems, the second edition is described on its title page as a "revised and enlarged edition." It is also the first edition to incorporate a series of illustrations by J.R. Seavey.

Seavey's illustrations appear in all editions from the second edition in 1913 to that marked as the "Seventeenth Edition" in 1943. Specializing in landscapes, Julian Ruggles Seavey¹⁷ was a Hamilton, Ontario, artist who taught art in Hamilton and lectured on art to University of Toronto students. He regularly exhibited his work through the Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy, and several of his paintings are in the permanent collection at the Hamilton Art Gallery. It was probably Seavey's work as an illustrator for the *Hamilton Spectator* that prepared him for the job of illustrating Johnson's poems with landscape paintings which could be reproduced in a series of black-and-white tonal images. The dust jacket issued with this new illustrated edition was unadorned, but Seavey may have provided the illustration for a new dust jacket that appeared in subsequent editions.

The third Musson edition, released in 1917, is described on the title page as the "fifth edition, revised and enlarged." Although this edition includes no additional poems, it is the first edition in which Musson falsely claimed to offer the "Complete Poems of E. Pauline Johnson." This claim¹⁸ was repeated on the title page of each subsequent edition until the Iroquois Reprints edition, which is a reprint of the first edition. It was for the third edition that Musson first contracted a Canadian company to handle the printing for *Flint and Feather*. All impressions of the first two editions had been printed in Great Britain by Hazell, Watson and Viney of London and Aylesbury, but beginning in 1917 the printing was to be handled by Warwick Bros. & Rutter of Toronto.¹⁹ For this third edition, Warwick Bros. reorganized the preliminaries and made numerous shifts in the layout of the text.

16 Theodore Watts Dunton, "Introduction: In Memoriam: Pauline Johnson," *Flint and Feather* (Toronto: Musson, 1912), xii.

17 This brief sketch is based on information in clipping files and local history sources in the Hamilton Public Library.

18 Although this false claim did not begin to appear on the title page until 1917, it had been used in advertisements beginning with the first edition in 1912 (fig. 1).

19 Warwick Bros. produced ten impressions before Hunter-Rose took over the title in 1931, also producing ten impressions.

The Bookman, Jan. 1913

The Complete Edition in One Handsome Volume of the Poetical Works of E. PAULINE JOHNSON, the Great Canadian Poetess.

"FLINT AND FEATHER" is the first volume of the complete poetical works of E. PAULINE JOHNSON, the famous Mohawk poetess, and the daughter of the late Chief Johnson of the Six Indian Nations fame. The reader of "The Bookman" has only to look upon the face of the portrait here reproduced, to conclude that the poems of Indian life and love which make up this delightful edition, are the work of a most accomplished writer. The volume has just been issued in a handsome binding, and will make an ideal present for friends both home and abroad.

FLINT AND FEATHER
Being the Complete Poems of
E. PAULINE JOHNSON
("Tekahionwake.")

With a brief biographical sketch of the author. With portrait frontispiece. Cloth, 6/- net.

This collection of verse I have named FLINT AND FEATHER because of the association of ideas. Flint suggests the Indian's weapons of war; Feather the native woman that forms the heart of a warrior chief; so both Flint and Feather bear the hallmark of my Motherland.

E. PAULINE JOHNSON.

THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LIMITED,
Mansion House Chambers, 11, Queen Victoria Street,
London, E.C. Head Office—Toronto, Canada.

Figure 1. Advertisement for the first edition of *Flint and Feather* (*The Bookman*, Jan. 1913). Courtesy the William Ready Division of Archives and Research, McMaster University Library.

The biographical sketch was edited and the two final paragraphs were rewritten to reflect upon Johnson's death and her memorial which stands in Vancouver's Stanley Park. This edition was offered for sale at a price of \$1.50.²⁰

The form of the dust jacket for the third Musson edition is uncertain, but a new design was introduced by the fourth Musson edition in 1920, one which was used regularly until the twelfth and final impression of this edition in 1943. The image on the dust jacket is not unlike the paintings by Seavey that had illustrated the text since the second edition in 1913. On the dust jacket is a black-and-white tonal image with two powerful Native men in the foreground watching a European sailing ship, either coming or going, in the distance. From this perspective, the Native men appear to dominate the landscape, armed with weapons and rippling muscles, while the

20 Eaton's advertisement, *Toronto Star* 21 Nov. 1917: 22.

colonial ship appears small and unimposing. The artist responsible for the dust jacket is not indicated but, as in earlier editions, the title page continues to indicate that the volume is illustrated by J.R. Seavey. Although it has not been confirmed, the strong similarities between the tonal image on the dust jacket and Seavey's other illustrations make it reasonable to suspect that Seavey provided the illustration for the dust jacket.

For the fourth Musson edition, marked by the publisher as the "sixth edition revised and enlarged," there are no added poems, but the preliminaries are reorganized and there are further shifts in the layout of text. Gerson and Strong-Boag point out, for example, that it is this edition which "introduced misarrangement of the lines of the opening stanza of 'The Songster,' an error which remained uncorrected in all subsequent editions."²¹ The fourth edition appeared, in a wide variety of bindings, in 12 different impressions between 1920 and 1943. Among them, the second impression, from 1921, is unusual in that it is extant in a variety of states and appears to have been constructed, in part, with sheets from earlier editions.

A substantial re-design of the cover, title page, and endpapers was introduced in 1924. It is not certain who designed the new title page and the endpapers, but Margaret Edison confirms that Thoreau MacDonald designed the cover stamp²² used for the cloth and the leather bindings, a design which was used for impressions between 1924 and 1943 (fig. 2). It is unlikely that he designed the other elements, since a hand-written notation in Edison's copy of the 1937 impression²³ indicates that it was only the cover stamp that was designed by Thoreau MacDonald.

This clarification is likely offered because of an on-going design collaboration between J.E.H. MacDonald and his son, Thoreau. One such collaboration was a re-design of Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* a design format which was issued nine times by McClelland & Stewart between 1922 and 1949. For *Legends of Vancouver* J.E.H. MacDonald designed the covers for the cloth, leather (fig. 3), and paperback bindings, as well as the dust jacket. The title page was designed in

21 Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction," xxiv.

22 Margaret E. Edison, *Thoreau MacDonald: A Catalogue of Design and Illustration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 108.

23 Margaret E. Edison Collection of Thoreau MacDonald, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Figure 2. Thoreau MacDonald's cover design used for cloth and leather bindings of *Flint and Feather* between 1924-1943. Reproduced from Margaret Edison's copy of the 1937 impression, courtesy the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Figure 3. J.E.H. MacDonald's cover design, used for leather and cloth bindings of *Legends of Vancouver* between 1922-1949. Courtesy the W.A.C. Bennet Library, Simon Fraser University.

collaboration with Thoreau, who contributed the lettering.²⁴ The new design for *Flint and Feather* did not include a new dust jacket, but it is otherwise a remarkably similar undertaking. While Musson's 1924 re-design of *Flint and Feather* was clearly inspired by McClelland and Stewart's 1922 re-design of *Legends of Vancouver*, it is very unlikely that J.E.H. MacDonald participated in Musson's project. It does not measure up to his design standard and, despite substantial scholarly work on J.E.H. MacDonald's career, the design of *Flint and Feather* has not been identified as his work. The unknown designer who collaborated with Thoreau MacDonald on Musson's project may have left a clue to his identity in a mark which may be his monogram, near the lower right-hand corner of the endpaper design.

In addition to the new cloth and leather binding designed by Thoreau MacDonald, there was another new binding format introduced in 1924, a binding of heavily embossed synthetic leather (or "frabikold binding") with gilt antiquing. Besides the title and the author's name, the cover is decorated with the embossed image of a Native man with a bow and arrows, a design which has much in common with the image on the dust jacket and which is quite unlike the stylized images created by MacDonald. This synthetic leather binding does not appear to have been as popular as MacDonald's design, and it seems to have been discontinued after 1930. Major department stores sold copies with various bindings: \$2.25 for cloth, \$3.00 for synthetic leather, and \$3.50 for limp leather.²⁵

24 Robert Stacey, *J.E.H. MacDonald, Designer: An Anthology of Graphic Design, Illustration and Lettering* (Ottawa: Archives of Canadian Art, 1996), xi, 6, 32, 60. Robert Stacey also suggests that the members of the Group of Seven were "the first to benefit from the growing printing and publishing industries in Toronto" (ix) which offered them employment as commercial artists and, in turn, helped them to develop a bold new sense of design in their paintings. Late in the nineteenth century, new technologies using photographic reproduction meant that this was the first generation of artists whose work was not re-interpreted by engravers and lithographers, a development which led to a sort of "golden-age" (ix) of design. Even in this context, J.E.H. MacDonald's body of work as a designer is unparalleled in Canada. As a designer, MacDonald was influenced by the ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement, and by the work of William Morris (ix). He gave lectures and wrote papers on typography and the decorative arts, taught book illustration, lettering, and design (xi).

