The Editorial Destruction of Canadian Literature: A Textual Study of Major John Richardson's Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1973

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS in the Department of English

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

April 1977

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The Editorial Destruction of Canadian Literature: A Textual Study of Major John Richardson's Wacousta: Or, The Prophecy

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ABSTRACT

Canadians do not really read their own literature when reading twentieth-century editions of nineteenth-century Canadian writers. Texts available to the modern reader are all too often faulty, and the current accumulation of ill-executed texts promotes a distortion of our literary history. Canadian literature courses now flourish on paperback editions such as those published by McClelland and Stewart in their New Canadian Library series, but few publishers, if any, follow sound editorial practices when producing modern editions of nineteenth-century texts. Prose fiction in particular has suffered. In general, neither bibliographers nor textual critics apply their training, skill, and knowledge to reproducing nineteenth-century material. Canadian bibliographers do not spend their time publishing essential Canadian bibliographies; Canadian textual critics even lend a hand in producing the faulty editions; and literary critics seem content to work with the faulty editions. Canadian bibliography and editing is so hasty, careless, and haphazard that many editions produced during the last seventy-five years merely serve to distort the intentions of the authors.

This distortion is evident in such important Canadian authors as William Kirby, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Thomas McCulloch, Susanna Moodie, and Gilbert Parker. Probably the
greatest distortion is evident in editions of Major John Richardson's *Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy*. A close investigation of the textual history of this novel establishes for the first time an authorial, or authoritative, edition of it. A word-by-word comparison, an historical collation in fact, of the authorial text with later editions reveals the gradual corruption of the text. A close analysis of two key editions, that of Waldie of 1833 and that of Klinck of 1967, shows the extent of the distorting of Richardson's intentions.

Analyses of the weaknesses of those two texts demonstrate the importance of careful and thoughtful editing. Scholars who have not gone to the authorial text, but who have relied on faulty editions, are numerous, and come up with some weird and wonderful interpretations, so weird and wonderful, in fact, that the research of these critics must be reassessed. But in order to do so, in order that an author's literary reputation be established and his works understood, accurate scholarly editions are a necessity.
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Chapter 1

Editions of Nineteenth-Century Canadian Fiction

Dr. Carl Klinck, in his introduction to the 1967 New Canadian Library edition of Major John Richardson's Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy, writes that "Retrospective scholarship will not be misled by any text published later than 1832", the year that T. Cadell brought out the first edition in London. Klinck's bold assertion, however, is dead wrong. "Scholarship" can not be misled, but scholars and general readers are grossly misled by the New Canadian Library edition of Wacousta and, in fact, by every edition after 1832.

Editors of Canadian literary texts do not, as a rule, openly discuss or explain their own editorial practices. Klinck's assertion about the textual history of Wacousta is not supported by necessary scholarship, and his edition of Wacousta is just one more example displaying the unscholarly and even senseless attitudes of Canadian literary editors. Klinck, the General Editor of the Literary History of Canada, not knowing the long and complicated textual history of Wacousta, ignores, as does practically every other editor of nineteenth-century Canadian literature, the very cogent question of textual authority. He reprints the Musson text of 1924, the most textually corrupt.

of all the textually corrupt and unauthorized editions of Richardson's novel. In addition, responding to his publisher's request, Klinck abridges that corrupt text, and to justify his abridgement falls back on the traditional attitudes of editors who find little of value in early Canadian writing.

The modern editor of nineteenth-century Canadian prose fiction seldom resists the temptation to rewrite the work for the author who is conveniently dead and out of the way. Like many editors before him, Dr. Klinck bases his editorial decisions on personal taste, which is often confused with literary criticism: "The public [he says] may be ready for an edition of Wacousta abridged with respect for the taste which favours the 'lacrosse' scene." Apparently whatever the editor believes will not suit the tastes of the modern reader he omits. These editors are primarily literary critics, and they rarely separate the critical function from the editorial. And editing based on literary criticism or on personal taste proves disastrous.

Furthermore, the editing of fiction has been hampered by an attitude best described by Bruce Harkness as the "novelistic fallacy". In an article appearing in 1959, two years after McClelland and Stewart published the first paperback volumes of their New Canadian Library reprint series, Harkness, a bibliographer, warns readers of the many faulty paperback reprints of English and American novels. He chronicles many

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2 Richardson, Wacousta or The Prophecy, pp.xi-xii.
errors and omissions instigated and perpetuated by editors, printers, publishers, scholars, and bibliographers when dealing with novels. His findings indicate that no one, apparently, cares whether or not the text of a novel accurately embodies the intentions of the author. In explanation Harkness says that "People who would consider it terribly bad form to slight the textual study of a play or poem—or even doggerel—commit bibliographical nonsense when handed a novel." Such "nonsense" applies to Richardson's Wacousta, and to nearly all nineteenth-century texts in Canadian literature.

Pointing out the errors critics make because they work from faulty texts is one of the few joys in which a bibliographer can safely indulge, but the bibliographer's task is not merely the discomfiting of sloppy critics:

The chief purpose of bibliography [according to Philip Gaskell, another bibliographer] is to serve the production and distribution of accurate texts. Book lists can be useful, the study of early book production is a contribution to history, but bibliography's overriding responsibility must be to determine a text in its most accurate form. Since 1959 both the English and the Americans have made a concerted effort to produce good texts of English and American novels. But, the publishers now reprinting Canadian novels, like those reprinters criticized by Harkness, continue to

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produce faulty texts. Literary critics are not entirely to blame for their errors when they base literary judgments on poor editions because textual bibliographers stand idly by and watch faulty texts being produced.

By using the techniques of bibliography and textual analysis, a textual bibliographer produces a scholarly and definitive edition of the work of an author. The idleness of Canadian textual bibliographers is evident in the absence of a coherent and rational editorial policy for Canadian literature. Although nineteenth-century Canadian fiction has been reprinted since the beginning of this century, accurate texts are rare, if they exist at all. Editors and publishers seem content to tack a new introduction onto either an old corrupt text, or a newly corrupted one. So many of these nineteenth-century texts are faulty that none should be relied upon: all may well give a distorted and detrimental view of the literature produced during a vital period of Canadian writing. Since 1957, to meet the demand for texts created by Canadian literature courses in schools and universities, and to cash in on the public's growing interest in Canadiana, publishers have reprinted much of the best known early writing.

Critics in particular are often confused and misled by inaccurate texts. A century of critical commentary on Major John Richardson's *Wacousta* amply demonstrates the pressing need for sound editorial practices. No authorial text of *Wacousta* being available for well over a century, critics
constantly judge and interpret incredibly corrupt and unauthorized texts, and a corrupt or inaccurate text, claiming to be something it is not, defrauds the reader. Literary criticism based on a corrupt text is erroneous, misleading and without any value whatsoever, and a reader reading a corrupt text wastes his time and effort. Moreover, the perpetuation of corrupt texts of Wacousta continues to give credence to the critical errors, and continues to undermine the true artistic integrity of Richardson's novel.

A textual study of Wacousta is necessary because of Richardson's importance to Canadian literature, and because Wacousta is his most important novel. Moreover, Wacousta symbolizes the confused state of Canadian editing. One of the first novels to bring fame to a Canadian writer, it is one of the first Canadian novels to be thoroughly mishandled by editors and publishers. This mishandling of Canadian texts by Canadians began in earnest 75 years ago, at a time when checklists, handbooks, and histories of Canadian literature issued from Canadian presses. A few scholarly editions were planned, but came to nothing. A few universities offered Canadian literature courses, and publishers brought out a few editions of Canadian poetry and prose. Numbered among these editions is Richardson's Wacousta, published in 1906 by the Historical Publishing Company of Toronto. This text contains corruptions numbering in the thousands.

Other editions of nineteenth-century Canadian works are
no more accurate. For instance, in 1902 the Historical Publishing Company brought out Richardson's *War of 1812*. The editor of this text remarks in his "Prefator Note" that

the official despatches of the British and American officers, as given in the original edition of 1842, were found on comparison with the Archives and other sources to be in many cases incorrect or abbreviated. Rather than impair the historical value of the volume by leaving the despatches imperfect, I have in each instance substituted without comment the full official account.5

The editor does not seem to consider that Richardson may have had reasons of his own to pen versions which did not always agree with the official accounts, and such an editor could very well impair the historical value of a volume written by an eye-witness and participant in the action. Other obvious editorial changes include a new title, and chapter divisions and headings. It also should be kept in mind that his history is an unfinished work. In the Literary History of Canada Carl Klinck comments that this editing "enhances" Richardson's work.6 Although he offers no further explanation, his statement suggests that an editor's task is to improve what the author wrote.

This attitude toward improving an author's writing is even more evident in the edition of William Kirby's *The Golden*


Dog published by Musson of Toronto in 1925. In his introduction the editor, Thomas Guthrie Marquis, asserts that "In issuing a new edition of The Golden Dog it has been thought necessary to give the book a thorough revision." Kirby, dead since 1906, had never seen his novel published in the form he desired. First published in an imperfect form in 1877, the novel was afterwards issued without the author's authority, and by American publishers who continued to produce it in a corrupt form. The Musson edition of 1925 is no better than the pirated American ones. Its editing consists mainly of abridgement:

The author gathered together a vast amount of information bearing on the period of his story and characters. He saw fit, after the manner of Sir Walter Scott, to incorporate this into his novel. . . . Much of this has been judiciously cut out, but nothing has been omitted that is essential to the narrative.8

When Kirby complained that his novel, as published during his lifetime, was not his "but the publisher's, a poor mutilated thing," he was asserting the right of the author to determine a work's artistic integrity. Kirby was never allowed the choice, for instance, of publishing his novel in the form he desired or not at all. This Musson editor of 1925, like his American predecessors, refused him this basic right, and once again mutilated The Golden Dog.

8 Ibid., p.v.
Other examples of early twentieth-century editing may be seen in editions of Thomas Chandler Haliburton. Ray Palmer Baker, who published *A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation* in 1920, shows some evidence of scholarly method in his anthology of Haliburton writings: "in establishing the text of the *Slick Series*, I have collated the original sketches with the first and the revised editions." But neither in his introduction nor in his bibliography does Baker indicate which editions he considers to be "revised." Neither does he indicate in any way what editions he collated nor the thoroughness of his collation. Neither does he indicate what readings in the "revised" editions he considered authorial, nor which of the first edition he chose to re-instate. Baker collated certain editions, to be sure, but we still do not know the extent of Haliburton's own revising.

Authorial readings, however, do not seem to be Baker's concern:

> Since the orthography often differs from year to year, it has been necessary to fix a form. Thus, in the case of "says," used before 1838, the later "sais" has been preferred. Of variations in particular books, the most common are substitutions, such as the correct "after" for the popular "arter." These irregularities have been standardized. Aside from the adjustment of a couple of transpositions and the correction of a few grammatical errors in the descriptive passages, no other changes have been made.

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In matters of form, however, I have adopted the usages which Haliburton would doubtless follow if he were living to-day. Notice that Baker has found no errors in the various editions, other than what he claims are grammatical ones in the descriptive passages which he has silently amended. The "substitutions" he refers to are probably printing errors, as may be the "irregularities".

The main editorial principle of an anthology of prose fiction is omission, and Baker's Sam Slick is no exception for Baker offers disjointed bits from many of Haliburton's books. Anthologies of prose may not be totally useless, but, as in this case, when authorial editions of the complete books are not available, their usefulness is slight indeed. For Baker to have prepared an authorial text for each of the works from which he selects would have been an enormous task. He makes, therefore, a half-hearted attempt to produce a semblance of a good edition of Haliburton's most famous work, The Clockmaker; Or, The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville, while the editing itself and the over-riding policy of omission ensures that his text is next to useless.

A more respectable approach to editing Haliburton may be seen in Paul A.W. Wallace's Selections from Sam Slick (Judge Haliburton) of 1923, Wallace retained "the typographical peculiarities" and made no attempt to "systematize the

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11 Baker, Sam Slick, p.28.
spelling of words in dialect, which are differently rendered in different places." With some respect for Haliburton's skill, Wallace felt that "To reduce to order a work of designed disorder would be to rob Haliburton of his flavour." Even this more respectable approach still abridges and still leaves a need for an authorial edition.

To expect scholarly method to be applied to a subject which had not yet gained the stature of a national literature, and which attracted as yet mostly amateur litterateurs, might be, perhaps, to expect too much. One need only remember the struggle of Americans to have their literature regarded as a distinct field of endeavour. Now that Canadian literature is taught in schools and universities, however, and now that it has clearly established its national identity, one should expect a good deal more from the hands of modern editors than came from the editorial attempts of those few dedicated men at the turn of the century. But, modern editing is, if anything, worse than ever before.

Contemporary editing of Canadian literature begins in the 1950's with the post-war boom in education and the increasing popularity of paperback books. Although paperback books were certainly not new, paperback publishers were quick to see the possibility of large sales to students and other readers of the more "serious" literature. England's Penguin

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Books began the first reprint series which has stood as a model for most others ever since. The New American Library, until 1948 a branch-plant of Penguin, in 1952 had 171 of its 453 titles used as required or supplementary material in American schools and colleges. U.S. trade publishers also prepared paperback series for the educational market: Crofts Classics appeared in 1946; Viking Portables in 1943, with a second series called Compass Books in 1956; Rinehart Editions in 1948; Modern Library College Editions in 1950, with Modern Library paperbacks in 1955; Vintage Books in 1954; and Riverside Editions in 1956.

Canada's McClelland and Stewart published the first of their New Canadian Library paperback series in 1957. Now exceeding 130 volumes the New Canadian Library is a conglomeration of fiction, essays, biography, travel and description, criticism, and poetry. Few of the more than 130 volumes are nineteenth-century works, and although this imbalance must engender a distorted view of Canadian literary history, the editions themselves are far more detrimental than any omissions.

The idea of reprinting Canadian books long out of print in all likelihood resulted from the Canadian Writers' Conference held at Queen's University during the summer of 1955. This conference included writers, editors, publishers, critics,

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librarians, and the public. Jack McClelland, the publisher, and Malcolm Ross, the General Editor of the NCL, attended this conference which was actually "a conference on writing and its dissemination." The participants realized that Canadian literature was not receiving the attention it deserved: schools, colleges, and universities largely ignored Canadian writing both of the past and present; public libraries were inadequate; and book stores were few and far between. Learning that Australians had set up a fund to produce standard editions of their authors, the Conference passed the following resolution which became reality when shortly afterwards the New Canadian Library appeared.

The Conference believes that to establish a continuing literary tradition in Canada significant works by Canadians must be kept in print and if necessary republished in inexpensive editions for use both by students and by general readers.15

Although the paperback was known best as the purveyor of light romances and mysteries, as well as "sex, sadism, and the smoking gun", some publishers, such as Penguin and Anchor, felt that good literature could be published in paperback in good and lasting editions. Condemning the "many publishers" of inexpensive paperbacks who produce poor quality editions,

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15 Ibid., p.9.

a representative of Penguin Books, speaking to that Canadian Writers' Conference, remarked that "it has always been the opinion of Penguin Books that there is no reason why the mass-produced books cannot be planned with as much care, and executed with as much skill, as limited editions."  

Few paperback reprints of prose fiction, however, meet the editorial standards of such bibliographical scholars as W.W. Greg, or Fredson Bowers who divides modern editions of nineteenth-century authors into scholarly definitive editions and commercially "practical" editions:

Until comparatively recent times most practical editions were a disgrace, and the majority still are. That is, having committed himself to a hack job, some scholar contents himself with writing a general introduction and sends this off to the publisher with a note about the text of some edition that can be reprinted without charge.  

Definitive texts, argues Bowers, ought to be the basis of practical editions, and "final court of appeal" must always be the definitive edition.

The New Canadian Library editions are not "definitive" editions, but practical editions, even though designed for schools, colleges, and universities. Malcolm Ross, during an interview in 1974, describes the inception of the New Canadian Library:

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17 Whalley, Writing in Canada, pp. 77-78.

The story begins a couple of years before 1957. I had begun to teach a course at Queen's in Canadian literature, or at least, I planned to try to do one. . . . I found that many of the novels I wanted to teach existed in one copy each in the library and this seemed to be true not only at Queen's but at many of the universities. . . . Paperbacks were becoming quite popular in the United States. There were American literature courses which had flourished in paperbacks and I began to wonder if it might not be possible, even though I knew it might be difficult in a small country to finance a venture like this, to get together a respectable collection of Canadian books, which could be made available at a reasonable price to students.19

According to Ross, the NCL was designed specifically with the teacher and student in mind:

We thought it would be useful not only to put the books out, but to bring in introductions which would be helpful to students and teachers—critical approaches to the various books. So we've had a critical introduction to each text that has come out. . . . And all this, I think, has been useful in making possible Canadian literature courses across the country.20

And Ross is right. Any student familiar with Canadian literature is familiar with the New Canadian Library. Unfortunately, McClelland and Stewart resemble too closely the "many publishers" condemned by that Penguin representative, and the NCL the "majority" of practical editions lamented by Bowers.

All that is practical about most "practical" editions is the price. The truth is that Canadians have no practical editions based on definitive editions because Canadians do not have any definitive editions. Sloppy editing characterizes

20 Ibid., pp.60-61.
the paperback reprint, and sloppy editing includes poor choice of copy-text, and pernicious abridgement. The NCL follows the New American Library, and other paperback publishers, too closely in this last respect. In 1950 the U.S. Federal Trade Commission claimed that the abridgement information carried on New American Library editions was "false, misleading and deceptive." The NAL usually cut at least one third from an original.

The NAL admitted that 35 of their titles in print were abridged. In 1951 the court ruled "that the word 'abridged' had to appear on the front cover and title page of a book and that, if a new title were used, the original one had to be shown in close proximity and in equally conspicuous type." Dr. Malcolm Ross, an editor before he headed the New Canadian Library, declares,

Another thing which we've done, which I'm doubtful about (we had to do it at the time, or else not publish certain titles at all) was to publish some abridged books. The Golden Dog, for instance, could not be published in full without losing money on the sale of every copy unless we charged about $4.00. So we had it cut. The same was true with two or three other books of this sort. It may be that we'll simply decide not to publish abridgements because I can understand the sense of disappointment that some people who have known the book in the original, feel: 'I would have taken this chapter out, but not that.'

Unfortunately, the NCL preliminary pages and covers never give such adequate publishing information as the Americans.

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22 Ibid., p.145.
23 Breen and Atkinson, p.62.
require. For instance, only Wacousta has the words "abridged edition" on the title-page while other abridged editions give no indication, except in their introductions, of any abridgement. Other NCL editions have the word "selections" on the title-page which is misleading because the word suggests an anthology of different printed works when in fact the edition is an abridgement of a single work. Dr. Ross also draws attention to the strictly commercial nature of the New Canadian Library. Although Ross expresses the desire to produce a "respectable" collection of Canadian texts, the need to make a profit seems to ensure that the series "is the last and lowest of a not very distinguished line."  

Professor Ross seems unaware that some readers may want the whole text, not merely part of it, and that they may want an accurate text, not a corrupt or unauthorized one. The NCL editors, unfortunately, seem unconcerned about the choice of copy-text. And all their nineteenth-century prose fiction editions except one, Francis W. Grey's the curé of st. philippe which is a facsimile reproduction although lacking a facsimile of the title-page, involve choosing a copy-text from among manuscripts and multiple editions. In fact, the last concern of the NCL editors seems to be the textual history of the book.

24 Whalley, Writing in Canada, p.77.

being edited.

The first nineteenth-century work to be republished in the New Canadian Library was the first series of Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker; or, The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville* in 1958. This latest edition shows little improvement over Baker's 1923 anthology. The "Note on the Text" appearing on the verso of the title-page indicates the copy-text: "The source for this reprint is the edition published under the Riverside Classics by Houghton, Mifflin and Company of Boston in 1871." *The Clockmaker*, however, exists in many editions and this 1871 American edition is posthumous, having been published 6 years after Haliburton's death and some 35 years after *The Clockmaker*'s first appearance in print. A.H. O'Brien's limited catalogue of Haliburton's writings lists 14 "editions" of the first series of *The Clockmaker*, but makes no mention of this 1871 American version. The authority of the NCL edition, based on a posthumous text, is dubious at best, and the editorial thinking expressed by the "Note" hardly inspires confidence: "the text was chosen by virtue of its clarity in paragraphing, punctuation, and other points of style." Why a Canadian editor would choose an American text, and choose one for such reasons will probably never be uncovered.

The NCL edition of Thomas McCulloch's *The Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure*, as McCulloch's work was titled in the
posthumous Blackadar text of 1862, appeared in 1960 with a new title, The Stepsure Letters. It carries no indication of why the title was changed and erroneously reports on its title-page "Originally published under the title LETTERS OF MEPHIBOSHETH STEPSURE." Oddly enough "A Bibliographical Note" at the end of the text raises the question of the validity of the NCL edition: "The present edition of The Stepsure Letters is based on the text published by Hugh W. Blackadar in Halifax in 1862." McCulloch's work was first published serially in Halifax's Acadian Recorder. The sixteen letters appearing in the Recorder engendered a second series of six letters which McCulloch did not choose to include in a manuscript "copy" of the serial that he had prepared for the purpose of publishing in book form. The title of this manuscript is neither the "Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure" nor the "Stepsure Letters", but "The Chronicles of our Town; or, A Peep at America." Furthermore, the 1862 Blackadar text appeared posthumously, and, according to that "Note", differs from the manuscript. McCulloch died in 1843 never having seen his manuscript printed. Yet even though the NCL had an accessible manuscript the NCL chose to use a posthumous edition for copy-text, changed the title of the work, and added two letters of another series.

of letters to the *Stepsure* work.

The questionable editorial direction evident in these first two nineteenth-century works published by the NCL is carried on in such NCL editions as Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It In The Bush Or Forest Life In Canada*. Here the editor voices opposition to the kind of text which tries to reflect the author's intentions accurately. "Only a successful book", he writes, "requires as much editing as *Roughing It in the Bush* has received." Instead of uncovering Mrs. Moodie's literary intentions in her lively "biography" this editor freely abridges her text and merely follows the lead of an American publisher who had pirated and abridged it. This NCL editor claims that his contemporary audience does not want to read what Mrs. Moodie wrote, but instead wants only disjointed bits of it. He claims that the modern reader does not want, for instance, to be concerned with the style and subject matter which gives the book a nineteenth-century flavour:

Now, for the public of the 1960's, a somewhat different text is required. The outdated accretions of 1871 may be omitted; and there is no reason why the [pirating American] policy of dropping portions of the original volumes should not be carried further.28

Clearly, carrying further the editorial policies of an American


28 Ibid., p.x.
literary pirate makes a mockery of this "Canadian Edition" of *Roughing It In The Bush*.

The American who pirated and made money off Canadian writers are certainly no more pernicious than some Canadian editors and publishers. William Kirby's *The Golden Dog* was also pirated, and produced in a form Kirby himself rejected; in fact, like McCulloch, in his lifetime Kirby never did see his novel published in an authorial edition. The editor of the NCL 1969 edition gives no indication that he knows or cares anything about the textual history of the novel.

The NCL edition of *The Golden Dog* demonstrates NCL editors also deriving editorial policies from their own concepts of the modern reader's needs, and from their own attitudes toward nineteenth-century Canadian writing. The introduction to this NCL volume reiterates what is becoming the standard view of the modern reader's incompetence:

> Perhaps the 678 pages of the first [1877] edition are a discouraging length for the average reader. The present edition substantially reduces the original text with only (it is hoped) a minimum loss to the artistry, atmosphere and narrative. So now there is little excuse for leaving this famous Canadian story unread!\(^{29}\)

The logic of this thinking may be seen as typical of Canadian editors. Here, admitting editorial tampering to have caused a loss to the artistic integrity of the novel, the introduction

illogically asserts that that very loss is a good reason for reading the NCL edition.

Besides being party to such illogical thinking, the modern Canadian editor sets himself up as an arbiter of public taste, a role few editors are suited to fill. Again, the introduction to The Golden Dog says that "fortunately, Kirby's romance lends itself to cutting, especially if we consider the tastes of the modern reader."  

Usually this arbiter of taste, however, merely dismembers those limbs he finds personally distasteful:

Often the author will spend whole chapters on details of feasts, social entertainments and the niceties of decorous conversation. At times a character is brought in who has almost no relevance to the main story lines. A case in point is the brother of Angélique, the Chevalier des Meloises, whose presence throws no light upon the machinations of his sister. Another instance is the itinerant notary, Master Pothier, who accompanies Pierre on his ride to Bigot's chateau. Scenes devoted to sticky love scenes between Amélie and Pierre and some scenes involving Angélique's flirtations have been reduced or struck out. Where possible the historical details not directly related to characters and events in the story have been reduced.

Furthermore, the introduction's claim to reducing "the original text", the 1877 edition, appears to be false. The NCL edition, reproducing the title of the abridged 1925 Musson edition, seems to be based on that extremely corrupt Musson text.

The introduction to the NCL edition of Sir Gilbert Parker's The Seats of the Mighty voices in no uncertain terms a distaste.

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31 Ibid., p.vii.
of Parker who

"saw in the few scattered bones of the story . . . the skeleton of an ample historical romance." He was opportunistic enough to know what kind of materials he should invent, in order to flesh out those bones into a form pleasing to his own times. (Indeed, in his enthusiasm, he sometimes pushed the story beyond amplitude into flableness; the present edition has excised some gobbets of bathos—for example, reveries intoned to a bird in a cage.) Such fleshing-out, so radically different from the brutalities that bulge modern novels to a comparable size, was itself indicative of the taste of the sentimental '90's.32

In other words, the editor excises the material which best indicates the times for which the author wrote the novel, and the introduction suggests that the edited NCL version is superior to the original text. Oddly enough here we have an imaginative work being attacked almost because it is a novel and not a history: "... Parker's fertile and (it must be admitted) irresponsible imagination spun itself into a frenzy, pulling into his plot other great figures from history."33

Even more oddly, the introduction claims that the strength of the novel "is in the conflict of Moray and Doltaire, and in tightening of this conflict by the strange duplicities of Alixe."34 But such material has been edited out. Even the genre, that of the epistolary novel, has been edited out.

Omitted are the opening two pages of the novel which clearly

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33 Ibid., p.vi.

34 Ibid., p.vii.
set out its epistolary nature. Yet, the NCL retains Parker's subtitle identifying the novel as Captain Moray's memoirs.

Other nineteenth-century works have had similar treatment at the hands of NCL editors. But the NCL is not alone in its mishandling of early Canadian literature. For instance, the 1959 Macmillan edition of Susanna Moodie's *Life In The Clearings* is based on the first edition, but, writes the editor,

I have altered the original version . . . in certain minor respects. Since the changes are minor, in the sense that they have slight or no effect on meaning, or take care of only incontrovertible errors, it will suffice to describe them in general terms. My intention has been to provide a text free from eccentricities which tell us nothing about Mrs. Moodie or her times, and which are therefore simply a barrier to the present-day reader.35

This editor obviously regards his "intentions" to be more important than those of the author. Moreover, this editor, like others before him, finds editorial precedence in a pirated American edition:

... I have collated this first edition with the edition published in the United States by DeWitt and Davenport in 1854, and ... many of the changes incorporated in the present text find support in the American text—which, if it does not have Mrs. Moodie's authority, has at least the authority of an independent judgement.36

Neither American nor Canadian editors should be exercising "independent" judgement if the purpose of editing is to produce an authorial text.


In 1968 Clark, Irwin and Company published an abridged edition of Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Old Judge Or Life In A Colony*. This edition seems also to deny the modern reader's ability to comprehend a two-volume work, and does not separate the function of an editor from that of a literary critic:

Haliburton wrote at a time when two volumes or more were almost de rigueur; inevitably, perhaps, padding and prolixity were common. In the present edition, to meet necessary restrictions of space, I have tried to eliminate the padding and reduce the prolixity without upsetting the general balance of the book's diverse elements.37

But it asserts that it has left the "balance of the book's diverse elements" intact while excising the book's diversity:

Chapters omitted in their entirety, or almost so, fall into three groups: those in which Haliburton attempted the then-fashionable but now outmoded style of sentimentalism; those in which the substance or treatment was similar to other but more lively chapters already included; and those which contained neither humour nor narrative but only serious political or social exposition.38

Although this edition of *The Old Judge* does not even make sense, "both the editor and publisher" hope "that in this abridged edition *The Old Judge* re-appears at its best."39

Some publishers such as Coles and the University of Toronto Press publish facsimile editions, but the only accurate facsimile editions are those of definitive texts. Most

38 Ibid., p.xxv.
39 Ibid., p.xxvi.
facsimile publishers ignore textual histories. The Coles edition of Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It In The Bush* or, *Forest Life In Canada*, for instance, bravely announces that it was "originally published in 1852", and implies that the facsimile is of the first edition. The text, however, is a reproduction of the 1913 Bell and Cockburn edition. Unlike Coles the University of Toronto Press tacks new introductions onto old texts. The only prose fiction of the nineteenth-century published by this press to date, except those facsimilies in its special library series, is John Richardson's *The Canadian Brothers; Or, The Prophecy Fulfilled*. This novel contains many printing errors Richardson overlooked or did not have the time to correct. This edition also omits Richardson's title-page, and his last four pages which include the reviews of *Wacousta* that he chose to have printed. Such a facsimile is merely the shirking of editorial responsibility.

The editor of the Holt, Rinehart and Winston four-volume anthology, *The Evolution of Canadian Literature in English*, seems to be the only one who admits that editorial problems do exist in Canadian literature, that "the establishment of an 'authorized' text for each selection" is "extremely difficult." This editor seems surprised to find "variations in the text"—a basic bibliographical fact—when collating

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"different publications of the same work." As critics have found, even compositor's errors can prove embarrassing, but nevertheless, this editor hit upon a key to much of Canadian editing, that many variants in a posthumous text "seemed to be attempts to improve . . . [the author's] style." Unfortunately, she did not solve her editorial problems by merely publishing the earliest version of a text.

In the chapter titled "Literary Scholarship" in the Literary History of Canada Millar MacLure states that "This is the era of editors" and suggests that "the reader may well share my initial surprise in finding how numerous, varied, and important have been the contributions of Canadian scholars to this department of learning." Praising editors of Canadian literature, he states that the New Canadian Library under Malcolm Ross's direction is "an admirable series of reprints introduced by a variety of editors, which illustrate generally the high degree of organization in Can. Lit." The truth is that, on the whole, nineteenth-century Canadian texts are "practical" editions of the worst sort. Few editors seem to look into textual histories, into the

42 Ibid., p.vi.
44 Ibid., p.537.
relevant bibliographical facts. Most choose inadequate copytexts such as those for Richardson's *Wacousta*, Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*, and Kirby's *The Golden Dog*, and seldom, if ever, indicate the copy-text used. Copy-text can only be discovered through extensive collation on the part of the reader. Most editors abridge valuable works, and seldom include abridgement notices. These editors exercise a free hand in altering the author's style and, therefore, sometimes his theme, plot, characters, and his setting. In brief, unlike their English and American counterparts, Canadian publishers seldom attempt to produce an editorially sound text.

Time and training and knowledge are necessary to produce good texts, and the "practical" edition produced merely for profit seldom indicates any investment in that time, or training, or knowledge. Government agencies have not seen fit to fund the kind of editorial work needed, and although professors have been teaching Canadian literature, and students studying it, for the last twenty years, no scholars seem to have taken up the task of bibliographical research and textual analysis that must precede a definitive edition. Fortunately some dedicated librarians have seen the need for enumerative lists and catalogues which will be useful for textual bibliographers.

A full and accurate bibliography of an author's work must be complete before an editor can begin the task of
preparing a definitive edition. Major John Richardson is the only nineteenth-century Canadian author who has been accorded anything like a complete bibliographical study. The latest full-length study, however, is limited in its descriptions and hampered by a lack of analysis, and therefore perpetuates errors in the textual history of Richardson's most important novel, Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy. A textual history of this novel reveals a publishing climate unhealthy for Canadian writers, both during and after the colonial period. It draws attention to the difficulties writers experience in publishing and making a living in Canada. It records the effect of competition from the United States, and the effects of American editorial interference with Canadian writing. It opens a discussion of Canadian editorial and critical practices. And last, it uncovers a new approach to a study of Richardson's literary reputation.
Chapter 2

The Textual History of Wacousta

The first professional literary artist of Canada can be no other than Major John Richardson. He was the first Canadian writer to achieve anything like international recognition, and he is the prototype of the Canadian author known abroad and not at home. In fact, Canada's neglect was so severe that he died in poverty in a foreign country, and one of his last wishes seems to have been that later generations of Canadians not trouble themselves with bestowing on the dead the honours they refused the living. After all, as he himself said, Canadians could not have cared less whether the author of Wacousta "was a Canadian or a Turk." Some years after he first published a novel in Canada he commented on its poor reception: "I published in Canada—I might as well have done so in Kamtschatka."

Richardson was born at the small village of Queenston, Upper Canada, in 1796. At first a professional soldier in the British army, he fought against the Americans in the War of

45 Major John Richardson, Eight Years in Canada (Montreal: H.H. Cunningham, 1847), pp. 91-92.
46 Ibid., p. 95.
of 1812, after which he was posted to the West Indies for a short time, and then lived on half-pay in England and France until serving in the Carlist wars in Spain during the 1830's. He returned home to Canada in 1838. His literary activities stem from at least 1823 until his death in 1852.

Although Richardson received a measure of fame for his literary productions, mostly from his English and American audiences, he was never successful at making his living solely from writing. Detailed biographical information about his life in England has not yet been uncovered, yet his journalism, his career as a novelist, and his military activities all suggest that he was tolerably well off while living in Europe. It was his return to Canada with the intention of remaining there as a writer that was his undoing.

Richardson's best known work is *Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy*; it is his most often republished book and the one which established his literary reputation. Having been republished so often, *Wacousta* presents the bibliographer and textual critic with a formidable task. The major textual complications result from the fact that *Wacousta* was issued in at least seven variant forms during the author's lifetime.48

Richardson wrote *Wacousta* while living in England and T. Cadell published it in London in 1832. By that time

48 Morley discusses other variants, but he could find no proof that they actually existed; they may be, in fact, errors in enumerative catalogues and in contemporary reviews.
Richardson had already published two poetical works, *Tecumseh; Or, The Warrior Of The West* and *Kensington Gardens*, and two novels, *Ecarté; Or, The Salons of Paris* and *Frascati's; Or, Scenes In Paris*. 49

The most scholarly publication on Richardson is W.F.E. Morley's *A Bibliographical Study of Major John Richardson* published in 1973. This study is valuable because it describes Richardson's publications in detail, gives library locations, and in notes provides information about Richardson and his work. Morley lists some eighty entries of Richardson titles, including more than twenty for *Wacousta*. He describes not only first editions, but also all variants of each work he was able to trace. Moreover, Morley's study shows that most of Major Richardson's writings are rare and unavailable.

Morley, nevertheless, perpetuates errors about the long and complicated history of *Wacousta*. These errors include the identifying of editions and the relationship between them. Such errors arise because Morley's method of compiling his bibliography is closer to the method of compiling a catalogue or checklist than to compiling a descriptive bibliography. Fredson Bowers, the bibliographer, points out the difference in the methods employed by the cataloguer and bibliographer:

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49 David Sinclair argues that *Frascati's* can be attributed to Richardson although Richardson himself never acknowledged that he wrote that novel. For Sinclair's evidence see William F.E. Morley, *A Bibliographical Study of Major John Richardson* (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1973), pp.139-40.
the cataloguer normally examines in person only the single copy he is describing, since the isolation of the characteristics of that copy is his major concern.

The concern of the descriptive bibliographer, on the other hand, is to examine every available copy of an edition of a book in order to describe in bibliographical terms the characteristics of an ideal copy of this edition, to distinguish between issues and variants of the edition, to explain and describe the printing and textual history of the edition, and finally to arrange it in a correct and logical relationship to other editions.50

Having seen only one or two copies of a given edition, Morley does not attempt to describe "ideal" copies; nor does he give full descriptions of the books he has examined. He does, though, attempt to distinguish between issues and variants of an edition, but makes errors in the attempt. Instead of uncovering variants by bibliographical methods, he relies too often on "metacritical" evidence, a term meaning evidence derived from some record other than the book itself. In brief, Morley does not unravel the textual history of Wacousta, nor does he arrange the editions in their correct order.

Subsequent to the first edition, Richardson's novel has undergone massive alteration. The textual history of Wacousta, however, is both erroneous and incomplete. In order to uncover an authorial version of the novel, an investigation can begin with Morley's bibliography, accepting it as a complete catalogue or checklist. To this end full descriptions of the copies examined must be given, a historical collation undertaken, and the printing variants of the editions compared.

These descriptions are the first steps towards what bibliographers call "ideal" copies. Morley, unfortunately, does not provide line-endings in his title-page transcriptions, nor does he provide collations. Even though the nineteenth century was a time of great change and innovation in printing methods and practices, no reason exists, as Bowers indicates, for not giving the collational formula even though the signatures cannot be determined to represent imposition:

Even if a descriptive bibliographer is unable with every book to determine the relation of imposition to gathering, the basic facts of the gathering (the physical makeup of the book) should be stated in a formula. If it does nothing else, the formula may sometimes reveal interesting information about the printing of various sections of the book, especially the preliminaries, and of economical versus uneconomical printing which may lead to inferences about the time and method of printing certain sections in relation to others. Cancellation whether or not followed by substitution can be revealed only in a formula.

For the nineteenth century the formula is a necessity. . . .

The task of the textual critic is to discover how much of the alteration originates with Richardson. This task involves historical collation, the comparing, word by word, of the printing variants within an edition and of edition to edition. Thus the authority or textual corruption of the book may be traced. The principle employed to establish the relationship of one edition to another is that of copy-text,

that individual manuscript or proof or state of an impression which forms the basis for the edited text; or in other words, it is the text which the editor follows at all points except those where he believes emendation to be justified.\footnote{51}{Bowers, p.370.} \footnote{52}{Statement of Editorial Principles and Procedures, Rev. ed. (New York: CEAA/MLA, 1972), p.3.}
Each new edition, each new setting of type, must be set from a copy-text. This copy-text could be a previous edition, a corrected edition, an old or new manuscript or, often in Canada, a pirated or unauthorized edition.

Richardson’s manuscript of Wacousta has presumably been lost. The textual history of Wacousta, therefore, begins with the London, 1832 edition published by T. Cadell:

WACOUSTA; OR, THE PROPHECY; A Tale of the Canadas. [Black letter]/[rule 2.5cm] "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,/ With all her snakes erect upon her crest,/ She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms." The Revenge. [rule 2.5cm] BY THE AUTHOR OF "ECARTE." IN THREE VOLUMES. VOL.I, VOL.II, VOL.III. LONDON: T. CADELL, STRAND: AND W. BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH. 1832.

According to Morley two further issues of this first edition were offered for sale. The second issue of the sheets of the first edition was issued without the dedication leaf and with

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53 The BVaU copy of the first issue may be described as follows. Collation: 12 (20.5cm X 12cm): VOL.I: *3, B-I², K-M
N8; 143 leaves; pp.[1–vi], [1]2–280. VOL.II: *2, B-I
K-O
p; 168 leaves; pp.[1–iv], [1]2–332. VOL.III: *2, B-I
K-Q
a cancel title-page. The only change in the title recorded by Morley is in the punctuation: "Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy. A Tale of the Canadas." Because Morley is not always accurate in his transcriptions, the period after "Prophecy" that he records may indeed be a colon, as in the first issue. Full and accurate description, or "quasi-facsimile" transcription, would be more reliable and useful to the scholar. A further alteration to the title-page recorded by Morley is the substitution of "1839" for the original 1832.

The third issue of these sheets has "new title-pages, half-titles omitted, and a new dedication leaf added." In this third issue the punctuation of the title is restored to that of the first issue. And for the first time Richardson's name appears on the title-page. Even more interesting, the title-page now includes the words "Second Edition". Of course, this issue is not a second edition if Casselman is correct when he states that "from a careful comparison of this edition with the first, I have come to the conclusion that the author brought several copies of the first edition, in sheets, from

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200. line 11. for "adjutant" read "governor."/ 207. last line, for "Ponteace" read "Ponteac."/ VOL.II./ Page 49. line 10. for "were" read "was."/ VOL.III./ Page 260. line 2. for "unction" read "emotion."