25 Prices were published in a Simpson's department store advertisement in the *Toronto Star*, 21 December 1926: 22, for cloth at \$2.25, and for two leather bindings at \$3.00 and \$3.50; and five years later in the *Toronto Star*, 17 December 1931: 22, for cloth at \$2.25, leather at \$3.00, and limp leather at \$3.50; and three

In 1930 two impressions were issued, one of which was marked "thirteenth edition" and was available in the standard binding formats discussed above. The other, marked "fourteenth edition," was printed on thin paper, with a reduced leaf size, and was bound in two special publisher's binding formats: a morocco leather binding, in green or red,²⁶ and a limp leather binding with hand-painted detail. While the morocco binding offers a very refined design, there can be little doubt that the special limp leather design was deliberately naive, inspired by the immensely popular folk-art bindings which had been produced by one or more Vancouver gift-shops for Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* and occasionally for *Flint and Feather* (fig. 4). While the folk-art bindings were produced with a combination of hand-tooling and paint, the publisher's binding produced a similar effect with a carefully designed stamp, over which hand-painted colours decorated the image of a Native male in full headdress on the centre of the cover (fig. 5).

In 1931, Musson seems to have returned to a more limited selection of binding formats, all based on Thoreau MacDonald's design. Hunter Rose was contracted to take over printing from Warwick Bros.²⁷ According to Elizabeth Hulse, Hunter Rose was an award-winning printer which occasionally operated as a publisher at this time, but its primary business was printing for other publishers including the Macmillan Company of Canada and McClelland and Stewart.²⁸ Musson's new printer produced all of the subsequent impressions of the fourth edition and all impressions of the fifth edition.

The fifth Musson edition appeared sometime after 1943 with a new modern design, and without Seavey's illustrations. It was issued nine times between 1943 and 1969, but impressions of this edition are often more difficult to locate than earlier editions. These undated impressions are marked by the publisher, according to the methods used at the time, as the "Eighteenth Edition" through the "Twenty-fifth Edition." The final impression of this edition is marked as the

years later in an Eaton's department store advertisement in *The Toronto Star*, 11 December 1934: 50, for cloth at \$2.25, and for leather at \$3.50.

26 Thomas Vincent reports a red morocco binding for this impression in his Bibliofiles Database <<http://www.bibliofiles.ca/listings.cfm?TitleID=182&AuthorID=39>>.

27 McClelland and Stewart followed suit in 1941, contracting Hunter Rose to take over from Warwick Bros. as the printer for Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver*.

28 Elizabeth Hulse, "The Hunter Rose Company: A Brief History," *The Devil's Artisan* 18 (1986): 8.

Figure 4. One of the less common folk art bindings produced by one or more Vancouver gift shops for *Flint and Feather*. Courtesy Arabella Books, Bonners Ferry, ID.

Figure 5. Musson binding, inspired by the popular Vancouver gift shop bindings. A special format issued in 1930, marked as the "Fourteenth Edition." Courtesy the W.A.C. Bennet Library, Simon Fraser University.

"Twenty-sixth Printing," and it notes a copyright, by Hodder & Stoughton, dated 1967.

Flint and Feather had been associated with the Musson name since the first edition in 1912, but this changed after the fifth edition when, in 1969, it was first published under the Hodder & Stoughton imprint, though the Musson Book Co. had been since at least 1964 a division of Hodder & Stoughton.²⁹ The Hodder & Stoughton edition, issued in 1969, 1970, 1972, and in 1974 was once again printed in Great Britain, this time by Compton Printing of London and Aylesbury. A new edition appeared in 1972, published by PaperJacks under an arrangement with Hodder & Stoughton. Printed and bound in Canada, this edition was also reprinted three times, in 1979, 1981, and in 1987. Both the Hodder & Stoughton and the PaperJacks editions have impressions which are incorrectly marked. The third impression of the the Hodder & Stoughton edition, dated 1972, is incorrectly marked as the "Twenty-eighth Impression." The publisher's intention seems to have been to locate it in the sequence of every impression of every edition which appeared under the Musson imprint, but with this intention it would have been the twenty-ninth impression). There is an even more obvious error in the fourth impression of the PaperJacks edition (1987). Although the third impression is correctly marked: "3rd Printing October 1981," the fourth impression is incorrectly marked: "3rd printing October 1987."

The Iroquois Reprints edition, published in 1997, is a reprint of the 1912 first edition; hence, it is the first since 1917 not to include the claim that *Flint and Feather* is a complete collection of Johnson's poetry. It is also the first edition to incorporate an illustration by a Native artist. It is illustrated by Raymond Skye, a self-taught artist and designer from the Six Nations Reserve, a member of the Tuscarora Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy.³⁰ Skye's drawing of

29 All three impressions of Van Steen's *Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work* dated 1965, 1968, and 1973, were published under the imprint "Musson Book Company, a Division of Hodder & Stoughton." However, according to John Attenborough in *A Living Memory*, the Canadian division of Hodder and Stoughton had been purchased by Charles Musson in 1925 and it was not until 1964 that the parent company regained ownership of the Canadian imprint when they purchased the financially-troubled Musson Book Company for 1 dollar. Three years later, in 1967, the Musson Book Company was sold to Jack Stoddart of General Publishing (210-11).

30 Biography of cover artist Raymond Skye, in Canada, Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Export Services for Small- and Medium-Sized Enterprises, Aboriginal International Business Development Committee, Directory of

Johnson illustrates her two distinct performance personae in front of her childhood home, known as "Chiefswood," on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford.

Since the Iroquois Reprints edition, *Flint and Feather* has not been re-issued; however, all of the poems in the collection, and 72 others uncovered by Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, have been included in a new collection: *E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake): Collected Poems and Selected Prose*. During her lifetime, Johnson made several attempts to have her collected poetry published in a single volume, an undertaking which was not completed until Gerson and Strong-Boag took up the project, almost 90 years after Johnson's death. The editors do not claim that the volume is complete, but that "it is as complete as possible," containing all of Johnson's "known poems, many [of which] were painstakingly culled from newspapers, magazines, and archives."³¹ Gerson and Strong-Boag's collected edition contains 169 poems, 72 of which were never included in *Flint and Feather*.

Despite the ongoing popularity of *Flint and Feather* for generations of Canadian readers, it is worth noting that a greater number of copies have been distributed beyond Canadian borders. Translations of Johnson's *Flint and Feather* and *Legends of Vancouver* have been published in numerous editions by Russian publishers with massive print runs, print runs which dwarf those of standard Canadian editions. Early Russian editions of Johnson's texts are not readily available to North American scholars,³² but there is evidence of their popularity and it is clear that Johnson can be counted, along with Ernest Thompson Seton, Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, and Stephen Leacock,³³ among a handful of Canadian authors who found a

Aboriginal Exporters 2002 ([Ottawa]: Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2002), 2, <<http://64.233.167.104/search?q=cache:H-wb1WV3S5QJ:www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/aboriginalplanet/pdf/DirectoryE.pdf+%22raymond+skye%22&hl=en>>, retrieved on 10 Feb. 2005.

31 Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction," xxv, i.

32 Three relatively recent volumes, *Vybrani poezii* (L'viv: Vyd-vo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1962), *Zateriannyi ostrov: drugie istorii: Sbornik* (Moskva: Detskaia lit-ra, 1988), and *mify i legendy Ameriki* (Nadezhda, 1996), currently available in North American libraries, offer only a small glimpse into the publishing history of Pauline Johnson's writings in the Soviet Union.

33 In a brief analysis of the state of publishing in the Soviet Union in 1958 ("Books and Russia," *Toronto Star*, 28 Jun. 1958: 28), George Bryant cites a Soviet News Bulletin which states that 185 editions of works by Canadian authors were reprinted in Russia between 1918 and 1956, totaling 5,400,000 copies. Of these,

place in the emerging popular literary culture of Russia in the pre-revolutionary period and whose work has continued to be re-issued, again and again, by Russian publishers. A more recent publication, a Chinese edition of *Flint and Feather* entitled *Sui shi he yu mao*, may open a new chapter in the publication history of this title.

According to the author's forward, Johnson titled her collection *flint*, for the tip of an arrow, representing the heart of "Indian life and love," and *feather* for her verse, which she imagined as a "skyward floating feather, sailing on summer air." She probably did not imagine that her feather would have floated so very far, over so very many years.

SOMMAIRE

Emily Pauline Johnson (1861-1913) devint au début du vingtième siècle l'une des plus célèbres interprètes canadiennes. Désignée comme étant « celle qui récitait de la poésie indienne » ou encore « la poétesse mohawk », elle était également connue sous son nom autochtone de Tekahionwake. Collaborant à de nombreux périodiques, Johnson fut une auteure très populaire, prisée surtout pour sa poésie que moult générations d'écoliers canadiens ont mémorisée. Trois recueils furent publiés de son vivant : *The White Wampum*, *Canadian Born* et *Flint*

Ernest Thompson Seton was the clearly the most popular Canadian author in Russia, followed by Charles G.D. Roberts, Stephen Leacock, Bliss Carmen, and E. Pauline Johnson. Bryant's assertions are supported by a publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics entitled "Sovetskaia kniga za 30 let," in the periodical *Sovetskaia Kniga*, translated as *Book Publishing in Soviet Russia: An Official Survey Based upon the Data of the All-Union Book Department* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948) by Helen Lambert Shadick for the American Council of Learned Societies.

The work of Robert Bernstein, Boris Ivanovitch Gorokhoff, and others indicate that the earliest titles were introduced by the group of dynamic European-trained publishers who dominated Russian publishing late in the nineteenth century and who catered to a growing audience of urban working-class readers with increasingly diversified interests. The work of Canadian authors continued to be published by state publishing houses throughout the Soviet period and beyond. See Robert Bernstein et al, *Book Publishing in the U.S.S.R.: Reports of the Delegations of U.S. Book Publishers Visiting the U.S.S.R. October 21-November 4, 1970 and August 20-September 17, 1962* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971) and Boris Ivanovitch Gorokhoff, *Publishing in the U.S.S.R.*, Indiana University Slavic and East European Series, Vol. 19 (Washington, D.C.: Council on Library Resources, 1959).

and Feather, le dernier étant une compilation qui englobe les œuvres tirées des deux volumes précédents enrichies de plusieurs poèmes inédits. Entre 1912 et 1997, cet ouvrage ne comptera pas moins de 35 éditions au pays.

Cette étude se propose de retracer les diverses étapes qui ont mené à la publication de *Flint and Feather*. On y traite de la contribution d'un groupe de journalistes et de personnalités en vue de Vancouver mis sur pied par la journaliste Isabel Maclean et appelé « Pauline Johnson Trust » afin d'assister Johnson dans ses travaux d'édition lorsque celle-ci vit ses forces décliner à cause d'un cancer du sein. L'article aborde ensuite l'évolution de l'œuvre au cours des années à partir de la première édition fourmillant d'erreurs, en passant par les changements de formats, l'ajout de poèmes et les diverses conceptions graphiques adoptées. L'étude explore également de façon assez détaillée les liens qu'entretenait Johnson avec des hommes tels que Son Altesse Royale le duc de Connaught, devenu plus tard gouverneur général du Canada, à qui elle dédia l'œuvre y compris l'éminent critique littéraire, Theodore Watts-Dunton, lequel la présenta en introduction dès la deuxième édition du recueil ainsi que dans les subséquentes. Enfin on examine le travail respectif de l'illustrateur J.R. Seavey, du concepteur Thoreau MacDonald et d'un collaborateur inconnu.

Dans une nouvelle édition publiée en 1917 et désignée par l'éditeur comme étant la « cinquième édition, révisée et augmentée » mais qui ne comporte aucun poème additionnel, on rencontre pour la première fois la mention erronée de Musson se lisant comme suit « Poèmes complets d'E. Pauline Johnson. » Cette allégation fallacieuse sera répétée sur la page de titre de chacune des éditions subséquentes et ce, jusqu'à ce que la firme Iroquois Reprints rétablisse les faits en 1997. Depuis cette date, *Flint and Feather* n'a pas été republié. Cependant tous les poèmes du recueil et plusieurs autres découverts par Carole Gerson et Veronica Strong-Boag furent réunis dans une nouvelle compilation intitulée *E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake): Collected Poems and Selected Prose*. Johnson avait sa vie durant songé à maintes reprises de publier l'ensemble de son œuvre poétique en un seul volume, projet qui hélas ne vit jamais le jour jusqu'à ce que Gerson et Strong-Boag le prissent en considération presque 90 ans après le décès de l'auteure.

Malgré la popularité persistante de *Flint and Feather* auprès de générations de lecteurs canadiens, il faut noter qu'un grand nombre d'exemplaires furent diffusés au-delà de nos frontières. On publia à fort tirage des traductions en russe de *Flint and Feather* et *Legends*

of *Vancouver*, éclipsant du même coup les éditions canadiennes régulières. On peut affirmer que Johnson, à l'instar des Ernest Thomson Seton, sir Charles G. D. Roberts et Stephen Leacock, fait partie de cette poignée d'écrivains qui ont contribué à l'émergence de la culture populaire russe durant la période prérévolutionnaire et dont les œuvres continuent à être publiées maintes et maintes fois par des éditeurs russes. Une parution plus récente, soit une édition chinoise de *Flint and Feather* intitulée *Sui shi he yu mao*, annonce peut-être un nouveau chapitre dans l'histoire de cette publication.

DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

What follows is a bibliographical description of the Canadian editions of *Flint and Feather* from the first edition in 1912 to the most recent, in 1997. This bibliographic work depended on the collections of many institutions, particularly the fine Johnson collections in the libraries at Simon Fraser University and at McMaster University. Also invaluable were two uncatalogued collections, one assembled by Sandra Alston at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, and the other uncovered by Tom Maragos in the Canadiana Collection of the Central North York Public Library. The author wishes to thank the staff at each of these institutions.

Location Symbols

- BVAS – W.A.C. Bennet Library, Simon Fraser University,
Burnaby
- MBC – John E. Robbins Library, Brandon University,
Brandon
- OGU – McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph, Guelph
- OHM – Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University,
Hamilton
- OHMA – William Ready Division of Archives and Research,
McMaster University, Hamilton
- OKQJM – W.D. Jordan Special Collections and Music Library,
Queen's University, Kingston
- OLU – D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario,
London
- OONL – Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa

E. PAULINE JOHNSON
(TEKAHIONWAKE)

[Frontispiece]

Figure 6. Frontispiece portrait and title page of Johnson reproduced from the first edition, courtesy the William Ready Division of Archives and Research, McMaster University Library.

FLINT AND FEATHER

BY

E. PAULINE JOHNSON

(TEKAHIONWAKE)

*WITH SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF
THE AUTHOR*

THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LTD.

TORONTO, CANADA

LONDON, ENGLAND

- OPET – Thomas J. Bata Library, Trent University,
Peterborough
- OTAR – Archives of Ontario, Toronto
- OTCC – United Church of Canada and Victoria University
Archives, Toronto
- OTMCL – Toronto Public Library, Toronto
- OTNY – North York Public Library, North York
- OTSCC – Vincent W. Bladen Library, University of Toronto,
Scarborough
- OTSTM – John M. Kelly Library, St. Michael's College,
University of Toronto, Toronto
- OTU – John P. Robarts Research Library, University of
Toronto, Toronto
- OTUTF – Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of
Toronto, Toronto
- OTV – E.J. Pratt Library, Victoria University, Toronto
- OTY – York University Libraries, Toronto
- OWTU – University of Waterloo Library, Waterloo
- PC – Carole Gerson, Private Collection

I. First Edition, Musson, Toronto & London, [1912]

FLINT AND FEATHER | BY | E. PAULINE JOHNSON |
(TEKAHIONWAKE) | *WITH SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF | THE AUTHOR* | THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY,
LTD. | [to left] TORONTO, CANADA [to right] LONDON,
ENGLAND

COLLATION: (21.9 × 14.3 cm) $a^8 b^2 1-9^8 10^6$ [\$1 signed], 88 leaves,
pp *i-vi vii viii ix-xx 1-2 3-77 78 79 80 81-133 134 135-156*. A frontispiece
and a plate facing p. xiv.