55 Ibid., p.71.
London and had them bound in Canada . . . with a new title page. . . ."56 The practice of calling subsequent impressions or subsequent issues of an edition a "new" edition was quite common in the nineteenth century, and still occurs today. Casselman and Morley suggest that this London edition published by T. Cadell underwent only one impression, the sheets of which were issued three times. This conclusion, however, does not appear to have been supported by necessary collation. Collation, preferably by machine, would show any differences between the various issues. A complete collation of as many as possible of the preserved copies of each issue is absolutely necessary in order to establish the integrity of the first edition, and must be done before an acceptable edition of Wacousta can be produced.

During the nineteenth century both Canadian authors and publishers were at a disadvantage:

For publishers the problem was not merely promotion of their Canadian authors but the impossibility of obtaining effective copyright protection as the law then stood. American publishers, if they so desired, could reprint any book published in Canada without compensation to the author or the original publisher. With equal impunity they regularly reprinted British books in cheap editions for the home market and for export to Canada. Against this piratical practice there was no redress.57


American publishers were not really concerned with absolute accuracy when reproducing Canadian and British books. Having no copyright protection, the authors obviously exercised no control over the product issuing from the American press. Richardson's *Ecarté* and his *Wacousta* were both pirated by U.S. publishers, *Ecarté* in 1829 and *Wacousta* in 1833.

This American pirated edition of *Wacousta*, preserved in three impressions, is actually the second edition, and is crucial to Richardson's literary reputation because all American and Canadian editions of the novel stem from this pirated and abridged one. Adam Waldie of Philadelphia published the first impression serially in 1833 in his Select Circulating Library. The text is printed on three-column pages, the title appearing at the head of column 1 on page 1:

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\begin{align*}
\text{WACOUSTA; [Black letter]/ OR, / THE PROPHECY:/ A TALE OF DETROIT AND MICHILLIMACKINAC:/ [rule 5mm]/ "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,/ With all her snakes erect upon her crest,/ She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms."/ The Revenge./[rule 5mm]/ BY THE AUTHOR OF "ECARTE";/ DEDICATED TO THE FORTY-FIRST BRITISH REGIMENT BY A/ ONCE SHARER IN THEIR SERVICE.58
\end{align*}
\]

This caption title is followed by the words *Note to the first*.
American edition, a note which claims that the novel is best understood as an American rather than a Canadian novel. Waldie also, as may be seen, changed the title of the novel by removing "A Tale of the Canadas" and substituting "A Tale of Detroit and Michillimackinac".

Demand for Wacousta must have been good in the U.S. at that time because Waldie reissued it a second time in the New Series of his Select Circulating Library. Morley suggests that this printing of Wacousta "ran for several months [weeks?] concurrently with that in the original series, the text being from substantially the same type."59 His statement about the textual history of the novel requires some clarification. The word "concurrently" may suggest that the novel was set in type twice, and both printed at the same time. Such a duplicating procedure, however, is unlikely. Morley may also mean that the novel was set in type for one impression, and then changed in some particulars, for the second.

A collation of the two revealed some differences. For example, this second impression corrects the misspelling of

VOL.II. PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 16 [APRIL 23, APRIL 30, MAY 7], 1833. NO.1 [NO.2, NO.3, NO.4]. / [rule 20cm]/ Printed and Published by ADAM WALDIE, No.6, North Eighth Street, Philadelphia--At $5 for 52 numbers, payable in advance. / [rule 20cm]/ PHEONIX N. WOOD & CO. Booksellers, Baltimore, are Agents for the states of Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio, and the city of New Orleans. / [thin rule, thick rule, 20cm]

59 Morley, p.68.
the word "tomhaawk" on page 54, column 1, line 37, of the first impression. The second impression also has new pagination, new numbers for each weekly issue, and the words "New Series" on the bottom of the first page of each of these numbers. However, the second impression retains the many obvious compositor's errors, broken type, and other mechanical imperfections of the first impression.

In 1833 Key and Biddle of Philadelphia also published Wacousta. Bibliographers have never noticed that this 1833 Key and Biddle Wacousta is not a separate edition, but a third impression of Waldie's setting of the type. Morley, who has seen one copy of Waldie's first impression and two copies of the Key and Biddle claims the Key and Biddle to be "the first American edition in monographic form. Another

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60 The BVaU copy of the second impression is contained in this volume: THE SELECT CIRCULATING LIBRARY,/ CONTAINING/ THE BEST POPULAR LITERATURE,/ INCLUDING/ MEMOIRS, BIOGRAPHY, NOVELS, TALES, TRAVELS, VOYAGES, &c./ [rule 3.5cm]/ VOL.I. [New Series]/ [rule 3.5cm]/ PHILADELPHIA:/ PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ADAM WALDIE,/ NO.6, NORTH EIGHT STREET./ 1833. Wacousta occupies nos.14-17 of this volume: WALDIE'S SELECT CIRCULATING LIBRARY./ [thick rule, thin rule, 20cm]/ VOL.I. PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 16 [APRIL 23, APRIL 30, MAY 7], 1833. NO.14 [NO.15, NO.16, NO.17]./ [rule 20cm]/ Printed and Published by ADAM WALDIE, No.6, North Eighth Street, Philadelphia--At $5 for 52 numbers, payable in advance./ [rule 20cm]/ PHEONIX N. WOOD & CO. Booksellers, Baltimore, are Agents for the states of Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio, and the city of New Orleans./ [thin rule, thick rule, 20cm]

pirated reproduction of the London first edition and also issued anonymously, the 'Chapter I. Introductory' copies the text in Waldie's serial but omits his 'Note to the first American edition' which preceded it.  This Key and Biddle Wacousta, however, is not a "reproduction" of the London first edition, does not "copy" Waldie's Introductory chapter only, but is, in fact, the third impression of Waldie's serial.

A collation of the second impression of the Waldie type-setting and the Key and Biddle text clearly indicates that the only difference between the two texts is the spacing between the lines of type, the Key and Biddle text being wider. Because Waldie's type was set by hand, transferring Waldie's setting of type, column by column, into single-page galleys for the Key and Biddle impression would have been a simple matter. This simple procedure would allow the compositor to change the spacing between the lines, and make other minor alterations, like changes in spelling, punctuation, and pagination. Key and Biddle, however, restore the title to that of the original London edition, with only a change in punctuation:

WACOUSTA:/ OR/ THE PROPHECY./ A TALE OF THE CANADAS./ [rule 3mm] / "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,/ With all her snakes erect upon her crest,/ She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms."/ The Revenge./ [rule 3mm] / BY THE AUTHOR OF "ÉCARTÉ."/ IN

61 Morley, p.69.
The importance of including serial versions of a work in a bibliography is clearly demonstrated by this case. Richardson himself wrote that "the piratical reprint in Waldie's Circulating Library, is incorrect, several of the most forcible passages in the book, being left out altogether." The Key and Biddle text, as the third impression of Waldie's serial, is, therefore, a pirated one, is "incorrect", and has no authority whatsoever.

The last text published during Richardson's life raises the question of whether Richardson himself revised the so-called "Revised Edition" published in New York by Dewitt and Davenport in 1851:

WACOUSTA; OR, THE PROPHECY; AN INDIAN TALE. [rule 3cm] "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert, With all her snakes erect upon her crest, She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms." The Revenge. [rule 3cm] BY MAJOR RICHARDSON, AUTHOR OF "HARDSCRABBLE," "ÉCARTE," &c. [rule 8mm] REVISED EDITION. [rule 8mm] NEW YORK: DEWITT & DAVENPORT, PUBLISHERS. TRIBUNE BUILDINGS

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63 Morley, p.107.

64 A description of the BVaU copy follows. Collation: 8
This edition is reputed to be the author's final intentions. It was apparently published sometime during 1851 and Richardson died on May 12, 1852. The introduction on pages iii-viii is signed, "THE AUTHOR./ NEW YORK CITY,/ January 1st, 1851."

The 1832 Cadell London edition begins with an introductory chapter, "Chap.I. Introductory"; the "story" begins with Chapter II. The Waldie 1833 edition follows the same order, but abridges that introductory chapter and the rest of the novel. The Dewitt and Davenport 1851 edition eliminates "Chap. I. Introductory" and replaces it with a new "Introduction" which is not called a chapter, and begins the "story" with a new Chapter I which is, in fact, Chapter II of earlier editions. Morley notes the replacement, but does not relate the 1851 edition to the earlier two editions. The Dewitt and Davenport 1851 Wacousta must have been set from some copytext, such as a revised copy of the first edition.

In an advertisement at the back of the second volume of The Canadian Brothers; Or, The Prophecy Fulfilled, published in Montreal in 1840, Richardson had announced the publication of a "new edition" of Wacousta:

(22.6cm X 14.2cm): [1]2-14 ; 112 leaves; pp.[iii]iv-viii, [9]10-223. Page 114 is numbered at the inner head of the page instead of at the outer. The running-title on pages 186 and 206 has the word "PROPHECY" misspelled "PROPMECY."

The "CANADIAN BROTHERS" being, as it will be observed, a continuation of "WACOUSTA"—an abridged and very imperfect edition of which has been printed in the United States, and even it being nearly out of type, a revised republication of the latter work, containing all the passages which have been omitted in the American reprint, will issue from the press during the ensuing summer.

This advertisement probably refers to the third impression of the first edition which has on its cancel title-page the words "Second Edition" and bears the date 1840. Equally important is Richardson's comment about the real second edition, the American pirate.

Morley claims that the only correct edition, the London edition, is substantially the same as the pirated American edition. But a collation of the first two editions shows that the second edition, the Waldie edition, is substantially abridged, not only the "Chap. I. Introductory", but also the rest of the novel. Richardson's concern and annoyance voiced in the advertisement has, therefore, a very real basis.

In 1842 Richardson still claimed that the first edition was the only authorial one when he said that the "English Edition of Wacousta, sent for to this country, Expressly For Canadian Readers, is the only correct one that has ever issued from the Press." This statement makes obvious the fact that Richardson's 1840 issue of Wacousta was not a "Second

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Edition", but an issue of the London first edition. Morley notes that the words "Second Edition" on the title-page of this 1840 Wacousta were "well calculated to foster the illusion of a revision issuing from the press."67

Most important, however, is Richardson's insistence, after a lapse of ten years, that the 1832 London first edition of Wacousta is the only authorial one. No such insistence exists about the authority of the third edition, the Dewitt and Davenport New York edition of 1851. Furthermore, Richardson nowhere indicates that he felt that the first edition of Wacousta needed any revision whatsoever.

On the other hand, Mr. David Beasley, often referred to as Richardson's biographer, claims in a tone of authority that "Richardson prepared a new edition of Wacousta, cutting the descriptive introduction and scenes which tended to slow the action. Dewitt and Davenport published it in early 1851 with a biographical introduction Richardson wrote on New Year's Day."68 A historical collation of this New York third edition and the London first edition showed that "revision" consisted mainly of abridgement, abridgement suspiciously similar to that of the 1833 pirated second edition. A collation of this 1851 third edition with the pirated second edition

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67 Morley, p. 72.

proves that Dewitt and Davenport used a copy of the pirated second edition as copy-text, omitting only the "Chap. I. Introductory" which is replaced by the introduction Richardson wrote and dated January 1, 1851. Collation shows how closely and with what fidelity the Dewitt and Davenport 1851 edition follows the abridged and pirated second edition of 1833. To believe that Richardson prepared a new edition of Wacousta for the New York firm of Dewitt and Davenport is impossible: Richardson would not and could not have cut exactly the same 15,000 words that Waldie had cut eighteen years earlier.

Richardson's new "Introduction" gives the Dewitt and Davenport third edition the appearance of having authorial sanction, but Richardson's approval or disapproval of this edition had not been recorded. On the basis of the dated introduction, Beasley claims that this 1851 edition of Wacousta was published early in that year. Morley does not "doubt" that because the book was copyrighted by Dewitt and Davenport in 1851 that it was also published in 1851, "and that this is the issue Dewitt advertised in the Literary World, New York, 6th September, 1851 (p.200), as 'just published'." Richardson apparently always "sold all the rights in his novels to his publishers, [and] lived on any lump sum he received, making it stretch until he could publish something else and continue his precarious existence."  

69 Morley, p.74.  
70 Beasley, p.21.
Richardson's negotiations with Dewitt and Davenport must have progressed considerably by January 1, 1851. He noted, on page iii of the new introduction, that "this Introductory Chapter ... I have promised my Publishers." In his introduction Richardson makes no allusion to revision, and, indeed, these few pages may have been his only claim to remuneration. Perhaps Richardson had no control over the edition produced by these publishers. At any rate, there is no record of Richardson's sanctioning the Dewitt and Davenport edition of Wacousta, but we do know that he whole-heartedly denounced the corrupt second edition, which is the one Dewitt and Davenport reproduced.

The other Richardson novels Dewitt and Davenport published may shed some light on why Dewitt and Davenport would choose an abridged and pirated edition for copy-text, and call the ensuing production a "Revised Edition". This publishing company, founded in 1849, specialized in cheap paper-back novels and reprints. The Dewitt firm published five of

71 Years later another Canadian author, William Kirby, wrote a new preface for an American publisher who was going to bring out an "authorised" edition of Kirby's The Golden Dog. Although a new edition was published incorporating Kirby's new "Author's Prefatory Note" proclaiming the edition an authorised one, Kirby denounced the edition as corrupt because that American publisher did not live up to his bargain which was to publish the novel in the form Kirby wanted. Kirby had no copyright protection or any legal rights to the novel, and therefore the publisher was free to produce any kind of edition he saw fit. Even later Canadian editions based on that American one carried the misleading "Author's Prefatory Note".
Richardson's novels. The first, *The Monk Knight of St. John* which Richardson probably wrote in late 1849 or in 1850, Dewitt published in the summer of 1850 and reissued in the same year with a cancel title-page omitting their imprint. This novel is considered by many critics to be a sensational one, and for that reason the firm of Dewitt and Davenport probably decided to disassociate itself from the book by inserting on the new title-page the imprint "Published For The Trade" rather than their usual imprint. The only other new work of Richardson published by the Dewitt firm is *Hardscrabble; Or, The Fall of Chicago* which Richardson wrote before he moved to New York in the Fall of 1849. *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art* first published it serially in issues from February to June 1850; Dewitt and Davenport may have published it in book form as early as the summer of 1850, when they purchased the copyright, or not until October of 1851.72 A comparison of the Dewitt edition with the serial publication shows Richardson may have expanded the serial version, or else *Sartain's* shortened the manuscript for the serial publication, because the Dewitt version is considerably longer. Although information is scant, Dewitt and Davenport apparently did not abridge Richardson's new material.

When reprinting, however, this publisher's policy clearly

72 Beasley, p.14, and p.106 of Part II of his article in the February issue of that *Bulletin*; see also Morley, pp.24-25.
changed. Richardson's first novel, Ecarté; Or, The Salons of Paris, was first published in three volumes in London in 1829. A pirated two-volume version was printed in New York in the same year. Published again by Dewitt in 1851, Ecarté was substantially abridged. The title-page bears the words "Author's Revised Edition" and according to Morley "the author's revisions consist of the translation into English of most of the numerous French words and phrases, division into shorter chapters, and a substantial abridgement by omission of passages from the original three-volume text." 73

In a letter to the critic Rufus Griswold dated June 1851, Richardson makes no mention of revising Ecarté:

Although I have arranged with my publishers for "Ecarte" and the "Prophecy Fulfilled," both of which I have sold them far below their value, the pecuniary settlement is delayed until I have made some slight alterations in the last named work--meanwhile I want some money. Will you lend me from ten to fifteen dollars until I receive wherewithal to return the amount from them. It cannot be more than a fortnight hence. 74

Expecting to be paid in two weeks after making some slight alterations to the Prophecy Fulfilled, Richardson, because Dewitt's changes were so substantial, obviously did not have a clear idea of the kind and quality of editions Dewitt and Davenport would produce. The new edition changes the title to Matilda Montgomerie: Or, The Prophecy Fulfilled from The Canadian Brothers; Or, The Prophecy Fulfilled. Other changes

73 Morley, p.15.
74 Beasley, p.22.
are innumerable:

... dedication, Preface, and Advertisement at the end, are all omitted; errata corrected; issued in a single volume with continuous chapter and page numbering; and numerous textual changes. The latter consist mainly of the omission of passages which might offend the patriotism of American readers, and of Cranstoun's conversation in an attempted Scottish dialect for which Richardson had apologised in the Preface to Canadian Brothers; Riddell noted over seventy omissions, many of which, with other changes, he has carefully recorded (p. 57-62). 75

The Dewitt and Davenport reprints of Ecarté, The Canadian Brothers, and Wacousta are all abridged, and critics have been unanimous in claiming that Richardson himself did the abridging. Clearly, though, Richardson did not abridge Wacousta, and no evidence suggests that he himself abridged Ecarté, or The Canadian Brothers. The 1829 American pirated edition of Ecarté may have been abridged and, if so, could prove to be the copy-text for the Dewitt and Davenport edition. A collation of Matilda Montgomerie and The Canadian Brothers would show how much of the alteration was because of rewriting, and how much to simple cutting.

Of the five Richardson novels published by Dewitt and Davenport, only one, The Monk Knight of St. John, was published in 1850. The remaining four were probably published in September or October of 1851. Richardson may have been dissatisfied with the Dewitt reprints of his novels because by December of 1851 he had found a new publisher, H. Long and Brother. Moreover, the sequel to Hardscrabble, entitled

75 Morley, p. 40; Riddell does not record these omissions, he merely discusses some of them.
Wau-Nan-Gee; Or, The Massacre At Chicago, was first published serially in the New York Mercury between June 1 and August 31, 1851, the copyright probably being sold to Richardson's new publisher, H. Long and Brother, in December, 1851. 76 Considering the quality of the Dewitt and Davenport edition of Wacousta, Richardson had good reason to find another publisher.

The history of Wacousta following Richardson's death is one of continued editorial mishandling. Between the years 1851 and 1890 Wacousta must have enjoyed a popular standing with the American reading public, if only because the Dewitt and Davenport edition was reissued so many times during those years. Not so in Canada. The only known Canadian nineteenth-century edition of Wacousta was published in Montreal in 1868 by John Lovell:

WACOUSTA;/ OR/ THE PROPHECY./ AN INDIAN TALE./ [crinkly rule 4cm] / "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,/ With all her snakes erect upon her crest./ She stalks in view, and fires with her charms."/ The Revenge./ [crinkly rule 4cm] / BY MAJOR RICHARDSON,/ AUTHOR OF "HARDSCRABBLE," "ECARTE," ETC./ [rule 1cm]/ FIRST CANADIAN EDITION./ [rule 1cm]/ Montreal:[Black letter]/ JOHN LOVELL, ST. NICHOLAS STREET./ 1868. 77

The period after the word "crest" in the title-page quotation destroys the sense of the quotation, a comma being the

76 Morley, p.97.

77 An OKQ copy may be described as follows. Collation: 8° (24cm X 15.7cm); 1-108, 114; 84 leaves; pp.[i-ii], [3]4-167.
punctuation used by all previous editions. This Lovell edition also alters punctuation, spelling, and paragraphing throughout the text. Some rewriting and occasional omissions also mar the fidelity of this edition to its copy-text.

Lovell based this "First Canadian Edition" of Wacousta on the corrupt 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition, likely the most readily available text at that time. He omits the introduction to the Dewitt and Davenport text and neither supplies a new introduction nor reinstates the "Chap. I. Introductory" of earlier editions. This remarkable omission might be because the Lovell text was first set in type for a serial publication, and a first instalment containing the author's introduction might have been deemed unsuitable for the serialization of the novel. Morley suggests that the real first Canadian printing of Wacousta might have been in the pages of a Montreal newspaper, the Transcript, which Lovell printed in its early years. He also suggests that the Lovell edition of Wacousta was really a second printing in Canada and was "printed from a stand of type set up for newspaper use. . . ." It was perhaps "... reprinted from Transcript type-columns remade into pages." Lovell's edition was published the year after Confederation and Lovell may have deleted Richardson's 1851 introduction because though not very complimentary to Canadians it is very kind to Americans.

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78 Morley, p.77.
This poorly printed and textually corrupt 1868 "First Canadian Edition" might have satisfied Canadian demand for Wacousta, even Canadian patriotism, because the second Canadian edition did not appear until 1906.

This 1906 Wacousta, the fifth edition, like the Lovell edition, is also based on the corrupt 1851 Dewitt and Davenport:

WACOUSTA [red]/ A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy/ BY/ MAJOR RICHARDSON/ Author of "The Canadian Brothers,"
"Hardscrabble," "Écarté" etc./ With Illustrations by/ CHARLES W. JEFFERYS/ "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,/ With all her snakes erect upon her crest,/ She stalks in view and fires me with her charms."
REVENGE./ TORONTO/ HISTORICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY/ 1906

The original title was Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas, and the Historical Publishing Company's rewriting of the title is probably more pernicious than Waldie's pirated

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79 A BVaS copy may be described as follows. Collation: 8° (12.8cm X 18.7cm): *1, 1-28°, 29°; 227 leaves; pp.[i-xii], 13-454.

Contents: [i] title-page [ii] Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year/ one thousand nine hundred and six, by the HISTORICAL/ PUBLISHING CO., TORONTO, at the Department of Agriculture. [iii] ILLUSTRATIONS/ [rule 1.5cm]/ "At that sound the Ottawa and the other chiefs sprang to/ their feet." Frontispiece/ Portrait of the Author v/ "Choking up the gateway . . . a dense mass of dusky Indians were to be seen." 192/ "The soldiery, . . . collected along the line of rampart/ in front, were watching the progress of the ball-players." 268/ "During the whole of that day the cousins had continued on/ deck, clasped in each other's arms." 309/ "Wacousta began his descent, not as before by adhering to the staff, but by the rope." 442 [iv] blank [v-xii] introduction [13-454] text. The illustrations are tipped in, and the introduction is a shortened version of Richardson's 1851 introduction which was written for the Dewitt edition of that year. The title is within a plain double border, inner border red, outer black. The first gathering is unsigned.
American version which dropped "A Tale of the Canadas" and substituted "A Tale of Detroit and Michillimackinac." The Historical Publishing Company's new sub-title, "A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy", reflects the Canadian admiration then current for the American historian Francis Parkman who in 1851 published a History of the Pontiac Conspiracy.

Although Alexander Clark Casselman who edited Richardson's War of 1812 for the Historical Publishing Company in 1902 recorded Lovell's 1868 Wacousta in his bibliography, the Lovell edition was not used as copy-text for the 1906 Historical Publishing Company Wacousta. Casselman, or some other editor, decided to use the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition, possibly a later issue of it, instead. This editor, like Lovell before him, must have objected to Richardson's Dewitt and Davenport introduction because the first two paragraphs are omitted. In these paragraphs Richardson had voiced his admiration for James Fenimore Cooper. The editor of this 1906 Wacousta must have known of a 1902 Casselman defence of Richardson against charges of imitating Cooper, and the best evidence to support such charges is found in the first two paragraphs of Richardson's 1851 introduction.

The editor of this 1906 Wacousta might also have thought he was improving Richardson's novel by introducing many changes in the text. He departs even further from Richardson's intentions than any of the earlier editors, except Waldie, who had
no respect for what Richardson wrote. This 1906 editor alters Richardson's novel so radically that Richardson's style is completely changed. The editor makes over 4,000 punctuation changes, he freely rewrites, he omits passages, he changes paragraphing, he changes spelling, he ruins characters' dialect speeches by correcting the spelling, and he further bowdlerizes. And, worst of all, with this edition he sets the standard by which later editions were produced.

In 1923 McClelland and Stewart brought out a new edition, and based it on that of the 1906 Historical Publishing Company:

WACOUSTA/ A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy/ By MAJOR RICHARDSON/ Author of "The Canadian Brothers,"/ "Hardscrabble," "Écarté," etc./ With Illustrations by/ CHARLES W. JEFFERYS, A.R.C.A./ "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert, with all her snakes erect upon her crest, she stalks in view and fires me with her charms."/ The Revenge./McCLELLAND & STEWART/ PUBLISHERS -- TORONTO

This 1923 Wacousta even reproduces the Historical Publishing

80 A BVaS copy may be described as follows. Collation: 16° (19.2cm X 12.5cm): 1-15"; 240 leaves; pp.[i-iv], v-xii, [xiii-xviii], 3-457 [458-464].

Contents: [i] half-title: WACOUSTA/ A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy/[thick rule, thin rule, 6.3cm]/ [ii] blank [iii] title-page [iv] Copyright, Canada, 1923/by McClelland & Stewart, Limited, Toronto/ Printed in Canada [v-xii] introduction [xiii-xiv] a table of contents which only lists the chapters by numbers and the corresponding page numbers [xv] Illustrations list, the same as for the 1906 edition only with some changes in pagination: the third illustration appears on p.185 instead of 192, the fourth on p.264 instead of 268, and the fifth on p.454 instead of 442. [xvi] blank [xvii] half-title: WACOUSTA [xviii] blank [3-457] text [458] colophon, a printer's device bearing the words: WARWICK/ BROS. &/ RUTTER/ LIMITED/ TORONTO/ PRINTERS & BOOKBINDERS [459-464] blank. Morley may be wrong when he says that the vignette chapter initials are the same as in the 1906 edition because in this copy the vignette initials for chapter XXVIII, p.372, and chapter XXXIII, p.424, do not correspond to those of the 1906 edition.
Company's error in the title-page quotation, where a comma after the word "view" is left out. This 1923 edition follows its copy-text with great fidelity, departing only to introduce new errors though occasionally correcting an error in its 1906 copy-text.

The seventh edition of Wacousta was brought out on the heels of the sixth, being published in 1924 by Musson of Toronto. This edition, too, is evidently based on the 1906 fifth edition which came originally from the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport:

WACOUSTA/ A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy/ BY/ MAJOR RICHARDSON/ Author of "The Canadian Brothers,"/ "Hardscrabble," "Écarté," etc./ WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY/ CHARLES W. JEFFERYS/ "Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,/ With all her snakes erect upon her crest,/ She stalks in view and fires me with her charm."/ THE REVENGE./ TORONTO/ THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY/ LIMITED

Again the quotation is printed incorrectly, the comma being omitted after the word "view", and a new error introduced changes the sense of the passage: the word "charm" replaces the correct "charms". This printing error indicates the quality of this 1924 Wacousta. It is even more corrupt than the 1923 McClelland and Stewart edition which had also used the vastly corrupted 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition as copy-text.

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The next and latest edition of *Wacousta* was published by McClelland and Stewart in 1967. This NCL edition is without a doubt the worst, the most textually corrupt of all the textually corrupt editions of the novel:

**WACOUSTA/ or/ THE PROPHECY/ MAJOR JOHN RICHARDSON/ An abridged edition/ Introduction: Carl F. Klinck/ General Editor: Malcolm Ross/ New Canadian Library No.58/[Publisher's device]/ MCCLELAND AND STEWART LIMITED**

This 1967 *Wacousta* is based on the 1924 Musson edition, the most corrupt copy-text that could have been chosen. Once again the title is changed: the words "or The Prophecy" are reinstated, but the original sub-title "A Tale of the Canadas" is not reinstated, sub-title being dropped altogether. Richardson's title-page quotation appears on the verso of the title-page in the incorrect form printed by the 1924 Musson edition.

Morley claims that this edition is "the first publication

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82 Collation: unsigned, perfect binding, (18.4cm X 11cm) pp.[i-iv], v-xx, 1-298 [299-300].

Contents: [i] title-page [ii] The following epigraph appeared in the original edition/ Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,/ With all her snakes erect upon her crest,/ She stalks in view and fires me with her charm;/ The Revenge/ First Published 1832/ Introduction/ © McClelland and Stewart/ Limited, 1967/ ALL RIGHTS RESERVED/ A minimum of re-writing of transitions, always based on Richardson's/ own words, has been introduced where portions of the story have/ been omitted in the interests of abridgement. Certain changes in/ paragraphing and punctuation have also been made, but without/ alteration of the sense of the original./ The Canadian Publishers/McClelland and Stewart Limited/ 25 Hollinger Road, Toronto 16/ PRINTED AND BOUND IN CANADA BY/ T.H. BEST PRINTING COMPANY LIMITED [iii] a short list of biographical events, including some titles of the author's work [iv] a short list for further reading [v-xiii] Klinck's introduction dated December, 1966 [xiv-xx] author's introduction [1-298] text [299-300] list of titles in the publisher's series.
of an abridged version of Wacousta", a statement obviously untrue. The second edition, the American pirated one published by Adam Waldie in 1833, was in fact the first abridged version, having eliminated some 15,000 words of the text. Each edition of the novel after the 1833 Waldie was also an abridged and corrupted one. Klinck's 1967 NCL Wacousta compounds corruption: he bases it on the 1924 Musson edition, the most corrupt to date, and eliminates a further 26,000 words. As collation shows, Richardson's Wacousta has become increasingly corrupt with each new edition since the pirated American second edition.

83 Morley, p. 89.
Chapter 3

Waldie's Version: An American Spoliation

The pirated American text first published by Waldie's Select Circulating Library of Philadelphia in 1833 dominates the history of Wacousta. The first edition published by T. Cadell of London in 1832 has never been republished and has never been recognized as the only authorial edition. Hence it has not been in circulation since the 1840's when Richardson attempted to sell remaining copies in Canada. All later editions, including those now circulating, are based on the Waldie text, first published in 1833, or on versions of it. The Waldie text is the first to subvert Richardson's intentions by abridging, Americanizing, and bowdlerizing the novel.

This incredibly corrupt and unauthorized text of the novel distorts and slight Richardson's literary reputation. Not knowing Wacousta's textual history, critics analyse and interpret only the corrupt Waldie version or a derivative of it. For instance, David Beasely applauds Richardson for "cutting the descriptive introduction and scenes which tended to slow the action." But Waldie or his editor, not Richardson, cut those scenes.

Critics, such as Dr. Carl Klinck, who praise Wacousta as

84 Beasley, p.18.
Richardson's literary masterpiece, are really only unwittingly praising Waldie's editing. And Waldie's editing does not deserve praise. If Wacousta is to be judged a masterpiece, or anything else, it must first be read in a form which embodies Richardson's intentions. Analysis shows that Waldie's editing drastically alters the novel, changing its appeal to a specific audience, and consequently changing theme and setting.

Waldie's editing reveals a consciousness of the audience of his Circulating Library, an American, anti-British, and Puritanical audience. Richardson, writing Wacousta while on half-pay in England, wrote as a Canadian with a British audience in mind, an audience he wished to persuade to view Canada's heroic past with a more kindly and interested eye. Furthermore, he was consciously writing the first Canadian novel. Like Sir Walter Scott, Richardson wrote historical fiction romanticising his native land and propounding a "nationalistic" sentiment, while still favouring a kind of harmonious subservience to the British Empire. Richardson, well aware of the popularity of the American novelist James Fenimore Cooper, hastens to point out he is breaking new ground with the publication of Wacousta:

Without entering into minute geographical detail, it may be necessary merely to point out the outline of such portions of the vast continent of America as still acknowledge allegiance to the English crown, in order that the reader, understanding the localities, may enter with deeper interest into the incidents of a tale connected with a ground hitherto untouched by the wand
of the modern novelist. By eradicating much of the text, adding material to it, and rewriting some of it, Waldie makes *Wacousta* appear to be an American novel, and a pale imitation of Cooper's American historical fiction.

Waldie's rewriting begins with the title. Richardson's is *Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas*. Waldie rewrites this as *Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy: A Tale of Detroit and Michillimackinac*. By his sub-title *A Tale of the Canadas* Richardson points out the historical, political, and geographical context of his novel. His story centres on one of the most significant events to occur during the initial years of British rule in the large frontier area so recently held by France: the so-called Conspiracy of Pontiac. Richardson's "Chap.I. Introductory" supplies the basic historical background to the setting of his novel, and underscores the difficulties the British faced in taking over the area from the French. Waldie's editing of this "background" chapter destroys the true context of *Wacousta* by placing the novel firmly in an American historical and social tradition.

Before printing his text Waldie adds a "Note to the first American edition" which indicates his editorial policy: "Although

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85 Major John Richardson, *Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas* (London: T. Cadell, 1832), Vol.I, pp.1-2. All subsequent references to this edition will be found in the text of this study, indicated by the initials "TC" followed by volume number and page number.
the following work has been received with great favour by the reading public in England, it is in this country, where the scene is laid, and where we are more familiar with the Indian character, that its merits can be best tested. "This country" obviously means the United States, just as the "we" refers to citizens of the United States. And the American "familiarity" with the Indian character is very different from that of the Canadian, and particularly from that of Richardson himself who fought with the Indians against the Americans in the War of 1812.

In his "Note" Waldie also claims that Wacousta is an "earnest of still higher flights in a field so successfully trodden by our own Cooper." This statement places Richardson in the American literary tradition, a tradition in which he does not belong. The implication of imitation, almost an accusation, is obvious, but a careful reading of the first edition reveals that a comment by Casselman in 1902 is closer to the truth:

The only ground for such an accusation is that both wrote stories with Indians figuring prominently in the foreground. And it is doubtful that Richardson owes more to Cooper's works than the bare suggestion that a romance dealing with the Canadian Indian would prove both popular and successful.

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86 Major John Richardson, Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy: A Tale of Detroit and Michillimackinac, in Waldie's Select Circulating Library, Vol. II, Nos. 1-4 (April-May, 1833), p. 1. All subsequent references to this edition will be found in the text of this study, indicated by the initials "WCL" followed by page number.

87 Casselman, p. xix.
Moreover, the first reviews of *Wacousta* do not automatically draw a comparison to the work of Cooper as Waldie’s "Note" suggests they ought. Clearly, the reviewer for *The Athenaeum* who emphasized the military character of the novel did not see *Wacousta* as an American work:

The toils, the difficulties, the dangers which the soldiers had to encounter were never appreciated in England; it was not supposed that the scattered garrisons were in a perpetual state of siege, that their labours of a single week often surpassed the hardships of an ordinary campaign; least of all was it imagined that more skill, more energy, and more steady wisdom were required to resist the uncivilized savages, than would have been demanded for a dozen campaigns in Flanders. History passes over in silence the many exertions, both of valour and prudence, by which the Canadas were secured to England; and this is, we believe, the first instance in which the subject has been made the theme of historic fiction. It is pleasing to find a soldier of the present day anxious to rescue from oblivion the exploits of military men which had sunk into unmerited obscurity; and to see an honourable anxiety in a brave man to record deeds of bravery that have not yet received their fair meed of fame.88

Another reviewer refers to "this military novel",89 and a Miss Sheridan, writing for *Court Magazine*, comments that

The tradition on which it is founded, was imparted to the author, while serving in Canada, and this is interwoven with wild descriptions and sketches of character, quite equal to the highly gifted Cooper, while it possesses the charm, to English readers, in which that great writer is deficient, viz: the persons most deserving of exciting sympathy and admiration are all British. The principal scenes occur in a garrison, and the author has betrayed no ordinary talent, in investing all the characters, usually found in such a situation, with some distinguishing point

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89 Ibid., p. 40.
of interest, which makes the reader long to hear more of them.90

The Britishness so admired by Miss Sheridan Waldie suppresses, as he did the "wild descriptions and sketches of character."

Only Miss Sheridan and one other reviewer of nine early reviews even mention Cooper, and all of them acknowledge the Canadian setting of Wacousta and its significance to British interest and history.

Editing Richardson's "Chap. I. Introductory" Waldie also suppresses Richardson's historic and military ardour. Wanting readers to accept the novel in terms of the United States, Waldie blots out Richardson's geographical and political outline which clearly distinguishes between Canada and the United States. Any mention of "our Canadian possessions" Waldie excised as he did Richardson's British patriotism evident in this passage from the original: "on the bright bosom of ... [Lake Ontario], during the late war [War of 1812], frigates, seventy-fours, and even a ship of one hundred and twelve guns, manned by a crew of one thousand men, reflected the proud pennants of England!" (TC.I.4) Waldie consistently changes Richardson's "our flotilla" to "the British flotilla", "our possessions" to "the British possessions", and "us" to "Great Britain". Any mention of Canada Waldie omits, even Richardson's

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90 Major John Richardson, The Canadian Brothers; Or, The Prophecy Fulfilled, A Tale Of The Late American War (Montréal: Armour and Ramsay, 1840), p.ii of the advertisements at the back of Vol.II.
description of the chain of lakes and rivers that divides Canada from the United States. He also omits Richardson's mention of the "Canadian Boat Song", "Niagara Falls", and "Montreal". Waldie deletes a passage describing Quebec:

From thence . . . [the St. Lawrence] pursues her course unforded, except by a few inferior streams, and gradually widens as she rolls past the capital of the Canadas, whose tall and precipitous battlements, bristled with cannon, and frowning defiance from the clouds in which they appear half imbedded, might be taken by the imaginative enthusiast for the strong tower of the Spirit of those stupendous scenes. (TC.I.5-6)

Having fought against the Americans in the War of 1812, Richardson could well mean the "frowning defiance" of the battlements to refer to the Canadians' defiance of American aggression. Richardson's fervent patriotism was still evident in 1843 when he entitled his weekly newspaper the Canadian Loyalist, & Spirit of 1812. Clearly Richardson is writing fiction based on the history of Canada, and not on the history of the United States as Waldie would have his readers believe. Americanizing this first patriotic chapter, Waldie also cuts out a passage underscoring distinctions between Canada and the United States:

In following the links of this extensive chain of lakes and rivers, it must be borne in recollection, that, proceeding seaward from Michillimackinac and its contiguous district, all that tract of country which lies to the right constitutes what is now known as the United States of America, and all on the left the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, tributary to the English government, subject to the English laws, and garrisoned by English troops. (TC.I.6)

Richardson demarks the political geography carefully because his characters are either British, French Canadian, or Indian,
none of whom are attached to the United States in any way.

Waldie also deletes Richardson's view of the historical background, often explanations of French and British relationships:

During the first few years of the conquest, the inhabitants of Canada, who were all either European French, or immediate descendants of that nation, were, as might naturally be expected, more than restive under their new governors, and many of the most impatient spirits of the country sought every opportunity of sowing the seeds of distrust and jealousy in the hearts of the natives. By these people it was artfully suggested to the Indians, that their new oppressors were of the race of those who had driven them from the sea, and were progressively advancing on their territories until scarce a hunting ground or a village would be left to them. (TC.I.13-14)

Waldie eliminated the view held by Richardson that Indians were refugees from the aggressively expanding American colonies, and strikes out any mention of the French and Indian alliance:

The cause of the Indians, and that of the Canadians, became, in some degree, identified as one, and each felt it was the interest, and it may be said the natural instinct, of both, to hold communionship of purpose, and to indulge the same jealousies and fears. (TC.I.15)

Furthermore, Waldie omits Richardson's patriotic assurances to his English readers that the French Canadians and the Indians no longer distrust and hate the English:

While giving, for the information of the many, what, we trust will not be considered a too compendious outline of the Canadas, and the events connected with them, we are led to remark, that, powerful as was the feeling of hostility cherished by the French Canadians towards the English when the yoke of early conquest yet hung heavily on them, this feeling eventually died away under the mild influence of a government that preserved to them the exercise of all their customary privileges, and abolished all invidious distinctions between the descendants of France and those of the mother-country. So universally, too, has this system
of conciliation been pursued, we believe we may with safety aver, of all the numerous colonies that have succumbed to the genius and power of England, there are none whose inhabitants entertain stronger feelings of attachment and loyalty to her than those of Canada. . . . (TC.I.16-17)

In Americanizing this novel Waldie certainly could not allow British patriotism to stand, and few Americans would appreciate being reminded of the English-Indian alliance, an alliance which played such an important part in the War of 1812. Nor could he allow to stand any suggestion of American perfidy against the Indians:

In proportion also as the Canadians have felt and acknowledged the beneficent effects arising from a change of rulers, so have the Indian tribes been gradually weaned from their first fierce principle of hostility, until they have subsequently become as much distinguished by their attachment to, as they were three quarters of a century ago remarkable for their untameable aversion for, every thing that bore the English name, or assumed the English character. Indeed, the hatred which they [the Indians] bore to the original colonists has been continued to their descendants, the subjects of the United States; and the same spirit of union subsisted between the natives and British troops, and people of Canada, during the late American war, that at an earlier period of the history of that country prevailed so powerfully to the disadvantage of England. (TC.I.17-18)

Richardson expands on this view elsewhere. In his poem Tecumseh, Richardson praises the Indian leader for his victory over the Americans and his willingness to make peace:

So when victorious near the dark Wabash,
His mighty arm achiev'd a world's repose,
That eye with blasting fire was seen to flash,
And with its very glance confound his foes,
As, darting through the waves with fearful splash,
He like a demon of the water rose,
And carried death among the lawless band,
The ruthless wasters of his native land.91

Likewise, in his *War of 1812* he points out the important role the Indians played in repulsing the American invasion:

The Americans have invariably been loud in their condemnation of a measure which alone secured to us the possession of Upper Canada: with how little reason, however, will appear from the well-known fact, that every possible exertion was used, by the agents of their Government, to detach the Indians from our cause. . . . The wary chieftans, however, were not to be tempted by professions of friendship from those whose perfidy had long been proverbial with the Indian race.92

Here Richardson also notes the difficulties that arose because of the Indians' deep hatred of Americans. The British, and Canadians, had difficulty in restraining their Indian allies, and Richardson admits these warriors committed atrocities, particularly on prisoners. Waldie's editing reveals an attempt to blot out the idea that the Indians had cause to wage war against the American colonies or against the republic once it was formed.