CONTENTS: *i*: half title: 'FLINT AND FEATHER'. *ii*: blank.
iii: title page. *iv*: blank. *v*: 'To | HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS | THE
DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | WHO IS HEAD CHIEF OF THE
SIX NATIONS INDIANS | I INSCRIBE THIS BOOK BY HIS
OWN | GRACIOUS PERMISSION'. *vi*: blank. *vii*: 'AUTHOR'S
FOREWORD' by 'E.P.J.' *viii*: blank. *ix-xii*: 'CONTENTS'. *xiii-xx*:
unsigned 'BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH'. *1*: half-title: 'THE WHITE
WAMPUM'. *2*: blank. *3-77*: poems from *The White Wampum* in the
same order in which they appear in the 1895 publication. *78*: blank.
79: half-title: 'CANADIAN BORN'. *80*: blank. *81-132*: poems from

Canadian Born in the same order in which they appear in the 1903 publication. 133: half-title: 'MISCELLANEOUS POEMS'. 134: blank. 135: 'IN GREY DAYS'. 136: 'THE TRAIN DOGS'. 137: 'THE INDIAN CORN PLANTER'. 138: 'THE CATTLE COUNTRY'. 139-141: 'AUTUMN'S ORCHESTRA'. 142-143: 'THE TRAIL TO LILLOOET'. 144: 'CANADA'. 145: 'THE LIFTING OF THE MIST'. 146: 'THE HOMING BEE'. 147: 'THE LOST LAGOON'. 148: 'BRANDON'. 149-150: 'THE KING'S CONSORT'. 151-152: 'WHEN GEORGE WAS KING'. 153-154: 'DAY DAWN'. 155-156: 'THE ARCHER', and at the bottom of 156, [rule 64.5 mm] | *Printed by Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., London and Aylesbury, England.*

ILLUSTRATIONS: Frontispiece on coated paper, a photographic portrait of Johnson, marked: '[centred] E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [to right] [*Frontispiece*']'. An additional plate on coated paper, facing page xiv, marked: '[to left] *Photo* [to right] [*Galbraith, Toronto*]. | [centred] "CHIEFSWOOD," E. PAULINE JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE. | House in which the Indian poetess was born, on the Six Nations Reserve, 12 miles south from Brantford, | on the banks of the Grand River. | [to left] xiv]'

BINDING: Light blue linen cloth, stamped in gold; upper board: '[framed in blind] FLINT AND FEATHER | [rule 19 mm] | E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE)'. Spine: '[with blind rule head and foot] FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [rule 15 mm] | E. PAULINE | JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | MUSSON'. Gilt top; fore-edge and tail untrimmed. Wove endpapers.

Dust jacket: sky blue paper, printed in black; front: 'FLINT AND FEATHER | [rule 19 mm] | E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE)'. Spine: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [rule 15 mm] | E. PAULINE | JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | MUSSON'. Back: publisher's advertisements, entitled 'IMPORTANT CANADIAN WORKS' beginning with *Poems*, by Frederick George Scott, and ending with *Canadian Trails: Hither and Thither in the Great Dominion*, by E.G. Walker. Flaps blank.

NOTES: In December 1912, an advertisement in *Bookseller and Stationer* offers this first edition for sale at a price of \$1.25.

A copy in the McMaster University Library has a page glued to the paste down at the back of the book; an undated typed list entitled 'FLINT AND FEATHER. | ERRORS', arranged in columns for 'Page', 'Line', 'READS', and 'OUGHT TO READ'.

The corresponding corrections are marked in the book and a typed statement at the bottom of the page reads 'I have made all the above corrections personally,' and it is signed in holograph 'E. Pauline Johnson'.

The other copy in the McMaster University Library is inscribed, by Johnson, 'To | Walter McRaye | Who is dear to me | E. Pauline Johnson | Tekahionwake | Vancouver, | January 31st, | 1913.' and has a portrait of Johnson glued to the pasted-down endpaper at the front; it has a navy- blue leather dust-jacket which is stitched with leather lacing on the front of which is an embossed image of a feather and a flint. This special binding is housed in a pale greyish-blue box.

One of the copies in the Simon Fraser University Library contains a bookplate, indicating that it was a gift to the library from Bernard McEvoy, and a note from Johnson to Bernard McEvoy: 'My Dear Mr. McEvoy | There are still two lilies | left blooming on the | tall green stalk you brought | me – so you see what care | I have given your [illegible word] gift_ | Yours always | E. Pauline ____ | Tuesday.' It also contains a white paper label, handwritten in black '[inside a single-line panel] PARLIAMENT | REFURBISHED 1980'.

Another one of the copies in the Simon Fraser University Library is inscribed, by Johnson, 'To Mr G.S. Forsyth | With my sincere regard | and the memory of much | kindness. | Faithfully | E. Pauline Johnson | Tekahionwake | Vancouver. | February 7th | 1913.'

The copy from Queen's University Library is inscribed, by Johnson, 'To Isabelle McLean, | who is my friend | Faithfully | E. Pauline Johnson | Tekahionwake | Vancouver. | Christmas-Tide | 1912.'

COPIES EXAMINED: BVAS (three copies); OHMA (two copies); OKQJM; OONL; OTNY; OTMCL; OTUTF (two copies).

2. Second Musson Edition, Toronto & London, 1913

FLINT AND FEATHER | (COLLECTED VERSE) | BY |
E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | *WITH*
INTRODUCTION BY THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON |
ILLUSTRATED BY J. R. SEAVEY | REVISED AND ENLARGED
EDITION | THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY LIMITED | [to
left] TORONTO, CANADA [to right] LONDON, ENGLAND

COLLATION: (22 × 14.1 cm) *a*⁸ *b*⁸ 1-10⁸ 11⁴ [\$1 signed], 100 leaves, pp [2] *i-vi* vii-xvii xviii xix-xxx 1-2 3-77 78 79 80 81-133 134 135-165 166-168. Frontispiece and illustrations facing pages xxiv, xxviii, 12, 32, 100, 138, and 148.

CONTENTS: [1]-[2]: blank. *i*: half title: 'FLINT AND FEATHER'. *ii*: blank. *iii*: title page. *iv*: 'First Edition printed in 1912 | This, the Second Edition, printed in 1913'. *v*: 'T | HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS | THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | WHO IS HEAD CHIEF OF THE SIX NATIONS INDIANS | I INSCRIBE THIS BOOK BY HIS OWN | GRACIOUS PERMISSION'. *vi*: blank. vii-xvi: 'INTRODUCTION | IN MEMORIAM: PAULINE JOHNSON' by 'THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. | THE PINES, | PUTNEY HILL. | 20th August, 1913.' xvii: 'AUTHOR'S FOREWORD' by 'E.P.J.' xviii: blank. xix-xxii: CONTENTS. xxiii-xxx: unsigned 'BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH'. 1: half-title: 'THE WHITE WAMPUM'. 2: 'The Poems from page 3 to page 77 are as they appeared | in the first book published by the Author, "The White | Wampum."'. 3-77: text. 78: blank. 79: half-title: 'CANADIAN BORN'. 80: 'The poems from page 81 to page 132 are as they appeared | in the second book published by the Author.' 81-132: text. 133: half-title: 'MISCELLANEOUS POEMS'. 134: 'These miscellaneous poems are all of later date.' 135: 'IN GREY DAYS'. 136: 'BRANDON'. 137: 'THE INDIAN CORN PLANTER'. 138: 'THE CATTLE COUNTRY'. 139-141: 'AUTUMN'S ORCHESTRA'. 142-143: 'THE TRAIL TO LILLOOET'. 144: 'CANADA'. 145: 'THE LIFTING OF THE MIST'. 146: 'THE HOMING BEE'. 147: 'THE LOST LAGOON'. 148: 'THE TRAIN DOGS'. 149-150: 'THE KING'S CONSORT'. 151-152: 'WHEN GEORGE WAS KING'. 153-154: 'DAY DAWN'. 155-156: 'THE ARCHERS'. 157: 'THE WOLF'. 158-159: 'THE MAN IN CHRYSANTHEMUM LAND'. 160-161: 'CALGARY OF THE PLAINS'. 162-165: 'THE BALLAD OF THE YAADA'. 166: PRINTED BY | HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LD. | LONDON AND AYLESBURY, | ENGLAND.' 167-168: blank.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Frontispiece on coated paper, marked: '[to left] From the Painting by [to right] [J. R. Seavey. | [centred] A LEGEND OF THE NORTH WOODS. | [to left] Frontispiece].' Plates on coated paper, and marked with the facing page number, as follows: a photographic portrait of Johnson (same as first edition), marked with a reproduction of her signature: '[to right] E. Pauline Johnson | Tekahionwake | [to left] xxiv]' (xxiv); a photograph (same as first

edition facing p. xiv), marked '[to left] Photo' [to right] [*Galbraith, Toronto*. | [centred] "CHIEFSWOOD," E. PAULINE JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE. | House in which the Indian poetess was born, on the Six Nations Reserve, 12 miles south | from Brantford, on the banks of the Grand River.' | [to left xxviii]' (xxviii). Reproductions of paintings marked with the name of the poem that they illustrate, signed by J.R. Seavey, and marked with the facing page number, as follows: '[centred] THE CATTLE THIEF. | [to left] 12]' (12); '[centred] THE SONG MY PADDLE SINGS. | [to left] 32]' (32); '[centred] THISTLE-DOWN. | [to left] 100]' (100); '[centred] THE CATTLE COUNTRY. | [to left] 138]' (138); and '[centred] THE TRAIN DOGS. | [to left] 148]' (148).

BINDING: Red cloth, stamped in gold; upper board: '[framed in blind] FLINT AND FEATHER | [reproduction signature] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [feather crossed over an arrow]'. Spine: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | E · PAULINE | JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [arrow] | MUSSON'. Fore-edge and tail untrimmed. Wove endpapers.

Dust jacket: grey rag paper, stamped in black in the same manner as the cloth cover.

Binding variant: A copy from the Simon Fraser University Library is bound in limp leather, blind tooled, upper board: 'FLINT AND FEATHER | [reproduction signature] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [feather crossed over an arrow]'. Spine: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | E · PAULINE | JOHNSON | [arrow] | MUSSON'.

IMPRESSIONS: The second impression of this edition (1914) introduced a new title page: 'FLINT AND FEATHER | (COLLECTED VERSE) | BY | E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION | INCLUDING POEM WRITTEN DURING | HER FINAL ILLNESS | WITH INTRODUCTION BY THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON | ILLUSTRATED BY J. R. SEAVEY | [publishers device, with stylized letters: 'M', 'B', and 'Co'] | THE MUSSON BOOK CO. LIMITED | [to left] TORONTO [to right] LONDON'. The caption on the plate facing page xxviii has been reset as follows: '[to left] Photo' [to right] [*Galbraith, Toronto*. | [centred] "CHIEFSWOOD," E. PAULINE JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE. | House in which the Indian poetess was born, on the Six Nations Reserve, 12 miles south

from Brantford, | on the banks of the Grand River.' | [to left xxviii]'. An additional poem has been added on page 166: '[title shown in quotation marks] "AND HE SAID, FIGHT ON"'; and the printer's imprint has been moved to page 167. The third impression, marked "Fourth Edition," was printed in 1916 and has no printer's imprint.

COPIES EXAMINED: BVAS (1913, two copies); BVAS (1914, 1916); OLU (1913, 1916); OONL (1913); OTAR (1916); OTNY (1914); OTMCL (1914); OTU (1914); OTV (1914); OTY (1913).

2a. Hodder & Stoughton Subedition, London, New York and Toronto, 1913

FLINT AND FEATHER | (COLLECTED VERSE) | BY |
E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | *WITH*
INTRODUCTION BY THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON |
ILLUSTRATED BY J. R. SEAVEY | REVISED AND ENLARGED
EDITION | HODDER AND STOUGHTON | LONDON NEW
YORK TORONTO

The same as the Second Musson Edition, except that 'HODDER AND STOUGHTON | LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO' appears on the title page and the publisher's imprint appears on the binding at the foot of the spine.

COPIES EXAMINED: OTY.

3. Third Musson Edition, Toronto & London, 1917

FLINT AND FEATHER | THE COMPLETE POEMS | OF
| E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | *WITH*
INTRODUCTION BY THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON | *AND A*
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR | ILLUSTRATED
BY J. R. SEAVEY | *FIFTH EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED* |
[publisher's device: a coat of arms with a Latin banner: 'CRESCAT IN
ETERNUM SCIENTIA'] | THE MUSSON BOOK CO., LIMITED
| [to left] TORONTO [centred] AND [to right] LONDON

COLLATION: (21.8 × 14.5 cm) 1F.F.–12F.F.⁸ 13F.F.⁴ [\$1 signed];
100 leaves, pp *i-v* vi-xi *xii* xiii-xxi *xxii* 1-10 11-12 13-87 88 89 90 91-143
144 145-176 177-178. Frontispiece and plates facing pages xvi, xviii,
22, 42, III, 148, and 158.

CONTENTS: *i*: half title: 'FLINT AND FEATHER'. *ii*: blank. *iii*: title page. *iv*: 'First Edition printed in 1912 | Second Edition printed in 1913 | Third Edition printed in 1914 | Fourth Edition printed in 1916 | Fifth Edition, printed in 1917 | FLINT AND FEATHER | Copyright, Canada 1917 | Copyright, Great Britain 1912, and 1917 | BY THE MUSSON BOOK CO., LIMITED | [rule 62.5 mm] | PRINTED IN CANADA'. *v*: 'To | HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS | THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | WHO IS HEAD CHIEF OF THE SIX NATIONS INDIANS | I INSCRIBE THIS BOOK BY HIS OWN | GRACIOUS PERMISSION'. *vi*: 'AUTHOR'S FOREWORD' by 'E.P.J.'. *vii-x*: CONTENTS. *xi*: 'LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS'. *xii*: blank. *xiii-xxi*: unsigned 'BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH'. *xxii*: blank. *i-10*: 'INTRODUCTION | IN MEMORIAM: PAULINE JOHNSON' by 'THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. | THE PINES, | PUTNEY HILL. | 20th August, 1913.' *11-176*: text. *177*: 'Warwick Bro's & Rutter, Limited, | Printers and Bookbinders, Toronto, Canada.' *178*: blank.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Frontispiece on coated paper, marked: '[to left] *From the Painting by* [to right] *J. R. Seavey.* | [centred] A LEGEND OF THE NORTH WOODS. | [to left] *Frontispiece*'. Plates on coated paper, and marked with the facing page number, as follows: a photographic portrait of Johnson marked with a reproduction of her signature: '[to right] E. Pauline Johnson | Tekahionwake' (xvi). A plate on coated paper facing page xxviii has two photographs, the upper is the image of Chiefswood which appears in earlier imprints, marked '[in quotation marks] "CHIEFSWOOD," E. PAULINE JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE. | House in which the Indian poetess was born, on the Six Nations Reserve, 12 miles south | from Brantford, on the banks of the Grand River.' and the lower is marked 'CAIRN OF E. PAULINE JOHNSON, STANLEY PARK, VANCOUVER, B.C.' Reproductions of paintings marked with the name of the poem that they illustrate and signed by J.R. Seavey, as follows: 'THE CATTLE THIEF.' (22); 'THE SONG MY PADDLE SINGS.' (42); 'THISTLE-DOWN.' (111); 'THE CATTLE COUNTRY.' (148); and 'THE TRAIN DOGS.' (158).

BINDING: Red cloth, stamped in gold; upper board: '[framed in blind] FLINT AND FEATHER | [reproduction signature] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [feather crossed over an arrow]'. Spine: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [rule] | E · PAULINE | JOHNSON | [arrow] | MUSSON'. Fore-edge and tail untrimmed. Wove endpapers.

NOTES: Earlier editions were printed in England; this is the first edition to be printed in Canada. No dust jacket was found. The LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS which appears for the first time in this edition, incorrectly lists the plate entitled 'THISTLE-DOWN' (III) as 'THISTLE-DAWN'. In an Eaton's advertisement in the *Toronto Star*, dated 21 November 1917, this edition is offered for sale at a price of \$1.50.

COPIES EXAMINED: BVAS; OTNY; OTU; OTSCC; OTV; OWTU.

4. Fourth Musson Edition, Toronto and London, 1920

FLINT AND FEATHER | THE COMPLETE POEMS | OF
| E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | WITH
INTRODUCTION BY THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON | AND A
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR | ILLUSTRATED
BY J. R. SEAVEY | SIXTH EDITION REVISED AND ENLARGED |
[publisher's device: a coat of arms with a Latin banner: 'CRESCAT IN
ETERNUM SCIENTIA'] | THE MUSSON BOOK CO., LIMITED
| [to left] TORONTO [centred] AND [to right] LONDON

COLLATION: (21.3 × 14 cm) *a-b*⁸ 1-10⁸ 11⁴ [\$1 signed; a8 signed as b], 100 leaves, pp *i-vi* vii-xvii xviii xix-xxxi xxxii 1-2 3-77 78 79 80 81-133 134 135-166 167-168. Frontispiece and illustrations facing pages xxvi, xxviii, 12, 32, 101, 138, and 148.

CONTENTS: *i*: half title: 'FLINT AND FEATHER'. *ii*: blank. *iii*: title page. *iv*: 'Copyright, Canada 1917 | Copyright, Great Britain, 1912, and 1917 | BY THE MUSSON BOOK CO., LIMITED | PUBLISHERS – TORONTO | *First Edition printed in 1912 | Second Edition printed in 1913 | Third Edition printed in 1914 | Fourth Edition printed in 1916 | Fifth Edition printed in 1917 | Sixth Edition printed in 1920* | [drop-cap M, outline sans serif] MUSSON | ALL CANADIAN PRODUCTION'. *v*: 'T^o | HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS | THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | WHO IS HEAD CHIEF OF THE SIX NATIONS INDIANS | I INSCRIBE THIS BOOK BY HIS OWN | GRACIOUS PERMISSION'. *vi*: blank. vii-xvi: 'INTRODUCTION | IN MEMORIAM: PAULINE JOHNSON' by 'THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. | THE PINES, | PUTNEY HILL. | 20th August, 1913.' xvii: 'AUTHOR'S FOREWORD' by 'E.P.J.' xviii: 'LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS'. xix-xxii: CONTENTS. xxiii-xxxi: unsigned 'BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH'. xxxii: blank. 1-165: text.