Obliterating Richardson's historical background, Waldie cuts out most of Richardson's history of Fort Détroit. Richardson's spelling of Detroit indicates his historical awareness and keeps the distinction between the earlier Fort Détroit and the contemporary Detroit constantly visible. Waldie consistently changes Détroit to Detroit. Waldie omits Richardson's statement that Fort Détroit was "erected by the French while in the occupancy of the country by which it is

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more immediately environed" (TC.I.23), but leaves in the comment it was handed over to the Americans after the War of Independence, and deletes the reference to "the British garrison marching out, and crossing over into Canada, followed by such of the loyalists as still retained their attachment to the English crown." (TC.I.23-24) Waldie then deletes another historical and personal passage:

At the commencement of the late war with America it was the first and more immediate theatre of conflict, and was remarkable, as well as Michillimackinac, for being one of the first posts of the Americans that fell into our hands. The gallant daring, and promptness of decision, for which the lamented general, Sir Isaac Brock, was so eminently distinguished, achieved the conquest almost as soon as the American declaration of war had been made known in Canada; and on this occasion we ourselves had the good fortune to be selected as part of the guard of honour, whose duty it was to lower the flag of America, and substitute that of England in its place. (TC.I.24)

Morley's claim that this chapter is "substantially the same but with minor adaptions for American readers (whose views on the British cause had changed since Pontiac's time!)")
is not substantiated by a careful comparison of Waldie's text and that of the first edition. Waldie's editing of this chapter constitutes a perversion of the author's intentions, making major changes that affect the sense and context of the novel. 94

93 Morley, p.68.

94 The last edition of Wacousta published during Richardson's lifetime, the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition, omits this "Chap.I. Introductory" even though the Waldie's Select Circulating Library edition serves as its copy-text. However, the
The original *Wacousta*, being to a large extent the glorification of the British soldier during the trying times shortly after the British takeover of the French outposts in Canada, deals in depth with the soldier's hardships, dreams, ambitions, with his ideas about his profession, and his sense of camaraderie. The *Athenaeum* review had stated that "History passes over in silence the many exertions, both of valour and prudence, by which the Canadas were secured to England. . . ." Waldie, too, passes over in silence many aspects of military life evident in Richardson's own version of *Wacousta*.

With his American audience in mind Waldie divests the British soldier of his character and concerns. That Waldie suppresses the military aspect of the novel is first indicated by his abridgement of Richardson's dedication to the 41st Regiment "Who Bear On Their Colours The 'Détroit' Connected With Which Are The Principal Incidents Of His Tale." Richardson served in the 41st Regiment and fought against the invading Americans during the War of 1812. And Richardson himself asserted the importance of a military dedication by changing it in the 1840 issue of the London first edition to the 8th Regiment, the one distributed among the Forts Détroit and Michillimackinac during the Indian uprising lead by Ponteac.

Dewitt and Davenport *Wacousta* follows the rest of Waldie's text quite faithfully. The posthumous versions of *Wacousta* published in the United States are further impressions of this Dewitt and Davenport text, and even the posthumous Canadian editions use the Dewitt and Davenport text for copy-text.
The thinking behind the American editor's omission of this dedication is obvious. Besides changing the historical, political, geographic, and patriotic backgrounds of a novel in which all the main characters are soldiers, Waldie's editing also affects language, theme, plot, philosophy, style, and character.

Richardson's common soldiers speak a realistic, colloquial language amply peppered with oaths. Thoroughly bowdlerizing the text, Waldie destroys the verisimilitude built by the soldiers' conversations. Furthermore, the common soldiers' realistic speech offers an important contrast to the high-flown romantic and sentimental dialogue of some of the officers. The contrast of the real and romantic worlds is important in Wacousta. This bowdlerizing leaves Richardson's rough and tumble soldiers a very gracious and mild group, even under the trying circumstances of active duty. It makes them appear banal and ridiculous. Voicing his surprise, Richardson's "good-humoured, quaint looking Irishman" (TC.I.116), a soldier, exclaims, "By Jasus". And Waldie substitutes "By gracious" for "By Jasus" and spoils the naturalness of the exclamation. This same soldier's "By the holy pope" Waldie shortens to "By the pope". Another soldier's natural indignation Waldie modifies to "Hold your clapper, you spooney, and be d----d to you!" from the more honest "damned". (TC.I.114) Looking back on his short-lived capture by the Indians, one of Richardson's soldiers refers to them as "hell thieves" (TC.I.115),
a term Waldie tames and changes to "Ingin thieves". Anything biblical is expunged: "By the piper that played before Moses, and ye're right" (TC.I.117) becomes "By the piper and ye're right". Waldie cuts a passage containing the phrase "the bloody heathens". (TC.I.119)

Such editing strips the soldiers of character. Waldie omits a passage discussing the possibility of an officer not being in proper uniform while on duty; one soldier comments, "Ye are right, comrade . . . there would soon be hell and Tommy to pay. . . ." (TC.I.118) One soldier, justifying his conduct to his peers, says "Ask Tom Winkler here, if the captain didn't swear he'd cut the soul out of my body if I even offered so much as to touch the trigger of my musket." (TC.I.115) Rewriting this passage Waldie changes the whole tenor of the captain's threat: "Ask Tom Winkler here, if the captain didn't swear he'd cut my head off if I even offered so much as to touch the trigger of my musket." Waldie deletes a passage of quite natural and easy language which questions the prudence of an officer:

"And how so, Mr. Wiseacre?" rejoined his comrade.
"How so! Because the first shot that we fired would have set the devils upon them in right earnest—and then their top-knots wouldn't have been worth a brass farthing. They would have been scalped before they could say Jack Robinson."
"It was a hell of a risk," resumed another of the litter men, "to give four men a chance of having their skull pieces cracked open like so many egg-shells, and all to get possession of a dead officer." (TC.I.115-16)

In Richardson's Wacousta officers as well as private soldiers swear. Waldie launders Captain Erskine's language
by deleting the "damned" from "An American burnt log, indeed! it's some damned rascal of a spy. . . ." (TC.III.70) He deletes "the devil" from Erskine's "Where the devil can Danvers have hid all his crew?" (TC.III.118) Elsewhere Erskine says, "D--- the ruffian!" (TC.III.121) and Waldie rewrites it to "Hang the ruffian!" And Waldie rewrites Erskine's "and, by G---! I will answer for them" (TC.III.136) to "and (with an oath) I will answer for them".

Richardson's sailors receive much the same treatment as the soldiers. One sailor's gruff whisper resembling "the suppressed growling of a mastiff," appears in the first edition as "what the hell are ye thinking of now?" (TC.III.6) while Waldie prints "what are ye thinking of now?" The sailor's energetic "I'm damned if I do!" (TC.III.7) becomes "Hang me if I do!" Mr. Mullins, a boatswain, "politely" said, "Well, damn my eyes, if you a'rn't turned a real coward at last. . . ." (TC.III.8) The weak edited version reads, "Well, if you aren't turned a real coward at last. . . ." Waldie constantly edits the characteristic swearing of Mullins: "Hilloa! what the hell's the matter with the man now?" (TC.III.9) becomes "Hilloa! what's the matter with the man now?"

Waldie does not notice or does not care that he creates incongruities by editing out emotionally induced swearing, or that such editing constantly flattens and deadens emotionally charged scenes. The language of Richardson's characters is
never gratuitous, but takes its colouring from the action of the novel. For instance, Mullins, "in a voice of angry vehemence", yells at an overly superstitious sailor: "Are ye scared at another ghost, and be damned to you, that ye keep groaning there after that fashion?" (TC.III.53) Waldie deletes the "and be damned to you" even though the circumstances warrant rough and emotional language.

Other touches of realistic detail also fall under Waldie's editing. Many of Richardson's sailors stand in thoughtful postures, "others, with arms tightly folded across their chests, spirited the tobacco juice thoughtfully from their closed teeth into the receding waters; while not a few gazed earnestly and despondingly on the burning fort in the distance. . . ." (TC.II.300) Waldie rewrites the passage, as he often does, compressing two actions into one: "others, with arms tightly folded across their chests, gazed earnestly and despondingly on the burning fort in the distance. . . ." On the other hand, Waldie can destroy a sequence by simply omitting one phase. A keen observer, Richardson builds an undercurrent of tension by employing minute details:

A first glance might have induced the belief that all were buried in the most profound slumber; but the quick jerking of a limb,—the fitful, sudden shifting of a position,—the utter absence of that deep breathing which indicates the unconsciousness of repose, and the occasional spiriting of tobacco juice upon the deck,—all these symptoms only required to be noticed, to prove the living silence that reigned throughout was not born either of apathy or sleep. (TC.III.5)

Waldie edits out "and the occasional spiriting of tobacco
juice upon the deck," showing his thoroughness in blotting out habits he does not like, and at the same time destroying the rhythm of the passage. The phrase "all these symptoms", now referring to only two symptoms, turns Richardson's sentence into a grammatical absurdity.

Waldie expunges passages about sex in the long narrative in which Wacousta—who would have been identified in Europe as Sir Reginald Morton but who is in North America in disguise—becomes diverted in his relating of his own life history to Clara de Haldimar. Captive in Wacousta's tent in the Indian camp and threatened with rape, Clara can only hope that Wacousta will remember something from his past that will cause him to relent and release her. He does not, but Waldie omits Wacousta's lustful allusion to Clara's physical beauty, an allusion which caused the girl no little apprehension. Wacousta has finished a long speech with the statement that "Your age cannot exceed seventeen; and time will supply what your mere girlhood renders you deficient in." (TC.III.219) Waldie does not remove the narrator's following comment that "There was a cool licence of speech—a startling freedom of manner—in the latter part of this address, that disappointed not less than it pained and offended the unhappy Clara." (TC.III.219) The elimination of the first lustful passage not only makes the second sentence meaningless, but also reduces the emotional intensity of the scene.
Wacousta, as Morton, had at one time been engaged to marry Clara Beverley who he had discovered as a Child of Nature in the Scottish highlands. The man in charge of the regiment stationed at Néroit was Colonel Charles de Haldimar who had "displaced Morton in the affections of Clara Beverley" and had married her. The girl in the tent in the Indian encampment was the daughter of Clara Beverley and Colonel de Haldimar. Just as he had struck out a passage with sexual implications in describing Clara de Haldimar, Waldie struck out a passage with sexual implication in a description of Clara Beverley, and this tampering not only removes sexual implications, but also destroys the careful structuring of the growing relationships between characters:

"Unspoiled by the forms, unvitiated by the sophistries of a world with which she had never mixed, her intelligent innocence made the most artless avowals to my enraptured ear,--avowals that the more profligate minded woman of society would have blushed to whisper even to herself. And for these I loved her to my own undoing." (TC.III.220-21)

Being consistent, Waldie omits the effect of certain letters Clara Beverley wrote to Morton, letters which are informed by the same kind of innocent avowals that Waldie expunged above. In order to understand how Waldie's editing changes a scene examine these two passages. The tenor of Richardson's original, the first one, shows the sexual, passionate, romantic, and idealistic nature of Morton, now Wacousta:

"Oh! Clara de Haldimar, never did woman pen to man such declarations of tenderness and attachment as that too dear
but faithless letter of your mother contained. Words of fire, emanating from the guilelessness of innocence, glowed in every line; and yet every sentence breathed an utter unconsciousness of the effect those words were likely to produce. Mad, wild, intoxicated, I read the letter but half through; and, as it fell from my trembling hand, my eye turned, beaming with the fires of a thousand emotions, upon that of the worshipped writer. That glance was more than her own could meet. A new consciousness seemed to be stirred up in her soul. Her eye dropped beneath its long and silken fringe--her cheek became crimson--her bosom heaved--and, all confidingness, she sank her head upon my chest, which heaved scarcely less wildly than her own.

Had I been a cold-blooded villain—a selfish and remorseless seducer," continued Wacousta with vehemence—"what was to have prevented my triumph at that moment? But I came not to blight the flower that had long been nurtured, though unseen, with the life-blood of my own being. Whatever I may be now, I was then the soul of disinterestedness and honour; and had she reposed on the bosom of her own father, that devoted and unresisting girl could not have been pressed there with holier tenderness. But even to this there was too soon a term. The hour of parting at length arrived. . . ." (TC.III.242-44)

Waldie's editing transforms Wacousta's sexual passion into almost a chaste calm, but what is more the editing eliminates all suggestion of the pseudo-Indian's character and of the colonel who is to Wacousta a "cold-blooded villain—a selfish and remorseless seducer":

"Oh! Clara de Haldimar, never did woman pen to man such declarations of tenderness and attachment as that too dear but faithless letter of your mother contained. All confidingness, she sank her head upon my chest, which heaved scarcely less wildly than her own. The hour of parting at length arrived. . . ." (WCL.56)

Again, such editing reduces the intensity and excitement of the novel and makes it appear flatter in tone and in complexity. It also gives the idea of imperfect structuring because in the Waldie version a reader cannot understand the emotional impact these very letters had on young Charles de
Haldimar, Clara Beverley's son and Clara de Haldimar's brother, when he found them in his father's apartment in Fort Détroit.

Neither do details creating realistic scenes escape Waldie's fervent blue pencil. Very important is Waldie's editing into obscurity Frank Halloway's drum-head court-martial. First Waldie cuts out the description of the military array:

The vacant space, which communicated with the powder magazine, was left open to the movements of three three-pounders, which were to support each face in the event of its being broken by numbers [of Indians]. Close to these, and within the square, stood the number of gunners necessary to the duty of the field-pieces, each of which was commanded by a bombardier. At the foot of the ramparts, outside the square, and immediately opposite to their several embrasures, were stationed the gunners required for the batteries, under a non-commissioned officer also, and the whole under the direction of a superior officer of that arm, who now walked to and fro, conversing in a low voice with Major Blackwater. One gunner at each of these divisions of the artillery held in his hand a blazing torch. . . . (TC.I.56-57)

The cutting of this passage detracts from the drama and the ritual of the scene. In addition these military preparations for a court-martial show that the trial takes place when the commander obviously fears an attack from the enemy.

Waldie also cuts a later passage describing this episode:

[the torches reflect] with picturesque yet gloomy effect the bright bayonets and equipment of the soldiers, and the anxious countenances of the women and invalids, who, bending eagerly through the windows of the surrounding barracks, appeared to await the issue of these preparations with an anxiety increased by the very consciousness of having no other parts than those of spectators to play in the scene that was momentarily expected. (TC.I.57)

The omission of this succinctly drawn scene destroys the true setting of Frank Halloway's court-martial, by eliminating the emphasis and tension created through the military details,
and by eliminating the crowd of spectators. In Waldie's version the court-martial takes place on a vaguely described area, peopled only with the soldiers. But once in the centre of the square Halloway is suddenly disturbed by a sound coming from a barracks window, the only indication of anyone else being in the fort besides soldiers. The editing makes the presence of Ellen Halloway, Frank Halloway's wife, incongruous. But in the original, knowing the military preparations, the dispensation of the troops, and the gathering of all the inhabitants of the fort, make Ellen's presence and even her intervention in the proceedings virtually expected. Instead of a sudden jolt or shock with the appearance of Ellen there has been a careful build-up of tension and interest. Richardson brings the scene to life, while Waldie, stripping key passages, makes it stage melodrama.

Waldie also strips the narrative of its complexity in his omission of Richardson's description of the interior of the fort, the position of the barracks, block-houses, piazza, guard-house, and quarters of the commanding officer. Subsequent to these deleted descriptions, Colonel de Haldimar is embarrassed by the supplications of Ellen Halloway, who attempts to wring a pardon for her husband from the flinty heart of the Colonel. Knowing where this scene takes place, the same spot on which Frank Halloway stood in ignominy during his court-martial, is essential to the irony of the Colonel's embarrassment. Furthermore, the council scenes, and particularly the
entrapment of the Indians, becomes more visual and therefore more believable in the original.

Waldie deletes the description of the route of Halloway's execution procession, possibly because Richardson refers to a road leading to "the more populous States". (TC.I.231) Richardson also mentions the beneficial affects of "European influence", a sentiment the American Waldie is loath to have appear.

By such a deletion Waldie also manages to change attitudes of many minor characters and by so doing change historical interpretations. Richardson had obsequious Detroit-based Canadians lining Halloway's execution route:

As the troops drew nearer, however, they all sank at once into a silence, as much the result of certain unacknowledged and undefined fears, as of the respect the English had ever been accustomed to exact. The men removed their short dingy clay pipes from their mouths with one hand, and uncovered themselves with the other, while the women made their hasty reverence with the air of people who seek to propitiate by an act of civility; even the very children scraped and bowed, as if they feared the omission might be fatal to them, and, clinging to the hands and dress of their parents, looked up occasionally to their countenances to discover whether the apprehensions of their own fluttering and timid hearts were likely to be realised. Still there was sufficient of curiosity with all to render them attentive spectators of the passing troop. (TC.I.235)

Waldie eliminates all of this passage except the first sentence. He thereby gives a false impression of the relationship between the proud conquerors and the humiliated vanquished. Without the omitted material the Canadians seem to preserve a mere sullen and inexplicable silence.

Furthermore, Waldie blots out the Canadians' sympathy for Frank Halloway because Waldie does not want the British to be
seen in the role of conqueror, nor does he want the British
soldier to be admired, especially in any romantic fashion:

The aged made the sign of the cross, and mumbled over a
short prayer for the repose of his soul, while the more
youthful indulged in half-breathed ejaculations of pity
and concern that so fine and interesting a man should be
doomed to so dreadful a fate. (TC.I.236)

Waldie also strips the novel of the loyalty of the common
soldiers. He omits a speech voiced by one of them in response
to the complaint of danger surrounding the recovery of the
body of a dead officer, a body he thinks is that of Frederick
de Haldimar, the older son of the Governor of Fort Détroit:

"and sure, you beast . . ., the dead body of the brave captain
was worth a dozen such rotten carcasses with all the life
in them. What matter would it be if ye had all been scalped?"
Then with a significant half glance to the rear, which was
brought up by their commander, on whose arm leaned the
slightly wounded Johnstone, "Take care the captain doesn't
hear ye prating after that fashion Will Burford." (TC.I.116)

Waldie does not identify the loyal servant-soldier and omits
his platitudes:

"the captain's hand is as white and as soft as my cross-belt,
or, what's saying a great deal more, as Miss Clara's herself,
heaven bless her sweet countenance! and Lieutenant Valletort's
nigger's couldn't well be much blacker nor this." (TC.I.117-18)

The suppression of this scene, and a scene corresponding to
it involving Ensign Delme, an officer who rose from the ranks,
characteristically eliminates the typical appurtenances of
the English romantic novel which includes loyal servants,
honourable gentleman soldiers, and social climbing commoners
or, in this case, Other Ranks. The editing out of this loyalty
of the servant-soldier eliminates more of the irony. Actually
Frederick is not dead; the body is that of another servant-soldier.

Waldie continually excises passages which show Richardson's class consciousness, and the loyal friendships which develop within classes:

Indeed Murphy—a rude, vulgar, and illiterate, though brave Irishman—having risen from the ranks, the coarseness of which he had never been able to shake off, was little calculated, either by habits or education, to awaken feelings, except of the most ordinary description, in his favour; and he and Ensign Delme were the only exceptions to those disinterested and tacit friendships that had grown up out of circumstances in common among the majority. (TC.I.93)

Such friendships play an important role in Wacousta, the most obvious being that between Governor de Haldimar and Morton, dit Wacousta, twenty-five years before the setting of the novel. De Haldimar's betrayal of that friendship is the immediate cause of the formidable Wacousta's hostility towards the garrison.

Waldie's editing affects the entire novel in fact. The plot centres on the Indians' rebellion under the leadership of Ponteac, but the real focus of the novel is on the mysterious Wacousta, known throughout much of the novel only as "the warrior of the Fleur de lis". The plot develops from the historical background in combination with the hatred expressed for the De Haldimars by Morton who spends the rest of his life avenging his betrayal by the Governor. The betrayal involved a woman, but included more than infidelity on her part: his friend, the woman, and the army drove him into
isolation and into rebellion.

Waldie's editing mangles that betrayal, those characters, and even the role of the army. In fact, few characters remain intact after this 1833 editing. And because the characters reflect the theme, the theme too becomes unintelligible. De Haldimar betrays Morton because De Haldimar is a certain kind of soldier and hence a certain kind of man: essentially selfish, ambitious, and materialistic. Richardson looks at the whole world, and sees it reflected in the military establishment. For that reason this military novel is about the conflict between the kind of man represented by De Haldimar and the passionate idealist represented by Morton.

This conflict can first be seen operating among the soldiers garrisoned at Fort Detroit, at least in Richardson's version it can. For instance, Captain Blessington, a gentle and humane officer, asserts that the greatest curse attached to the profession of soldiering is the "insatiable desire for personal advancement". The narrator, in a passage deleted by Waldie, interposes:

A moment or two of silence ensued, in the course of which each individual appeared to be bringing home to his own heart the application of the remark just uttered; and which, however they might seek to disguise the truth from themselves, was too forcible to find contradiction from the secret monitor within. And yet of those assembled there was not one, perhaps, who would not, in the hour of glory and of danger, have generously interposed his own frame between that of his companion and the steel or bullet of an enemy. Such are the contradictory elements which compose a soldier's life.

(TC.I.43-44)
This passage shows a complexity in the narrative voice which is lost in the editing. The narrator attempts to smooth over the differences rapidly becoming apparent between certain officers holding opposing views of military service. His impartiality leans to being generous; he strikes a general view of the soldier as impulsively self-sacrificing during battle and keeping an eye out for his own career at calmer times. The novel itself takes these contradictory elements a step further: Frank Halloway is the only soldier in the novel who actually does "generously interpose his own frame between that of his companion and the steel or bullet of an enemy." He saves the life of Governor de Haldimar's older son Frederick, and not long afterwards the Governor has the innocent Halloway tried for treason and shot.

That there is division among the officers is obvious from a discussion between Charles de Haldimar and Sir Everard Valletort, also deleted by Waldie:

"Nay, nay De Haldimar," . . . observed Sir Everard . . . "do not imagine I intend to gratify Mr. Delme by any such exhibition as that of a scalpless head; but, if such be his hope, I trust that the hour which sees my love-locks dangling at the top of an Indian pole may also let daylight into his own carcass from a rifle bullet or a tomahawk."

(TC.I.44-45)

Richardson intimates by his careful structuring of the novel that he agrees with Valletort's view of what ought to happen to the ambitious Mr. Delme: at the end of the novel, immediately after Valletort is mortally wounded, Delme is shot through the
heart by the escaping Wacousta.

Still uninterested in British army internal conflict and philosophy, Waldie deletes a passage where Lieutenant Murphy, who has risen from the ranks, voices the opinion of those who look only for promotion:

"And yet ... it sames to me ... it sames to me, I say, that promotion in any way is all fair and honourable in times of hardship like these; and though we may drop a tear over our superior when the luck of war, in the shape of a tommyhawk, knocks him over, still there can be no reason why we shouldn't step into his shoes the very next instant; and it's that, we all know, that we fight for." (TC.I.45)

Murphy's matter-of-fact attitude is vigorously opposed by Lieutenant Charles de Haldimar and Waldie also omits Charles saying that "For my part, I say, perish all promotion for ever, if it is only to be obtained over the dead bodies of those with whom I have lived so long and shared so many dangers!" (TC.I.46) Waldie also omits Captain Blessington's reply:

"Nobly uttered, Charles ... the sentiment is, indeed, one well worthy of our present position; and God knows we are few enough in number already, without looking forward to each other's death as a means of our own more immediate personal advancement. With you, therefore, I repeat, perish all my hopes of promotion, if it is only to be obtained over the corpses of my companions! And let those who are most sanguine in their expectations beware lest they prove the first to be cut off, and that even before they have yet enjoyed the advantages of the promotion they so eagerly covet." (TC.I.46-47)

By this time Murphy, in another speech deleted by Waldie, has made clear that he is very "sanguine" indeed about his chances for promotion. The narrator comments that Blessington's observation,
uttered without acrimony, had yet enough of delicate reproach in it to satisfy Lieutenant Murphy that the speaker was far from approving the expression of such selfish anticipations at a moment like the present, when danger, in its most mysterious guise, lurked around, and threatened the safety of all most dear to them. (TC.I.47)

As if to underscore this point, omitted by Waldie, which seems to have been "uttered" more bluntly than delicately, Richardson almost immediately fulfills Blessington's warning to those "who are most sanguine in their expectations". Just as Delme is shot through the heart at the end of the novel by Wacousta, Murphy is shot through the heart by a mysterious assailant, again Wacousta, from outside the fort.

Predictably, in order that the American reader should neither understand nor sympathize with the British soldier, Waldie expunges Richardson's explanations of the behavior of the soldiers. After the officers discover a body of an officer on the common, and assume it to be that of the missing Frederick de Haldimar, the narrator comments on their feelings:

To comprehend effectually the feelings of the officers, it would be necessary that one should have been not merely a soldier, but a soldier under the same circumstances. Surrounded on every hand by a fierce and cruel enemy—prepared at every moment to witness scenes of barbarity and bloodshed in their most appalling shapes—isolated from all society beyond the gates of their own fortress, and by consequence reposing on and regarding each other as vital links in the chain of their wild and adventurous existence,—it can easily be understood with what sincere and unaffected grief they lamented the sudden cutting off even of those who least assimilated in spirit and character with themselves. (TC.I.92-93)

This eliminated passage clearly shows Richardson's desire that the reader feel empathy for the British officer. Waldie's
abridging and his adding of footnotes which direct the reader to American histories reinforces the reader's abhorence of the Indians.

Waldie's deletions alter both character and plot. The characters are best understood by observing how they handle friendship and love which accounts for most of the action of the novel, but all the major characters are misrepresented by Waldie's editing. Because he is approached in terms of friendship Frank Halloway gives into Frederick's demands and is consequently executed; Oucanasta's love for Frederick drives her to save Fort Détroit against the best interests of her race; and Governor de Haldimar's betrayal of Morton's friendship and seduction of Clara Beverley causes Morton to seek vengeance on the De Haldimar family.

The sacredness of friendship is illustrated by the two young officers, Charles de Haldimar and Sir Everard Valletort. Charles thought that Sir Everard had killed Frederick, and when Sir Everard went to Charles with information to the contrary, Ensign Sumners tactfully withdrew from the room because "he felt, at such a moment, the presence of a third person must be a sort of violation of sacredness of their interview." (TC.I.190) Waldie also omits the affectionate expression of their friendship: "For some minutes the young baronet stood watching in silence, and with his friend's hand closely clasped in his own, the course of those tears which seemed to afford so much relief to the overcharged heart of
the sufferer." (TC.I.190) Richardson describes Charles' beauty as one which "resembled that of a frail and delicate woman, rather than that of one called to the manly and arduous profession of a soldier." (TC.I.192) Letting this description stand, Waldie then alters the true nature of Charles' beauty by striking out Richardson's development of his idea: "It was that delicate and Medor-like beauty which might have won the heart and fascinated the sense of a second Angelica." (TC. I.192) This allusion to Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, which appeared serially from 1823-31 translated by Sir Walter Scott's friend William Stewart Rose, completely changes the light in which Charles' character should be seen.

Charles resembles his sister Clara, and this resemblance helps to spur Sir Everard's interest in Clara whom he has never met. Waldie omits that

Sir Everard, particularly, felt, and was not slow to express, his joy on this occasion; for, as he gazed upon the countenance of his friend, he was more than ever inclined to confess an interest in the sister he was said so much to resemble. (TC.I.191)

Having finally confessed his interest in Clara, Sir Everard expresses his doubts, which Waldie omits, that she would be interested in him: "But, my dear Charles, you forget also any little merit of my own is doubly enhanced in your eyes, by the sincerity of the friendship subsisting between us; your sister may think very differently." (TC.I.197) Waldie also omits that Clara has some character:
"Think not thus meanly of Clara's understanding, Valletort. There must be something more than mere beauty and accomplishment to fix the heart of my sister. The dark eyed and elegant Baynton, and the musical and sonnetteering Middleton ... are very excellent fellows in their way; but handsome and accomplished as they are, they are not exactly the men to please Clara de Haldimar." (TC.I.196-97)

The omission of this conversation certainly simplifies Clara, but more important it helps change the readers' concept of both Sir Everard and Charles. In fact, Waldie changes Sir Everard into a fop, Charles into a fool and a coward, Frederick into a hero, and the Colonel into a villain. None are as Richardson drew them.

In Waldie's version Sir Everard is an outlandish fop, cowardly and more frivolous than Richardson drew him. Waldie omits Richardson's assertion that Sir Everard's fondness for sleeping late "in no way impugned his character as a soldier." (TC.I.170) Likewise Waldie omits Richardson's statement that "Sir Everard would have fought twenty battles in the course of the month, if necessary, and yet not complained of the fatigue or severity of his service", (TC.I.170) provided only that he be allowed to sleep in to what he considered a decent hour of the day. Waldie blots out Sir Everard's disgust at military rules, a disgust Sir Everard shares with Wacousta:

he had an innate and, perhaps, it may be, an instinctive horror of drills and early rising; a pastime in which the martinet and disciplinarians of the last century were very much given to indulge. He frequently upheld an opinion that must have been little less than treason in the eyes of a commander so strict as Colonel de Haldimar. ... (TC.I.170-71)
And Waldie blots out Sir Everard's nonchalant attitude to warfare: "he preferred giving an Indian warrior a chance for his scalp any hour after breakfast, to rising at daybreak, when, from very stupefaction, he seldom knew whether he stood on his head or his heels." (TC.I.171-72)

In Richardson's version Sir Everard wants to be something more than a feather-bed soldier, but the editor, by judicious cutting, makes him exactly that. Waldie deletes the young baronet's spirit of adventure: "contrary to the wishes of his fashionable mother, who would have preferred seeing him exhibit his uniform in the drawing-rooms of London, [he] had purchased the step into his present corps from a cavalry regiment at home." (TC.I.170) Only in Richardson's Wacousta can be found the irony of Sir Everard's anticipation of returning home:

All he waited for . . . was to have an opportunity of bearing away the spoils of some Indian chief, that, on his return to England, he might afford his lady mother an opportunity of judging with her own eyes of the sort of enemy he had relinquished the comforts of home to contend against, and exhibiting to her very dear friends the barbarous proofs of the prowess of her son. (TC.I.172-73)

At the end of the novel Sir Everard is killed by Wacousta who is certainly not the kind of Indian chief he expected to encounter. But, Richardson is saying, the worst sort of barbarity is practiced by Europeans.

Waldie alters Charles' character even more than Sir Everard's. In abridging references to Charles' character, Waldie omits much more than the Medor-Angelica allusion, and
reduces Charles' character and role in the novel. Waldie's editing erroneously makes Charles a frail, weak, womanish figure of slight importance. Richardson's Charles, but not Waldie's, is sensitive to questions of honour and responds quickly to Captain Blessington's suggestion of insulation:

"De Haldimar," said Captain Blessington reprovingly, but mildly, "this immoderate grief is wrong—it is unmanly, and should be repressed. I can feel and understand the nature of your sorrow; but others may not judge so favourably. We shall soon be summoned to fall in; and I would not that Mr. Delme, in particular, should notice an emotion he is so incapable of understanding." (TC.II.103)

And Richardson's Charles, but not Waldie's, responds like a soldier is expected to respond:

The hand of the young officer dropped from his face to the hilt of his sword. His cheek became scarlet; and even through the tears which he half choked himself to command, there was an unwonted flashing from his blue eye, that told how deeply the insinuation had entered into his heart. "Think you, Captain Blessington," he proudly retorted, "there is an officer in the fort who should dare to taunt me with my feelings as you have done? I came here, sir, in the expectation I should be alone. At a fitting hour I shall be found where Captain Blessington's subaltern should be—with his company." (TC.II.103-104)

Although Charles may weep buckets of tears, those tears indicate not cowardice but sensibility. But when Waldie omits every display of spirit, Charles becomes a character most incongruous to the military profession.

To understand Charles, the reader must go to Richardson's version of Wacousta. Richardson models Charles on the eighteenth century Man of Feeling typified by Henry Mackenzie's Harley. But Charles is not a typical Man of Feeling because no true Man of Feeling would see his own sensitivity as a
weakness. Charles' realizes that his behavior is not natural: "It is childish, it is unsoldierlike, I admit: but, alas! that dreadful scene [Halloway's death and Ellen's curse] is eternally before my eyes, and absorbs my mind, to the exclusion of every other feeling." (TC.II.100) In Richardson's version Charles makes clear the reasons for his despondency: "I have not a thought or a care but for the fate that too certainly awaits those who are most dear to me; and if this be a weakness, it is one I shall never have the power to shake off. In a word, Blessington, I am heart-broken." (TC.II.100) Waldie deletes Charles' admission that his behavior is not natural and his reasoning. Charles suffers for man's inhumanity to man: he does not find answers to the moral dilemma, he only despairs. In Richardson's version he can only wait to see if his worst fears will be realized: "already do you behold me once more the tame and apprehensive being I must ever continue until all is over." (TC.II.105) Charles' agony symbolizes the moral impact of the novel. He is the only one who wonders why the innocent suffer. His fatalism drives him to believe that Ellen's curse will be fulfilled, and he cannot understand why his sister Clara must be included in the curse, why Clara must die. Frank Halloway was innocent, but so is Clara. Charles and Everard, also innocent, also die.

At first Charles is merely awed by the superstitious connotations of Ellen's first denunciation of the Governor. But Waldie omits the completion of the second denunciation,
which convinces Charles that the entire De Haldimar family will pay for the Governor's severity with its blood, omits the climax to Volume one of the first edition. Immediately after Halloway's death and Ellen's curse, Wacousta, recognized as a powerful enemy, joins Ellen in denouncing the De Haldimars. Wacousta's intervening at this point and joining forces with the innocent and the wronged, confirms Charles' belief that Ellen's denunciation is supernatural. Wacousta seems to be an overwhelming force, perhaps something like the wrath of God. In Richardson's version, when Charles faces an indifferent or unjust universe, Charles' grief becomes cosmic: "His mind was a wheel, embracing grief within grief, multiplied to infinitude..." (TC.III,101)

Blue-pencilling some characters nearly into oblivion emphasizes those left intact. Frederick de Haldimar, for instance, seems almost heroic when measured against Waldie's Sir Everard, Charles de Haldimar, and Wacousta, all of whom have been simplified. In particular, Waldie omits one scene in which Richardson places Frederick in the proper perspective. He is the butt of Richardson's humour. When Frederick refuses Oucanasta's offer of her moccasins to protect his feet, the narrator has a comment on Frederick's behavior:

"Gallantry in the civilised man is a sentiment that never wholly abandons him; and in whatever clime he may be thrown, or under whatever circumstances he may be placed,—be it called forth by white or by blackamoor,—it is certain to influence his conduct: it is a refinement, of that instinctive deference to the weaker sex, which nature has implanted..."
in him for the wisest purposes; and which, while it tends to exalt those to whom its influence is extended, fails not to reflect a corresponding lustre on himself. (TC.II.149-50)

Of course, the scene does not add lustre to Frederick, but makes him appear as very foolish indeed. The narrator builds up the ridicule and comedy by exaggeration:

Most men love to render tribute to a delicate and pretty foot. Some, indeed, go so far as to connect every thing feminine with these qualities, and to believe that nothing can be feminine without them. For our parts, we confess, that, although no enemies to a pretty foot, it is by no means a sine qua non in our estimate of female perfection; being in no way disposed, where the head and heart are gems, to undervalue these in consideration of any deficiency in the heels. Captain de Haldimar probably thought otherwise. . (TC.II.151-52)

When Oucanasta places his hand on her feet, Frederick discovers that they are both rough and sturdy, and "secretly determining the mocassins would be equally well placed on his own feet, he no longer offered any opposition." (TC.II.152)

Besides the humour evident in the deleted passages, the narrator is clearly telling us something about himself, about his own values, and gives a picture and frame of reference which adds to understanding Frederick's character and his role in the novel. This scene shows Frederick mistakenly applying the established European code of conduct where he should not do so. He does not understand that Oucanasta is in her own environment while he is not in his. Such understanding would be expected of a hero. Not that he might have done anything different, but the deleted passages indicate that Richardson did not want him to act like a hero. Therefore, a reader
should not expect Frederick to be the hero.

Waldie's busy blue pencil drastically changes Richardson's Governor de Haldimar too, making him a villain when he is not. In Waldie's version the Governor never alters his distant, haughty character expressed so obnoxiously in the opening of the book. In Waldie's version any sympathetic rendering of the Governor is excised; he must be seen in black and white.

However, the arrogant, unbending, unemotional villain of Waldie's abridgement is not the Governor de Haldimar Richardson creates. For instance, shortly after executing Halloway the Governor realizes he has committed a serious error and speaks "in a tone now completely divested of the haughtiness which formerly characterised his address to his officers." (TC.II.46) Waldie, not wanting any remorse in the Governor, deletes this important observation. Likewise, he omits a scene showing Charles' reasons for despair and the Governor's emotion:

"Forgive me, my father," exclaimed the youth, grasping a hand that was reluctantly extended. "I meant it not in unkindness; but indeed I have ever had the conviction strongly impressed on my spirit. I know I appear weak, childish, unsoldierlike; yet can it be wondered at, when I have been so often latterly deceived by false hopes, that now my heart has room for no other tenant than despair. I am very wretched," he pursued, with affecting despondency; "in the presence of my companions do I admit it, but they all know how I loved my sister. Can they then feel surprise, that having lost not only her, but my brother and my friend, I should be the miserable thing I am."

Colonel de Haldimar turned away, much affected; and throwing his back against the sentry box near him, passed his hand over his eyes, and remained for a few moments motionless. (TC.III.130-31)

Blessington's response to the scene shows that the Governor
is not afraid to act humanly in front of his officers and the omission of Blessington's response detracts from the personality of the Governor: "For Heaven's sake, agitate not your father thus, by the indulgence of a grief that can have no other tendency than to render him equally wretched." (TC.III. 131) Richardson's Governor de Haldimar is pathetic, not evil; but Waldie's Governor de Haldimar seems to have no heart or conscience.

Waldie completes his alteration of the Governor's character by omitting the long character sketch in which Richardson absolves the Governor of any personal hostility towards Frank Halloway:

To have ascribed to Colonel de Haldimar motives that would have induced his eagerly seeking the condemnation of an innocent man, either to gratify a thirst of vengeance, or to secure immunity against personal danger, would have been to have painted him, not only as a villain, but a coward. Colonel de Haldimar was neither; but, on the contrary, what is understood in worldly parlance and the generally received acceptation of the terms, a man of strict integrity and honour, as well as of the most undisputed courage. (TC.III. 139-40)

Richardson explains that the Governor was really an ordinary man, distinguished by neither extraordinary sensitivity nor intelligence. In a word, he had no romantic sensibility:

Without ever having possessed any thing like acute feeling, his heart, as nature had formed it, was moulded to receive the ordinary impressions of humanity; and had he been doomed to move in the sphere of private life, if he had not been distinguished by any remarkable sensibilities, he would not, in all probability, have been conspicuous for any extraordinary cruelties. (TC.III.140)

In order to account for the Governor's severe and haughty
character, Richardson returns to criticizing the British military system. In Richardson the Governor's severity and cruelty becomes more an aspect of the British military system itself than of his own character. Waldie consistently omits such criticism:

Sent into the army, however, at an early age, and with a blood not remarkable for its mercurial aptitudes, he had calmly and deliberately imbibed all the starched theories and standard prejudices which a mind by no means naturally gifted was but too well predisposed to receive; and he was among the number of those (many of whom are indigenous to our soil even at the present day) who look down from a rank obtained, upon that which has been just quitted, with a contempt, and coldness, and consciousness of elevation, commensurate only with the respect paid to those still above them, and which belongs only to the little-minded to indulge in. (TC.III.140-41)

Richardson describes De Haldimar's military career as dull, unimaginative, and plodding, a description Waldie also omits:

As a subaltern, M. de Haldimar had ever been considered a pattern of rigid propriety and decorum of conduct. Not the shadow of military crime had ever been laid to his charge. He was punctual at all parades and drills; kept the company to which he was attached in a perfect hot water of discipline; never missed his distance in marching past, or failed in a military manœuvre; paid his mess-bill regularly to the hour, nay, minute, of the settling day; and was never, on any one occasion, known to enter the paymaster's office, except on the well-remembered 24th of each month; and, to crown all, he had never asked, consequently never obtained, a day's leave from his regiment, although he had served in it so long, that there was now but one man living who had entered it with him. (TC.III.141-42)

Obviously, Governor de Haldimar, as Richardson, but not Waldie, draws him, is a successful soldier, a model soldier, a man without fault in the system in which he operates. That Richardson envisions a better order, a more just and humane system, is evident in his disgust for the military establishment.
All this evidence Waldie omits:

With all these qualities, [when an Ensign] . . . De Haldimar [had] promised to make an excellent soldier; and, as such, was encouraged by the field-officers of the corps, who unhesitatingly pronounced him a lad of discernment and talent, who would some day rival them in all the glorious privileges of martinetism. (TC.III.142)

With such an education, such ambitions, and such a system to operate in, De Haldimar becomes an "orthodox" despot when given the task of ruling over men's lives:

Still, he was a severe and a haughty man,—one whose military education had been based on the principles of the old school—and to whom the command of a regiment afforded a field for the exercise of an orthodox despotism, that could not be passed over without the immolation of many a victim on its rugged surface. (TC.III.140)

Abridging every major character in the novel, it is not surprising that Waldie devotes much of his talent to subverting Richardson's portrayal of the key figure, Wacousta, and changing him too into a villain. Most of Waldie's deletions come during Wacousta's narration of his past life, a narration instigated by Clara de Haldimar's refusal to believe that her mother had ever loved him, had ever even known "so fierce, so vindictive a being" (TC.III.192) as Wacousta. On his reply, retained, hinges the plot of the novel:

"Come hither, Clara, while to convince you I unfold the sad history of my life, and tell you more of your parents than you have ever known. When," he pursued solemnly, "you have learnt the extent of my love for the one, and of my hatred for the other, and the wrongs I have endured from both, you will no longer wonder at the spirit of mingled love and vengeance that dictates my conduct towards yourself. Listen, girl," he continued fiercely, "and judge whether mine are injuries to be tamely pardoned, when a whole life has been devoted to the pursuit of the means of avenging them. (TC. III.192-93)
Waldie retains this passage but undercuts its point by many other omissions. He apparently wants neither Clara nor his readers to judge because he omits those sections of the narrative which explain Wacousta’s love for Clara’s mother, his hatred of her father, and the wrongs he endured from both.

Wacousta’s "sad history" begins with his service in the British army occupying Scotland shortly before the rebellion of 1745. Wacousta, then known as Sir Reginald Morton, was a Lieutenant in the Grenadiers and his great friend was Governor de Haldimar, an Ensign in the same company.

At the very beginning of Wacousta’s narrative Waldie omits Wacousta’s observation that his friendship with De Haldimar was unnatural: "Unnatural, I repeat, for fire and ice are not more opposite than were the elements of which our natures were composed." (TC.III.194) Again Waldie omits, as with that of Charles and Sir Everard, the sacredness of friendship: "I will not so far sully the sacred name [friendship] as thus to term the unnatural union that subsisted between us. . . ." (TC.III.194) And Waldie blots out Wacousta’s explanation of how this friendship came about:

"What conduced, in a great degree, to the establishment of our intimacy was the assistance I always received from my brother subaltern in whatever related to my military duties. As the lieutenant of the company, the more immediate responsibility attached to myself; but being naturally of a careless habit, or perhaps considering all duty irksome to my impatient nature that was not duty in the field, I was but too often guilty of neglecting it. On these occasions my absence was ever carefully supplied by your father, who, in all the minutiae of regimental economy, was surpassed by
no other officer in the corps; so that credit was given to me, when, at the ordinary inspections, the grenadiers were acknowledged to be the company the most perfect in equipment and skilful in manœuvre. Deeply, deeply," again mused Wacousta, "have these services been repaid." (TC.III.197)

Clearly De Haldimar's friendly covering up for Sir Reginald Morton, doing his work for him actually, had it not been followed by an act of treachery, would be sufficient to grant De Haldimar a good character.

This friendship being central to the plot of the novel, Waldie's deletion of the response of the other officers of the regiment to that friendship diminishes its relevance. Their fellow officers knew that intimacy between two such opposing natures would culminate in disaster:

"I have said our intimacy excited surprise among our brother officers. It did; for all understood and read the character of your father, who was as much disliked and distrusted for the speciousness of his false nature, as I was generally esteemed for the frankness and warmth of mine. No one openly censured the evident preference I gave him in my friendship; but we were often sarcastically termed the Pylades and Orestes of the regiment, until my heart was ready to leap into my throat with impatience at the bitterness in which the taunt was conceived; and frequently in my presence was allusion made to the blind folly of him, who should take a cold and slimy serpent to his bosom only to feel its fangs darted into it at the moment when most fostered by its genial heat." (TC.III.195-96)

In addition, Waldie deletes Morton's response to the taunts of those officers:

"On a nature like mine innuendo was likely to produce an effect directly opposite to that intended; and the more I found them inclined to be severe on him I called my friend, the more marked became my preference. I even fancied that because I was rich, generous, and heir to a title, their observations were prompted by jealousy of the influence he possessed over me, and a desire to supplant him only for
their interests' sake. Bitterly have I been punished for the illiberality of such an opinion." (TC.III.196)

In the original version a very sympathetic picture of Wacousta begins to emerge. However, in Waldie's version not even the main traits of Morton's character are allowed to stand. Morton's romantic sensibility, his impatience, his carelessness are diminished further by deletions such as this one:

"Often had I passed whole days in climbing the steep and precipitous crags which overhang the sea in the neighbourhood of Morton Castle, ostensibly in the pursuit of the heron or the seagull, but self-acknowledgedly for the mere pleasure of grappling with the difficulties they opposed to me. Often, too, in the most terrific tempests, when sea and sky have met in one black and threatening mass, and when the startled fishermen have in vain attempted to dissuade me from my purpose, have I ventured, in sheer bravado, out of sight of land, and unaccompanied by a human soul. Then, when wind and tide have been against me on my return, have I, with my simple sculls alone, caused my faithful bark to leap through the foaming brine as though a press of canvass had impelled her on. Oh, that this spirit of adventure had never grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength!" sorrowfully added the warrior, again apostrophising himself: "then had I never been the wretch I am." (TC.III.198-99)

This spirit of adventure leads him to follow a wounded deer to a Scottish mountaintop where he discovers Clara Beverley and successfully woos her only to lose her to his friend De Haldimar.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to make sense of the relationship between Morton's spirit of adventure and his love for Clara Beverley without still another passage excised by Waldie. This one explains Morton's "master passion", "the strong necessity" he felt for "some devoted bosom", a necessity
that made him "court in solitude those positions of danger
with which the image of woman was ever associated." (TC.III.
209-10) Waldie omits the passage which explains this tan-
telizing association of woman and positions of danger, omits
an aesthetic sense and an idealism found only in Richardson's
version:

"How often, while tossed by the raging elements, now into
the blue vault of heaven, now into the lowest gulfs of the
sea, have I madly wished to press to my bounding bosom the
being of my fancy's creation, who, all enamoured and given
to her love, should, even amid the danger that environed
her, be alive but to one consciousness,—that of being with
him on whom her life's hope alone reposed! How often, too,
while bending over some dark and threatening precipice, or
standing on the utmost verge of some tall projecting cliff,
my aching head (aching with the intenseness of its own
conceptions) bared to the angry storm, and my eye fixed
unshrinkingly on the boiling ocean far beneath my feet, has
my whole soul—my every faculty, been bent on that ideal
beauty which controlled every sense! Oh, imagination, how
tyrranical is thy sway—how exclusive thy power—how insa-
tiable thy thirst! Surrounded by living beauty, I was
insensible to its influence; for, with all the perfection
that reality can attain on earth, there was ever to be
found some deficiency, either physical or moral, that defaced
the symmetry and destroyed the loveliness of the whole; but,
no sooner didst thou, with magic wand, conjure up one of thy
embodiments, than my heart became a sea of flame, and was
consumed in the vastness of its own fires." (TC.III.210-11)

Waldie also omits the effects of Morton's master-passion or
obsession:

"It was in vain that my family sought to awaken me to a
sense of the acknowledged loveliness of the daughters of
more than one ancient house in the county, with one of whom
an alliance was, in many respects, considered desirable.
Their beauty, or rather their whole, was insufficient to
stir up into madness the dormant passions of my nature; and
although my breast was like a glowing furnace, in which
fancy cast all the more exciting images of her coinage to
secure the last impress of the heart's approval, my outward
department to some of the fairest and loveliest of earth's
was that of one on whom the influence of woman's beauty could have no power. From my earliest boyhood I had loved to give rein to these feelings, until they at length rendered me their slave. Woman was the idol that lay enshrined within my inmost heart; but it was woman such as I had not yet met with, yet felt must somewhere exist in the creation. For her I could have resigned title, fortune, family, every thing that is dear to man, save the life, through which alone the reward of such sacrifice could have been tasted, and to this phantom I had already yielded up all the manlier energies of my nature; but, deeply as I felt the necessity of loving something less unreal, up to the moment of my joining the regiment, my heart had never once throbbed for created woman." (TC.III.211-12)

By omitting Morton's idealism, the driving force behind Wacousta's personality, Waldie destroys the plot. Having omitted this idealism, and in order to be consistent, Waldie omits Morton's realization that Clara Beverley is his ideal. The original refers to Morton's idealism and stresses the impact of the revelation that he has actually met his ideal woman:

"Fearing to speak, as if the sound of my own voice were sufficient to dispel the illusion that fascinated both eye and heart into delicious tension on her form, yet, with my soul kindled into all that wild uncontrollable love which had been the accumulation of years of passionate imagining, I stood for some moments as motionless as the rock out of which I appeared to grow. It seemed as though I had not the power to think or act, so fully was every faculty of my being filled with the consciousness that I at length gazed upon her I was destined to love for ever." (TC.III.214)

Waldie rewrites this passage:

"Fearing to speak, as if the sound of my own voice were sufficient to dispel the illusion that fascinated both eye and heart into delicious tension on her form, I stood for some moments as motionless as the rock out of which I appeared to grow, gazing upon her I was destined to love for ever." (WCL.55)

The difference between these two passages shows a characteristic
result of Waldie's editing. The edited passage lacks the emotion of the original and thereby detracts from its importance.

Also essential to the plot and the understanding of Wacousta's character is his fatalism. The fatalism of the novel Waldie consistently excludes. He did so with Charles. Here he omits Morton's fatalistic response to the rustling of some bushes above him and the glimpse of a human face when he was in pursuit of the wounded deer that eventually led him to the Beverley's hiding place in the mountains:

"Why did my evil genius so will it," resumed Wacousta, after another pause, during which he manifested deep emotion, "that I should have heard those sounds and seen that face? But for these I should have returned to my companions, and my life might have been the life—the plodding life—of the multitude; things that are born merely to crawl through existence and die, knowing not at the moment of death why or how they have lived at all. But who may resist the destiny that presides over him from the cradle to the grave? for, although the mass may be, and are, unworthy of the influencing agency of that Unseen Power, who will presume to deny there are those on whom it stamps its iron seal, even from the moment of their birth to that which sees all that is mortal of them consigned to the tomb? What was it but destiny that whispered to me what I had seen was the face of a woman? I had not traced a feature, nor could I distinctly state that it was a human countenance I had beheld; but mine was ever an imagination into which the wildest improbability was scarce admitted that it did not grow into conviction in the instant." (TC.III.205-206)

The narrator shares with Wacousta this fatalism, these attitudes, this idealism, and worship of the imagination, this perception of the universe, and this attitude towards the multitude. But Waldie excises such passages, all of which occur in the first volume of the original, where the narrator
first expounds the philosophy behind the novel. Notice, for instance, the ideas expressed by the narrator in this deleted passage:

It has been remarked, and justly, there is nothing so dangerous to the peace of the human heart as solitude. It is in solitude, our thoughts, taking their colouring from our feelings, invest themselves with the power of multiplying ideal beauty, until we become in a measure tenants of a world of our own creation, from which we never descend, without loathing and disgust, into the dull and matter-of-fact routine of actual existence. Hence the misery of the imaginative man!—hence his little sympathy with the mass, who, tame and soulless, look upon life and the things of life, not through the refining medium of ideality, but through the grossly magnifying optics of mere sense and materialism. (TC.I.179)

Also part of this philosophy is the character of Clara Beverley and the development of the romance between Clara and Morton, elements of the novel Waldie suppresses. Richardson's Clara is idealistic in the manner of Morton, passionate, a Child of Nature. Waldie strikes out Wacousta's description of her at their first meeting: "every time she fled, the classic disposition of her graceful limbs, and her whole natural attitude of alarm, could only be compared with those of one of the huntresses of Diana, intruded on in her woodland privacy by the unhallowed presence of some daring mortal." (TC.III.216) Waldie omits another passage which described her as "Unspoiled by the forms, unvitiated by the sophistries of a world with which she had never mixed. . . ." (TC.III.220)

As with Morton in the original, imagination had played an important role in forming her character:
"The proud eagle soars [said Wacousta] not more above the craven kite, than did my soul, in all that was manly and generous, above that of yon false governor; and who should have prized those qualities, if it were not the woman who, bred in solitude, and taught by fancy to love all that was generous and noble in the heart of man, should have considered mere beauty of features as dust in the scale, when opposed to sentiments which can invest even deformity with loneliness?" (TC.III.222-23)

And again in the original Clara's sensibility, passion, and idealism equal his:

"Nature is too imperious a law-giver to be thwarted in her dictates; and however we may seek to stifle it, her inextinguishable voice will make itself heard, whether it be in the lonely desert or in the crowded capital. Possessed of a glowing heart and warm sensibilities, Clara Beverley felt the energies of her being had not been given to her to be wasted on herself. In her dreams by night, and her thoughts by day, she had pictured a being endowed with those attributes which were the fruit of her own fertility of concep- tion."

(TC.III.227)

Just as when Morton first saw her he felt he had found his ideal woman, Richardson's Clara felt she had found her ideal man when first seeing him: "With a candour and unreservedness that spring alone from unsophisticated manners and an untainted heart, she admitted, that the instant she beheld me, she felt she had found the being her fancy had been so long tutored to linger on, and her heart to love." (TC.III.228)

Waldie also omits Clara's naivété: "her intelligent innocence made the most artless avowals to my enraptured ear, --avowals that the more profligate minded woman of society would have blushed to whisper even to herself." (TC.III.220-21). In addition, he omits her consciousness of a new emotion when she sees for the first time a man other than her father:
"Terror had winged her flight; but it was terror mingled with a delicious emotion entirely new to her. It was that emotion, momentarily increasing in power, that induced her to pause, look back, hesitate in her course, and finally be won, by my supplicating manner, to return and bless me with her presence." (TC.III.232)

This new emotion is, of course, love. Her first letter to Morton produces an effect on him:

"Mad, wild, intoxicated, I read the letter but half through; and, as it fell from my trembling hand, my eye turned, beaming with the fires of a thousand emotions, upon that of the worshipped writer. That glance was more than her own could meet. A new consciousness seemed to be stirred up in her soul. Her eye dropped beneath its long and silken fringe—her cheek became crimson—her bosom heaved—and, all confidingness, she sank her head upon my chest, which heaved scarcely less wildly than her own." (TC.III.242-43)

Waldie also removes the sexual nature of this love. He omits Wacousta's next sexually charged announcement: "Had I been a cold-blooded villain—-a selfish and remorseless seducer . . . what was to have prevented my triumph at that moment?" (TC.III.243) This bowdlerization creates a confusion for the reader when Charles de Haldimar accidentally comes across this letter and reads it. Knowing the true nature of this letter, Charles' reaction is easily understood. In Waldie's version the reader never knows the truth about the letter, and never knows the truth about Clara Beverley.

Richardson tempers the sexuality with a kind of religious love, both of which Waldie removes. For instance, in Richardson, Morton had an opportunity to triumph but spurned it. Waldie, however, removes the passage and by so doing removes the suggestion that Morton could have triumphed had he not had the
strength of character to spurn the opportunity. By removing
the passage Waldie is at once changing the theme, character,
plot, and philosophy behind the novel:

"But I came not to blight the flower that had long been
nurtured, though unseen, with the life-blood of my own
being. Whatever I may be now, I was then the soul of disin-
terestedness and honour; and had she reposed on the bosom
of her own father, that devoted and unresisting girl could
not have been pressed there with holier tenderness." (TC.
III.243-44)

When Morton is back at camp with his fellow officers, his
"heart was far away, and full of the wild but innocent happi-
ness in which it had luxuriated." (TC.III.236) Yet in Richard-
son their relationship is not merely platonic:

There was a mellowed softness in her countenance, and a
tender languor in her eye, I had not remarked the preceding
day. Then there was more of the vivacity and playfulness
of the young girl; now, more of the deep fervour and the
composed serenity of the thoughtful woman. This change was
too consonant to my taste—to flattering to my self-love—
not to be rejoiced in; and as I pressed her yielding form
in silent rapture to my own, I more than ever felt she was
indeed the being for whom my glowing heart had so long
yearned." (TC.III.240)

Waldie blots out Wacousta's claim that "The days of our meet-
ing were ever days of pure and unalloyed happiness. . . ." (TC.
III.245) And when they have partially made their way from the
mountain "fortress" Morton's emotion interrupts their flight:

"Here the transport of my joy was too great to be controlled;
I felt that now my prize was indeed secured to me for ever;
and I burst forth into the most passionate exclamations of
tenderness, and falling on my knees, raised my hands to
Heaven in fervent gratitude for the success with which my
enterprise had been crowned." (TC.III.254)

After praying he "then raised her from the earth, imprinting
a kiss upon her fair brow, that was hallowed by the purity of
the feeling . . . [he] had so recently indulged in. . . ." (TC. III.257) And finally: "Had she been a divinity, I could not have worshipped her with a purer feeling." (TC.III.260) All of this Waldie removes.

Wacousta's philosophy of pure and holy love for a woman is, like other aspects of his character, shared by the narrator. Explaining how Sir Everard, who has "a dash of romance" about him, falls in love with Clara de Haldimar before they have met, the narrator moves from a discussion of Sir Everard's interest in Clara to a general discourse on love. This discourse, although taking place in the first volume of the original version, relates directly to Wacousta's character and philosophy. Waldie, not noticing the parallel between the narrator and Wacousta, or not caring, suppresses the entire discussion:

When, however, the high standard of our fancy's fair creation is attained, we worship as something sacred that which was to our hearts a source of pure and absorbing interest, hallowed by the very secrecy in which such interest was indulged. (TC.I.175-76)

Although Morton worshipped Clara Beverley, he lost her when he introduced her to the world, and at an early point in the novel the narrator hints at the unlikelihood of anyone truly retaining an ideal:

How is it to be lamented, that illusions so dear, and images so fanciful, should find their level with time; or that intercourse with the world, which should be the means rather of promoting than marring human happiness, should leave on the heart so little vestige of those impressions which characterize the fervency of youth; and which, dispassionately considered, constitute the only true felicity of riper life! (TC.I.176)
Explaining how "true felicity" can come about, the narrator anticipates the happiness Morton finds with Clara Beverley:

It is then that man, in all the vigour and capacity of his intellectual nature, feels the sentiment of love upon him in all its ennobling force. It is then that his impetuous feelings, untinged by the romance which imposes its check upon the more youthful, like the wild flow of the mighty torrent, seeks a channel wherein they may empty themselves; and were he to follow the guidance of those feelings, of which in that riper life he seems ashamed as of a weakness unworthy his sex, in the warm and glowing bosom of Nature's divinity--woman--would he pour forth the swollen tide of his affection; and acknowledge, in the fulness of his expanding heart, the vast bounty of Providence, who had bestowed on him so invaluable--so unspeakably invaluable, a blessing. (TC.I.176-77)

Few men, however, attempt to follow this formula for happiness. Realizing the absolute nature of the formula allows for a better understanding of Morton's reaction to his eventual loss of Clara. The narrator envisions only the one kind of happiness, and life without that happiness is the life of the "plodding multitude":

... in the pursuit of ambition, in the acquisition of wealth, in the thirst after power, and the craving after distinction, nay, nineteen times out of twenty, in the most unsatisfactory amusements, do the great mass of the maturer man sink those feelings; divested of which, we become mere plodders on the earth, mere creatures of materialism; nor is it until after age and infirmity have overtaken them, they look back with regret to that real and substantial, but unenjoyed happiness, which the occupied heart and the soul's communion alone can bestow. Then indeed, when too late, are they ready to acknowledge the futility of those pursuits, the inadequacy of those mere ephemeral pleasures, to which in the full meridian of their manhood they sacrificed, as a thing unworthy of their dignity, the mysterious charm of woman's influence and woman's beauty. (TC.I.177-78)

Wacousta enjoys this ideal happiness for a time, but loses it through the treachery of a friend. And what sets
Morton on a course of destruction is not only the loss of this ideal happiness, but also the betrayal by Clara and his friend De Haldimar. By omitting much of this betrayal and the persecution of Morton, Waldie succeeds in making him a much less sympathetic figure than he actually is.

First Waldie strikes out the progress of De Haldimar's betrayal. Returning from a long absence with Clara Beverley on the day of their first meeting, Morton concocts a plausible story to account for his absence. But his obvious satisfaction suggests the truth to De Haldimar:

"All this time there was a glow of animation on my cheek, and a buoyancy of spirit in my speech, that accorded ill, the first, with the fatigue one might have been supposed to experience in so perilous a chase; the second, with the disappointment attending its result. Your father, ever cool and quick of penetration, was the first to observe this; and when he significantly remarked, that, to judge from my satisfied countenance, my time had been devoted to the pursuit of more interesting game, I felt for a moment as if he was actually master of my secret, and was sensible my features underwent a change." (TC.III.234-35)

And Waldie blots out De Haldimar's slyness when discovering Morton at work painting a miniature of a girl who is supposedly Morton's Cornish cousin, but De Haldimar noticed that the girl wore a costume of a highlander and he concludes that she is Morton's Scottish mountain interest. De Haldimar "smiled one of his then damnable soft smiles of assent, and here the conversation terminated..." (TC.III.240) This omission affects the comlexity of the plotting and the conflict between Morton and De Haldimar because the miniature appears again in Fort Détroit.
While escaping with Clara, Morton caught a glimpse of his friend:

"While I . . . knelt, I fancied I heard a sound behind me; and, turning quickly, beheld the head of a man peering above a point of rock at some little distance. He immediately, on witnessing my action, sank again beneath it, but not in sufficient time to prevent my almost assuring myself that it was the face of your father I had beheld." (TC.III.260)

Morton deposits Clara at a cottage and sets off to find the regimental chaplain. A sergeant intercepts him and informs him he is under orders for active duty; De Haldimar, of course, had told the sergeant where to find Sir Reginald. Waldie excises Morton's reply to this sergeant, a reply which accounts for part of the later persecution:

... I told the serjeant he might give my compliments to the colonel, and say I would see the service d---d rather than inconvenience myself by going out on this duty at so short a notice; that I had private business of the highest importance to myself to transact, and could not absent myself." (TC.III.262-63)

Having second thoughts over this manner of dealing with his problem, Morton changed his mind, a change Waldie also cuts:

"As the man, however, prepared coolly to depart, it suddenly occurred to me, that I might prevail on your father to take my duty now, as on former occasions he had willingly done, and I countermanded my message to the colonel; desiring him, however, to find out Ensign de Haldimar, and say that I requested to see him immediately at my quarters, whither I was now proceeding to change my dress." (TC.III.263)

De Haldimar, however, is prepared, and even uses the countermanded message against Morton at the court-martial. The removal of both passages relating to the message downplays the injustice of the court-martial. Forced to march off with his company, Morton returns a week later to find Clara married
to De Haldimar. Revealing the events surrounding his return, many of which Waldie excises, and quoting Othello, Morton casts himself in the role of tragic and romantic hero. Waldie blots out this passage sympathetic to Morton:

"Brief must be the probing of wounds, that nearly five lustres have been insufficient to heal; brief the tale that reveals the infamy of those who have given you birth, and the utter blighting of the fairest hopes of one whose only fault was that of loving, 'not too wisely, but too well'." (TC.III.268)

And Waldie blots out Wacousta's "wounded feeling", "mortified pride", "bitter recollection" as Wacousta claims there can be no justification for De Haldimar's "damnable treachery". (TC.III.269) Out too is Wacousta's comparison of Eve's fall to Clara Beverley's infidelity: "Even as our common mother is said to have fallen in the garden of Eden, tempted by the wily beauty of the devil, so did your mother fall, seduced by that of the cold, false, traitorous De Haldimar." (TC.III.269-70)

Sir Reginald Morton's court-martial is the turning point of his life, and here Waldie's omitting of an essential confrontation destroys the motives for Morton's vengeance:

"... determined to satisfy myself from her own acknowledge- ment, whether all I had heard was not an imposition, I summoned calmness enough to desire that your mother might confirm in person the alienation of her affection, as nothing short of that could convince me of the truth. ... I thought she looked more beautiful than ever, but, alas! I had the inexpressible horror to discover, before a word was uttered, that all the fondness of her nature was indeed transferred to your father. How I endured the humiliation of that scene has often been a source of utter astonishing to myself; but I did endure it. To my wild demand, how she could so soon have forgotten her vows, and falsified her plighted engage- ments, she replied, timidly and confusedly, she had not yet
known her own heart; but if she had pained me by her conduct, she was sorry for it, and hoped I would forgive her. She would always be happy to esteem me as a friend, but she loved her Charles far, far better than she had ever loved me. This damning admission, couched in the same language of simplicity that had first touched and won my affection, was like boiling lead upon my brain." (TC.III.272-73)

Equally important, Waldie omits Morton's response to this horrifying discovery:

"In a transport of madness I sprang towards her, caught her in my arms, and swore she should accompany me back to the oasis—when I had taken her there, to be regained by my detested rival, if he could; but that he should not eat the fruit I had plucked at so much peril to myself. She struggled to disengage herself, calling on your father by the most endearing epithets to free her from my embrace. He attempted it and I struck him senseless to the floor at a single blow with the flat of my sabre. . . ." (TC.III.274)

This striking of De Haldimar constitutes the main charge against Morton at his ensuing court-martial. The entire confrontation, moreover, accounts for much of Morton's bitterness and hatred. Waldie also omits that Morton begins to despise Clara:

"Instead, however, of profiting by the opportunity . . . afforded to execute my threat, a feeling of disgust and contempt came over me, for the woman, whose inconstancy had been the cause of my committing myself in this ungentlemanly manner; and bestowing deep but silent curses on her head, I rushed from the house in a state of frenzy." (TC.III.274)

But Waldie suppresses further aspects of the betrayal that have almost as strong an effect on Morton's subsequent behavior as the loss of Clara Beverley. Morton's "brother" officers not only show no sympathy for his plight, but also reproach him for not listening to their earlier warnings about De Haldimar. They consider the entire affair part of the "game",


and they ostracize Morton for committing the unpardonable sin of ungentlemanly conduct:

"... they shrugged their shoulders, and coldly observed, I ought to have known better than to trust one against whom they had so often cautioned me; but that as I had selected him for my friend, I should have bestowed a whole, and not a half confidence upon him. ... As for the mere fact of his supplanting me, they thought it an excellent thing,—a ruse d'amour for which they never would have given him credit; and although they admitted it was provoking enough to be ousted out of one's mistress in that cool sort of way, still I should not so far have forgotten myself, as to have struck him while he was unarmed, when it was so easy to have otherwise fastened an insult on him." (TC.III.278-70)

After being tried, court-martialled, and dismissed from the service Morton found that his fellow officers treated him even worse than they had before:

"When the sentence was promulgated, announcing my dismissal from the service, every back was turned upon me, as though I had been found guilty of some dishonourable action, some disgraceful crime; and, on the evening of the same day, when I threw from me forever an uniform that I now loathed from my inmost soul, there was not one among those who had often banqueted at my expense, who had the humanity to come to me and say, 'Sir Reginald Morton, farewell.'" (TC.III.280)

The treachery and villainy of his friend De Haldimar, the infidelity of his fiancé, and the inhumanity of his fellow officers, all combine to drive Morton into isolation and, in effect, cause him to become a rebel and an outlaw. Morton is so disgusted with the world that he does not consciously make a moral choice, like many romantic heroes do when they rebel against society, by justifying his savage response to that world. He merely places all the blame for his misfortunes squarely on De Haldimar, as indicated in a passage that Waldie excises:
"Who, when my cup was mantling with the only bliss I coveted upon earth, traitorously emptied it, and substituted a heart-corroding poison in its stead? Who blighted my fair name, and cast me forth an alien in the land of my forefathers? Who, in a word, cut me off from every joy that existence can impart to man? Who did all this? Your father!" (TC.III.288)

Once driven out of the British army, Morton retreats into solitude, broods over plans of vengeance, and re-appears in society as a Scottish rebel in the uprising of 1745. The idealistic philosophy of the novel as it is concerned with love and happiness dictates Wacousta's contradictory attitude toward Clara Beverley. But the passage showing these contradictions Waldie also omits:

"I had never ceased to love, even while I despised her; and notwithstanding, had she, after her flagrant inconstancy, thrown herself into my arms, I should have rejected her with scorn, still I was sensible no other woman could ever supply her place in my affection." (TC.III.282)

Again, as in so many other places in the novel, Waldie cuts any expression of sympathy for Wacousta or any passage which sentimentalizes him. Likewise, Waldie consistently undercuts Wacousta's motives. For instance, Clara Beverley's death intensifies Morton's hatred for De Haldimar, but, at the same time, changes the course of his vengeance. In order to understand Morton's decision to destroy De Haldimar's children, this deleted passage is necessary:

"How," pursued Wacousta, with bitter energy, "shall I express the deep loathing I felt for those children? It seemed to me as if their existence had stamped a seal of infamy on my brow; and I hated them, even in their childhood, as the offspring of an abhorred, and, as it appeared to me, an unnatural union." (TC.III.283)
After deciding to kill De Haldimar's children, Morton had to go to Canada where the De Haldimars were stationed. First he became a French officer, then an Indian chief, Wacousta.

In effect, Morton, now Wacousta the aggressor, still feels that he is a victim. According to Richardson, although renowned for savageness while Wacousta in Canada, Morton still displays his earlier sensibility and shows that he has a conscience. When relating his "sad history" to Clara de Haldimar, according to the original, Wacousta was often overcome by his emotion: "Again Wacousta paused. A tear started to his eye, but this he impatiently brushed away with his swarthy hand."

And a self-recognition cannot be found in Waldie's edition either: "My physical faculties had not yet been developed to their present grossness of maturity, neither had my moral energies acquired that tone of ferocity which often renders me hideous, even in my own eyes."

De Haldimar's downfall begins with the execution of Frank Halloway, another noble character the Governor has victimized. The execution is a major climax to the novel, but Waldie edits it into obscurity. To set up the catastrophe Richardson contrasts Nature with the execution procession, but Waldie removes Richardson's romantic sensibility. In the original version, Richardson's deification of "Nature" and his use of "Nature" can be readily observed. The landscape, the farms, the orchards, the streams, the crops, the salmon, all the
romantic countryside surrounding Fort Détroit

... contribute to form the foreground of a picture bounded in perspective by no less interesting, though perhaps ruder marks of the magnificence of that great architect—Nature, on which the eye never lingers without calm; while feelings, at once voluptuous and tender, creep insensibly over the heart, and raise the mind in adoration to the one great and sole Cause by which the stupendous whole has been produced. (TC.I.229-30)

Yet Richardson's Wacousta presents the conflict of the ideal and the real. The ideal is imagined; the real is the "glorious paradox" that "man, naturally fierce and inexorable, is alone the enemy of his own species." (TC.II.31) The abundant and idyllic environs of the Fort, enhanced by cultivation, suggest the benificence of Nature and the harmony of all things. But a storm of death and destruction signified by the low rumbling thunder of the guns as they roll over the drawbridge of the fort quickly shatters the polish of life's surface. Waldie strikes out this evocative description:

The heavy dull movement of the guns, as they traversed the drawbridge resembled in that confined atmosphere the rumbling of low and distant thunder; and as they shook the rude and hollow sounding planks, over which they were slowly dragged, called up to every heart the sad recollection of the service for which they had been required. (TC.I.230)

This storm heightens the deleted romantic description in which deified Nature looks "gladly and complacently on her work. . . ." (TC.I.228)

Equally important, Waldie's editing finally affects the plot of Wacousta radically by omitting the passage immediately following Ellen Halloway's curse on the De Haldimar family. After uttering this curse Ellen faints into the arms of Wacousta,
who at this point, only in Richardson's version, reveals his non-Indian background and the personal nature of his animosity towards the English. By omitting this passage Waldie suppresses the first words spoken by Wacousta in the novel, and changes the plot of the novel completely:

"Hear you this, Colonel de Haldimar?" shouted . . . [Wacousta] in a fierce and powerful voice, and in the purest English accent; "hear you the curse and prophecy of this heart-broken woman? You have slain her husband, but she has found another. Ay, she shall be my bride, if only for her detestation of yourself. When you next see us here," he thundered, "tremble for your race. Ha, ha, ha! no doubt this is another victim of your cold and calculating guile; but it shall be the last. By Heaven, my very heart leaps upward in anticipation of thy coming hour. Woman, thy hatred to this man has made me love thee; yes, thou shalt be my bride, and with my plans of vengeance will I woo thee. By this kiss I swear it."

As he spoke, he bent his face over that of the pale and inanimate woman, and pressed his lips to hers, yet red and moist with blood spots from the wounds of her husband. (TC. I.279)

This passage, occurring at the end of the first volume of the first edition, gives us information about Wacousta that must influence our perception of his motives and of his behavior as it is expressed in the ensuing chapters. The uniting of Wacousta with the curse uttered by Ellen Halloway is the moving force behind the novel, but Waldie has removed it, as he has removed so much material, so many of "the most forcible passages in the book" as Richardson himself noticed.95

95 Morley, p.107.
Chapter 4

The NCL Version: A Canadian Depredation

The McClelland and Stewart New Canadian Library edition of Wacousta published in 1967 represents a continuation of the spurious editorial policy inaugurated by Waldie's Select Circulating Library of Philadelphia in 1833. The textual history of Wacousta shows that every edition published after 1832, the year of the first one, is based on the pirated and abridged Waldie text, or a derivative of it. Collation shows that the 1967 NCL edition is an abridgement of the 1924 Musson edition, the most corrupt of all the corrupt editions spawned by the American pirate, Waldie's Select Circulating Library. This NCL edition is a "standard" product of Canadian editing and reprinting: it is also the worst edition of Wacousta yet produced.

Being based on a Waldie text the NCL edition contains the printers' errors and editorial alterations that have accumulated and increased since the first impression of the American pirate. The NCL Wacousta drops those same 15,000 words eliminated by the Waldie edition of 1833, prints many of the compositor's errors of that edition, and reproduces the editorial alterations of that edition. The NCL Wacousta also incorporates many of the compositor's errors and editorial changes found in the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition,
including the dropping of the abridged "Chap.I. Introductory" and the substitution of Richardson's new introduction dated January 1, 1851. The NCL Wacousta faithfully follows the 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition which had dropped the first two paragraphs of Richardson's 1851 introduction, introduces thousands of punctuation changes, increases the editorial tampering, and adds to the number of compositor's errors. The NCL Wacousta incorporates the many errors found in its copytext, the 1924 Musson edition.

And last, the NCL Wacousta introduces its own printing errors, and increases, for the first time since Waldie's pirated edition of 1833, the amount of editorial destruction by further abridging the novel and eliminating another 26,000 words. In summary, then, this 1967 NCL Wacousta incorporates errors and alterations spanning five editions and drops over 40,000 words of the original text.

This NCL edition of Wacousta is the only one in print. It is used in schools and universities, and, according to Canadian Basic Books, it is a "proven seller". However, it is so faulty and so erroneous that it is a fraud on the reading public. That such an edition should appear at all, never mind appear for use in schools and universities, is a national disgrace.

Following the characteristic practice of unauthorized editions of *Wacousta* the NCL edition also alters the title. This edition omits the sub-title of the original edition, "A Tale of the Canadas." Remember that the first two impressions of the Waldie edition substituted "A Tale of Detroit and Michillimackinac" for the original sub-title, the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition substituted "An Indian Tale", and the 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition substituted "A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy" which was echoed by the 1923 McClelland and Stewart and 1924 Musson editions. Why the NCL edition omits the sub-title is not explained, but the omission is an indication of the editorial practice governing the novel.

Although the NCL publishes numerous abridged works, only *Wacousta* carries the words "an abridged edition" on the title-page. No mention of abridgement will be found on the title-pages of such NCL-abridged novels as Gilbert Parker's *The Seats of the Mighty* nor William Kirby's *The Golden Dog*; Mrs. Moodie's *Roughing It In The Bush* is abridged but this fact does not appear on the title-page; and Catharine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada* carries the word "selections" printed on the title-page as though less harmful than the proper "abridged". This usage is misleading because Mrs. Traill's book, like Mrs. Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* which is subjected to the same treatment, is meant to be read in its entirety, like a novel.
The publishing information on the verso of the title-page of the NCL *Wacousta* also misleads and misinforms. The statement "First published in 1832" suggests that the first edition is significant and may have been consulted, perhaps became the copy-text for the NCL edition. This suggestion is further bolstered by another statement on the same page claiming that this edition preserves "the sense of the original." That it does not preserve the sense of the original is evident from a textual analysis of the novel.

The General Editor, of course, must accept responsibility for the quality of the NCL editions, but the publishers never record on the title-page who actually edited any given volume. Sometimes the Canadian literature specialist writing the introduction hints that he or she also performed the editorial task, but one cannot count on the author of the introduction being the editor. Rupert Schieder wrote the introduction to F.W. Grey's *the curé of st. philippe*, but no one edited it because it is mostly a facsimile edition. Northrop Frye wrote the introduction to *The Stepsure Letters*, but Douglas Lochhead wrote the "Bibliographical Note"; either or neither might have edited the book. Robert McDougall wrote the introduction to *The Clockmaker*, but he does not mention that he actually edited the book; he does mention, however, that he visited a second-hand bookstore in search of a copy-text, a method of textual investigation which would make any bibliographer shudder.
Elizabeth Waterston supplied the introduction to *The Seats of the Mighty* and when she writes that "the present edition has excised some gobbets of bathos" she neatly places the weight of editorial decision making on an inanimate object. 97 Derek Crawford gives the same kind and quality of information in his introduction to *The Golden Dog*: "The present edition substantially reduces the original text. . . ." 98 Dr. Carl Klinck writing the introduction to *Wacousta* is more to the point, admitting that he "was asked to prepare an abridged edition. . . ." 99

The New Canadian Library editors never supply the kind of textual note found in such practical editions as Penguin Books or Riverside, but leave the reader to find textual comments in the introductions, the writers of which may or may not have edited the book. Klinck follows the literary critics' practice of mingling biographical information, literary criticism, and textual information in a general introduction which includes attitudes towards the novel based merely on personal taste.

First, Klinck does not comment on the textual history of *Wacousta* even though he does mention Morley's "A Bibliographical Study of John Richardson". He opens his introduction with a discussion of the 1832 title-page and correctly quotes


99 Major John Richardson, *Wacousta or The Prophecy*, NCL ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967), p.xi. All subsequent references to this edition appear in the text of this study identified by the initials "NCL" followed by page number.
the "motto" of that title-page:

Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms.