167: 'Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Limited | Printers and Bookbinders, Toronto, Canada.' 168: blank.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Frontispiece on coated paper, marked: '[to left] *From the Painting by* [to right] *J. R. Seavey.* | [centred] A LEGEND OF THE NORTH WOODS. | [to left] *Frontispiece*].' Plates on coated paper, as follows: a photographic portrait of Johnson, marked with a reproduction of her signature: 'E. Pauline Johnson | Tekahionwake' (xxvi). On the plate facing page xxviii, there are two photographs, the upper image is marked '[in quotations] "CHIEFSWOOD," E. PAULINE JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE. | House in which the Indian poetess was born, on the Six Nations Reserve 12 miles | south from Brantford, on the banks of the Grand River.' and the lower image is marked 'CAIRN OF E. PAULINE JOHNSON, STANLEY PARK, VANCOUVER, | B.C.' Reproductions of paintings, on coated paper, marked with the name of the poem that they illustrate, signed by J.R. Seavey, as follows, on pages opposite the page numbers indicated: 'THE CATTLE THIEF.' (12); 'THE SONG MY PADDLE SINGS.' (32); 'THISTLE-DOWN.' (101); 'THE CATTLE COUNTRY.' (138); and 'THE TRAIN DOGS.' (148).

BINDING: Red cloth, stamped in gold; upper board: '[framed in blind] FLINT AND FEATHER | [reproduction signature] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [feather crossed over an arrow]'. Spine: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [rule] | E · PAULINE | JOHNSON | [arrow] | MUSSON'. Endpapers wove. Fore-edge and tail untrimmed.

Binding variant: Soft brown leather, stamped in gold; upper board: 'FLINT AND FEATHER | [reproduction signature] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [feather crossed over an arrow]'. Spine: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [rule 9 mm] | E · PAULINE | JOHNSON | [arrow]'. Tan endpapers. Fore-edge and tail untrimmed.

Dust jacket: glossy grey paper, with an image that extends across both boards and the spine of two powerful Native men standing on shore watching a distant colonial sailing ship. Stamped in light grey; front: 'FLINT AND FEATHER | THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | [reproduction signature, angled up] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [lower right, drop-cap M, outline sans serif] MUSSON | ALL CANADIAN PRODUCTION'. Spine: 'FLINT |

AND | FEATHER | E. PAULINE | JOHNSON | [at foot of spine, printed in black] MUSSON'.

IMPRESSIONS: The first impression of this edition is dated 1920. The copy from a private collection has a hand-made limp leather dust jacket, machine stitched and blind-tooled: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [rule and swirling ornaments] | [feather crossed over an arrow, both of which are decorated with paint] | - BY - | E. PAULINE JOHNSON'.

The second impression (1921), marked "Seventh Edition," appears to have been prepared with pages from two different printings.

The third impression (1922), marked "Eighth Edition," is the first to drop the reference to LONDON from the title page.

The fourth impression (1924), marked "Ninth Edition," introduces a new design for the cover and the endpapers, as well as a new title page: '[with a large arrow perpendicular to the text, text is hand-lettered using a mixture upper and lower case forms] FLINT AND FEATHER | THE COMPLETE POEMS | OF | [a reproduction of Johnson's signature] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | WITH INTRODUCTION BY | THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON | AND A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH | OF THE AUTHOR . | ILLUSTRATED BY | [arrowhead ornament] J. R. SEAVEY [arrowhead ornament] | TORONTO | THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY | LIMITED.' This impression introduces a slight change in collation, which continues to appear until 1931, as follows: *a-b*⁸ *I*⁸ 2-10⁸ 11⁴ [\$1 (-1, -7) signed, a8 signed as b]. The plate facing page xxviii is modified for the fourth and subsequent impressions. On this plate there are two photographs, the upper image is marked '[in quotations] "CHIEFSWOOD," E. PAULINE JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE. | House in which the Indian poetess was born, on the Six Nations Reserve 12 miles | south from Brantford, on the banks of the Grand River.' and the lower image is marked 'MEMORIAL FOUNTAIN IN STANLEY PARK, VANCOUVER, B.C. | IN MEMORY OF E. PAULINE JOHNSON. | Erected by Women's Canadian Club and dedicated May, 1922.' One of the copies of this impression in the Simon Fraser University Library has been re-covered with a limp leather cover affixed to the endpapers. The hand-made cover has been blind-tooled, 'FLINT AND FEATHER | [cartoon image of a native chief in full headdress] | BY | E. PAULINE JOHNSON.'

The fifth impression (1926) is marked "Tenth Edition." In a full-page advertisement for Simpson's, printed in the *Toronto Star* on 21 December 1926, the title is listed among a number of recently published books, prices are \$2.25 for the cloth binding and two leather bindings at \$3.00 and \$3.50.

The sixth impression (1927) is marked "Eleventh Edition," the seventh impression (1928) is marked "Twelfth Edition," and the eighth impression (1930) is marked "Thirteenth Edition," and the ninth impression (1930) is marked "Fourteenth Edition."

The tenth impression (1931), marked "Fifteenth Edition," introduces a new collation, as follows: $\pi-2\pi^8$ 1^8 $2-10^8$ 11^4 [\$1 (-1, -7) signed], 100 leaves, pp *i-vi* vii-xvii *xviii* xix-xxxi *xxxii* 1-2 3-77 78-80 81-132 133-134 135-166 167-168. On 17 December 1931, a full-page advertisement for Simpson's lists Johnson's *Flint and Feather* for \$2.25 (cloth) and \$3.00 or \$3.50 (limp leather).

The eleventh impression (1937), marked "Sixteenth Edition," introduces a company logo as part of the printer's imprint: '[printer's device: printer's ink miller surmounted with a Tudor rose and cloister, text H and R³⁴] PRESS OF THE HUNTER-ROSE COMPANY LIMITED | • TORONTO •'. A copy of this impression in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library has a bookplate indicating that it is part of the Margaret E. Edison Collection of Thoreau MacDonald on loan to the University of Toronto Libraries from the Ontario Heritage Foundation. It contains a hand-written notation indicating that only the cover stamp is by T.M.

The twelfth impression (1943) is marked "Seventeenth Edition."

PUBLISHER'S BINDINGS:

1920-1922: Red cloth stamped in gold, or brown leather; upper board: '[framed in blind] FLINT AND FEATHER | [reproduction signature] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [feather crossed over an arrow]'. Spine: 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [rule] | E • PAULINE | JOHNSON | [arrow] | MUSSON'. Endpapers wove. Fore-edge and tail untrimmed.

1924-1943: Red cloth, stamped in gold; upper board: '[first two words centred between feathers] FLINT | • AND • | FEATHER | E.

34 This description is from the company's advertising flyers; it is often accompanied with the words "a mark of Quality, Service & Fair Price" (Hunter Rose Papers, Manuscript Collection 217, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Box 13, Folder 15).

PAULINE JOHNSON | • (*Tekahionwake*) • | [image of five arrows alternating with four feathers]. Spine: [spine framed with single rule frame; title between zigzag ornament and rules, stamped in gold or black] 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | *E. Pauline | Johnson* | [ornament of a feather, wampum, and two arrowheads, tripled] | [single rule] | MUSSON'. Endpapers: printed in olive green on beige paper, a wilderness scene, with large rocks and pine trees, at its centre is a large canoe with six Native figures paddling in rapids; in the lower right corner is a mark which may be a monogram. Fore-edge and tail untrimmed.

Binding variant (1926-1937): Limp leather (or polished leather, at least in 1928) binding stamped in brown, in the same manner as the cloth binding. Publisher's leather bindings came boxed. One of the Simon Fraser University Library copies of the 1930 impression, marked "Thirteenth Edition," is in the original box. The lower box is covered in white shiny paper and the top is covered in brown textured paper and has a paper label, tan with brown printing: '[in a one-line panel] FLINT AND FEATHER | BY E. PAULINE JOHNSON | [to left] THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LTD., TORONTO [to right] Limp Velvet Persian'. One of the Simon Fraser University Library copies of the 1937 impression is also in the original box. The lower box is covered in white shiny paper and the top is covered in brown textured paper and has a white paper label with brown printing: '[in a one-line panel] ONE | FLINT & FEATHER | [to left] LIMP LEATHER [to right] MUSSON'.

Binding variant (1924-1930): Heavily embossed synthetic leather (fabrikold binding), with gilt antiquing and coloured in two tones (brown and green, black and blue, red and brown, or light and dark brown). Upper board: '[within a raised three-line panel with swirls and a decorative arrowhead near each corner is a raised single-line panel embossed] FLINT [next word is underlined and over-lined] AND FEATHER | THE COMPLETE POEMS | OF | [reproduction signature, angled up] E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [beneath this is a circular panel, also with a raised border and gilt antiquing, with the embossed image of a Native male with a bow and arrows]'. Spine: '[within a raised single-line panel, embossed] FLINT | AND | FEATHER | THE | COMPLETE | POEMS OF | E. PAULINE | JOHNSON | [within a small panel at the foot of the spine] MUSSON'. This binding was used in 1930 for the impression marked "Thirteenth Edition," but not for the one marked "Fourteenth Edition."

Binding variant (1930): One of the copies, marked "Fourteenth Edition," in the Simon Fraser University Library is bound in green morocco leather, stamped in gold; upper board: '[in a combination of upper and lower case letters] FLINT and FEATHER | [long arrow] | E. PAULINE | JOHNSON | (*Tekahionwake*)'. Spine: [spine framed with single rule frame; title between zigzag ornament and rules] 'FLINT | AND | FEATHER | • | E. PAULINE | JOHNSON | [between vertical rules with arrow heads, a long arrow] | [between zigzag ornament and rules] MUSSON'. Endpapers: printed in olive green on beige paper, a wilderness scene, with large rocks and pine trees, at its centre is a large canoe with six Native figures paddling in rapids. Edges gilt; green finding ribbon.

Binding variant (1930): Copies marked "Fourteenth Edition" in the W.D. Jordan Special Collections at Queen's University, in the Baldwin Room at the Toronto Reference Library, and in the Simon Fraser University Library, have all been bound in brown limp leather, stamped in black; front: 'FLINT AND FEATHER [with AND angled up] | [image of an Indian male in full headdress, stamped in black and hand-coloured] | [crossed arrow and feather] | [reproduction signature] E. Pauline Johnson'. Spine: [decorative border above and below the title] FLINT | • & • | FEATHER | E. PAULINE | JOHNSON | [arrow crossed with two feathers] | MUSSON | [maple leaf overlaid with a banner which states] MADE IN CANADA'. Endpapers: printed in olive green on beige paper, a wilderness scene, with large rocks and pine trees, at its centre is a large canoe with six Native figures paddling in rapids, but lacks mark/monogram in lower-right hand corner of earlier bindings. Red top; fore-edge and tail untrimmed.

Dust jacket: Cloth-bound copies issued in 1921, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1931, and 1937 have dust jackets like the one used in the first impression of this edition, 1920.

COPIES EXAMINED: BVAS (1920, 1922, 1931); BVAS (two copies each of 1924, 1927, 1928, 1930-13th, 1930-14th, 1937); MBC (1943); OGU (1922); OHM (1927); OKQJM (1924, 1926, 1930-14th, 1937); OLU (1928); OONL (1930-13th); OTNY (1920, 1924); OTNY (1926, two copies); OTNY (1927, two copies); OTMCL (1922, 1926, 1930-14th); OTSTM (1922); OTTC (1921); OTU (1921, 1931); OTUTF (1920, 1928, 1937); OTV (1922, 1926); OTY (1924, 1927); OWTU (1921); PC (1920, 1930-13th).

5. Fifth Musson Edition, Toronto

FLINT | AND | FEATHER | *THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | With an Introduction by Theodore Watts-Dunton* | [ornamental rule 92 mm with slight break in the centre] | THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY LTD. | TORONTO

COLLATION: (20.5 × 13.3 cm) 100 leaves, pp *i-vii* ix-xxx 1-2 3-79 80-82 83-134 135-136 137-170.

CONTENTS: *i*: half title: '*FLINT and FEATHER*'. *ii*: blank. *iii*: title page. *iv*: 'COPYRIGHT GREAT BRITAIN 1912, 1917 | COPYRIGHT CANADA 1917, 1931 | BY THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LTD., TORONTO | *Eighteenth Edition* | *Entirely reset and printed from new plates* | MUSSON | [as part of a publisher's device, with a maple leaf, and a scroll indicating] MADE IN CANADA | Press of The Hunter-Rose Co. Limited | Toronto, Canada'. *v*: '*To His Royal Highness | THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | Who is Head Chief of the Six Nations Indians | I inscribe this book by his own gracious permission*'. *vi*: blank. *vii*: '*Author's Foreword*' by 'E. P. J.' *viii*: blank. ix-xii: '*Contents*'. xiii-xxii: '*Introduction | IN MEMORIAM : PAULINE JOHNSON*' by 'THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. | THE PINES, | PUTNEY HILL. | 20th August, 1913.' xxiii-xxx: unsigned '*Biographical Sketch*'. 1-170: text.

ILLUSTRATIONS: None.

BINDING: Green cloth, stamped in silver; upper board: '[ornamental rule with a slight break in the centre] | [title printed on a black rectangle 64 × 99 mm] FLINT | AND | FEATHER | *E. PAULINE JOHNSON*'. Spine: '[with ornamental rules above and below, and printed on a black rectangle 65 × 19 mm] *FLINT | AND | FEATHER* | [rule] | *E. PAULINE | JOHNSON* | [rule] | MUSSON'. Endpapers: printed in green, a wilderness scene, with large rocks and pine trees, at its centre is a large canoe with six Native figures paddling in rapids. Fore-edge and tail untrimmed.

Dust jacket: For the impressions marked as the nineteenth and the twenty-third editions, there is a dust jacket of glossy yellow paper, printed in black, red, and uppercase white; front: '*Flint and | Feather | THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) |* [two horizontal zigzag lines in red, with a thick black line, possibly representing wampum, in between and a

teepee in the centre]'. Spine: '[in black and red] Johnson | *Flint and Feather* | MUSSON | [red maple leaf overlaid with a banner which states] MADE IN CANADA'. Front flap: publisher's blurb.

IMPRESSIONS: Undated impressions are marked, by the publisher, the "Eighteenth Edition" through the "Twenty-fifth Edition." There is a final impression of this edition marked "Twenty-sixth Printing" which notes a copyright by Hodder & Stoughton dated 1967. The dust jacket for the impression marked as the "Nineteenth Edition" indicates a price of \$2.50. Beginning with the impression marked as the "Twenty-third Edition," the endpapers are wove.

NOTES: The copy of the "Nineteenth Edition" from Simon Fraser University has a hand-made leather cover over the dust jacket, with a leather bookmark, marked in brown; front: 'Flint | and | Feather. | [angled underscore] | [hand-painted image of a native woman canoeing in the middle of a lake scene with rocks and trees; colours are blue, white, yellow, green, red, black, and orange] | E. PAULINE [with a period before and after the surname] JOHNSON. [angled underscore]'.

COPIES EXAMINED: BVAS (19, 25); OHM (21); OHMA (22); OKQJM (22); OTCC (21); OTNY (26); OTMCL (18, 23, 25, 26); OTSTM (19); OTU (19); WTU (18, two copies).

6. Hodder & Stoughton Edition, Toronto, [1969]

FLINT | AND | FEATHER | *THE COMPLETE POEMS OF* | *E. PAULINE JOHNSON* | (*TEKAHIONWAKE*) | *With an Introduction by Theodore Watts-Dunton* | [publisher's device: printed in white on a 9.5 mm square of black, a crown above a pedestal] | HODDER AND STOUGHTON · TORONTO

COLLATION: (20.3 × 13.3 cm), 100 leaves, pp *i-vii* ix-xxx 1-2 3-79 80-82 83-134 135-136 137-170. No illustrations.

CONTENTS: *i*: half title: '*FLINT and FEATHER*'. *ii*: blank. *iii*: title page. *iv*: 'COPYRIGHT GREAT BRITAIN 1912, 1917 | BY HODDER AND STOUGHTON LIMITED, LONDON | COPYRIGHT CANADA 1917, 1931 | BY THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY LTD., TORONTO | *Printed in Great Britain* | Printed in Great Britain for | Hodder and Stoughton Limited, Toronto | by Compton Printing Limited | London and Aylesbury'. *v*: '*To His Royal Highness* | THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | *Who is Head Chief of the Six*

Nations Indians | *I inscribe this book by his own gracious permission*. vi: blank. vii: 'Author's Foreword' by 'E. P. J.' viii: blank. ix-xii: 'Contents'. xiii-xxii: 'Introduction' | *IN MEMORIAM : PAULINE JOHNSON* by 'THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. | THE PINES, | PUTNEY HILL. | 20th August, 1913.' xxiii-xxx: unsigned 'Biographical Sketch'. 1-170: text.