On the other hand, the verse of the NCL title-page quotes the incorrect 1924 Musson version of the "epigraph":

Vengeance is still alive; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view and fires me with her charm.

Surely here the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing. Klinck further confounds fact with the careless statement that "The title page described it [Wacousta] as 'A Tale of the Canadas'. . . ." (NCL.v) when the "description" is clearly part of the original title itself: Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas. The confusion generated by the NCL's abridged title and the printing of two versions of the title-page quotation Klinck never clarifies.

Klinck offers no explanation for his choosing the worst possible text, the 1924 Musson version, on which to base his edition. In truth, no mention of copy-text appears anywhere in the NCL preliminary pages, but in his introduction Klinck does make some interesting statements about his editorial thinking. His statements reveal the kind of editorial thinking behind editing Canadian literary texts.

Klinck ignores the most fundamental precepts of textual bibliography. Not knowing the textual history of Wacousta he claims that "in approximately a dozen and a half re-issues [sic] of the book identified by Mr. Morley, there are no
abridgements" (NCL.xi), and he obviously believes that even the 1924 Musson edition follows the original 1832 version of Wacousta. And not having done the basic bibliographical research he is unaware that the 1924 Musson edition, like every edition since the first, is an abridgement of the original three volume London T. Cadell edition.

Consequently, he argues that the length of the novel, really meaning the length of the abridged Wacousta, "has discouraged publication. . . ." (NCL.xi) Klinck then claims that "this new edition has been cut down reluctantly to three-quarters of the original size, and there has been a consequent re-numbering of chapters." (NCL.xi) The truth of the matter is that Waldie cut out over 15,000 words of text and Klinck cuts over 26,000 more, leaving an emasculated Wacousta indeed. The re-numbering of chapters that Klinck mentions results mainly from the fact that he has cut out entire chapters of the already abridged novel, and has linked others together, thereby changing the structural patterns and rhythms of chapters.

Klinck's argument that the length of the novel has discouraged publication is a common one used by editors and publishers of nineteenth-century fiction. And particularly for that fiction the publishers feel will not sell well. To them abridgement is a good excuse for cutting costs on a publication which is really only a token publication anyway.
Klinck’s thinking that length discourages publication is certainly not consistent within the NCL itself. The NCL edition of *Wacousta* consists of 298 pages of text. The NCL edition of Frederick Philip Grove’s *A Search for America* contains 390 pages of text, has the same format as *Wacousta*, and even uses smaller type. The American Robert Traill Spence Lowell’s *New Priest in Conception Bay* employs the same size of type as *Wacousta*, squeezes more words on a page, and contains 418 pages of text. Oddly enough, the only nineteenth-century American novel in the NCL receives far better treatment than the far more important Canadian novel. Likewise, McClelland and Stewart saw no need to abridge the Englishman Wyndham Lewis’ *Self Condemned* which consists of 405 pages of text, and uses the same format and size of type as *Wacousta*. Examples can be easily multiplied.

Klinck’s argument that the length of *Wacousta* has discouraged publication since 1924 is simply fallacious. Virtually no nineteenth-century Canadian novels were republished from 1930 to 1956. During this period Canadian literature ceased to be taught in Canadian universities and Canadian literature of the nineteenth century was almost universally scorned. This attitude continues to flourish, finding a particularly genial home in the New Canadian Library. Clearly, within the NCL a different editorial standard is applied to nineteenth-century works than to twentieth-century ones. And
to foreign ones. Lengthy twentieth-century novels like those of Grove are, apparently, printed in full while all the best known nineteenth-century Canadian works are abridged. This editorial double-standard which favours more careful republication of twentieth-century works than of nineteenth-century ones appears pervasive in Canadian literary scholarship.

This destructive and unscholarly attitude is evident in an analysis of the NCL Wacousta. Not having looked into the bibliographical aspects of the novel, Klinck produces an atrocious edition. He errs exactly where Fredson Bowers warned that the bibliographically ignorant editor may err, and provides probably the best possible example Bowers could ask for in order to prove his case:

The shock of finding that some texts are not authentic and that others are highly variable in an unsuspected manner, should reveal the need for replacing the customary 'meta-critical' textual criticism by basic bibliographical examination. It is not a comfortable feeling for an editor to know that in his bibliographical ignorance it is quite possible for him to base his text on a piracy, a forgery, an insufficiently advertised facsimile, or on an unrecognized late impression containing possible alterations of dubious authority.100

Klinck, however, does not merely base his edition on a massively corrupt and abridged pirated version, he compounds folly by agreeing to abridge the novel once again. Having no real justification for abridging it, he falls back on literary criticism to justify his textual tampering:

100 Fredson Bowers, Principles of Bibliographical Description, p.359.
Omissions have been made chiefly where Richardson presented a major happening from several points of view. It was no doubt craftsmanship on his part, in keeping with the popular taste of his time, to offer a scene of violence and then to add a reminiscent chapter exploiting, through emphasis upon some other characters, the heavy load of sentiment which the direct narrative could not bear. His need for transitions, for rhythmic patterns of action, and for characterization of romantic types must be conceded. These aspects are indeed abundantly illustrated in what remains after one has cut out passages of prolonged anguish, especially the emotional ordeals of Charles de Haldimar and of the fainting heroines whom he resembles. (NCL.xi)

This promulgation is not supported by a careful analysis of the deleted passages. Most of Klinck's cutting involves major happenings all right, but happenings which only occur once. He feels that he can cut because Richardson's craftsmanship only served "the popular taste of his time", but he does not seem to realize that his own editing, which by his own admission favours the lacrosse scene, attempts to serve the popular taste of his own time, and he appears to scorn readers he thinks may not follow that popular taste:

If there are any readers, uninfluenced by Hemingway and his contemporaries, who now delight in analyzing suffering for its own sake, they will by virtue of their training be able to provide a supplementary measure of appropriate feeling. (NCL.xi)

Waldie's editing, and especially his deletion of over 15,000 words of text, drastically altered Wacousta. Klinck's editing for the NCL edition, his removing of those 26,000 words, drastically alters Waldie's version of Richardson's novel. As the textual history of Wacousta records, each successive edition after the original 1832 three-volume edition strays further and further from Richardson's intentions. The
NCL version of *Wacousta* no longer makes sense. Interestingly, Klinck will often cut sections of his copy-text because they seem irrelevant, but they are weak and irrelevant because of Waldie's earlier cutting. And not knowing the true quality of his copy-text, a derivative of Waldie, Klinck does not realize that his perception of Lieutenant Charles de Haldimar is created by Waldie's editing, senseless editing which turned Charles into a character incorrectly resembling a fainting heroine. Such editing also changed Sir Everard Valletort, the Governor, Frederick de Haldimar, Clara Beverley, and Wacousta.

In the NCL edition even the plot can no longer be followed. Klinck's first abridgement, cutting out most of what was Chapter VIII of the first volume of the original London edition, disrupts the logical development of the narrative. He omits the officers' discussion of the Governor's sentencing of Frank Halloway, Ellen Halloway's confrontation with the Governor, and her ensuing invasion of Charles de Haldimar's apartment.

Near the end of the novel, by leaving out an entire chapter, Klinck unfortunately omits this comment by Captain Blessington: "Alas! . . . poor Charles, then, has been made to pay the penalty of his father's errors, and certainly the greatest of these was his dooming the unfortunate Halloway to death in the manner he did."101 The prophecy of the title is, of course,

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101 Major John Richardson, *Wacousta A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy* (Toronto: Musson, [1925]), p.408. References to material dropped or altered by Klinck are taken from his copy-text, this Musson edition, and they appear in the text of this study identified by the initials "MUS" followed by page number.
uttered by the distraught Ellen Halloway and both Frank Halloway's death and the prophecy are central to the plot. Klinck's editing eliminates the development and consequences of the Governor's "greatest error"; and eliminates Ellen Halloway's motives for uttering the prophecy which gives the novel its title.

Omitting an officers' mess-room scene, Klinck leaves out the very cogent discussion of Halloway's fate and the Governor's motives for ignoring the officers' recommendations for mercy:

"Well, Blessington . . . [remarked Captain Erskine] it appears your recommendation of poor Halloway to mercy is little likely to be attended to. Did you remark how displeased the colonel looked as he bungled through it? One might almost be tempted to think he had an interest in the man's death, so determined does he appear to carry his point." (MUS.92-93)

The Governor's actions appearing equivocal, Erskine's suggestion appears convincing. Richardson allows the Governor to seem evil in order to build suspense and to emphasize the folly of his military breeding. The combined editing of Waldie and Klinck, however, completely suppresses the Governor's true character.

Captain Erskine is an important character in the novel, one based on Richardson's maternal grandfather if Klinck's suggestion in his introduction is correct. The narrator describes Erskine's character, a description found only in an omitted section:

Although several of his companions, perhaps, felt and thought the same, still there was no one who would have
vented to avow his real sentiments [about the Governor's behavior] in so unqualified a manner. Indeed such an observation proceeding from the lips of any other officer would have excited the utmost surprise; but Captain Erskine, a brave, bold, frank, and somewhat thoughtless soldier, was one of those beings who are privileged to say anything. His opinions were usually expressed without ceremony; and his speech was not the most circumspect now, as since his return to the fort he had swallowed, fasting, two or three glasses of a favorite spirit, which, without intoxicating, had greatly excited him. (MUS.93)

The unedited Wacousta shows that Richardson values Captain Erskine's honesty highly. Captains Erskine and Blessington are the kind of military men Richardson admires, and the wholesale defacing of these characters eliminates an important theme. The distinguishing qualities of these two characters sharply contrasts with the ambition and callousness which led Lieutenant Murphy, Ensign Delme, and the Governor himself to early death.

Absolute in command, the Governor does not inform his officers of the purpose of the expedition announced at Frank Halloway's sentencing, an expedition to execute that man. Klinck's omission of the episodes immediately following the announcement destroys the gradual build-up of suspense leading to the unravelling of Halloway's fate. Omitted, for instance, is Captain Erskine's balking at Captain Blessington's suggestion that the purpose of the expedition is to execute Halloway:

"Pshaw! why should Halloway be taken out for the purpose? If he be shot at all he will be shot on the ramparts, in the presence of, and as an example to, the whole garrison. Still, on reflection, I cannot but think it impossible the sentence should be carried into full effect, after the strong, nay, the almost unprecedented recommendation to mercy recorded on the face of the proceedings." (MUS.96)
Blessington's reply to this statement counters Erskine's earlier suggestion of a personal dislike of Halloway by the Governor:

"What think you, Erskine, of the policy of making an example which may be witnessed by the enemy as well as the garrison? It is evident, from his demeanor throughout, nothing will convince the colonel that Halloway is not a traitor, and he may think it advisable to strike terror into the minds of the savages by an execution which will have the effect of showing the treason of the soldier to have been discovered." (MUS.96)

In striking this scene from the already mangled text, Klinck also omits the effect of this information of the officers:

In this opinion many of the officers now concurred; and as the fate of the unfortunate Halloway began to assume a character of almost certainty, even the spirit of the gallant Erskine, the least subdued by the recent distressing events, was overclouded; and all sank, as if by one consent, into silent communion with their thoughts, as they almost mechanically completed the meal at which habit rather than appetite still continued them. (MUS.96-97)

In omitting most of this chapter Klinck destroys the atmosphere of the officers' life in the garrison, and abruptly halts the logical development of events and characters.

The effects of this vivisection are most apparent as the chapter proceeds to its climax. Here, in the original, Ellen Halloway's connection with the plot is most evident. Interrupted by a loud scream, the officers hastily quit the mess-room to find Governor de Haldimar "struggling, though gently, to disengage himself from a female, who, with disordered hair and dress, lay almost prostrate upon the piazza, and clasping his booted leg with an energy evidently borrowed from the most rooted despair." (MUS.97) Once discovered to be the object
of universal attention,

Vexed and irritated beyond measure at being thus made a conspicuous object of observation to his inferiors, the unbending governor made a violent and successful effort to disengage his leg; and then, without uttering a word, or otherwise noticing the unhappy being who lay extended at his feet, he stalked across the parade to his apartments at the opposite angle, without appearing to manifest the slightest consciousness of the scene that had awakened such universal attention. (MUS.97)

Klinck excises Richardson's description of Ellen Halloway's grief just as Waldie excised that of Charles. Besides an obvious sexuality, the following passage points out the extent of Ellen's grief and adds plausibility to her actions at the time of her husband's death. Klinck omits:

Never was grief more forcibly depicted than in the whole appearance of this unfortunate woman; never did anguish assume a character more fitted to touch the soul or to command respect. Her long fair hair, that had hitherto been hid under the coarse mob cap usually worn by the wives of the soldiers, was now divested of all fastening, and lay shadowing a white and polished bosom, which, in her violent struggles to detain the governor, had burst from its rude but modest confinement, and was now displayed in all the dazzling delicacy of youth and sex. If the officers gazed for a moment with excited look upon charms that had long been strangers to their sight, and of an order they had little deemed to find in Ellen Halloway, it was but the involuntary tribute rendered by nature unto beauty. (MUS.98)

Further tampering with the plot, Klinck leaves out the entire passage about Ellen's grief-stricken appeal to the Governor's younger son, Charles:

"Oh, Mr. De Haldimar!" she implored, "in the name of God and of our blessed Saviour, if you would save me from madness, intercede for my unhappy husband [and the Musson omits the rest of the sentence: ",and preserve him from the horrid fate that awaits him."]. (MUS.99; TC.I.221)

She reminds him of her husband's services to the De Haldimar
family, and calls on God: "Almighty Providence! . . . why is not Miss Clara here to plead the cause of the innocent, and to touch the stubborn heart of her merciless father?" (MUS.100)

Ellen's anguish has a profound effect on the sensitive Charles:

Overcome by her emotion, the unfortunate woman suffered her aching head to droop upon the edge of the bed, and her sobbing became so painfully violent that all who heard her expected at every moment some fatal termination to her immoderate grief. Charles De Haldimar was little less affected, and his sorrow was the more bitter as he had just proved the utter inefficacy of anything in the shape of appeal to his inflexible father. (MUS.100)

Knowing the execution of Halloway to be unavoidable, Charles is unable to offer her any hope, but all this too is dropped. Originally, realizing the hopelessness of her cause Ellen utters a condemnation with which the reader is encouraged to agree and which becomes embodied in her curse and prophecy:

"No, no, no! . . . what care I for my own wretched life--my beloved and unhappy husband is to die. Oh God! to die without guilt--to be cut off in his youth--to be shot as a traitor--and that simply for obeying the wishes of the officer whom he loved!--the son of the man who now spurns all supplication from his presence. It is inhuman, it is unjust, and heaven will punish the hard-hearted man who murders him--yes, murders him! for such a punishment for such an offence is nothing less than murder." (MUS.100)

Her theme that "God and human justice are with my appeal" (MUS.101) expresses the importance to the plot of Halloway's forthcoming execution. The prophecy she utters over the corpse of her husband derives directly from her thinking revealed in these deleted episodes. Owing to Halloway's innocence, Ellen's sympathetic moral stance becomes related to, or even united with, Wacousta's revenge when he joins her in denouncing the
De Haldimars at the end of the first volume of the original version, a passage omitted by Waldie. The inclusion of the entire De Haldimar family in her curse results from her conviction that Clara, Charles, and Frederick contributed to her husband's death by betraying his loyalty when, on his behalf, they did not intervene with the Governor. The editing by Waldie and Klinck destroys the parallel between Ellen and Wacousta by the omission of this episode and the one in which Wacousta explained why he decided to take his vengeance out on De Haldimar's children.

Much of Klinck's editing is dictated by that of his American predecessor, Waldie. Waldie cut much of Charles de Haldimar's character and left him a shadowy figure much given to weeping. Klinck, believing there is not much to Charles, cuts out more of his appearances in the novel, claiming Richardson's craftmanship does not suffer from the removing of "passages of prolonged anguish, especially the emotional ordeals of Charles de Haldimar and of the fainting heroines whom he resembles." (NCL.xi) But Charles is a more complex figure than Waldie would have his readers believe and Klinck, not understanding Charles' true nature, does not see his importance to the story and to the theme. Finding him unimportant because of Waldie's editing, Klinck continues the abridgement begun by Waldie and further destroys Richardson's literary intentions.

Klinck, however, also abridges episodes which Waldie
generally leaves alone. Claiming to be abridging *Wacousta* "with respect for the taste which favours the 'lacrosse'" scene (NCL.xii), Klinck omits great swaths of material that bear directly on the Indians' clever plan to capture the two remaining forts, and on the relationship of that plan to the rest of the novel.

The historical aspect of the Indian warfare that Richardson concentrates on is the Indians' plan to capture Forts Détroit and Michillimackinac during a ball playing match conducted near the main entrances of each fort. He is interested most in the romantic version of the saving of Fort Détroit by an Indian woman who warns the Commander of the Fort of the Indians' intentions. In his introduction to the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition Richardson writes that the Indians' "design had been discovered and made known by means of significant warnings to the Governor by an Indian woman who owed a debt of gratitude to his family, and was resolved, at all hazards, to save them."\(^{103}\)

Klinck's editing, unlike Waldie's, completely suppresses the romantic attachment of Oucanasta, an Indian woman and the heroine of the novel, to Captain Frederick de Haldimar, the elder son of the Governor of Détroit. The plot of the novel

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102 Richardson himself never uses the word "lacrosse", but refers to the Indians' game as a "ball playing" match.

depends to a large extent on this romance. Not only does Klinck delete intimate scenes between Oucanasta and Frederick, but also leaves out her motives for warning the garrison at Fort Détroit of an impending attack by her own people, and for saving the life of her rival, Madeline de Haldimar, Frederick's cousin and fiancé. Equally important, this romance develops one of the major themes and its omission seriously affects the novel.

Richardson's development of Oucanasta's role in the novel was slow and suspenseful. Klinck cuts this careful exposition at crucial points. Through dialogue and narration Richardson builds suspense and interest; dialogues expose relationships as they develop and events as they unfold. Characters seldom reminisce: they are too deeply involved in the present. On the other hand, Richardson's narrator, who is neither omniscient nor a recognisable character, provides the structure of the novel. The narrator often fills in background, but often appears not to know the true nature of events or relationships while they are transpiring. This narrative technique is essential to the building and maintaining of suspense.

An episode central to the understanding of the novel, Frederick's adventure with Oucanasta in the Indian camp, reveals Richardson's careful technique, but Klinck's editing strips the novel of sense and artistry. The first volume of the original version of Wacousta describes the events transpiring at Fort Détroit between midnight and shortly after noon.
on the following day. Therefore, by the time Richardson explains in the second volume about Frederick's adventure in the Indian camp, some knowledge of that adventure has accumulated through Frank Halloway's trial, the discovery of Harry Donellan's scalped body on the common, and Frederick's escape from the Indian camp at the time of Halloway's execution. Waldie removed some of this material, but not all of it.

During the narrator's explanation of what led to Frederick's capture, involving a return in time and a change of scene, Harry Donellan expresses doubts to Frederick about the probable success of his adventuring into the Indian camp without detection:

"What sort of protection can that Ingin woman afford who is of the race of our bitterest enemies, them cursed Ottawas, and your honor venturing, too, like a spy, into the very heart of the blood-hounds?" (NCL.143)

These doubts suggest that Oucanasta did indeed lead the two soldiers into a trap: the capture of the one and the death of the other has already been described in the first volume of the original. Richardson weaves suspense and drama from these doubts by not divulging the true nature of the relationship between Oucanasta and Frederick until absolutely necessary. For this reason, Frederick tries to appease Donellan by simply stating, "I fear no ambuscade, for I can depend on the fidelity of my guide..." (NCL.142) However, when secreted in a hollow tree and startled by Wacousta, even Frederick doubts Oucanasta's motives, even in the Klinck edition:
At every moment the rustling of the underwood, rapidly divided by the approaching form, became more audible, and so closely did the intruder press upon the point in which Captain De Haldimar was concealed that that officer, fancying he had been betrayed, turned hastily around and grasping one of the pistols he had secreted in his chest, prepared himself for a last and deadly encounter. An instant or two was sufficient to reassuere him. (NCL.145)

The first indication in any edition of romance between Oucanasta and Frederick is voiced by Wacousta during the Indians' meeting when he insults Oucanasta's brother by linking Frederick and Oucanasta, Oucanasta the sister of the "smooth-faced" Ottawa chief, and Frederick, the Saganaw, that she "the sister of the smooth face, loved so much to look upon." (NCL.148) On the other hand, Richardson's narrator, appearing to know less than Wacousta about the relationship between the two, sees Oucanasta in a less personal role, only as "his guide - that kind being, who evidently sought to be the saviour of the devoted garrison..." (NCL.150) Richardson's narrator occasionally supplies a religious tinge to the story, and in this case the use of "saviour" does have moral implications. Emphasizing the selflessness of Oucanasta, the narrator fills in Frederick's background by giving him a fiancé, his cousin Madeline de Haldimar, who is cooped up in Fort Michillimackinac. This new information suggests the improbability of any romance between Oucanasta and Frederick.

Adding another aspect to Oucanasta's motives the narrator drops the hint that Frederick did not entertain a doubt about his own safety,
for he knew and relied on the Indian woman, who was bound by [to] him by a tie of gratitude which her conduct that night evidently denoted to be superior even to the interests of her race. (NCL.152)

With Frederick impatient to return to the fort after having spied out the Indians' plans, and his complete reliance on Oucanasta to accomplish the journey, the plot obviously builds to a crucial point, especially since Frederick's capture has already been anticipated. Oucanasta has reason to betray Frederick, but her actions so far do not suggest she will. Still, her motives are not explained. Finding Oucanasta does not return to lead him back to the fort, Frederick's doubts again surface:

Absolutely terrified with the misgivings of his own heart, he, in the wildness and unconnectedness of his purpose, now resolved to make the attempt to return alone, although he knew not even the situation of the path he had so recently quit. (NCL.152)

In taking one step from his hiding place Frederick collides with Oucanasta, and his anguish and anxiety are abolished:

With the return of hope came the sense of all he owed to the devotedness of this kind woman. He grasped the hand that still lingered on his arm, pressed it affectionately in his own, and then placed it in silence on his throbbing heart. The breathing of Oucanasta became deeper, [and] the young officer fancied he could feel her trembling with agitation. Again, however, and in a tone of more subdued expression, she whispered that he must go. (NCL.153)

In Klinck's version no sooner do Oucanasta and Frederick gain the path leading away from the Indian camp than Frederick is captured by the Indians, and the drama and the suspense abruptly halt. Although Oucanasta appears to retain her good intentions toward Frederick the textual evidence in Klinck's
version is not sufficient to be conclusive: suspicion remains because Klinck had cut too much. Richardson's version, however, clearly develops the plot, suspense, and romance so evident in those parts Klinck has excised.

Klinck's editing disrupts the flow of the narrative in many places but perhaps in none so drastically as in the episodes relating to Frederick's spying mission. Having omitted the description of the route taken by Oucanasta and Frederick from the fort to the Indian encampment, Klinck omits the one scene on the way to the Indian camp that best illustrates Oucanasta's good intentions and Frederick's character.

In Richardson's version, after travelling to within a half mile of the Indian camp Oucanasta seats herself on a log and, "motioning to her companion to unboot himself, proceeded to unlace the fastenings of her mocassins."

"The foot of the Saganaw must fall like the night dew on the prairie," she observed: "the ear of the red skin is quicker than the lightning, and he will know that a pale face is near, if he hear but his tread upon a blade of grass."

Gallantry in the civilised man is a sentiment that never wholly abandons him; and in whatever clime he may be thrown, or under whatever circumstances he may be placed,—be it called forth by white or by blackamoor,—it is certain to influence his conduct: it is a refinement, of that instinctive deference to the weaker sex, which nature has implanted in him for the wisest of purposes; and which, while it tends to exalt those to whom its influence is extended, fails not to reflect a corresponding lustre on himself.

The young officer had, at the first suggestion of his guide, divested himself of his boots, prepared to perform the remainder of the journey merely in his stockings, but his companion now threw herself on her knees before him, and, without further ceremony, proceeded to draw over his foot one of the mocassins she had just relinquished.
"The feet of the Saganaw are soft as those of a young child," she remarked, in a voice of commiseration; "but the mocassins of Oucanasta shall protect them from the thorns of the forest."

This was too un-European, too much reversing the established order of things, to be borne patiently. As if he had felt the dignity of his manhood offended by the proposal, the officer drew his foot hastily back, declaring, as he sprang from the log, he did not care for the thorns, and could not think of depriving a female, who must be much more sensible of pain than himself.

Oucanasta, however, was not to be outdone in politeness. She calmly reseated herself on the log, drew her right foot over her left knee, caught one of the hands of her companion, and placing it upon the naked sole, desired him to feel how impervious to attack of every description was that indurated portion of the lower limb.

This practical argument was not without its weight, and had more effect in deciding the officer than a volume of remonstrance. Most men love to render tribute to a delicate and pretty foot. Some, indeed, go so far as to connect everything feminine with these qualities, and to believe that nothing can be feminine without them. For our parts, we confess, that, although no enemies to a pretty foot, it is by no means a sine qua non in our estimate of female perfection; being in no way disposed, where the head and heart are gems, to undervalue these in consideration of any deficiency in the heels. Captain de Haldimar probably thought otherwise; for when he had passed his unwilling hand over the foot of Oucanasta, which, whatever her face might have been, was certainly any thing but delicate, and encountered numerous ragged excrescences and raspy callosities that set all symmetry at defiance, a wonderful revolution came over his feelings; and, secretly determining the mocassins would be equally well placed on his own feet, he no longer offered any opposition.

This important point arranged, the officer once more followed his guide in silence. (TC.II.150-52)

Waldie had already dropped two sections of this passage before Klinck came to the Musson text, the whole paragraph beginning with "Gallantry in the civilised man", and the passage beginning with "Most men love to render tribute" and ending with "Captain de Haldimar probably thought otherwise; for". Waldie then began a new sentence by capitalising the word "when"
and changed the next word "he" to "Captain de Haldimar" in order to make a backward transition.

When Klinck comes to this passage he had already, without ellipsis, dropped three pages of the original which had been included in Waldie, and drops everything here. He picks up again in the paragraph which, in the original version, begins with "This important point arranged", but drops, and again without ellipsis, those words, and capitalizes "the" in order to begin a new sentence.

The omission of this entire passage is most unfortunate because in deleting it Klinck deletes material of extreme importance to the novel. He eliminates the fact that Oucanasta removed Frederick's boots because she was trying to ensure his safety. He also eliminates Oucanasta's feelings of tenderness for Frederick, and common sense in forcing her own mocassins on the Saganau's feet which were "as soft as those of a young child". In showing Frederick that his feet are indeed more sensitive to pain than hers Richardson, but not Klinck, shows Frederick receiving a practical lesson in the impossibility of transferring European habits, manners, and dignities, to the forest of the New "un-European" World where another set of manners and a different "politeness" prevailed.

In addition, Klinck's removal of this passage confuses the reader because a few pages later Klinck includes an important bit of detail which is totally dependent for understanding on that long deleted passage:
Fortunate did he [Frederick] now deem himself in having yielded to the counsel of his guide. Had he retained his unbending boot it must have crushed whatever it pressed, whereas the pliant moccasin, yielding to the obstacles it encountered, enabled him to pass noiselessly over them. (NCL.143)

This passage mentions the change from boot to moccasin without the required explanation. As a result such deletions turn Richardson's careful plotting into farce. Klinck does occasionally use ellipses to indicate omissions or abridgements, and these ellipses leave the impression that he is accounting for all deletions.

Having suppressed this relationship between Frederick and Oucanasta, Klinck suppresses an equally important scene which takes place on the same log on their return to Fort Détroit from the Indian camp. In Klinck's version Frederick is captured close to his hiding place in a hollow tree on the edge of the Indian camp. But in Richardson's version Frederick and his guide return to the log where Oucanasta removed her moccasins and gave them to the officer:

For a moment or two the Indian remained with her arms folded and her head bent over her chest, and then, in a low, deep, but tremulous voice, observed:

"When the Saganaw saved Oucanasta from perishing in the angry waters, there was a girl of the palefaces with him whose skin was like the snows of the Canadian winter and whose hair was black like the fur of the squirrel. Oucanasta saw," she pursued, dropping her voice yet lower, "that the Saganaw was loved by the pale girl, and her own heart was very sick, for the Saganaw had saved her life, and she loved him, too." (MUS.209-10)

This scene which Klinck omitted provides the motives for Oucanasta's actions in attempting to save the inhabitants of
Fort Détroit. That Oucanasta was in love with him the insensitive Frederick really did not believe even though he had "often been rallied, not only by his brother officers but even by his sister and Madeline De Haldimar herself, on the conquest he had evidently made of the heart of this Indian girl." (MUS. 210) Frederick had saved her life when she was almost drowning after a sudden gust of wind upset her canoe, and "since that period the grateful being had been remarked for the strong but unexpressed attachment she felt for her deliverer." (MUS. 210) In omitting Oucanasta's love for Frederick from the novel, Klinck seriously confuses the novel and destroys that romantic basis of Richardson's interest in the Pontiac rebellion.

Frederick's reaction to Oucanasta's declaration, also omitted, appears, at least, to be honest: "This, however, was the first moment Captain De Haldimar became acquainted with the extent of feelings the avowal of which not a little startled and surprised, and even annoyed him." (MUS. 210) Again Klinck drops material which affects the plot but also casts some light on Frederick's exploitive and unheroic character; knowing that Oucanasta loves him, Frederick immediately sees that she can be of still more use to him:

a thought ... kindled every fibre of his being into expectancy -- Oucanasta might be the saviour of those he loved, and he felt that if time were but afforded her she would. He rose from the log, dropped on one knee before the Indian, seized both her hands with eagerness, and then, in tones of earnest supplication, whispered:

"Oucanasta is right; the pale girl with the skin like snow and hair like the fur of the squirrel is the bride of
the Saganaw. Long before he saved the life of Oucanasta he knew and loved the pale girl. She is dearer to the Saganaw than his own blood, but she is in the fort beyond the great lake, and the tomahawks of the redskins will destroy her, for the warriors of that fort have no one to tell them of their danger. What says the red girl? Will she go and save the lives of the sister and the wife of the Saganaw? (MUS. 210-11)

Being noble and generous and heroic, Oucanasta agrees: "what the Saganaw asks for his sake she will try." (MUS.211) Realizing that "an Indian girl could never be the wife of a handsome chief of the Saganaw" (MUS.210), Oucanasta seems to be resigned to her fate: "The pale girl shall lay her head on the bosom of the Saganaw, and Oucanast [sic] will try to rejoice in her happiness." (MUS.211) Overwhelmed by this response, and in "the fervor of his gratitude", Frederick de Haldimar caught the drooping form of the generous Indian wildly to his heart; his lips pressed hers, and during the kiss that followed the heart of the latter bounded and throbbed as if it would have passed from her own into the bosom of her companion. (MUS.211)

Such a scene is rare in early English-language fiction featuring the North American Indian and Klinck's deletion of this scene is a perversion of Richardson's novel. The removal of the narrator's punning comment on the kiss, on the noise which alerts the Indians and leads to Frederick's capture, removes that sympathy which Richardson had for Oucanasta:

On the whole, however, it was a most unfortunate and ill-timed kiss, and, as is often the case under such circumstances, led to the downfall of the woman. In the vivacity of his embrace Captain De Haldimar had drawn his guide so far forward upon the log that she lost her balance and fell
with a heavy and reverberating crash among the leaves and
dried sticks that were strewed thickly around. (MUS.211-12)

In addition to being important to the plot of the novel,
this love story parallels the romantic involvement of Wacousta,
or Sir Reginald Morton, and Clara Beverley, itself a parallel
expression of Richardson's theme. But cutting the love scenes
between Oucanasta and Frederick eliminates this carefully
worked out parallel, a parallel furthered by the description
of the route followed by Frederick and Oucanasta from Fort
Détroit to the Indian camp. The language describing that route,
a route about which Klinck makes no mention, is strikingly
similar to the language used to describe the route of Morton
on his way to the Scottish "Eden" where he discovers Clara
Beverley. When Sir Reginald first encountered Clara on "a
carpet of verdure, a luxuriance of vegetation" in "a sort of
oasis of the mountains", he had passed through "dark deep glens"
and "over frowning rocks" crossed a "ravine" and had ascended
to the oasis by a path through "mazes of rock and underwood",
all the time afraid of being "precipitated . . . into the
yawning gulf", into the "abyss". He had to catch the "twisted
roots that grew out of and adhered to the main body of the
rock" as he moved along "like a crawling reptile." Sir Reginald
retraced his route when taking Clara out of this "oasis of the
mountains." When Oucanasta takes Frederick along their "nar-
row winding path" through the "mazes of forest" and "the deep
gloom of the pervading wood" Oucanasta goes "as silently as
the native rattlesnake" with its "slimy crawl." They, too, stood "on the verge of a dark and precipitous ravine," but continued their journey by "clinging" to the undergrowth to prevent their falling into the "abyss" at the bottom of which, in the "living darkness," was a "noiseless" stream. Just as the routes are similar, so are the destinations, or at least, the language describing them. The Indian camp is described in the same terms as the Scottish "Eden" or "oasis":

The small plain in which lay the encampment of the Indians was a sort of oasis of the forest, girt around with a rude belt of underwood, and somewhat elevated, so as to present the appearance of a mound constructed on the first principles of art. (NCL.144)

Both journeys centre on a romantic relationship where one partner guides the other over a dangerous route. In both cases the guides are the aggressive lovers and both are unsuccessful. Ultimately, these two romances account for most of the action of the novel. Oucanasta's response to her unsuccessful romance with Frederick is, however, totally different from that of Wacousta. He responds by claiming that the union of De Haldimar and Clara Beverley is unnatural, and that it has turned his good and noble nature to gall. Hence he feels justified in pursuing a course of revenge. On the other hand, Oucanasta accepts her failure, suggesting that an element of unnaturalness would attach itself to a union between herself and Frederick. As a result she places herself in the role of saviour while Wacousta plays the part of avenger. It is surely a reflection of the philosophy behind the novel that neither
are successful; obviously, the editing again weakens the theme.

Klinck's editing also destroys the drama of Frederick's capture. In Richardson's version Frederick's kiss caused Oucanasta to lose her balance and her "downfall" alerts the Indians who knew a spy lurked about their camp. Omitting most of the scene in which Frederick in his hollow tree spies on the Indian council Klinck also omits the passage indicating that Wacousta had discovered a spy near the camp:

Pontiac and the tall warrior [Wacousta] alone remained. For a time they conversed earnestly together. The former listened attentively to some observations made to him by his companion, in the course of which the words "chief of the Saganaw--fort--spy--enemy," and two or three others equally unconnected, were alone audible to the ear of him [Frederick] who attentively sought to catch the slightest sound. He [Wacousta] then thrust his hand under his hunting-coat, and, as if in confirmation of what he had been stating, exhibited a coil of rope and the glossy boot of an English officer. Pontiac uttered one of his sharp ejaculatory "ughhs!" and then, rising quickly from his seat, followed by his companion, soon disappeared in the heart of the encampment. (MUS.203-4)

This passage explains why the Indians were so prepared and so quick to act on hearing the sound caused by Oucanasta's fall. Leaving the heroic Oucanasta to confront the Indians, Frederick attempts to escape alone and comes to the bed of a ravine, the spot at which Klinck has him captured. Klinck is here compressing so much that he is altering the story line and almost rewriting the novel because he is allowing two separate scenes to occur at the same place, whereas in the original they do not both occur there. Richardson, even in the Musson text, Klinck's copy-text, shows that once in the ravine Frederick tries to jump across the rivulet he had crossed on his way to
the Indian camp. But the Indians, knowing a spy is somewhere about, have set a trap:

His feet alighted upon an elevated and yielding substance that gave way with a crashing sound that echoed far and near throughout the forest, and he felt himself secured as if in a trap. Although despairing of escape, he groped with his hands to discover what it was that thus detained him, and found he had fallen through a bark canoe, the bottom of which had been turned upwards. The heart of the fugitive now sank within him; there could be no doubt that his retreat was intercepted. The canoe had been placed there since he last passed through the ravine, and it was evident from the close and triumphant yell that followed the rending of the frail bark such a result had been anticipated. (MUS.212)

Frederick's ordeal, however, is not yet over. He extricates himself from the canoe, quits the path altogether and hides under some thick brushwood. After lying concealed for some time without hearing the Indians, he concludes that they have relinquished the pursuit, and accordingly he pulled himself partly out of his hiding place to have a look around. At this point Wacousta captures him and the Indians shout their expressions of joy.

In compressing this capture episode Klinck makes ridiculous an earlier passage he lets stand. At the beginning of the novel when the officers of Fort Détroit are on the ramparts attending Murphy's funeral, they are startled by the Indians' yells. The narrator describes two yells: one indicating pursuit, and, after a long pause, one indicating capture of a prisoner. This scene anticipates the capture of Frederick as Richardson wrote it, but Klinck compresses the capture scene so much that only one yell of the Indians remains at this scene, while two are still heard by the officers. Such
editorial tinkering confuses and gives the impression the author, not the editor, is inconsistent.

Klinck's editing also destroys the drama of another important section of the novel. The dramatic success of the work relies on the attempts of Oucanasta and Frederick to subvert Wacousta's plans of vengeance. These plans become bound to the Indians' stratagem for capturing the last two remaining English forts, Forts Détroit and Michillimackinac. Klinck deletes an entire Indian council scene which outlines Ponteac's strategy and Wacousta's response to it. Frederick in his hollow tree has heard these plans and Klinck's editing cuts all reason for Frederick's anguish and eagerness to return to the fort to warn the garrison of impending disaster. This council scene, deleted from Klinck's copy-text, also underscores the difference in attitudes between Ponteac and Wacousta, and Ponteac's reason for adopting treacherous tactics:

He [Ponteac] pointed out the tediousness of the warfare in which they were engaged; the desertion of the hunting-grounds by their warriors, and their consequent deficiency in all those articles of European traffic which they were formerly in the habit of receiving in exchange for their furs. He dwelt on the beneficial results that would accrue to them all in the event of the reduction of those two important fortresses, since in that case they would be enabled to make

104 Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures In Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776, ed. with Notes, Illustrative and Biographical by James Bain, (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co.: Publishers, 1969), on p.80 Henry, concealed in a garret in Fort Michillimackinac, witnesses "the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors" by looking "through an aperture, which afforded . . . a view of the area of the fort. . . ."
such terms with the English as would secure to them considerable advantages, while instead of being treated with the indignity of a conquered people they would be enabled to command respect from the imposing attitude this final crowning of their successes would enable them to assume. He stated that the prudence and vigilance of the commanders of these two unreduced fortresses were likely long to baffle, as had hitherto been the case, every open attempt at their capture, and admitted he had little expectation of terrifying them into a surrender by the same artifice that had succeeded with the forts on the Ohio and the lower lakes. (MUS,201-2)

Richardson is not completely out of sympathy with Ponteac's cause, even though he abhors the method chosen to ensure success. On the other hand, Wacousta's response to Ponteac's statement shows that Wacousta has not the slightest interest in the Indians' cause; he merely sees the hostilities as an opportunity to carry out his vengeance against Governor de Haldimar:

He [Wacousta] was the last who spoke, but when he did it was with a force—an energy—that must have sunk every objection, even if the plan had not been so perfect and unexceptionable in its concoction as to have precluded a possibility of all negative argument.

During the delivery of this animated speech the warrior's swarthy countenance kindled into fierce and rapidly varying expression. A thousand dark and complicated passions evidently struggled at his heart, and as he dwelt leisurely and emphatically on the sacrifice of human life that must inevitably attend the adoption of the proposed measure his eye grew larger, his chest expanded, nay, his very nostrils appeared to dilate with unfathomably guileful exultation. Captain De Haldimar thought he had never gazed on anything wearing the human shape half so atrociously savage. (MUS,203)

Oucanasta and her brother apparently realize Wacousta does not have the Indians' interests at heart. In addition, Oucanasta wants to preserve the life of the threatened English officer who saved her from drowning, and with whom she has fallen in love. Only through the untiring efforts of Oucanasta and her brother does Frederick de Haldimar stand a chance to
thwart the plans of Wacousta.