BINDING: Green cloth stamped in gold; upper board: unmarked. Spine: '[between ornamental rules] FLINT | AND | FEATHER | [ornament] | E. | Pauline | Johnson | [printer's device at foot of spine]. Wove endpapers.

Dust jacket: The copy at the Toronto Reference Library has a yellow dust jacket, printed in black, red, and uppercase white; front: '[title in script] *Flint and Feather* | THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [two zigzag lines in red, with a thick black line, possibly representing wampum, in between and a teepee in the centre]'. Spine: 'Johnson | [in script] *Flint and Feather* | [publisher's device, a crown above a pedestal]'. Back: Publisher's advertisement for *Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work* by Marcus Van Steen. Front flap: Publisher's description, signed 'HODDER AND STOUGHTON LTD | TORONTO' and a price of '\$3.95 | CANADA.' Back flap: Publishers ads for *Gentle Pioneers: Five Nineteenth-Century Canadians* by Audrey Y. Morris, *The Mounties* by Delbert A. Young, and *Governor Simcoe and His Lady*, by Marcus Van Steen.

IMPRESSIONS: The first impression sold for \$3.95 (1969).

The second impression is dated 1970 and is a perfect bound paperback with glossy stiff paper covers in yellow, and white spine, printed in black, red, and uppercase white. Front: '*Flint and Feather* | THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [two zigzag lines in red, with a thick black line, possibly representing wampum, in between and a teepee in the centre]'. Spine: '[in script, with centre word in yellow] *Flint and Feather*'.

The third impression of this edition, dated 1972, is incorrectly marked as the "Twenty-eighth Impression"; it is the twenty-ninth impression of the title published under the Musson imprint. The dust jacket for this impression shows a price of \$4.95 and the back flap is blank.

The fourth impression is dated 1974.

COPIES EXAMINED: BVAS (1969); OKQJM (1970); OTNY (1972); OTMCL (1969, two copies).

7. PaperJacks Edition, Don Mills, 1972

FLINT | AND | FEATHER | *THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | E. PAULINE JOHNSON | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | With an Introduction by Theodore Watts-Dunton* | [publisher's device: a one-line panel 6 × 6 mm with two pine trees] | *PaperJacks* | *A division of General Publishing Co., Limited* | Don Mills, Ontario

COLLATION: (17.6 × 10.4 cm) 96 leaves, pp *i-iv* v-xxvi 1-77 78 79-164 165-166

No illustrations.

CONTENTS: *i*: title page. *ii*: '© Copyright Canada 1917, 1931 | by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., Toronto | No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any | form by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photogra- | phy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, | without permission in writing from the publisher. | Published in PaperJacks 1972 | by arrangement with Hodder and Stoughton Ltd. | ISBN 0-7737-7021-6 | *Printed and bound in Canada*'. *iii*: 'To His Royal Highness | THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | *Who is Head Chief of the Six Nations Indians* | *I inscribe this book by his own gracious permission*'. *vi*: 'Author's Foreword' by 'E. P. J.' v-viii: 'Contents'. ix-xviii: 'Introduction | *IN MEMORIAM: PAULINE JOHNSON*' by 'THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. | THE PINES, | PUTNEY HILL. | 20th August, 1913.' xix-xxvi: unsigned 'Biographical Sketch'. 1-164: text. 165-166: Publisher's ads for *Rat River Trapper* and *Run Indian Run* by Thomas P. Kelley and for several publications in the Canadian Critical Issues Series.

ILLUSTRATIONS: None.

BINDING: Paperback binding in yellow, with a white spine, printed in black and red; front: '*Flint and* | *Feather* | THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | E. Pauline Johnson | (TEKAHIONWAKE) | [two zigzag lines in red, with a thick black line, possibly representing wampum, in between and a teepee in the centre]'. Spine: '*Johnson* | [perpendicular] *Flint and Feather* [to right] *PaperJacks*'. Back: Publisher's name and device, followed by publisher's description, a price of \$1.25 and an ISBN number.

IMPRESSIONS: The first impression sold for \$1.25. It locates the publisher, PaperJacks, in Don Mills, Ontario. The second impression appeared in 1979.

The third impression sold for \$3.95 in 1981; locating the publisher, PaperJacks, in Markham, Ontario. The third impression includes publisher's ads for *The Golden Age of B.S.* by Fred C. Dobbs, *Charlie Farquharson's History of Canada* by Don Harron, *The Great Canadian Book* by Robert Shelley, *Three Cheers for Me* by Donald Jack, *That's Me in the Middle* by Donald Jack, and *It's Me Again* by Donald Jack.

The fourth impression appeared in 1987; locating PaperJacks in Toronto and New York. It is incorrectly marked as the "3rd printing October 1987." The fourth impression includes publisher's ads for 'Historical Romances' beginning with *Beloved Outcast* by Lorena Dureau and ending with *Wayward Lady* by Nan Ryan, followed by a form to order books by mail.

COPIES EXAMINED: OTNY (1972, 1981); OTMCL (1987).

8. Iroquois Reprints Edition, Ohsweken, 1997

FLINT AND FEATHER | E. PAULINE JOHNSON |
(TEKAHIONWAKE) | *WITH SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH*
OF | *THE AUTHOR* | THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LTD. |
[to left] TORONTO, CANADA [to right] LONDON, ENGLAND
| Reprint Series Editor – Wm. Guy Spittal

COLLATION: (20.9 × 13.4 cm), 40 leaves, pp 1-5 6-77 78-80.

CONTENTS: 1: title page. 2: portrait of Johnson marked 'TEKAHIONWAKE | (E. PAULINE JOHNSON)'. 3: 'TO | HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS | THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT | WHO IS HEAD CHIEF OF THE SIX NATIONS INDIANS | I INSCRIBE THIS BOOK BY HIS OWN | GRACIOUS PERMISSION' followed by 'AUTHOR'S FOREWORD' by 'E.P.J.' 4: reproduction of a charcoal pencil drawing by Raymond Skye, illustrating Johnson's two persona, in front of her childhood home known as "Chiefswood." 5: enclosed in a single-line panel are credits for the drawing on page 4 and for the text on page 5. To the right of the panel, text describing the subject of the sketch and the artist, by David M. General. 6-7: 'CONTENTS'. 8-11: unsigned 'BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH', and at the bottom of page 11, a photograph credited to 'Galbraith,

Toronto', and marked '[in quotation marks] "CHIEFSWOOD," E. PAULINE JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE. | House in which the Indian poetess was born, on the Six Nations Reserve | 12 miles south from Brantford, on the banks of the Grand River.' 12-77: text. 78: 'This book is dedicated | to the memory of a beloved granddaughter, | We'nes (Justine Joy Hill), | for whom | *Lullaby of the Iroquois* | was a treasured keepsake, | October 12, 1978 – April 23, 1997'. 79: graduation portrait of We'nes, marked 'Photo by JOSTENS Canada Ltd., Winnipeg, Manitoba.' 80: list of books in the 'IROQRAFTS Indian Reprint Series' beginning with *Scalping and Torture: Warfare Practices Among North American Indians* by Frederici, Nadeau, and Knowles, and ending with *Indian Uses of Wild Plants* by F. Densmore.

BINDING: Paperback with a glossy white cover, printed in black. Front cover: 'IROQRAFTS | [rule] Iroquois [rule] | Reprints | FLINT | and | FEATHER | by | TEKAHIONWAKE | (E. Pauline Johnson) | [rule broken by an ornament with a turtle(?) and wampum] | IROQRAFTS IROQUOIS PUBLICATIONS'. On verso of front cover is a single-line panel enclosing nine lines of cataloguing data, followed by statements about recycled acid-free paper and 'reprinted and distributed for IROQRAFTS by: | [publisher's device: a book with an image of a hand on its front] I.P.A.C.S.^{LTD.} | *Iroquois Publishing And Craft Supplies* | R. R. 2, Ohswéken, Ontario, Canada NoA 1Mo | 4M – July, 1997 | Catalogue Number: 24-00119'. Back cover: ISBN numbers. On verso of back cover is a listing of 'IROQRAFTS REPRINTS' with catalogue information beginning with *The Code of Handsome Lake*, *The Seneca Prophet* by A.C. Parker, and ending with *Flint and Feather* by Tekahionwake (E. Pauline Johnson).

COPIES EXAMINED: OHMA; OPET.