By omitting so much of Frederick's adventure in the Indian camp Klinck again destroys Richardson's careful structuring. The first volume of the original version is devoted to the progress of events from the ringing of the alarm bell at midnight to Halloway's execution at noon, the Governor's "greatest error". The second volume includes the exposition of the mysterious events that led to the execution. The Governor's actions leading to his "greatest error" result directly from these mysterious events, mainly the disappearance of Frederick de Haldimar and the appearance of a stranger within the closely guarded fort. In Richardson's version all the mystery, except the specific causes of Wacousta's hatred of the De Haldimar's, found in the third volume, is cleared away in volume two. Klinck's NCL version, on the other hand, leaves a mystified reader in the dark.

Only a few of Klinck's omissions about Frederick's adventure in the Indian camp are what Klinck called a presentation of "a major happening from several points of view." (NCL.xi) Most omissions really involve story and plot and theme and character. Furthermore, Klinck's version retains details that relate directly to passages he has omitted and these details confuse the narrative, as do the Indian yells.

Likewise, Klinck's editing makes Richardson's timing ridiculous. By deleting most of the narrative dealing with Frederick's capture Klinck compresses the span of that capture
into too short a period to make sense. Halloway is executed at noon; Frederick is captured before dawn. Yet in Klinck's version Oucanasta's brother frees Frederick almost immediately after the capture and Frederick runs directly and immediately to his regiment which is deployed probably less than a mile away near the bridge in preparation for the execution. Less than a mile from dawn to noon and Frederick running full speed with Wacousta right on his tail!

In Richardson's text, and in the Musson, when Wacousta captures Frederick Wacousta identifies himself as the "French officer" who had tried to kill Frederick on the Plains of Abraham because Frederick is one of the "hated race" of De Haldimars, but Wacousta says nothing about his "Scottish" past:

He [Frederick] perfectly recollected that the individual who had evinced so much personal hostility on the occasion alluded to was indeed a man wearing the French uniform, although at the head of a band of savages, and of a nature [stature] and strength similar to those of him who now so fiercely avowed himself the bitter and deadly foe of all his race. If this were so, and his tone and language left little room for doubt, the doom of the ill-fated garrison was indeed irrevocably sealed. This mysterious enemy evidently possessed great influence in the councils of the Indians, and while the hot breath of his hatred continued to fan the flame of fierce hostility that had been kindled in the bosom of Pontiac, whose particular friend he appeared to be, there would be no end to the atrocities that must follow. (MUS.216)

Waldie had already edited out Wacousta's important appearance at the end of the first volume of the original and where he joined Ellen Halloway in predicting such doom for the De Haldimars. This curse and denunciation Charles had taken as an omen of doom for the De Haldimar family. When Klinck
removes that passage in which Frederick recollects the French officer and Frederick's reaction to the "mysterious enemy", he is removing another parallel within the novel, that of the thinking of the two brothers. By removing this passage Klinck also removes Richardson's blaming of the European-raised Wacousta for much of the Indians' hostility toward the English garrisons.

Similarly, Klinck cuts the ironical passage which expresses Frederick's disgust for Wacousta's hatred of the De Haldimars:

"If you are in reality a French officer . . . and not an Englishman, as your accent would denote, the sentiments you have now avowed may well justify the belief that you have been driven with ignominy from a service which your presence must eternally have disgraced. There is no country in Europe that would willingly claim you for its subject. Nay, even the savage race, with whom you are now connected, would, if apprised of your true nature, spurn you as a thing unworthy to herd even with their wolf-dogs." (MUS.216-17)

The irony of this statement is disclosed later when Wacousta narrates his history to Clara de Haldimar and shows that he was noble and honourable until betrayed by Governor de Haldimar. Klinck also omits Wacousta's dramatic and characteristic response to Frederick's taunt:

"Ignominy—ignominy!" he repeated, while his right hand played convulsively with the handle of his tomahawk . . . . Then, abruptly quitting the handle of his weapon, he thrust his hand into his bosom, and again drawing forth the reeking scalp of Donellan, he dashed it furiously in the face of his prisoner. "Not two hours since," he exclaimed, "I cheered myself with the thought that the scalp of a De Haldimar was in my pouch. Now, indeed, do I glory in my mistake. The torture will be a more fitting death for you." (MUS.217)

Frederick would have retaliated to Wacousta's response had he
not been bound: "As it was, he could only betray by his flashing eye, excited look, and the impatient play of his foot upon the ground, the deep indignation that consumed his heart."

(MUS.217) But again Klinck's editing affects the novel, this time leaving out Wacousta's quickness and Frederick's equivocations. Frederick's "impatient play of his foot upon the ground" attracted Wacousta's attention to the movement:

"Ha! what means this disguise? Who is the wretch whom I have slain, mistaking him for a nobler victim, and how comes it that an officer of the English garrison appears here in the garb of a servant? By heaven, it is so! you are come as a spy into the camp of the Indians to steal away the counsels of the chiefs. (MUS.217-18)

Wacousta is right of course in his charge and Frederick has to lie in rather ungentlemanly manner to try to save both himself and Oucanasta, even though his lie compromises her:

"There are few of the Ottawa Indians . . . who are ignorant that I once saved that young woman's life. Is it, then, so very extraordinary an attachment should have been the consequence? The man whom you slew was my servant. I had brought him out with me for protection during my interview with the woman, and I exchanged my uniform with him for the same purpose. There is nothing in this, however, to warrant the supposition of my being a spy." (MUS.218)

Wacousta then exhibits the rope the soldiers used to leave the fort, and calls De Haldimar a liar. This rope is one found in François' auberge and is part of the evidence that convinced Governor de Haldimar of Frank Halloway's treason. Klinck omits Wacousta's explanation of how he used this rope to gain entry into Fort Détroit, an explanation which accounts for the fear and agitation of the Governor when he sounded the alarm. It also accounts for the Governor's unshakable belief that
Frederick did not abandon his guard but was abducted by Wacousta. Had he known of this explanation, a reader could better judge the Governor's actions:

"Soo you this, Captain Do Holdmar? At the still hour of midnight, while you had abandoned your guard to revel in the arms of your Indian beauty, I stole into the fort by means of the same rope that you had used in quitting it. Unseen by the sentinels I gained your father's apartment. It was the first time we had met for twenty years. [;] and I do believe that had the very devil presented himself in my place he would have been received with fewer marks of horror. Oh, how that proud man's eye quailed beneath this glittering blade! He attempted to call out, but my look paralyzed his tongue, and cold drops of sweat stole rapidly down his brow and cheek. Then it was that my seared heart once more beat with the intoxication of triumph. Your father was alone and unarmed, and throughout the fort not a sound was to be heard save the distant tread of the sentinels. I could have laid him dead at my feet at a single blow, and yet have secured my retreat. But no, that was not my object. I came to taunt him with the promise of my revenge—to tell him the hour of my triumph was approaching fast! and, ha!" he concluded, laughing hideously as he passed his large rude hand through the wavy hair of the now uncovered officer, "this is, indeed, a fair and unexpected first earnest of the full redemption of my pledge."

(MUS. 220-21)

Having edited out essential information in the confrontation scene between Wacousta and Frederick, Klinck further alters the sense of Frederick's escape. Richardson's version accounts for every minute from Frederick's capture before dawn until his escape at noon. In the NCL chapter corresponding to the final chapter of the first volume of the original edition, the execution chapter, and to what remains of the Musson edition, Klinck follows Richardson's description of the fleeing man, of Frederick "naked to the waist, his body and face besmeared with streaks of black and red paint... flying down the height with a rapidity proportioned to the extreme
peril in which he stood." (NCL.84) Because of the paint no one recognised him except Halloway. And because the Governor does not recognise his son he believes that Halloway hails the approach of the pursuing Wacousta. Consequently, Halloway seals his own doom.

The same paint had allowed Frederick to escape successfully from the Indian encampment, but this fact does not appear in the NCL version. In Richardson's version, after his capture but before being tied to a tree in the Indian camp where he remains all morning, Frederick is given a coat of war paint; Klinck omits this passage in which Frederick had gained that protective colouring which led to the Governor's sudden decision to execute Halloway. Several Indians, one of them possibly Oucanasta's brother,

approached the unhappy officer, and unfastening the thong with which his hands were firmly and even painfully girt, deprived him both of coat, waistcoat and shirt. He was then bound a second time in the same manner, his body besmeared with paint, and his head so disguised as to give him the caricature semblance of an Indian warrior. (MUS.222-23)

Klinck also omits Frederick's anguish as, tied to that tree, he hears the shots fired during the clash between the soldiers and the Indians during the sortie to recover the body on the common, the body which turned out to be that of Donellan.

From that time until noon the Indians bury their dead. This burial scene, like other descriptions of Indian customs omitted by Klinck, focuses on Richardson's understanding of the "superstitious" Indians. And, considering Richardson's
recognition as a writer of Indian tales, his use of Indian character and culture is a key to his writing. Also, some critics, such as Desmond Pacey and David Beasley, insist that Richardson was part Indian and that he was aware of his Native origins. The omitted description of the burial certainly indicates something of Richardson's knowledge of Indian customs:

The early part of the morning wore away in preparation for the interment of the slain. These were placed in rows under the council shed, where they were attended by their female relatives, who composed the features and confined the limbs, while the gloomy warriors dug within the limit of the encampment rude graves of a depth just sufficient to receive the body. When these were completed the dead were deposited, with the usual superstitious ceremonies of these people, in their several receptacles, after which a mound of earth was thrown up over each, and the whole covered with round logs, so disposed as to form a tomb of semi-circular shape. At the head of each grave was finally planted a pole bearing various devices in paint, intended to illustrate the warlike achievements of the defunct parties. (MUS.226)

In compressing Frederick's ordeal and his escape into a few paragraphs and a few minutes Klinck leaves out important events and makes Richardson's narrative foolish. In the original Frederick learns of Wacousta's hatred and power but in the NCL Frederick never hears of Wacousta's firing on the execution detachment from Fort Détroit, of Wacousta's return to the Indian camp, and his discussion with Ponteac in which the Indian leader rebuked Wacousta for attacking the English earlier in the morning. Nor in the NCL do we learn of Frederick's fear while a captive of Wacousta who fixed his dark and menacing eye on his captive, and was already in the act of approaching him when the earnest and repeated demands for his presence by the Ottawa chief [Ponteac] drew him once more to the outskirt of the wood.
Again Captain De Haldimar breathed freely. The presence of that fierce man had been a clog upon the vital functions of his heart. . . . (MUS.229)

Omitting Frederick's fear, Klinck also omits Frederick's exuberance and his loyalty to the British army. Still tied to his tree and catching a glimpse of Halloway's execution party in the distance, Frederick is momentarily elated. Thinking that the regiment is going to the Indian camp, and not knowing that it is apparently out on order to execute Frederick's loyal follower,

Oh, how his generous heart throbbed at that moment, and how ardently did he wish that he could have stood in the position of the meanest soldier in those gallant ranks! Perhaps his own brave and devoted Grenadiers were of the number, burning with enthusiasm to be led against the captors or destroyers of their officer, and this thought added to his wretchedness still more. (MUS.229)

But the irony of this passage is lost to the reader, thanks to Klinck. To one knowing the unbending and despotic character of the Colonel, it is ironic that his son could wish to be the "meanest soldier" in the ranks no matter what his situation. But the greatest irony is in his hope that the soldiers from the fort are attempting a rescue or an act of vengeance against the Indians. Revenge, remember, is largely responsible for placing Frederick in his present lamentable position. Furthermore, the Colonel, frightened and deluded, deploys his troops within sight of the Indians in order to execute one of his own soldiers in an attempt to frighten Wacousta and the Indians who he thinks are in league with the innocent Frank Halloway, who is, in reality, another Reginald Morton, Wacousta's nephew.
And finally, by his deletions, Klinck makes Frederick's escape farcical. No white man could possibly go through the Indian encampment disguised merely as Klinck would have Frederick disguised, almost as a British servant-soldier. Klinck omits the passages which describe Frederick's "disguise", the Indians' painting him to resemble a caricature of themselves. In Klinck's version Frederick merely took "the precaution to disguise his walk by turning in his toes after the Indian manner" (NCL, 156), and boldly walking past the Indians who were intently watching the British execution party. But Oucanasta's brother freed Frederick, cut his bonds, and Frederick, already painted, picked up an Indian blanket before escaping. Explaining Frederick's predicament, Richardson points out the importance of the concealing blanket:

The first thought of the officer was to seize one of these [blankets], for in order to gain the point where [whence] his final effort to join the detachment must be made, it was necessary he should pass through the body of scattered Indians who stood immediately in his way, and the disguise of the blanket could alone afford him a reasonable chance of moving unnoticed among them. Secretly congratulating himself on the insulting mockery that had inducted his upper form in the disguising war-paint of his enemies, he now drew the protecting blanket close up to his eyes, and then, with every nerve braced up, every faculty of mind and body called into action, commenced his dangerous enterprise. (MUS. 230-31)

Klinck later has Frederick drop a blanket before beginning his long run, but through Klinck's editing the NCL edition never accounts for Frederick's having a blanket to drop.

Frederick's escape is not nearly so simple as Klinck suggests, nor is it without peril. Even in the Musson Frederick
only takes a few steps before he sees Wacousta approaching:

To appear to avoid him [Wacousta] would be to excite the suspicion of the fierce warrior, and, desperate as the alternative was, he [Frederick] resolved to move undeviatingly forward. At each step that drew him nearer to his enemy the beating of his heart became more violent, and had it not been for the thick coat of paint in which he was invested the involuntary contraction of the muscles of his face must inevitably have betrayed him. Nay, even as it was, had the keen eye of the warrior fallen on him, such was the agitation of the officer, he felt he must have been discovered. Happily, however, Wacousta, who evidently took him for some inferior warrior hastening to the point where his fellows were already assembled, passed without deigning to look at him, and so close their forms almost touched. (MUS.231)

But even this close call is not his last one, for Wacousta still would have captured him had not Oucanasta's brother again intervened:

... the terrible Wacousta, who had been seeking his victim in a different quarter, bounded forward to the front with an eye flashing fire and a brow compressed into the fiercest hate, and so stupendous were his efforts, so extraordinary was his speed, that, had it not been for the young Ottawa chief, who was one of the pursuing party and who, under the pretence of assisting in the recapture of the prisoner, sought every opportunity of throwing himself before and embarrassing the movements of his enemy [Wacousta], it is highly probable the latter would have succeeded. (MUS.233)

In allowing Frederick to outrun Wacousta unaided, Klinck furthers the unheroic Frederick's role as a hero.

An early reviewer thought that one of the best parts of the novel took place on the schooner after the Indians' capture of Fort Michillimackinac. Waldie probably thought so too because he limits his abridging to bowdlerizing and to cutting two or three passages of romantic enthusiasm. On the other hand, Klinck here also eliminates passages essential to the
story, to characters, and to Richardson's attitude to the Indian.

His first abridgement in this section affects Frederick's character and Richardson's characterisation, or rather caricature, of François the innkeeper in whose auberge the Governor's troops found the escape rope. Having determined to seek the presumably captured Madeline, and refusing the proffered help of Sir Everard, Frederick says that "François must be my only companion on this occasion." (NCL.188) And in Klinck's version this is the end of the discussion, Mullins interrupting and suggesting his captive Indian would be a better guide than François.

But Klinck has left out Frederick's reason for refusing Sir Everard's companionship on this adventure. Frederick wants Sir Everard to remain on hand with Clara de Haldimar, Frederick's sister:

"Recollect, Valletort . . . that besides yourself there will be none near her [his sister Clara] but rude and uneducated sailors; honest men enough in their way, it is true; but not the sort of people to whom I should like to confide my poor sister." (MUS.270)

Gaining Sir Everard's acquiescence with this hint of what Clara could expect at the hands of the sailors if she were abandoned by both officers, Frederick seeks out François in order to ask his assistance in the project. Klinck omits Richardson's description of the slovenly François:

. . . mine host of the Fleur de Lis [was] seated in the forecastle of the schooner, and with an air of the most
perfect unconcern discussing a substantial meal, consisting of dried uncooked venison, raw onions and Indian corn bread, the contents of a large bag or wallet that lay at his feet. (MUS.271)

Waldie had cut out Richardson's first description of François in the early part of the novel, and omitted such statements as "he was dressed in one of those thick [blanket] coats... which even to this day, are so generally worn by the Canadians..." (TC.I.237) Richardson had had other fine details about François:

his face was ruddy and shining as that of any rival Boniface among the race of the hereditary enemies of his forefathers; and his thick short neck, and round fat person, attested he was no more an enemy to the good things of this world than themselves, while he was as little oppressed by its cares: his nether garments were of a coarse blue homespun, and his feet were protected by that rudest of all rude coverings, the Canadian shoe-pack. This was composed of a single piece of stiff brown leather, curved and puckered round the sides and front, where it was met by a tongue of softer material, which helped to confine it in that position, and form the shoe. A bandana handkerchief fell from his neck upon his chest; the covering of which was so imperfectly drawn, as to disclose a quantity of long, coarse, black, and grisly hair. (TC.I.237-38)

Further eliminating François from the novel Klinck omits

105 The "Boniface" allusion sets the tone of Richardson's characterisation. The O.E.D. defines "Boniface" as "The name of the jovial innkeeper in Farquhar's Beaux' Strategem 1707; whence taken as the generic proper name of innkeeper; 'mine host', or 'the landlord' of the inn." But François is also a guide, although acting always under duress, or so it seems in Klinck's version.

106 This description of the Canadian shoe-pack, incidentally, ought to be of interest to historians and particularly to the editors of A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles who were unable to uncover such an early description of this species of footwear, probably because they had few complete texts for sources.
Frederick's request to the Canadian that he go with him on this dangerous mission, and he omits François' important response:

"I shall go to de devile for you, Capitaine, if we must," he said, as he raised his portly form, not without effort, from the deck, slapping the shoulder of the officer at the same time somewhat rudely with his hand. There was nothing, however, offensively familiar in this action. It expressed merely the devotedness of heart with which the man lent himself to the service to which he had pledged himself, and was rather complimentary than otherwise to him to whom it was directed. Captain De Haldimar took it in the light in which we have just shown it, and he grasped and shook the rough hand of the Canadian with an earnestness highly gratifying to the latter. (MUS.271)

Clearly, the unabridged edition of Wacousta needs to be consulted in order to uncover Richardson's attitude towards French-speaking Canadians. Moreover, Frederick's response to François' loyalty is a much-needed contrast to the sailor Mullins' comment that "there is another chap here as might better serve your honor's purpose than that 'ere fat Canadian, who seems to think only of stuffing while his betters are fasting." (MUS.272; see NCL.189)

Up to the time of the sailor's comment about his Indian prisoner being a better guide than François, Frederick seems ignorant of the prisoner's presence on board the schooner. Frederick's response to this information is not nearly so mild as Klinck's version makes out. Mullins' narration of what he had thought of doing to the Indian is omitted:

Jack never seed him coming until he felt his black hands upon his throat, and then he ups with the tiller at his noddle and sends him floundering across the boat's thwarts
like a flat-fish. I thought, your honor, seeing as how I have got the command of the schooner, of tying him up to the mainmast, and giving him two or three round dozen or so and then sending him to swim among the mascannungy with a twenty-four pound shot in his neckcloth. . . ." (MUS.272)

Klinck's version of Frederick's response to Mullins' narration is short and almost careless: "'At all events,' returned the officer, after a pause of some moments, 'I should like to see and question him.'" (NCL.189) Richardson's version is full and logical:

"'At all events,' returned the officer, after a pause of some moments, during which he appeared to be deliberating on his course of action, 'it may be dangerous to keep him in the vessel, and yet if we take him ashore he may be the means of our more immediate destruction, unless, indeed, as you observe, he can be so secured as to prevent the possibility of escape, but that I very much doubt indeed. Where is he, Mullins? I should like to see and question him.'" (MUS.272)

At this point Frederick thinks he has a dangerous prisoner on board, and is at a loss to know as how to deal with him. The omitted part of the discussion creates a tension that is soon resolved in favour of the Indian only to be later rekindled, and then finally mysteriously resolved. All these movements are lost in Klinck's editing.

The Indian is brought on deck, "his hands secured behind him" (NCL.189), yet according to Klinck he escapes from the schooner without being released from his bonds. A miraculous escape indeed. Or so Klinck would have his readers believe. Klinck includes the information that "it was impossible" for Captain De Haldimar to distinguish the features of the Indian (MUS.273; NCL.189), but omits the first words of that sentence.
which explains why Frederick is unable to recognize him: "In the increasing gloom, in which objects were now gradually becoming more and more indistinct. . . ." (MUS.272-73) More important, Klinck leaves out Frederick's actions when he finally does identify the Indian as the helpful young chief at the Indian encampment, Oucanasta's brother:

To glance his eye hurriedly over the paper [a note which Fuller had given him] by the light of a dark lanthorn that had meanwhile been brought upon the deck, unclasp his hunting-knife, and divide the ligatures of the captive, and then warmly press his liberated hands within his own, were with Captain De Haldimar but the work of a minute. (MUS.273)

The sailors' response to this startling action, also omitted by Klinck, works to undermine the built-up tension:

"Hilloa! what the devil way does the wind blow now?" muttered Fuller, the leer of self-satisfaction that had hitherto played in his eye rapidly giving place to an air of seriousness and surprise, an expression that was not at all diminished by an observation from his new commander.

"I tell you what it is, Jack," said the latter [Mullins], impressively; "I don't pretend to have more gumption (discernment)107 than my messmates; but I can see through a millstone as clear as any man as ever heaved a lead in these here lakes, and may I never [pipe] boatswain's whistle again if you ain't somehow or other in the wrong box. That 'ere Ingin's one of us!" (MUS.273-74)

Richardson had also used the scene of the captive young Ottawa on the boat as a springboard for ideas of the Indian character, for the scene gives information about Richardson's understanding of the Indian character not found elsewhere.

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107 This parenthetical comment has been faithfully reproduced since the first edition, the 1832 London T. Cadell edition, which read "(qu. discernment?)". (TC.II.317) Such a questioning of the author's language is probably not because of Richardson himself, but rather because of a puzzled compositor.
And perhaps this passage gives some clue to the motives for the young chief's acting the part of Wacousta's executioner at the end of the novel:

He [Frederick] knew enough of the Indian character to understand the indignant and even revengeful spirit likely to be aroused by the treatment the savage had met with in return for his intended services. He was aware that, without pausing to reflect on the fact that the sailor, ignorant of his actual purpose, could merely have seen in him an enemy in the act of attempting his life, the chief would only consider and inflame himself over the recollection of the blow inflicted, and that with the true obstinacy of his race he would rather suffer captivity or death itself than humble the haughty pride of his nature by condescending to an explanation with those by whom he felt himself so deeply injured. (MUS.275)

Klinck cuts Richardson's explanation of that note which had been written by Frederick and given to Oucanasta for delivery to Fort Michillimackinac. In the explanation Richardson refers to a scene previously omitted by Klinck, the romantic one of the "fatal log". As Klinck's version stands Frederick wrote the note while in the inky darkness of the hollow tree on the border of the Indian camp just before his capture. Klinck also cuts out Richardson's explanation of the "enigma" of the young Indian having the note that Frederick gave to Oucanasta, who in turn gave it to her brother. Klinck confuses this part of the narrative further by leaving in "the cry of the captive" (NCL.191) when no cry has occurred in his version. Still another sentence makes no sense in the NCL edition:

"Another deep and exulting 'ugh!' was now heaved from the chest of the Indian." (NCL.191) The Indian had not, in Klinck's version only, previously uttered the slightest sound. But
Richardson is not the careless writer Klinck makes him out to be. After figuring out the enigma of the note, in Richardson’s version Frederick "received no confirmation" from the captive Indian. (MUS.275) This silence does not surprise Frederick because he thinks he understands the Indian character well enough to account for it. Klinck also leaves out Frederick’s sympathetic response which loosens the Indian’s tongue:

The address of the officer, touching and impressive as language ever is that comes from the heart, was not altogether without effect on the Indian. Several times he interrupted him with a short, quick, approving "ugh!" and when he at length received the assurance that he was no longer a prisoner, he raised his eyes rapidly; although without moving his head, to the countenance of his deliverer. Already were his lips opening to speak for the first time when the attention of the group around him was arrested by his giving a sudden start of surprise. At the same moment he raised his head, stretched his neck, threw forward his right ear, and uttering a loud and emphatic "wauugh!" pointed with his finger over the bows of the vessel. (MUS.276)

This last movement gives a new direction to the interest of the ship’s company:

All listened for upwards of a minute in mute suspense, and then a faint and scarcely distinguishable sound was heard in the direction in which he pointed. Scarcely had it floated on the air when a shrill, loud and prolonged cry of peculiar tendency burst hurriedly and eagerly from the lips of the captive, and spreading over the broad expanse of water, seemed to be re-echoed back from every point of the surrounding shore. (MUS.276)

This cry rekindles the tension suspended by Frederick’s actions in the omitted passages. The cry, misunderstood by the sailors, once again puts the Indian’s life in jeopardy:

Great was the confusion that followed this startling yell on the decks of the schooner. "Cut the hellfiend down!" "Chuck him overboard!" "We are betrayed!" "Every man to his
gun!" "Put the craft about!" were among the numerous exclamations that now rose simultaneously from at least twenty lips and almost drowned the loud shriek that burst again from the wretched Clara De Haldimar. (MUS.276)

In omitting this scene, Klinck strips the energy and drama from Richardson's writing. He also leaves out Frederick's intervention on behalf of the Indian:

"Stop, Mullins! Stop, men!" shouted Captain De Haldimar, firmly, as the excited boatswain, with two or three of his companions, now advanced with the intention of laying violent hands on the Indian. "I will answer for his fidelity with my life. If he be false it will be time enough to punish him afterwards, but let us calmly await the issue like men. Hear me," he proceeded, as he remarked their incredulous uncertain, and still threatening air, "this Indian saved me from the tomahawks of his tribe not a week ago, and even now he has become our captive in the act of taking a note from me to the garrison to warn them of their danger. But for that slumbering fool," he added, bitterly, pointing to Fuller, "who slept when he should have watched, yon fort would not have been what it is--a mass of smoking ruins. He has an ocean of blood upon his soul that all the waters of the Huron can never wash out!" (MUS.276-77)

These omitted passages tend to place Frederick in a favourable light, and place the Indian in an even better light at the expense of the unruly sailors. Frederick's defense of the Indian produces another effect on the sailors, one also omitted by Klinck:

Struck by the vehement manner of the officer, and the disclosure he had just made, the sailors sunk once more into inaction and silence. The boatswain alone spoke:

"I thought, your honor, as how Jack Fuller, who sartinly is a better hand at a snooze than a watch, had got into a bit of a mess, but shiver my topsails if I think it's quite fair to blame him, neither, for clapping a stopper on the Ingin's cable, seeing as how he was expecting a shot between wind and water. Still, as the chap turns out to be an honest chap, and has saved your honor's life, above all, I don't much care if I give him a grip. Here, old fellow, tip us your fist!" (MUS.277)
The Indian, of course, ignores the now friendly crew. And knowing he was subjected to such treatment on the schooner, the reader can better account for his silent and unnoticed escape. But certainly not an escape still in bonds. Richardson's version of the scene, as it takes place in the last chapter of Volume II, is more interesting and exciting than Klinck's because the characters and events unfold in their logical connection with the rest of the novel.

Nor do other parts of the novel escape Klinck's busy blue pencil. Madeline is really suffering from the same prophetic curse as that shouted by Ellen Halloway, and Madeline does not know that the retribution she calls for should fall on the head of her uncle Governor de Haldimar, Frederick's father. Klinck omits a conference between Mullins, Frederick, and Sir Everard which determines the course of the schooner and their attempt to try and reach Fort Détroit. Equally important, Klinck cuts an extended passage describing Madeline's ordeal in Fort Michillimackinac during the Indian attack, a passage which includes the account of her rescue by Oucanasta. He cuts several pages of text dealing with Madeline's return to consciousness on board the schooner after having her saved from Fort Michillimackinac and brought to the schooner in Oucanasta's canoe. One deleted passage involves a positive irony:

Imagination itself would find difficulty in supplying the harrowing effect upon all, when, with upraised hands and on her bended knees, her large eyes turned wildly up to
heaven, she invoked in deep and startling accents the terrible retribution of a just God on the inhuman murderers of her father. . . . (Mus.288)

Following Waldie's lead, Klinck had excised the chapter Richardson devoted to explaining the character and conduct of Governor de Haldimar and made him an even more reprehensible and distasteful a character than Waldie made him. And in a final fit of destruction Klinck suppresses the entire Chapter XII of Volume III of the original. This chapter originally contained the soldiers' discussion of Wacousta's capture, where "much of the marvellous was necessarily mixed up with truth in their narrative. . . ." (Mus.403) and "all concurred in opinion that the death of the unfortunate young officer [Charles] was a judgment on their colonel for the little mercy he had extended to the noble-hearted Halloway." (Mus.403) Charles de Haldimar is the central figure of this chapter. Indeed, most of the action in it takes place at his death-bed. In a later unabridged chapter, when proclaiming the "infamy" of the Governor in front of the troops, Wacousta explains that he himself had become an outlaw because of De Haldimar's villainy. This chapter says that Wacousta's declaration came as no surprise to Sir Everard and Captain Blessington. What is missing is why it came as no surprise to Blessington. This information had come to him from Sir Everard in that omitted chapter:

"Will you believe, Blessington, that [that] man, whose enmity to our colonel seems almost devilish, was once an officer in this very regiment? . . . That man, savage and
even fiendish as he now is, was once possessed of the noblest qualities. I am sorry to say it, but Colonel De Haldimar has brought this present affliction upon himself."

(MUS.408)

In that deleted chapter comes the solemn betrothal of Clara de Haldimar and Sir Everard Valletort over the corpse of Charles. In the following chapter Clara rushes from the piazza of Charles' apartment and denounces Wacousta for having caused Charles' death. Sir Everard, who recognizes "death" in Wacousta's "very presence", makes a fateful exclamation: "Clara, my beloved wife! . . . pollute not your lips by further communion with such a wretch. . . ." (NCL.285) While the troops are astonished, the haughty Governor is indignant. On hearing of the relationship between his daughter and Lieutenant Valletort, the annoyed and belligerant Colonel exclaims, "Your wife, sir! . . . what mean you?" (NCL.285-86) The vehemence of his language takes the attention of the troops away from Wacousta, and this short distraction allows him time to seize Clara and escape from the fort. Klinck's omitting of the events which make sense of this escape is only the last of the many omissions and tamperings which, combined with those of Waldie and the intervening corrupt editions, destroy Richardson's novel.
Chapter 5

Criticism: A Century of Misinformation

Major John Richardson's literary reputation is built on *Wacousta*, yet critics are obviously unaware of the tortured textual history of that novel. Neither critics nor bibliographers have attempted to uncover an authorial edition of Richardson's best known work, the first important Canadian novel. And certainly no one has thought of bringing out a definitive edition. Criticism based on a Waldie version of, say 1833, or, worse still, on the Klinck version of 1967, is misleading at best. Critical and bibliographical commentary on *Wacousta* indicates some of the pitfalls besetting scholarship not grounded on rigorous and exacting textual examination.

By 1867, fifteen years after Richardson's death, Canadians had all but forgotten him. Henry J. Morgan gives inaccurate and incomplete information on Richardson in the *Bibliotheca Canadensis*: "A Can. novelist and journ. B. near Niagara Falls, U.C., 1797. D. in the U.S. some years since."

108 Morgan refers to the "well-known" novel *Wacousta*, but records only one edition: "I. *Wacousta; or the Prophecy: an Indian Tale. London:—Philadelphia, 1833, 2 vols., 12mo." 109 Unfortunately, Morgan is


109 Ibid., p.319.
totally confused about the title, place and date of publication, number of volumes, and format. The edition he describes must be the 1833 Philadelphia Key and Biddle text, which is the third impression of the 1833 Philadelphia Waldie's Select Circulating Library pirated and abridged edition. The word "London" in the Morgan entry suggests that Morgan was aware of a London edition, but had not seen a copy. Although he records the size and number of volumes of the 1833 Key and Biddle, he records the sub-title of the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport. Furthermore, Morgan lists only the pirated New York edition of Ecarté; Or, The Salons of Paris, and seems unaware that Matilda Montgomerie is an Americanized and abridged edition of The Canadian Brothers. But then he also thought that Richardson's Tecumseh was a novel, not a poem.

Omissions and inaccuracies may be expected in such a work as Morgan's Bibliotheca Canadensis, given the nature of the undertaking and the limited resources available to produce it. But Morgan's entry on Richardson shows how little Canadians valued their first professional writer, one who gained international recognition: Morgan could not discover Richardson's correct birthdate, where he was born, when he died, or where.

Such ignorance of Canadians about their own writers did not go entirely unnoticed. The words of Edward Hartley DeWart, Canada's first anthologist, written even before Confederation, ought still to echo in the minds of Canadian academics:
There is probably no country in the world, making equal pretensions to intelligence and progress, where the claims of native literature are so little felt, and where every effort . . . has been met with so much coldness and indifference, as in Canada. And what is more to be deprecated than neglect of our most meritorious authors, is the almost universal absence of interest and faith in all indigenous literary productions, and the undisturbed satisfaction with a state of things, that, rightly viewed, should be regarded as a national reproach. 110

Even now Canadian universities offer little encouragement to scholars in Canadian literature. Scholarship, to be done properly, calls for many resources: the literature and literary documents must be preserved, collected, catalogued; and trained scholars must be given the opportunity to deal with the material. But Canadian universities, and other trustees of the Canadian cultural wealth, are still as colonial-minded as those cold and indifferent Canadians Edward Hartley Dewart reproached in his introduction to that 1864 anthology of Canadian poets.

As early as 1883 Sir Charles G.D. Roberts recognized that Canadian universities were not interested or involved in Canadian culture. He told his University of New Brunswick audience that "We have what are too much universities in Canada rather than Canadian universities." 111 To Know Ourselves, a recent report of the Commission on Canadian Studies, arrives at a

110 Edward Hartley Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets; with occasional Critical and Biographical Notes, and an Introductory Essay on Canadian Poetry (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), p.x.

startlingly similar conclusion: "As things now stand, there are few other countries in the world . . . that pay so little attention to the study of their own culture. . . ."\footnote{112}

At the same time, Roberts indicates another influence that has helped cast Major John Richardson, and other early prose fiction writers, into oblivion. Fiction has always been ranked lower than poetry in Canada, but is perhaps not rated as low as when Roberts praised the poets Fréchette, Crémazie, Lemay, Heavysege, Reade, Hunter-Duvar, Mrs. MacLean, and C.P. Mulvaney; he had almost nothing to say of fiction:

\begin{quote}
In fiction we have many names, though few of them are prominent. We have all heard though probably few of us have read of Kirby's 'Le Chien d'Or;' and Professor de Mille's novels have had a wide circulation. With these exceptions, I am unable to speak from knowledge on this department of Canadian letters.\footnote{113}
\end{quote}

Although fiction has a long and illustrious history, it did not gain the kind of critical acceptance it deserves until the twentieth century.

John George Bourinot, an influential and respected Canadian critic writing in 1893, scorned the value of fiction, dismissed American and continental trends in a brief phrase, and simply did not believe that Canadians had yet produced anything worthwhile in this field:

\begin{quote}
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... if Canada can point to some creditable achievement of recent years in history, poetry and essay-writing ... there is one respect in which Canadians have never won any marked success, and that is in the novel or romance.114

Bourinot's attitude to fiction is conservative and condescending:

I do not for one depreciate the influence of good fiction on the minds of a reading community like ours; it is inevitable that a busy people, and especially women distracted with household cares, should always find that relief in this branch of literature which no other reading can give them; and if the novel has then become a necessity of the times in which we live, at all events I hope Canadians, who may soon venture into the field, will study the better models, endeavour to infuse some originality into their creations and plots, and not bring the Canadian fiction of the future to that low level to which the school of realism in France, and in a minor degree in England and the United States, would degrade the novel and story of everyday life.115

Obviously no lover of novels, he said of Wacousta that "it was at best a spirited imitation of Cooper, and has not retained the interest it attracted at a time when the American novelist had created a taste for exaggerated pictures of Indian life and forest scenery."116 And some of his other comments on novels reflect and perhaps contribute to the tendency of Canadian critics to glance at nineteenth-century Canadian fiction and glance with a dim and hostile eye.

Bourinot probably read the 1833 Key and Biddle Wacousta. Even if his criticism is correct, his biographical note is

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115 Ibid., p.30.
116 Ibid., p.27.
Major Richardson was born at Niagara Falls in 1797. . . . He wrote a number of novels and short histories of Canadian events, but they are now all forgotten. His historical narrative is not generally trustworthy, while his later romances never even came up to the merit of "Yacousta." He died in obscurity some time after 1854--I cannot find the exact year--in the United States, where he attempted to continue a career of literature.  

Bourinot used Morgan's Bibliotheca as a major source for material on Canadian writers and as a matter of course duplicates Morgan's errors.

Within a few years attitudes toward Canadian fiction began to change. This new trend is best reflected in a renewed interest in bibliography, at least partially set in motion by the Royal Society of Canada. In 1895 William G. Macfarlane produced New Brunswick Bibliography: The Books and Writers of the Province. In 1896 Willet Ricketson Haight, a Toronto bookseller, published Canadian Catalogue of Books, an attempt to cover the nineteenth century. Poetry, always first in the minds of many critics in this country, was catalogued by Charles Cannif James in 1899, under the title A Bibliography of Canadian Poetry (English). Lawrence J. Burpee, a member of the Royal Society, private secretary to Sir Oliver Mowat and Hon. D. Mills, and later Librarian of the Carnegie Public Library in Ottawa, prepared A Canadian Bibliography of the Year 1901 for the Society. Burpee was surprised in 1901 at the existence of any Canadian fiction at all:

117 Bourinot, Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness, p. 82.
When the subject first suggested itself to me, I felt that there was scarcely sufficient substance in it for even a short paper; but upon making a careful examination of the field, it appeared that, instead of existing material being meagre, I should have to resort to rigid compression to keep the paper within reasonable bounds. 118

Burpee signifies a change in attitude from that of Bourinot to a more open and patriotic or nationalistic view of Canadian literary history. In 1904 Burpee, with Lewis Emerson Horning, produced A Bibliography of Canadian Fiction (English). Such is the state of Canadian bibliography that these catalogues or checklists—for they are none of them descriptive bibliographies—still have not been replaced by more accurate and up-to-date bibliographies of individual authors, presses, genre, or period. The sole exception is Marie Tremain's Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751–1800 published in 1952.

Nevertheless, these pioneer efforts in scholarship did stimulate interest and provide a source of material. While compiling his catalogue of Canadian fiction Burpee prepared an article on Canadian novels and novelists. As an indication of a change in attitude, he praises Major John Richardson as "the Father of the historical novel in Canada," 119 but bases his information on the inaccurate Morgan rather than on an

118 Lawrence J. Burpee, "Canadian Novels and Novelists", Sewanee Review, 11, 4 (October 1903), p.385; this paper was first read before the Literary and Scientific Society of Ottawa on Feb.8, 1901.

119 Ibid., p.387.
intimate knowledge of the works of the author.

In 1902 Alexander Clark Casselman edited Richardson's *War of 1812* and included the first detailed attempt at Richardson's biography and bibliography. Casselman discovered that Canadians had indeed forgotten Richardson:

The preparation of the biography of Major John Richardson entailed a large amount of independent research. Before I had gone far in the study of his career I found that all existing biographies were meagre, fragmentary or wrong in many important details.¹²⁰

Casselman reveals correctly that Richardson was born on October 4, 1796 at Queenston, Upper Canada, and died in New York City on May 12, 1852. Still, Casselman's biography is not a full-length study of Richardson and, furthermore, it is marred by errors and a kind of uncritical enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, Casselman is in many ways central to Richardson criticism. Casselman renewed interest in Richardson, in fact, and was for many years the main authority. His edition of Richardson's history of the War of 1812 is the first Canadian edition of any of Richardson's works since the Lovell edition of *Wacousta* in 1868. Casselman's is the first scholarly work to defend Richardson against the charges of imitation levelled by Bourinot.

Besides writing the first detailed biographical sketch of Richardson, Casselman attempted a descriptive bibliography of Richardson's writings. Casselman's success in description

is only moderate, and he inaugurates an error which has adhered to Wacousta ever since. Believing the statement "Revised edition" on the title-page of the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport Wacousta to mean "revised by the author", Casselman asserts that "Wacousta' and 'Ecarté' were revised by the author and published in cheap octavo form, the former by Robert M. De Witt and the latter by Dewitt and Davenport in 1851."121 Considering his assertion that "Every positive statement in the biography is made on the authority of documentary evidence in my possession",122 it is not surprising that later scholars took him at his word. But that Richardson did not revise Wacousta is now incontestable.

Casselman's extremely laudatory attitude towards Richardson probably accounts for some of the errors. Believing the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport Wacousta to be the authorial one, Casselman quite naturally considered Richardson's new introduction for this American publisher to be the author's last word on the subject. And, because Casselman probably edited the 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition of Wacousta, his defense of Richardson against charges of imitating Cooper reveals some interesting insights into Canadian editing and criticism.

The sub-title "An Indian Tale" first appeared on the title-page of Wacousta in 1851, indicating the publisher's desire to

121 Casselman, p.xl.
122 Ibid., p.v.
capitalize on the Americans' renewed interest in the Indians and their North America military history. Francis Parkman began writing his *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* in 1848 and published it in 1851. James Fenimore Cooper, the popular and successful writer of Indian tales, died in 1851. For his 1906 *Wacousta* Casselman dropped two paragraphs of Richardson's 1851 introduction. One of those two paragraphs shows Richardson, who was nearly starving at the time, admiring Cooper and pandering to his new American audience:

As the reader may be curious to know on what basis, and in what manner this story (of which I have certainly robbed that first of vigorous American Novelists—the "Last of the Mohicans" Cooper—which tale, albeit I have never read a novel by another author twice, I have absolutely devoured three times,) was suggested to me, and on what particular portions of History the story is founded, I am not aware that this introductory Chapter, which I have promised my Publishers, can be better devoted than to the explanation. 123

This statement, of which Casselman was most certainly aware, would, on the surface, support Bourinot's criticism. But Casselman ignores Richardson's statement even though reiterating much of the material contained elsewhere in that same Richardson 1851 introduction. Considering that Richardson was broke at this time, and for most of his short existence in New York, 124 and that his poverty and unsuccessful attempt to become

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an American author led to his death a year later, he may well have been driven to pander to his American audience. In this introduction Richardson emphasizes the role his grandfather played in bringing supplies to relieve Fort Detroit [sic] during the Indian-English war. The introduction dwells on the grandfather's rewards for this service and on his grandfather's marriage to a member of a well known Detroit family. And Richardson relates the story that so many critics have romantically retold:

It was at Strabane [grandfather Erskine's estate across the river from Detroit] that the old lady, with whom I was a great favorite, used to enchant my young interest by detailing various facts connected with the siege she so well remembered, and infused into me a longing to grow up to manhood that I might write a book about it. The details of the Pontecar plan for the capture of the two forts were what she most enlarged upon, and although a long lapse of years of absence from the scene, and ten thousand incidents of a higher and more immediate importance might have been supposed to weaken the recollections of so early a period of life, the impression has ever vividly remained. Hence the first appearance of Wacousta in London in 1832, more than a quarter of a century later.125

The critics believed and still believe the tale. Casselman embellishes it to include the influences of Richardson's immediate family and even the community of Amherstberg:

In that generation such a home and such a family as those of the Richardsons must have been peculiarly stimulating. The father, combining the strictness of the soldier, the kindness of the physician and the sternness of the judge, commanded the love and respect, not only of his own family, but of the community. . . . The gentler virtues and the gentler graces found their exponent in his mother. Educated

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125 Richardson, Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy. An Indian Tale (New York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1851), pp.v-vi.
at the Convent of Congregation de Notre Dame at Montreal, the foremost institution for young ladies in Canada, Madeleine Richardson, with the national pride of her race [French], taught her children from their earliest years to speak and write the French language. It has been said that he who knows only one language does not know any. In the learning of two languages young Richardson's mind was broadened, his observation quickened, and a nice perception cultivated—perhaps as only years of training in the classroom could have perfected. His quick eye for natural beauty, his power in vivid description and his marvellous ability in handling the sentence, are an inheritance or an acquisition from his vivacious mother.126

How ironic Casselman's romantic gush becomes if Desmond Pacey's idea that Indian blood and not French flows in the veins of Richardson, that Richardson's mother was half Scots and half Indian.

And Casselman reiterates Richardson's story about old Mrs. Erskine, Richardson's grandmother, in this exaggerated fashion:

Here it was [at Strabane] that Mrs. Askin [Erskine in Richardson's introduction] used to tell the boy those thrilling stories of romance, of Detroit, of Michilimackinac, that enchained his young imagination. None made so deep an impression as the crafty and well-conceived plans of Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, and his persistent efforts to capture Fort Detroit. The events of that historic siege were the most exciting episodes in a life not lacking in exciting incidents. She had been an inmate of the fort, and the lapse of time had not bedimmed one of the startling experiences of those eighteen months. Proofs of the power of this accomplished lady as a story-teller still exist. Her youthful listener even at that early age was enkindled with a desire, not to be realized till he had passed through thirty years of vicissitudes in two continents, when in 1832 he gave to the world his masterly "Wacousta."127

None of the critics who retell this story mention that John

was a mere five years old, as Casselman's text substantiates,

126 Casselman, Richardson's War Of 1812, p.xiii.

127 Ibid., pp.xiii-xiv.
when this great influence of the Erskines was wielded nor that it lasted only a few months. And, if Casselman is to be believed, the small backwoods village of Amherstberg was the best and finest place in which to rear a novelist.

But Casselman's romantic enthusiasm for Richardson's idyllic background is really ushered in to dispel forever the accusation that Richardson imitated James Fenimore Cooper. His enthusiastic argument has little to do with the novels of either writer:

The only ground for such an accusation is that both wrote stories with Indians figuring prominently in the foreground. And it is doubtful that Richardson owes more to Cooper's works than the bare suggestion that a romance dealing with the Canadian Indian would prove both popular and successful. For such a work he possessed peculiar qualifications, in power, in material and in desire. His power had already been revealed in "Ecarte"; his material had been gathered from the experiences of his boyhood and the stirring stories he heard from his grandmother; the desire had been enkindled thirty years before when he heard those stories by the open fireplace at Strabane.128

Yet, the only passage in which Richardson openly and unabashedly says he admires Cooper is excised from the 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition of Wacousta, an edition which Casselman probably edited.

Casselman's biography is really valuable only for some names, dates, places, and a few events. The racial ancestry of Madeleine Richardson is still in doubt, as are the events of long periods of John Richardson's life. No one has yet

128 Casselman, Richardson's War Of 1812, p.xix.
finished a complete list of Richardson writings; Morley admits that he has not attempted to compile a list of Richardson's journal articles.

What Casselman's biography did do for Richardson was to push him into the foreground of important Canadian authors. In 1904 Horning and Burpee listed Richardson's fiction in their *A Bibliography of Canadian Fiction (English)* and directed readers to Casselman's *Richardson's War of 1812* for biographical and bibliographical information. In 1906 Archibald MacMurchy in his *Handbook of Canadian Literature* devotes more space to Richardson than to any other author. Curiously, the only other author given nearly as much space as Richardson is Sir Charles G.D. Roberts who, in 1883, was "unable to speak from knowledge" about Canadian fiction and had never heard of Major John Richardson. But in 1906, too, appeared the second Canadian edition of *Wacousta* under the Historical Publishing Company imprint.

Owing to this establishment of Richardson as a foremost Canadian author, later critics could not ignore him. Thomas Guthrie Marquis, before editing William Kirby's *The Golden Dog* for Musson in 1925, had some years earlier commented on the novel as a literary form:

The novel has been to the modern world for over one hundred years what the drama was to the Elizabethan age. The average reader desires knowledge with a sugar coating, and, as a result, men and women of imaginative bent of mind and literary skill find the story the best means of giving pleasure
and instruction. History, politics, manners and even theology have all been served up with the sauce of fiction. 129

Because Casselman helped create interest in Richardson, because Casselman gave some bibliography of Wacousta, Marquis was able to say, correctly, that "in 1832 the publication of Wacousta, by Major John Richardson, marked the true beginning of Canadian fiction." 130 Marquis probably bases his criticism of Wacousta on the 1851 Dewitt and Davenport edition: he is aware of the paragraphs of the introduction of that edition which were missing from later ones. Oddly enough he claims that fur traders figure in Wacousta when, in fact, they do not. 131 And not having read the authorial edition with its early realistic colloquial language, he suggests that the language "is utterly out of keeping with the position and circumstances of the speakers." 132 But even though he is a literary critic and historian with deep-seated prejudices against the value of fiction, Marquis reflects the new status of Richardson.

Retaining its place among Canadian books of literary merit, Wacousta reappeared in new editions in 1923 and 1924.

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130 Ibid., p.535.

131 Ibid., p.537.

132 Ibid., p.537.
Both of these editions are based on the faulty 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition, and the critics during these years continued to parrot Casselman. William Renwick Riddell, jurist and historian, has the distinction of being the only other person besides W.F.E. Morley to publish a book on Richardson, **John Richardson**, 1923, in the Makers of Canadian Literature series under the editorship of Lorne Pierce. The book contains little literary criticism and adds nothing to the knowledge of Richardson and his writing. Most of the book consists of plot summaries, and bits of Richardson's writing. Riddell relies on suspect editions for his commentaries, using the 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition of *Wacousta*.

That publishers as well as editors did not believe authorial editions of Canadian works were desirable or necessary is attested to by Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press. Pierce commented on a twelve-volume edition of Haliburton to be edited by C.W. Jefferys, the illustrator:

In September, 1915, Glasgow [the publisher] wrote Jefferys. He was sending eleven volumes of the work of Thomas Chandler Haliburton to the artist's home in Don Mills, Ont., four volumes having already been delivered. Eight volumes were now in type, and it was proposed to complete the set with four more, that is twelve in all. He gave careful instructions regarding the selection, abridgement and editing. "You will understand that what we want is a symmetrical and interesting set of books, with as little nonsense in it as possible."

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Although Pierce claims "No better editor or illustrator of Haliburton could have been found than C.W. Jefferys"\textsuperscript{134}, the modern textual bibliographer would cringe at Jefferys' reply to Glasgow the publisher showing that the spirit of Thomas Bowdler had found a comfortable home in twentieth-century Canadian editing. Jefferys admired Haliburton's more imaginative works, but thought he saw a need to cut some material, passages of merely local or ephemeral interest, and those which disfigure the work by their prejudice in matters of politics and religion. There are some portions whose inclusion may be questioned on the ground of good taste. Haliburton had a streak of the vulgar in his nature, and the audience of his time relished an occasional taste of a coarser flavour than the daintier palates of today would find agreeable.\textsuperscript{135}

And finally, Pierce, representative of Canadian publishers, shows his lack of bibliographical understanding and his unconcern for the author's intentions:

Jefferys' comments to his publisher on the various books to be illustrated are valuable. He not only wrote well himself, but as editor and illustrator of Sam Slick he had found a theme close to his heart. Therefore he was anxious to bring out the full flavour of Sam Slick and not mutilate the text. He recognized the superficial problems well enough, Haliburton's proneness to repetition and moralizing, to rhetoric and platitude. He was quick to spot the vagaries in spelling and punctuation, and, being an expert, he was especially observant in matters of typography. But the meat of the matter lay deeper than that. "He can not be choked off if he is to remain Sam." He planned a General Introduction, forewords to the various books, and ample foot-notes throughout; and he also planned, while editing and pruning, to give Sam Slick all the time he needed.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{134} Haliburton, \textit{Sam Slick in Pictures}, p.viii.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., p.vi.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., p.x.
Perhaps it is well that this edition of the collected works of Thomas Chandler Haliburton was never published. Pierce's concept of what constitutes good editing indicates some of the problems confronting Canadian authors and may well indicate that too many Canadian publishers have operated with a heavy censorial hand, and have distorted the works of older authors and driven the new author to seek a more congenial home for his talents.

Relying on a bowdlerized and abridged edition of *Wacousta*, Riddell summarized his criticism of the novel: "One may regret that the action is hampered and the *vraisemblance* almost destroyed by wearisome dialogue in stilted and unnatural language."\textsuperscript{137} He claims that "the speakers all have a stilted, artificial style unlike anything that is ever heard in actual life. . . ."\textsuperscript{138} Equally misleading are his comments on the textual history of *Wacousta*. Riddell's book on Richardson and others like it are hardly models of scholarship, yet the *Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature*, published in 1967, seems to think so:

Students are still largely dependent, however, on the eleven little volumes of the *MAKERS OF CANADIAN LITERATURE* series (1923-6; additional vol.1943), which was projected and edited by Lorne Pierce assisted by Victor Morin, and on introductions to the volumes in the New Canadian Library (a


\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., p.46.
Ray Palmer Baker, writing a history of English-Canadian Literature to Confederation, rehashes, like Riddell, Casselman's romantic version of Richardson's upbringing:

Great as his indebtedness to his parents undoubtedly was, it was surpassed by that to Strabane. From his grandfather he heard many a tale of the Border, and from his grandmother, whose skill in narrative was long remembered, many a story of Detroit and Michilimackinac. Already her grandson had begun to dream of a novel in which the solitary figure of Pontiac, whose braves she had seen around the palisades of Detroit, would stalk through the pages with war paint and tomahawk. Fascinating indeed was the life which Richardson enjoyed.140

Richardson, however, admired Tecumseh far more than he did Pontiac. And for critics to rely so heavily on one anecdote written by an author to placate his American publishers verges on lunacy.

Critical and historical interest in Richardson subsided, as it did for most Canadian writers, during the period 1930-1950. The critics since 1950 have benefitted little from their predecessors, and many of them are still attempting to sort out Richardson's biography. Even today Richardson's place in the history of Canadian literature is neither defined nor analysed, and probably never will be until critics can read


and choose to read an authoritative edition. This means that bibliographers, both descriptive and textual, must first do their jobs.

At the moment, two points of Richardson's life and writing still remain contested, although most critics consider the cases closed. The first concerns the racial ancestry of Richardson's mother, Madeleine Richardson, née Askin or Erskine, who to critics before 1936 was "a French lady" and who to critics afterwards was the daughter of John Askin and an Indian woman. Desmond Pacey and David Beasley both consider the latter unassailable, while Carl Klinck remains doubtful. Klinck's position is the most tenable until better proof comes from the Pacey-Beasley camp, a camp strong on assertion but weak on evidence. The second point concerns literary criticism and interpretations of Wacousta. Carl Klinck, John Moss, and Margot Northey discuss Wacousta but produce faulty criticism from faulty texts.

Dr. Klinck's best known criticism of Wacousta can be found in the Literary History of Canada, first published in


1965, and in his introduction to his edition of *Wacousta*, the 1967 NCL version. Although limited, Klinck's comments of 1965 show that he had not significantly changed his mind about the novel when he came to write the introduction for the NCL *Wacousta* two years later. Dr. Klinck obviously learned nothing more or nothing new about the novel while editing it.

In the *Literary History of Canada* Klinck says that *Wacousta* is a "Gothic tale of a feud carried by Englishmen from the Old to the New World." The word "feud" never appears in the novel itself and is inappropriate. Even more inappropriate is Klinck's calling the novel a "Gothic tale". *Wacousta* is a romantic tragedy. It has neither gothic villain nor the usual trappings of gothic tales. It does have a firm historical basis romantically expressed, true, but it is not without some elements of realism. Klinck believes the old and romantic story of Richardson's upbringing and its influence on *Wacousta*, and he also claims that *Wacousta* is "essentially a complex of vivid external equivalents (shrieks, surprises, terrors) for the outrages of mind and heart experienced by Richardson when he was a boy at war in the forests of the Canadian border." *Wacousta* is indeed a military novel written by a military man, one whose memories of the War of 1812 include that of going...
hungry too often. The "boy" Richardson joined the army three months before his sixteenth birthday. He emerged from the conflict with a strong sense of national pride, and he admired for the remainder of his life the military ardour of both Sir Isaac Brock and the heroic Indian leader, Tecumseh.

In his 1967 NCL introduction Klinck no longer says that Wacousta is a "Gothic tale" even though he does say that Wacousta has gothic elements and a gothic style: "The situation of the young officers in the upper room of the Fleur de Lis, for example, belongs with some of the most extreme passages in gothic romances." (NCL.xii) This scene is full of tension and suspense, but could hardly be called gothic unless the word "gothic" no longer has meaning. Evidence of the meaninglessness of this word appears in Klinck's exposition: "Through his literary apprenticeship abroad he [Richardson] had learned how to report historical and fictional events in an aura of gothic sentiment. . . ." (NCL.xiii)

In this same introduction Klinck says the "emphasis" in Wacousta is on "the sins which were the stock-in-trade of . . . romantic tragedy." (NCL.v) And even though he claims that Wacousta is resplendent with the devices of romantic tragedy, Klinck asserts that "Richardson did not deliver what one expects of tragedy in any careful use of that term." (NCL.v) Nevertheless, Klinck also suggests that "The parallels between The Revenge [a tragedy] and Wacousta are . . . significant enough in motif, tone and sentiment to warrant further inspection of
the imagery . . . in Young's play." (NCL.vi) Klinck obviously did not realize that he came very close to contradicting himself from one page to another. Relying on a corrupt edition, Klinck, in a vague passage, seems to claim that the "stiff, rhetorical, even archaic prose of Wacousta" alienates the reader "because it is manifestly not the language of historical exposition. . . ." (NCL.vi) Klinck is in error. Only by going to the original edition can any reader fully comprehend Richardson's master of military form, manners, and detail, his mastery of language and his mastery of the pattern of tragedy.

Klinck abridged the already abridged 1924 Musson edition in order to produce his 1967 NCL edition. Dr. John Moss then relied on the greatly abridged 1967 NCL version while believing that his "commentary is . . . fully corroborated by the original 1832 edition. . . ." But many of Dr. Moss's views of Wacousta can be attributed to those editors who had so thoroughly mangled Richardson's novel.

Dr. Moss, for example, simplifies or misrepresents Richardson's characters. In the original Wacousta, knowing the personal nature of Wacousta's hostility towards the garrison, officers refer to Wacousta's hatred of the Governor as "almost devilish", but conclude that Wacousta was indeed once noble and that the disasters the De Haldimars experienced were brought on by Governor de Haldimar himself. By cutting Wacousta's

true character as well as passages designed to encourage the readers' sympathy for the once noble Morton, Waldie made Wacousta a villain when he was not so in the original. With so many of the elements of his romantic Noble Outlaw character excised by editors, Morton is seen by Moss to be merely deranged:

[his] derangement echoes elements of Jacobean tragedy and ghoulish folk-lore. His loss of Clara Beverley to Colonel De Haldimar, twenty-four years before the present action, has reduced him to the level of a creature possessed, driven by a lust for evil and vengeance . . . he is more than demonic. He is lycanthropic, a beast, howling inarticulately from cover to cover of his context, the embodiment of natural chaos.146

Nonsense: Wacousta is not demonic nor "lycanthropic". Neither is he driven by a lust for evil, although certainly driven by a lust for vengeance. And only by forgetting the military theme of the novel, or by not recognizing it, could any reader believe that war was "natural chaos". Dr. Moss is wrong in believing that Morton's role as Wacousta represents the final step in a degeneration from "order to the embodiment of natural chaos."147 Moss not only belittles the Indians' ultimately fruitless attempts to remain in control of their environment, but also belittles the attempts of the Scottish rebels, of which Morton was one, and the French in North America, also joined by Morton. His is not "degeneration". In fact, each role Morton plays is much the same.

And because the characters are so mangled by past editors,

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146 Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p.43.
147 Ibid., p.44.
Dr. Moss believes that Frederick de Haldimar and his cousin Madeline de Haldimar, relatively minor and unimportant characters, "represent a new order" simply because they are the only De Haldimars who escape Wacousta's revenge.\(^{148}\) If Dr. Moss were right one would expect Frederick and Madeline to play an important role in the sequel to Wacousta, The Canadian Brothers, but they most certainly do not. Richardson kills them both off by means of a shipwreck before he begins the action of The Canadian Brothers.

Dr. Moss claims, moreover, that Frederick and Madeline "imbue" their world with "an order based on natural virtue and beauty" and that these exceptional qualities save Fort Détroit from the same doom as the other garrisons.\(^{149}\) But Richardson makes very clear that Governor de Haldimar's prudence and the soldiers' valour saved Fort Détroit from disaster. In fact, Frederick's ineptitude led directly to Halloway's death and to the Governor's "greatest error".

Possibly the thorough editing-out of Charles de Haldimar and his sister Clara from Wacousta creates Dr. Moss's lack of clarity in his view that "The low regard in which Charles and Clara are held is not . . . merely the result of arbitrary prejudice. It is consistent . . . with their dramatic function."\(^{150}\)

\(^{148}\) Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p.45.
\(^{149}\) Ibid., p.45.
\(^{150}\) Ibid., p.46.
Does Moss mean "arbitrary prejudice" on the part of Richardson? By the time Waldie and Klinck were through with Richardson's Wacousta, by the time Moss came to the novel, the intense and important dramatic function of these characters had disappeared through pernicious abridgement. Dr. Moss also claims that the identities of Charles and Clara are "merged with the former Clara Beverley through their physical resemblance to her." Physical resemblance, though, is the only resemblance. Clara Beverley was a Child of Nature in the original version, and to judge from the kind of letters she wrote to Sir Reginald Morton, she was a passionate woman. Clara de Haldimar has none of her mother's personality. Charles de Haldimar's character, so mangled by editors of the faulty editions, has hardly any identity at all. But in Richardson's text he has a well-developed personality, much of which is drawn from the eighteenth-century tradition of the Hero of Sensibility. In the original, Richardson makes clear that although Charles is prostrated by grief and foreboding, this "weakness" is a temporary result of his nature which is too sensitive to cope with the series of disastrous events affecting every member of the De Haldimar family. In truth, Charles is a good soldier, one subject to the soldier's ethics, which include a propensity for duelling. He is courageous in battle and loyal to his friends. That he is admired by the Fort's inhabitants, in fact is almost revered

151 Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p.45.
by them, is shown in his death-bed scene, which is found only in the first edition. Of all the characters in the novel, except Frank Halloway and perhaps Wacousta, Charles is the one who receives the most sympathy from Richardson. And yet Dr. Moss claims that Clara and Charles are "the victims of their author's contempt." The truth is that Clara and Charles are victims of their editors' contempt.

By deriving his views from a mangled text, Dr. Moss also gives birth to some truly wonderful views claiming homosexual and incipient incestual relationships between characters. One of these views is obviously derived from a printing error that first occurred in the 1924 Musson edition; because Klinck used the faulty Musson edition for the NCL copy-text, that printing error also survives in the NCL edition on which Dr. Moss bases his commentary. In the Musson and in the NCL editions Sir Everard Valletort, when alone with his friend Charles, says to him, "is there any chance for me, think you, with yourself?" (MUS.88; NCL.66) Moss quotes this passage to support his view that the friendship of the two young officers is really a homosexual one. But the original version of Wacousta makes clear that Sir Everard fancies Clara and not Charles: "is there any chance for me, think you, with herself?" (TC.I.194) In addition, Waldie and Klinck have so mutilated the text of Wacousta, have so mutilated characters and theme, that besides

152 Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p.45.
believing Charles and Sir Everard to be homosexuals, Moss believes that because Frederick and Madeline are first cousins, the relationship between them "lies somewhere just on the short side of incest."\(^{153}\) Dr. Moss believes that Charles' love for his sister Clara is "incipient incest".\(^{154}\) But at the same time, Dr. Moss appears to deny his own statements by admitting that his beliefs do not reflect the "literal truth" of Clara's, Charles', and Sir Everard's "contextual relations".\(^{155}\) Dr. Moss does not seem to realize the difficulty he is creating for himself by suggesting that Charles is both homosexually and incestually inclined. Clearly the production of Dr. Moss's critical comedy was staged by Waldie and Klinck.

Because Dr. Moss so tenaciously clings to Klinck's faulty NCL edition he brings forward the illogical conclusion that his "bizarre contention" provides "a blunt accounting" for the function of Clara, Charles, and Sir Everard "that cannot otherwise be thematically or dramatically justified."\(^{156}\) Richardson's original, however, gives the best accounting of the function of those characters, and also makes clear that Dr. Moss is wrong in contending that Richardson's attitude was one of "distaste towards all three of them."\(^{157}\)

\(^{153}\) Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p.46.

\(^{154}\) Ibid., p.47.

\(^{155}\) Ibid., p.47.

\(^{156}\) Ibid., p.47.

\(^{157}\) Ibid., p.47.
In Richardson's version Charles and Sir Everard are a Medoro and Cloridan, those characters from Ariosto, and the friendship of the two young officers underscores an important theme. Walde had already made Charles into a figure similar to a fainting heroine and Sir Everard into a fop before Klinck further altered and simplified Richardson's portrayals. Dr. Moss merely echoes Klinck's sentiments, sentiments bolstered by Klinck's editing and not by Richardson's text, when saying that Charles and Sir Everard "make an unlikely Castor and Pollux, considering that one of them is 'bland' and given to crying while the other plays the part of an 'ephemeral' fop." 158 These characters and their relationships are easily accounted for by considering the intellectual milieu in which Richardson wrote, and the literary traditions from which he drew.

Klinck's editing had destroyed the relationship between Frederick de Haldimar and Oucanasta, and made mysterious the roles of both Oucanasta and her brother. Dr. Moss relies on Klinck's faulty edition, and this reliance clearly accounts for his misleading commentary on Oucanasta, whose devotion to Frederick de Haldimar he claims is "apparently unmotivated." 159 Had Dr. Moss known Richardson's version of Wacousta he would

158 Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p.48; incidentally, modern usage of the word "bland" tends toward applying what was once merely the medicinal usage, "not stimulating", to cover even the usage appropriate to persons "smooth or suave in manner; mildly soothing or coaxing; gentle" as defined by the O.E.D.
159 Ibid., p.46.
have known that Oucanasta was strongly motivated indeed: Frederick had saved her life, and she had fallen in love with him. And had Dr. Moss known the original version which describes the Indian encampment to which Oucanasta guided Frederick as "an oasis of the forest" he would never have described Oucanasta as a "dusky Beatrice" who led Frederick "through the night to the camp of the fiends of Hell" and assisted him "in his return to the world of the truly living." Moreover, one can hardly believe that Halloway's execution represents "the world of the truly living." And, again relying on Klinck's edition, Dr. Moss claims that Oucanasta's brother really offered Frederick little help in escaping the Indian encampment. The truth is that the young Ottawa chief made that escape possible. And finally, believing that Oucanasta and her brother are inconsequential to the novel, Dr. Moss misreads the ending of it. He claims that "the young Ottawa chief rather ineptly forces the plot towards its conclusion" because when he kills Wacousta "Clara plunges from the dying man's upraised arms to her death in the ravine." But even Klinck's edition shows that Wacousta had killed Clara, that she had fallen "from his arms into the ravine beneath" after he was seen to have "raised and brandished" his right hand in the air and in "the next instant" had let it descend "upon the breast of the female." (NCL,293) And this before the Ottawa chief had stabbed Wacousta. Three

160 Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p.46.
161 Ibid., p.47.
sentences later, Richardson specifically refers to Clara as Wacousta's "victim" and says that she had already fallen into the ravine.

The combination of sloppy editing and pernicious ahringe-
ment, plus a growing tradition of unreliable scholarship, creates disastrous results for Margot Northey, Richardson's latest critic. Mrs. Northey not only relies on Klinck's corrupt edition of Wacousta but borrows heavily from the criticism by both Carl Klinck and Dr. Moss. Furthermore, Mrs. Northey appears to be unaquainted with Richardson's bibliography. For example, she erroneously claims that Richardson's first major work was his War of 1812 and claims, erroneously again, that it was published in Brockville in 1832. In fact, Tecumseh, 1828, was Richardson's first major work, the War of 1812 coming out in 1842. Likewise, she gives two titles and two dates for Wacousta: "Wacousta; or, The Prophecy [was] first published in 1832", and "The first edition was published anonymously in three volumes as Wacousta; A Tale of the Canadas (London 1833)." She also muddles the early twentieth-century editions of Wacousta: "Of interest also when it may be obtained is an early twentieth-century edition with

163 Ibid., p.18.
164 Ibid., p.114.
illustrations by Charles W. Jefferys: *Wacousta; A Tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy* (Toronto 1902). No such edition exists; Mrs. Northey may mean either the 1906 Historical Publishing Company edition; or the 1923 McCllland and Stewart; or even the 1924 Musson. They all have illustrations by Jefferys. Mrs. Northey gives no indication of why her fictitious Jefferys edition would be of any interest to her readers.

Believing Klinck's descriptions of his abridgements for the NCL *Wacousta*, and further embellishing them without having done the scholarly research needed to support her statements, Mrs. Northey lapses into serious error when she claims that Klinck's main omissions . . . involve some prolonged sentimental scenes with Charles De Haldimar and the various heroines, and reminiscences by various other characters, particularly the officers, of past activities. The reminiscences apparently are designed to provide a different perspective upon events, but seem to the modern reader to slow the pace unnecessarily.

Except in one two-page passage with Ellen Halloway, in Richardson's *Wacousta* Charles never was involved in prolonged sentimental scenes with "various" heroines; Klinck could not have cut such scenes which did not exist in any edition. And Richardson's officers do not reminisce, except for a few sentences not cut from any edition, either about past activities or anything else. Though Mrs. Northey admits that some of

166 Ibid., p.114.
Klinck's omissions "relate" to her "analysis", she persists in using Klinck's edition. And perhaps the NCL Wacousta's printing of two versions of Richardson's title-page quotation somehow confused Mrs. Northey about that quotation: "The epigraph which appeared in the first edition is obviously gothic in its mention of Vengeance, who 'stalks' from her 'dark covert' with snakes, familiar symbol of evil, upon her chest." Both versions of the quotation printed by the NCL still have the correct "crest" rather than incorrect "chest". Unfortunately, Mrs. Northey does not explain why the quotation is so "obviously" gothic when it appears on the title-page of Richardson's military novel, but not gothic when in Young's play The Revenge.

Mrs. Northey extends the misleading and erroneous commentaries of both Dr. Klinck and Dr. Moss to their logical, and bizarre, conclusions. She claims that Wacousta is the Canadian prototype of nineteenth-century Canadian gothic fiction, and to support her thesis she parrots and amplifies the unfounded contentions of Klinck and Moss. Although claiming Wacousta as the original Canadian gothic novel, she somehow suggests that she herself is very unsure of her ground: "Wacousta is assuredly more of a gothic romance than a realistic novel." Had Wacousta not been published so long before the

168 Ibid., p.19.
169 Ibid., p.18.
emergence of the realistic novel her statement might have made some sense.

Possibly owing to the faulty NCL edition, Mrs. Northey also claims that "Wacousta . . . is the outcast obsessed with revenge and [is] an example of the conventional formula, apparent in characterizations from Faust to Frankenstein, of the heroic villain beset with a demonic compulsion."¹⁷⁰ Wacousta is certainly torn by "conflicting passions" but he is most certainly no Faust or Frankenstein. The first edition shows that his pursuit of vengeance cannot be rightly called a "demonic compulsion" because he is not inspired by any spirit but by his own desire for vengeance. At the end of the novel the officers of Fort Détroit do not condemn Wacousta—they condemn Governor de Haldimar who "brought this present affliction upon himself." (TC.III.317)

Mrs. Northey also mistakes the superstition of Richardson's uneducated sailors as a "common gothic feature."¹⁷¹ One sailor thinks he sees a ghost when he recognizes Madeline de Haldimar in a canoe tied alongside the schooner. Mrs. Northey, by omitting the obvious truth that the "ghostly apparition" and the "ghoulish face" really belong to very-much-alive Madeline, tries to suggest that Richardson himself intended his readers to believe that the frightened and foolish sailor had actually

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p.19.
At no time does Richardson attempt to lead his readers into believing even the possibility of a ghost appearing in his story.

Mrs. Northey also believes that war, with its destruction and slaughter, is "typically gothic", that "Violent encounters and sudden deaths are . . . standard events in the gothic repertoire." Mrs. Northey neglects to mention that such violence is also "standard" in virtually all forms of tragedy. The violence of the gothic novel is seldom the impersonal violence of warfare; both personal and impersonal violence appears in many genres other than tragedies and gothic novels.

For her example of gothic violence in *Wacousta* Mrs. Northey draws from the warfare surrounding Clara's escape from Fort Michillimackinac. Mrs. Northey's so-called gothic "description of the fight aboard the schooner" is, in fact, Frederick's striking of an unnamed Indian, a feat which did not occur on board the schooner at all, but in the small boat sent to rescue Captain Baynton and Clara from Fort Michillimackinac.

Following the lead of Dr. Moss, who promulgated the incestuous desires of both Frederick and Charles de Haldimar, Mrs. Northey promulgates "gothic undercurrents" between Charles and Clara de Haldimar, and--a new twist--between Clara and

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Madeline de Haldimar. Of course, her "gothic undercurrent" between Clara and Charles is incest, and between Clara and Madeline it is lesbianism. The absurdity of this view must be apparent to anyone familiar with the vast amount of eighteenth-century material exploiting its current fashion of sensibility, and of the even more voluminous material portraying nineteenth-century versions of that earlier sensibility.

In attempting to find gothic elements in Richardson's attitudes toward nature, and the use of nature in Wacousta, Mrs. Northey claims that "a profound fear of nature often seems to override any other response, and nature seems to symbolize all the inscrutable, evil forces of life." But Mrs. Northey does not uncover any textual evidence because she cannot, for no such evidence exists; she again refers to the quotation from Young's play to support her thesis. And then, apparently finding that quotation to be insufficient for her purpose, she attempts to turn Richardson's Indians into nature itself.

In her attempt to imbue Wacousta with gothic horror, Mrs. Northey, like Dr. Moss before her, distorts the ending of the novel to suit her thesis:

Significantly, it is by falling into the abyss below the bridge that Wacousta as well as Clara meet their death, contributing to the gothic horror in Wacousta as in other gothic tales is this sense of a precarious footing, insecure and menaced, with a continuing danger of a fall into the abyss of spiritual or cultural doom.

175 Northey, The Haunted Wilderness, p. 20.
176 Ibid., p. 23.
177 Ibid., p. 25.
In Richardson's version of *Wacousta*, and even in Klinck's, Wacousta is stabbed to death before he tumbles into the ravine. The young Ottawa chief's stabbing of Wacousta was an act of utmost deliberation as was Wacousta's dropping Clara into the ravine. All that is precarious here is Mrs. Northey's interpretation.

Her attempts to turn Wacousta into a gothic villain also fail. She claims that "The unmistakably gothic dimension of Wacousta . . . are [sic] also evident in the depiction of the central character [Wacousta]."\(^{178}\) What makes Wacousta a gothic villain, according to Mrs. Northey, is that he is "an almost superhuman figure of satanic defiance, whose huge presence commands respect as well as increasing terror."\(^{179}\) Unfortunately, Mrs. Northey does not sustain this view of Wacousta by reference to the text. Richardson himself took some effort to convince readers that Wacousta's physical feats were not beyond human possibility. As well, gothic villains, having a preponderance of sins, are not generally superior to either their fellow men or to their environment. Northrop Frye's definition of the heroic leader, in fact, fits Wacousta far better than Mrs. Northey's. If the hero's power of action is superior in degree to other men but not to his natural environment, the hero is a leader. He has authority, passions, and powers of expression far greater than ours.

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\(^{179}\) Ibid., p.21.
but what he does is subject both to social criticism and to the order of nature. This is the hero of the high mimetic mode, of most epic and tragedy. . . . 180

Wacousta's sexuality, says Mrs. Northey, is another element making him a gothic villain, but she admits that "of course the villains of many non-gothic works . . . are permitted a developed sexuality also." 181 So are the heroes of many non-gothic works. And Wacousta's sexuality is not really gothic, backtracks Mrs. Northey, but his "overpowering will" is a "source of gothic terror." 182 And last, at the "revelation of his true past, Wacousta shrivels from his gothic role to appear as an ordinary, wronged man. . . ." 183 Clearly, no true gothic villain ever miraculously "shrivels" to become an "ordinary" man. Without a gothic villain, and without the usual devices and trappings of gothic novels, Richardson's Wacousta certainly cannot be called gothic. The truth is that Wacousta never was a gothic villain in the first place, but the pernicious editing of various editors has so altered his real character that even trained scholars can no longer comprehend it.

Mrs. Northey's superficial, inaccurate, eclectic, derivative, and comic analysis provides the latest evidence that Canada

182 Ibid., p.21.
183 Ibid., p.21.
requires some good bibliography and some good authorial texts on which scholars can base their criticism of Canadian literature.
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APPENDIX A

ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND EDITION

This collation records the variants between the three impressions of the second edition, the pirated American edition. The following symbols will be employed in the collation.


KB Philadelphia: Key and Biddle, 1833, 2 Vols., the third impression.

The collation is divided into three parts in order to show the relationship between the three impressions because bibliographers have claimed that the third impression is a separate edition, which it is not. Therefore, the first part records errors in common between WCL-2 and KB; the second part records a selective study of the setting of type of WCL-2 and of KB which employs the same setting of type; and the third part records the variants between WCL-2 and KB. In this record an additional symbol, DD, is used because DD used the third impression, KB, for its copy-text: in practically every variation recorded between WCL-2 and KB, DD follows the KB reading:

DD New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1851, the third edition.
PART 1: Errors in Common between WCL-2 and KB

WCL-2 [and KB]

212.c1.5 shot. [quotation marks omitted after period]
212.c1.6 His aim [quotation marks omitted before 'His']
214.c2.18 ; the cry [quotation marks omitted before 'the']
218.c2.41 ; pardon me [quotation marks omitted before 'pardon']
223.c3.8 recive [spelling error]
227.c1.35 moisteneed [spelling error]
227.c1.78 should he [error of 'he' instead of 'be']
229.c3.2 garison [spelling error]
230.c1.63 ; but when [quotation marks omitted before 'but']
231.c2.88 country. "But," he [error of additional quotation marks before 'But']
233.c2.50 bnt [spelling error, or upside-down 'u']
237.c2.26 unconsciousness [spelling error]
244.c2.36 thir names [spelling error]
244.c2.76 beauty. [quotation marks omitted after period]
246.c1.80 melée [misspelling of 'mélée']
247.c1.9 the [spelling error]
247.c1.12 inrteness [spelling error]
254.c2.30 Erskine. Who [quotation marks omitted before 'Who']
255.c1.40 ): what [quotation marks omitted before 'what']
256.c3.2 since?" he asked?" [error of additional quotation marks and question mark after 'asked']
258.c1.25 you," rejoined [extra comma]
PART 2: Type analysis of WCL-2 and KB

a. Imperfections in inking resulting from broken or battered type, a selection.

WCL-2 [and KB]

211.c1.73 finished ['s' broken off at top]
211.c3.43 minute ['t' broken stem]
212.c3.70 respite ['i' almost obliterated]
215.c1.26 by [bowl of 'b' fragmented]
215.c1.38 both [stem of 'b' broken]
215.c2.49 Johnstone [stem of 'J' fragmented]
216.c2.16 turned [stem of 't' broken]
216.c3.73 'Under [stem of 'd' broken]
217.c2.27 the paper [stem of 'h' broken]
218.c1.59 memorable [stem and bowl of 'b' fragmented]
219.c2.25 found [stem of 'u' broken]
220.c2.31 observation [ear of 'r' broken off]
exhibited ['t' broken below crossbar]

the [stem of 'h' broken]

with [stem of 'w' broken]

tissue ['t' slightly out of alignment]

first [ear of 'r' broken off]

Sterne [crossbar of 't' broken off]

cordially [stem of first 'l' broken]

For [top arm of 'F' broken]

inrongruity [bottom of 'c' broken away]

crackling [as above]

his ['s' broken in 2 places]

the war-dance [stem of 't' broken]

wonder [chip out of stem of 'd']

composed ['c' broken]

council [a piece of type lodged between the 'n' and 'c']

semblance ['n' broken]

but ['u' broken]

girl ['l' broken]

schooner [stem of 'h' broken]

God ['G' broken]

of ['f' broken at crossbar and below]

these [stem of 'h' broken]

impending [2nd 'i' broken]

Sinclair [bowl of 'a' broken]

Miss [1st 's' broken at top]
WCL-2 [and KB]

255.c1.3 to ['t' broken just below crossbar]
257.c1.14 still [1st 'l' broken]
260.c3.30 for [bowl of 'o' broken at top]
261.c1.53 say ['s' almost obliterated]
263.c2.36 kisses ['i' broken]
265.c2.15 burst [stem of 'u' broken]
267.c1.17 free ['f' broken]
269.c2.35 moments ['n' almost obliterated]
270.c3.22 the [stem of 'h' broken]
271.c2.7 immediately [loop of 'a' broken]

b. Faulty alignment

WCL-2

210.c2.10 sincerity of/
214.c1.30 himself,
216.c2.44 blood,
217.c1.48 shook
217.c1.74 after-
217.c2.76 Blessington,
228.c2.30 window;
232.c1.37 him;
233.c2.31 point-/ 
233.c2.32 relief
233.c2.37 re-/ 
233.c3.12 of 

KB

210.c2.10 sincerity of/
214.c1.30 himself,
216.c2.44 blood,
217.c1.48 shook
217.c1.74 after-
217.c2.76 Blessington,
228.c2.30 window;
232.c1.37 him;
233.c2.31 point-/ 
233.c2.32 relief
233.c2.37 re-/ 
233.c3.12 of
Most cases of faulty alignment occur in KB, and are due, probably, to the process of transferring lines of type from WCL-2 pages to KB galleys with the added problem of placing quads between the lines to increase the spacing between lines.

c. Pulled type at line-ends

PART 3: Variants
217. c3.6  aad the  WCL-1
222. c2.31  Colonel
228. c1.67  mocassined  [correct spelling]
228. c2.2  Heaven
231. c3.59  heart,
232. c3.53  CHAPTER V.  WCL-1
233. c1.12  them. All felt  DD
233. c2.86  asthe
235. c1.32  are there are ten  WCL-1
235. c3.23  *
235. c3.74-88  *The occurrences relat-
ed in this chapter, and
the awful details which
follow relative to the
destruction of Fort
Michillimackinac, are
historically correct.
For a very interesting
account of this event-
ful period of our hist-
ory, see "Travels in
the interior parts of
North America, for more
than 4,000 miles, in the
years 1766, &c., by
Jonathan Carver." But
for a more interesting
book, "Travels and Ad-
ventures in Canada, and
the Indian territory,
between the years 1760
and 1776. By Alexander
Henry, Esq." Number
4081, octavo, in the
Philadelphia Library. [omits] DD
For a condensed and satisfactory account, see also 2d vol. of "Thacher's Indian Biography," recently published in New York, and to be had in every book store; in it will be found a life of Pontiac, or Pontiac, as it is sometimes spelled.--Ed.

contemp-/tuous contempt-/uous
[this hyphenation is correct]

CHAPTER XIX. CHAPTER I.
[and a subsequent renumbering of chapters by KB to conform to its two-volume format]

* [omits] DD
*See Thacher's Indian Biography, and the other works already referred to. The above is historically true, and scarcely exaggerated. --Ed.

fact, that fact that DD
it, at least, a it at least a DD
labour or labour of DD
[a correction]
Blessington: I feel Blessington: "I feel DD [a correction]
after-arrangement TC after arrangement DD
tomahawk tomhawuk WCL-1
but--Nay, do not point. "What exclaimed, "This bayonets? "This

END OF WACOUSTA.

THE END.
APPENDIX B

HISTORICAL COLLATION

The following editions, being separate and distinct typesettings, have been collated and their variants recorded:

TC  First edition, one impression only from type metal, London: T. Cadell, 1832; 3 Vols.

WCL  Second edition, three impressions from type metal, WCL-1, WCL-2, and KB; see APPENDIX A.

DD  Third edition, one impression probably from type metal, several impressions after the author's death, New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1851.

The collation consists of two columns: the left column records the readings of the control copy, TC; the right column records the variants of two other editions, DD and WCL, including the three impressions of WCL. The collation is not divided into "substantives" and "accidentals" because the terms tend to confuse; all changes ought to be recorded in one list, especially when that list is meant to reflect the history of a text's corruption. Punctuation changes can often be substantial, can effect meaning, and can be an integral part of the author's style. In this case, where the manuscript is presumed lost, and only one impression is authorial, the punctuation is considered to be authorial, except in cases of obvious error. At the end of this list is appended a group of variants characterized by a change in spelling: the "our" of words in the first and second editions is changed
to "or" in the third edition. Page and line references locate the changes. Note that DD replaces "Chapt. I. Introductory" of TC and WCL with a new introductory chapter and therefore the first eleven pages of this collation records only the variants between TC and WCL.
1.1.1-3 As we are about to introduce our readers to scenes with which the European is little familiarised, some

1.1.3 few cursory

1.1.5. into which we have shifted our labours

Note to the first American edition.

Although the following work has been received with great favour by the reading public in England, it is in this country, where the scene is laid, and where we are more familiar with the Indian character, that its merits can be best tested. Though not without defects, yet, taken as a whole, we think it will be pronounced a very superior production. For deep interest throughout, it has few rivals of the modern school, and the style and language are in general excellent. We feel compelled on a second perusal to consider it highly creditable to the author, and an earnest of still higher flights in a field so successfully trodden by our own Cooper. It is the more remarkable as coming from the pen of the author of "Ecarté, or the Saloons of Paris," a work in which the gaming houses of the French capital, and its dissipations were the subjects—scenes which are strongly contrasted with those here portrayed.

[omits]
be deemed misplaced merely to point out

the outline of such portions of the vast continent of America as still acknowledge allegiance to the English crown, in order that the reader, understanding the localities, may enter with deeper interest into the incidents of a tale connected with a ground hitherto untouched by the wand of the modern novelist.

All who have ever taken the trouble to inform themselves of the features of a country so little interesting to the majority of Englishmen in their individual character must be aware,—and for the information of those who are not, we state,—that that portion of the northern continent of America which is known as the United States is divided from the Canadas by a continuous chain of lakes and rivers, commencing at the ocean into which they empty themselves, and extending in a north-western direction to the remotest parts of these wild regions, which have never yet been pressed by other footsteps than those of the native hunters of the soil. First we have the magnificent St. Lawrence, fed from the lesser and tributary streams, rolling her sweet and silver waters into the foggy seas of the Newfoundland.—But perhaps it will better tend to impress our readers with a panoramic picture of the
country in which our scene of action is more immediately laid, by commencing at those extreme and remote points of our Canadian possessions to which their attention will be especially directed in the course of our narrative.

The most north-western lakes above mentioned we Détroit Lake Erie, computed a about one hundred and sixty miles in circumference. From known in Europe from American lakes, on the bright bosom of which, during the late war, frigates, seventy-fours, and even a ship of one hundred and twelve guns, manned by a crew of one thousand men, reflected the proud pennants of England! At which is upwards of two hundred miles in circumference, her source whose elevated banks bear every trace of fertility and cultivation, our flotilla Pushing her bold waters through this somewhat inferior lake, the St. Lawrence pursues her course seaward with impetuosity, until
arrested near La Chine by rock-studded shallows, which produce those strong currents and eddies, the dangers of which are so beautifully expressed in the Canadian Boat Song,—a composition that has rendered the "rapids" almost as familiar to the imagination of the European as the falls of Niagara themselves. Beyond La Chine the St. Lawrence gradually unfolds herself into greater majesty and expanse, and rolling past the busy commercial town of Montreal, is once more increased in volume by the insignificant lake of St. Peter's, nearly opposite to the settlement of Three Rivers, midway between Montreal and Quebec. From thence she pursues her course unfaded, except by a few inferior streams, and gradually widens as she rolls past the capital of the Canadas, whose tall and precipitous battlements, bristled with cannon, and frowning defiance from the clouds in which they appear half imbedded, might be taken by the imaginative enthusiast for the strong tower of the Spirit of those stupendous scenes. From this point the St. Lawrence increases in expanse, until, at length, after traversing a country where the traces of civilisation become gradually less and less visible, she finally merges in the gulf, from the centre of which the shores on either hand are often invisible to the
the naked eye; and in this manner is it imperceptibly lost in that misty ocean, so dangerous to mariners from its deceptive and almost perpetual fogs.

In following the links of this extensive chain of lakes and rivers, it must be borne in recollection, that, proceeding seaward from Michillimackinac and its contiguous district, all that tract of country which lies to the right constitutes what is now known as the United States of America, and all on the left the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, tributary to the English laws, and garrisoned by English troops.

The several The several
our possessions the British possessions
Even at the present day, along that line of remote country we have selected for the theatre of our labours, the garrisons are both weak in strength, and evidence of cultivation is seldom to be found at any distance in the interior; so that all beyond a certain extent of clearing, continued along the banks of the lakes and rivers, is thick, impervious, rayless forest, the limits of which have never yet been explored, perhaps, by the natives themselves.

Such being the general features of the country even at the present day, it will be comprehended how much
more wild and desolate was the character they exhibited as far back as the middle of the last century, about which period our story commences.

At that epoch what we have described as being

then mother-country

, who, although apparently inclining to acknowledge the change of neighbours, and professing amity, were, it was well known, too much in the interest of their old friends the French, and even the French Canadians themselves, not to be regarded with the most cautious distrust

, as we have already remarked,

gun-/boat

Déroit

that greatest of American waters, the

ceded to us

During the first few years of the conquest, the inhabitants of Canada, who were all either European French, or immediate descendants of that nation, were, as might naturally be expected, more than restive under their new governors, and many of the most
impatient spirits of the country sought every opportunity of sowing the seeds of distrust and jealousy in the hearts of the natives. By these people it was artfully suggested to the Indians, that their new oppressors were of the race of those who had driven them from the sea, and were progressively advancing on their territories until scarce a hunting ground or a village would be left to them. They described them, moreover, as being the hereditary enemies of their great father, the King of France, with those governors they had buried the hatchet for ever, and and smoked the calumet of perpetual peace.

I.14.18 by these
I.15.3-9 The cause of the Indians, and that of the Canadians, became, in some degree, identified as one, and each felt it was the interest, and it may be said the natural instinct, of both, to hold communionship of purpose, and to indulge the same jealousies and fears.

I.15.12-18, who, too crafty and too politic to manifest their feelings by overt acts declaratory of the hatred carefully instilled into their breasts, sought every opportunity to compass the destruction of the English, wherever they were most vulnerable to the effects of stratagem
While giving, for the information of the many, what, we trust, will not be considered a too compendious outline of the Canadas, and the events connected with them, we are led to remark, that, powerful as was the feeling of hostility cherished by the French Canadians towards the English when the yoke of early conquest yet hung heavily on them, this feeling eventually died away under the mild influence of a government that preserved to them the exercise of all their customary privileges, and abolished all invidious distinctions between the descendants of France and those of the mother-country. So universally, too, has this system of conciliation been pursued, we believe we may with safety aver, of all the numerous colonies that have succumbed to the genius and power of England, there are none whose inhabitants entertain stronger feelings of attachment and loyalty to her than those of Canada; and whatever may be the transient differences,--differences growing entirely out of circumstances and interests of a local character, and in no way tending to impeach the acknowledged fidelity of the mass of French Canadians,--whatever, we repeat, may be the ephemeral differences that occasionally spring up between the governors
of those provinces and
individual members of the
Houses of Assembly, they
must, in no way, be construed
into a general feeling of
disaffection towards the Eng-
lish crown.

In proportion also as the
Canadians have felt and ack-
nowledged the beneficent
effects arising from a
change of rulers, so have
the Indian tribes been gradu-
ally weaned from their
first fierce principle of
hostility, until they have
subsequently become as
much distinguished by their
attachment to, as they were
three quarters of a century
ago remarkable for their
untameable aversion for,
every thing that bore the
English name, or assumed
the English character. In-
deed, the hatred which they
bore to the original colon-
ists has been continued to
their descendants, the sub-
jects of the United States;
and the same spirit of
union subsisted between the
natives and British troops,
and people of Canada, during
the late American war, that
at an earlier period of the
history of that country
prevailed so powerfully to
the disadvantage of England.

I.18.17 have explained
I.18.24 Détroit
I.19.3-4, though now partially
thinned in their outskirts,
I.19.4-5 that period

have partially explained
Detroit
[omits]
that time
These are the minuter features of the scene we have brought more immediately under the province of our pen.

What Detroit

Of the fort of Detroit itself we will give the following brief history:—It was, as we have already stated, erected by the French while in the occupancy of the country by which it is more immediately environed; subsequently, and

At the

the fort was

colonies

mother country

; the British garrison marching out, and crossing over into Canada, followed by such of the loyalists as still retained their attachment to the English crown. At the commencement of the late war with America it was the first and more immediate theatre of conflict, and was remarkable, as well as Michillimackinac, for being one of the first
posts of the Americans that fell into our hands. The gallant daring, and prompt-ness of decision, for which the lamented general, Sir Isaac Brock, was so eminently distinguished, achieved the conquest almost as soon as the American declaration of war had been made known in Canada; and on this occasion we ourselves had the good fortune to be selected as part of the guard of honour, whose duty it was to lower the flag of America, and substitute that of England in its place. On the approach, however, of an overwhelming army of the enemy in the autumn of the ensuing year it was abandoned by our troops, after having been dismantled and reduced, in its more combustible parts, to ashes. The Americans, who have erected new fortifications on the site of the old, still retain possession of a post to which they attach considerable importance, from the circumstance of its being a key to the more western portions of the Union.
CHAPTER II.

Détroit, in North America, was

North-American

arms; and

affection; and

Détroit

surety

succour not only to each other but

any thing

Governor

Détroit

Governor

person; and

its walls

Governor's

Governor

pale; and

These sentences

immovable KB, DD

to the recover,

CHAPTER I.  DD

Detroit  WCL, DD

Detroit, was  WCL

Detroit was  DD

North American  DD

arms; and  DD

affection; and  DD

Detroit  WCL, DD

security  DD

succour not only to each other, but  WCL

succor, not only to each other, but  DD

anything  DD

governor  WCL, DD

Detroit  WCL, DD

Detroit  WCL, DD

governor  WCL, DD

governor  WCL, DD

the walls  DD

governor's  WCL, DD

governor  WCL, DD

pale, and  DD

These sentences  WCL, DD

immoveable  WCL

to recover,  WCL

to the "Recover",  DD
"Not a twelve The pithy shoulder, and, in resumed the allotted to them semicircular Governor's every thing themselves The mandate thick-set, and grey Heaven Major Governor seriously Major "No every where Major Colonel companies and roll-call

VARIANTS
"Not a twelve The pithy shoulder, and, in resumed their [omits] governor's everything [omits] The mandate thick set, and grey gray heaven Major Governor, seriously major [omits] major everywhere [omits] companies, and roll call
Governor

enquiries

we have described as circumventing

watchings (I had almost added praying), I

pursued, laughing

Everard affectedly

rigimint

Governor

A moment or two of silence ensued, in the course of which each individual appeared to be bringing home to his own heart the application of the remark just uttered; and which, however they might seek to disguise the truth from themselves, was too forcible to find contradiction from the secret monitor within. And yet of those assembled there was not one, perhaps, who would not, in the hour of glory and of danger, have generously interposed his own frame between that of his companion and the steel or bullet of an enemy. Such are the contradictory elements which compose a soldier's life.
"Nay, nay, De Haldimar," at length observed Sir Everard, in reply to the observation of his friend, "do not imagine I intend to gratify Mr. Delme by any such exhibition as that of a scalpless head; but, if such be his hope, I trust that the hour which sees my love-locks dangling at the top of an Indian pole may also let daylight into his own carcass from a rifle bullet or a tomahawk."

"And yet, Captin, it sames to me," observed Lieutenant Murphy, in allusion to the remark of Blessington rather than in reply to the last speaker, "it sames to me, I say, that promotion in any way is all fair and honourable in times of hardship like these; and though we may drop a tare over our superior when the luck of war, in the shape of a tommyhawk, knocks him over, still there can be no reason why we shouldn't step into his shoes the very next instant; and it's that, we all know, that we fight for. And the devil a bitter chance any man of us all has of promotion thin yourself, Captin: for it'll be mighty strange if our fat Major don't git riddled like a cylinder through and through with the bullits from the Ingians' rifles before we have quite done with this business, and thin you will have the regimental majority, Captin; and it may be that one Liftinint Murphy, who is now the sanior
of his rank, may come in for the vacant captincky."

"And Delme for the lieutenancy," said Charles de Haldimar significantly. "Well, Murphy, I am happy to find that you, at least, have hit on another than Sir Everard Valletort: one, in fact, who will render the promotion more general than it would otherwise have been. Seriously, I should be sorry if any thing happened to our worthy Major, who, with all his bustling and grotesque manner, is as good an officer and as brave a soldier as any his Majesty's army in Canada can boast. For my part, I say, perish all promotion for ever, if it is only to be obtained over the dead bodies of those with whom I have lived so long and shared so many dangers!"

"Nobly uttered, Charles," said Captain Blessington: "the sentiment is, indeed, one well worthy of our present position; and God knows we are few enough in number already, without looking forward to each other's death as a means of our own more immediate personal advancement. With you, therefore, I repeat, perish all my hopes of promotion, if it is only to be obtained over the corpses of my companions! And let those who are most sanguine in their expectations beware lest they prove the first to be cut off, and that even before they have yet enjoyed the advantages
of the promotion they so eagerly covet."

This observation, uttered without acrimony, had yet enough of delicate reproach in it to satisfy Lieutenant Murphy that the speaker was far from approving the expression of such selfish anticipations at a moment like the present, when danger, in its most mysterious guise, lurked around, and threatened the safety of all most dear to them.

The conversation now dropped, and the

"Where?"

I.48.4   attentively.
I.48.14   any thing
I.48.15   declaring that he
I.48.21   "He
I.48.24
I.49.8   any thing
I.49.11   "Nothing
I.49.15   moving immediately
I.49.17   De Haldimar
I.49.17   again. --"I
I.50.2   vulnerability. --Sambo
I.51.24   Heaven
I.52.3   shot.
I.52.4   "His aim

When the conversation dropped, the
WCL, DD

"Where?"

attentively." DD

anything DD

declaring he DD

"He

anything DD

"Nothing WCL, DD

moving, immediately WCL, DD

De Haldimar WCL, DD

again. "I WCL, DD

vulnerability. Sambo WCL, DD

heaven WCL, DD

shot." DD

His aim WCL
The vacant space, which communicated with the powder magazine, was left open to the movements of three-pounders, which were to support each face in the event of its being broken by numbers. Close to these, and within the square, stood the number of gunners necessary to the duty of the field-pieces, each of which was commanded by a bombardier. At the foot of the ramparts, outside the square, and immediately opposite to their several embrasures, were stationed the gunners required for the batteries, under a non-commissioned
officer also, and the whole under the direction of a superior officer of that arm, who now walked to and fro, conversing in a low voice with Major Blackwater. One gunner at each of these divisions of the artillery held in his hand a blazing torch, reflecting with picturesque yet gloomy effect the bright bayonets and equipment of the soldiers, and the anxious countenances of the women and invalids, who, bending eagerly through the windows of the surrounding barracks, appeared to await the issue of these preparations with an anxiety increased by the very consciousness of having no other parts than those of spectators to play in the scene that was momentarily expected.

I.57.18 Adjutant
I.58.14-16 as they were occasionally waved in air, to disencumber them of their dross
I.58.18 nooday
I.59.1 and, as
I.59.11 irons; but
I.59.20 circumstance
I.60.5 Adjutant
I.60.7 Governor's
I.60.10 Articles of War
I.60.18 fearless amid
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<td>me; but</td>
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<td>Governor</td>
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<td>,--even</td>
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<td>I.64.12</td>
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<td>,--On</td>
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<td>clear firm</td>
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<td>him, moreover</td>
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<td>!-- God</td>
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<td>notice; but</td>
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<td>stood erect as</td>
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<td>I.78.5</td>
<td>Baronet</td>
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<td>I.79.10</td>
<td>you as well as myself</td>
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<td>I.86.22</td>
<td>life De</td>
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<td>heaven WCL,DD</td>
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<td>plainly wild DD</td>
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<td>The WCL,DD</td>
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<td>impressively observed WCL,DD</td>
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<td>anything DD</td>
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<td>baronet WCL,DD</td>
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<td>you, as well as, myself WCL,DD</td>
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<td>altogether DD</td>
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<td>anything DD</td>
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<td>however,&quot; I DD</td>
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<td>death wound WCL,DD</td>
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<td>CHAPTER III. DD</td>
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<td>lasted without DD</td>
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<td>then, as WCL</td>
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<td>[omits] DD</td>
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<td>encampment DD</td>
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<td>life, De WCL</td>
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<td>life, de DD</td>
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To comprehend effectually the feelings of the officers, it would be necessary that one should have been not merely a soldier, but a soldier under the same circumstances. Surrounded on every hand by a fierce and cruel enemy—prepared at every moment to witness scenes of barbarity and bloodshed in their most appalling shapes—isolated from all society beyond the gates of their own fortress, and by consequence reposing on and regarding each other as vital links in the chain of their wild and adventurous existence,—it can easily be understood with what sincere and unaffected grief they lamented the sudden cutting off even of those who least assimilated in spirit and character with themselves. Such, in a great degree, had been the case in the instance of the
officer over whose grave they were now met to render the last offices of companionship, if not of friendship. Indeed Murphy—a rude, vulgar, and illiterate, though brave Irishman—having risen from the ranks, the coarseness of which he had never been able to shake off, was little calculated, either by habits or education, to awaken feelings, except of the most ordinary description, in his favour; and he and Ensign Delme were the only exceptions to those disinterested and tacit friendships that had grown up out of circumstances in common among the majority.

I.94.1 If, therefore, they
I.94.9 own
I.94.22 all!—

I.98.1 CHAPTER V.
I.98.15 savages, ever
I.98.20 neutralised
I.99.9 commander; and
I.100.4 instructions were
I.100.20-21 , of a portion of each wheeling
I.101.1 flanks, the
I.101.7 only, of
I.102.8 death; for
An

"What

the

may, that

.--Do

.--"Quiet

rear.--

you old fool

your age?

One

instant, a

however, but of

head

a moment's KB, DD

reform

recovered

Indians; while

again, one

black savages

--Did

damned

--"Had

paw upon

ever

An WCL, DD

"What WCL, DD

his WCL, DD

may that DD

. Do WCL, DD

. "Quiet WCL, DD

rear. WCL, DD

you fool DD

your old age? DD

One WCL, DD

instant a DD

however, of DD

heads DD

amoment's WCL

re-form WCL, DD

recovering DD

Indians: while DD

again one DD

red savages DD

Did WCL, DD

d----d WCL, DD

"Had DD

paw on DD

[omits] DD
brag,

hell thieves

time, the

cut the soul out of my body

man (for

scalp of one

"And how so, Mr. Wise-acre?" rejoined his comrade. "How so! Because the first shot that we fired would have set the devils upon them right earnest—and then their top-knots wouldn't have been worth a brass farthing. They would have been scalped before they could say Jack Robinson."

"It was a hell of a risk," resumed another of the litter men, "to give four men a chance of having their skull pieces cracked open like so many egg-shells, and all to get possession of a dead officer."

"And sure, you beast," remarked a different voice in a tone of anger, "the dead body of the brave captain was worth a dozen such rotten carcasses with all the life in them. What matter would it be if ye had all been scalped?" Then with a significant half glance to the rear, which was brought up by their commander, on whose arm leaned the slightly wounded Johnstone, "Take care
the captain doesn't hear ye prating after that fashion, Will Burford."

"By Jesus,

pithy and characteristic

holy

that played before Moses,

Shehan

"Well said, Shehan," observed the man who had so warmly reproved Will Burford, and who had formerly been servant to De Haldimar; "the captain's hand is as white and as soft as my cross-belt, or, what's saying a great deal more, as Miss Clara's herself, heaven bless her sweet countenance! and Lieutenant Valletort's nigger's couldn't well be much blacker nor this."

any thing

" (and here we must beg to refer the reader to the soldier's vocabulary for any terms that may be, in the course of this dialogue, incomprehensible to him or her,)—"Yes, by the holy poker,

it, returned

Shehan

; but

it," returned
<table>
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<tr>
<th>TC</th>
<th>Variants</th>
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<td>I.118.21-I.</td>
<td>&quot;Ye are right, comrade,&quot; said Burford; &quot;there would soon be hell and tommy to pay if he did.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.119.10</td>
<td>Shehan</td>
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<td>I.119.12</td>
<td>captin</td>
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<td>I.119.14</td>
<td>rigimintals</td>
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<td>I.119.20-I.</td>
<td>&quot;And that's the reason why the bloody heathens wouldn't let us carry him off,&quot; said another of the litter men. &quot;I thought they wouldn't ha' made such a rout about the officer, when they had his scalp already in their pouch-belts.&quot;</td>
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<td>I.120.17</td>
<td>. . . &quot;What</td>
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<td>I.121.1</td>
<td>sound</td>
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<td>I.121.22</td>
<td>pullies</td>
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<td>I.122.10</td>
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<td>I.122.24</td>
<td>companions, &quot;this</td>
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<td>I.124.20</td>
<td>The</td>
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<td>I.125.16</td>
<td>Sir</td>
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<td>I.125.18</td>
<td>These</td>
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<td>I.126.13</td>
<td>yet, as</td>
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<td>I.128.22</td>
<td>by his</td>
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<td>I.128.23</td>
<td>despair</td>
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<td>I.129.5</td>
<td>God, thank</td>
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</table>

[omits] WCL, DD

Sheban WCL, DD
captain DD
rigimentals DD
[omits] WCL, DD

WCL, DD
pulleys DD
en écharpe WCL, DD
companions; "this WCL, DD
The WCL, DD
sir WCL, DD
These WCL, DD
yet as DD
with his DD
dispair DD
God! thank WCL, DD
CHAPTER VI.

long table

who sat

covered, and with

September 1763

Détroit

president; "you

time, that KB,DD

De Haldimar

and, accompanied

impressively; recollect

any thing

I say,

and KB,DD

every where

definitely

gentlemen, resumed

pause, to

us, were, nevertheless, ill

any thing

simple and unpretending
Quebec?

Sir

governor, haughtily

"are

Sir

who, as

voice; "pardon

life--Colonel

Haldimar, had

this

enemy when

amiable

at

known, not

honored

apprize

minutes, when

At first

urge might

,--all

intimating, at

him it

.--Gentlemen

entail

Quebec."  WCL

sir  WCL, DD

governor haughtily  WCL, DD

are  WCL, DD

sir  WCL, DD

who as  WCL, DD

voice; pardon  WCL, DD

life, Colonel  DD

Haldimar, I had  WCL, DD

the  WCL, DD

enemy, when  WCL, DD

[omits]  DD

[omits]  DD

known not  WCL, DD

honoured  WCL

apprize  WCL, DD

minutes when  WCL, DD

"At first  WCL, DD

urge, might  WCL, DD

, all  DD

intimating at  WCL, DD

him, it  WCL

. Gentlemen  DD

entails  DD
statement, had

Lawson, examine
court I
and, let
CHAPTER VII.
which, now
realised
extent succeeded
describe:
soldier;

; and, contrary to the wishes of his fashionable mother, who would have preferred seeing him exhibit his uniform in the drawing-rooms of London, had purchased the step into his present corps from a cavalry regiment at home.

sense:

no man that ever glittered in gold and scarlet was fonder of a feather-bed than the young baronet; and,

Which, we take it, in no way impugned his character as a soldier. Sir Everard would have fought twenty battles in the course of the month, if necessary, and yet not complained of the fatigue or severity of his service, provided only he had been suffered to
But he had an innate and, perhaps, it may be, an instinctive horror of drills and early rising; a pastime in which the martinet and disciplinarians of the last century were very much given to indulge. He frequently upheld an opinion that must have been little less than treason in the eyes of a commander so strict as Colonel de Haldimar, that an officer who rose at eight, with all his faculties refreshed and invigorated, might evince as much of the true bearing of the soldier in the field, as he who, having quitted his couch at dawn, naturally felt the necessity of repose at a moment when activity and exertion were most required.

He had quitted England with a view to active service abroad, it is true, but he had never taken "active service" in its present literal sense, and, as he frequently declared to his companions, he preferred giving an Indian warrior a chance for his scalp any hour after breakfast, to rising at daybreak, when, from very stupefaction, he seldom knew whether he stood on his head or his heels.

All he waited for, he protested, was to have an opportunity of bearing away the spoils of some Indian
chief, that, on his return to England, he might afford his lady mother an opportunity of judging with her own eyes of the sort of enemy he had relinquished the comforts of home to contend against, and exhibiting to her very dear friends the barbarous proofs of the prowess of her son. Though these observations were usually made half in jest half in earnest, there was no reason to doubt the young and lively baronet was, in truth, heartily tired of a service which seemed to offer nothing but privations and annoyances, unmixed with even the chances of obtaining those trophies to which he alluded.

I.173.16 second the WCL, DD

I.174.12 eulogized WCL, DD

I.175.23- I.178.11 When, however, the high standard of our fancy's fair creation is attained, we worship as something sacred that which was to our hearts a source of pure and absorbing interest, hallowed by the very secrecy in which such interest was indulged. Even where it fails, so unwilling are we to lose sight of the illusion to which our thoughts have fondly clung, so loth to destroy the identity of the semblance with its original, that we throw a veil over that reason which is then so little in unison with our wishes, and forgive much in consideration of the very mystery which first gave a
direction to our interest, and subsequently chained our preference. How is it to be lamented, that illusions so dear, and images so fanciful, should find their level with time; or that intercourse with the world, which should be the means rather of promoting than marring human happiness, should leave on the heart so little vestige of those impressions which characterize the fervency of youth; and which, dispassionately considered, constitute the only true felicity of riper life! It is then that man, in all the vigour and capacity of his intellectual nature, feels the sentiment of love upon him in all its ennobling force. It is then that his impetuous feelings, untinged by the romance which imposes its check upon the more youthful, like the wild flow of the mighty torrent, seeks a channel wherein they may empty themselves; and were he to follow the guidance of those feelings, of which in that riper life he seems ashamed as of a weakness unworthy his sex, in the warm and glowing bosom of Nature's divinity—woman—would he pour forth the swollen tide of his affection; and acknowledge, in the fulness of his expanding heart, the vast bounty of Providence, who had bestowed on him so invaluable—so unspeakably invaluable, a blessing.—But no; in the pursuit of ambition, in the acquisition of wealth, in the
thirst after power, and the craving after distinction, nay, nineteen times out of twenty, in the most frivolous occupations, the most unsatisfactory amusements, do the great mass of the maturer man sink those feelings; divested of which, we become mere plodders on the earth, mere creatures of materialism; nor is it until after age and infirmity have overtaken them, they look back with regret to that real and substantial, but unenjoyed happiness, which the occupied heart and the soul’s communion alone can bestow. Then indeed, when too late, are they ready to acknowledge the futility of those pursuits, the inadequacy of those mere ephemeral pleasures, to which in the full meridian of their manhood they sacrificed, as a thing unworthy of their dignity, the mysterious charm of woman’s influence and woman’s beauty.

but certain it is, the floating illusions, conjured up by his imagination, exercised a mysterious influence over his heart, that hourly acquired a deeper and less equivocal character. It might have been curiosity in the first instance, or that mere repose of the fancy upon an object of its own creation, which was natural to a young
man placed like himself for the moment out of the pale of all female society. It has been remarked, and justly, there is nothing so dangerous to the peace of the human heart as solitude. It is in solitude, our thoughts, taking their colouring from our feelings, invest themselves with the power of multiplying ideal beauty, until we become in a measure tenants of a world of our own creation, from which we never descend, without loathing and disgust, into the dull and matter-of-fact routine of actual existence. Hence the misery of the imaginative man!—hence his little sympathy with the mass, who, tame and soulless, look upon life and the things of life, not through the refining medium of ideality, but through the grossly magnifying optics of mere sense and materialism.

But, though we could, and perhaps may, at some future period, write volumes on this subject, we return for the present from a digression into which we have been insensibly led by the temporary excitement of our own feelings.

I.181.8 alone,—
I.184.10 bed.—
I.184.10 Morrison, where
I.184.14 man approaching
I.184.20 The effort
I.185.10 violent
Sir Everard, particularly, felt, and was not slow to express, his joy on this occasion; for, as he gazed upon the countenance of his friend, he was more than ever inclined to confess an interest in the sister he was said so much to resemble.

It was that delicate and Medor-like beauty which might have won the heart
and fascinated the sense of a second Angelica. The light brown hair flowing in thick and natural waves over a high white forehead; the rich bloom of the transparent and downy cheek;

I.192.11 the large
I.192.13 harmonised
I.194.1 suit; and
I.194.20 that treasure,
I.195.17- I.197.16 One doubt alone crossed his mind.

"But if your sister should have decided differently, Charles," he at length remarked, as he gently quitted the embrace of his friend: "who knows if her heart may not already throb for another; and even if not, it is possible she may judge me for less flatteringly than you do."

"Valletort, your fears are groundless. Having admitted thus far, I will even go farther, and add, you have been the subject of one of my letters to Clara, who, in her turn, 'confesses a strong interest in one whom she has heard so much.' She writes playfully, of course, but it is quite evident to me she is prepared to like you."

"Indeed! But, Charles, liking is many degrees removed you know from loving; besides, I understand there are two or three handsome and accomplished fellows among the garrison of Michillimackinac, and your sister's visit to her cousin may not have been paid
altogether with impunity."

"Think not thus meanly of Clara's understanding, Valletort. There must be something more than mere beauty and accomplishment to fix the heart of my sister. The dark-eyed and elegant Baynton, and the musical and sonnetteering Middleton, to whom you, doubtless, allude, are very excellent fellows in their way; but handsome and accomplished as they are, they are not exactly the men to please Clara de Haldimar."

"But, my dear Charles, you forget also any little merit of my own is doubly enhanced in your eyes, by the sincerity of the friendship subsisting between us; your sister may think very differently."

"Psha, Valletort! these difficulties are all of your own creation," returned his friend, impatiently; "I know the heart of Clara is disengaged. What would you more?"

"Enough, De Haldimar; I will no longer doubt my own prospects. If she but approve me, my whole life shall be devoted to the happiness of your sister."

I.197.22 man, touching
I.198.3 dangers
I.198.5 present

VARIANTS

[omits] WCL, DD

man touching DD
danger DD
[omits] DD
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<td>well known WCL</td>
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<td>Colonel and Commandant DD</td>
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<td>one-half DD</td>
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<td>area, while WCL, DD</td>
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<td>I.204.15-</td>
<td>[omits] WCL, DD</td>
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<td>smoke-dried</td>
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<td>anything DD</td>
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<td>I.207.23</td>
<td>Ponteac WCL, DD</td>
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<td>I.208.5</td>
<td>colonel WCL, DD</td>
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<td>I.208.19</td>
<td>nunquam DD</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.209.12</td>
<td>so, at least to WCL, DD</td>
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<td>I.209.16</td>
<td>earl WCL, DD</td>
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<td>I.209.22</td>
<td>for an approval DD</td>
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<td>I.210.6</td>
<td>anything DD</td>
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<td>I.211.1</td>
<td>stood DD</td>
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<td>I.211.4</td>
<td>spirit, as WCL, DD</td>
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<td>I.212.13</td>
<td>colonel KB,DD</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.212.14</td>
<td>answer if DD</td>
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</table>
The barracks of the officers, consisting of a range of low buildings, occupied the two contiguous sides of a square, and in the front of these ran a narrow and covered piazza, somewhat similar to those attached to the guard-houses in England, which description of building the barracks themselves most resembled. On the other two faces of the square stood several block-houses, a style of structure which, from their adaptation to purposes of defence as well as of accommodation, were everywhere at that period in use in America, and are even now continued along the more exposed parts of the frontier. These, capable of containing each a company of men, were, as their name implies, formed of huge masses of roughly-shapen timber, fitted into each other at the extremities by rude incisions from the axe, and filled in with smaller wedges of wood. The upper part of these block-houses projected on every side several feet beyond the ground floor, and over the whole was a sheathing of planks, which, as well as those covering the barracks of the officers, were painted of a brick-red colour. Unlike the latter, they rose considerably above the surface of the ramparts; and, in addition to the small window to be seen on each side of each story of the block-house, were numerous
smaller square holes, perforated for the discharge of musketry. Between both these barracks and the ramparts there was just space sufficient to admit of the passage of artillery of a heavy calibre; and at each of the four angles, composing the lines of the fort, was an opening of several feet in extent, not only to afford the gunners room to work their batteries, but to enable them to reach their posts with greater expedition in the event of any sudden emergency. On the right, on entering the fort over the drawbridge, were the blockhouses of the men; and immediately in front, and on the left, the barracks of the officers, terminated at the outer extremity by the guardhouse, and at the inner by the quarters of the commanding officer.

I.216.1 issued
I.217.21 mob-cap
I.218.12 exposure, in
I.219.17 violent, and
I.220.1-2 the lips of
I.220.3 well-intentioned
I.220.9 any one
I.220.20 bedside
I.221.9 Moreover, Mr.
I.222.7 should
It is then that Nature, who seems from the creation to have bestowed all of grandeur and sublimity on the stupendous Americas, looks gladly and complacently on her work; and, staying the course of parching suns and desolating frosts, loves to luxuriate for a period in the broad and teeming bosom of her gigantic offspring. It is then that the forest-leaves, alike free from the influence of the howling hurricane of summer, and the paralysing and unfathomable snows of winter, cleave, tame and still in their varying tints, to the parent branch; while the broad rivers and majestic lakes exhibit a surface resembling rather the incrustation of the polished mirror.
than the resistless, viewless particles of which the golden element is composed. It is then that, casting its satisfied glance across those magnificent rivers, the eye beholds, as if reflected from a mirror (so similar in production and appearance are the contiguous shores), both the fertility of cultivated and the rudeness of uncultivated nature, that every where surround and diversify the view. The tall and sloping banks, covered with verdure to the very sands, that unite with the waters lying motionless at their base; the continuous chain of neat farm-houses (we speak principally of Détroit and its opposite shores); the luxuriant and bending orchards, teeming with fruits of every kind and of every colour; the ripe and yellow corn vying in hue with the soft atmosphere, which reflects and gives full effect to its abundance and its richness,—these, with the intervening waters unruffled, save by the lazy skiff, or the light bark canoe urged with the rapidity of thought along its surface by the slight and elegantly ornamented paddle of the Indian; or by the sudden leaping of the large salmon, the unwieldy sturgeon, the bearded cat-fish, or the delicately flavoured maskinongé, and fifty other tenants of their bosom;—all these contribute to form the foreground of a picture bounded in perspective by no less interesting, though perhaps ruder marks of
the magnificence of that great architect—Nature, on which the eye never lingers without calm; while feelings, at once voluptuous and tender, creep insensibly over the heart, and raise the mind in adoration to the one great and sole Cause by which the stupendous whole has been produced.

Detroit

The heavy dull movement of the guns, as they traversed the drawbridge resembled in that confined atmosphere the rumbling of low and distant thunder; and as they shook the rude and hollow sounding planks, over which they were slowly dragged, called up to every heart the sad recollection of the service for which they had been required. Even the tramp of the men, as they moved heavily and measuredly across the yielding bridge, seemed to wear the character of the reluctance with which they proceeded on so hateful a duty; and more than one individual, as he momentarily turned his eye upon the ramparts, where many of his comrades were grouped together watching the departure of the detachment, testified by the significant and mournful movement of his head how much he envied their exemption from the task.

The direct military road runs in a straight line from the fort to the banks of the Détroit, and the eastern ex-
tremity of the town. Here it is intersected by the highway running parallel with the river, and branching off at right angles on either hand; the right, leading in the direction of the more populous States; the left, through the town, and thence towards the more remote and western parts, where European influence has yet been but partially extended. The only difference between its present and former character is, that what is now a flourishing commercial town was then a mere village; while the adjacent country, at present teeming with every mark of vegetation, bore no other evidence of fertility than what was afforded by a few scattered farm-houses, many of which skirted various parts of the forest. Along this road

I.231.23 the detachment
I.231.23 now
I.231.24 and
I.232.10 and cap
I.234.2 Détroit
I.234.15 receive
I.234.23 Détroit
I.235.7-1.236.10 The men removed their short dingy clay pipes from their mouths with one hand, and uncovered themselves with the other, while the women made their hasty reverence

[omits] WCL, DD

The detachment WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
and a cap DD
Detroit WCL, DD
recive WCL
Detroit WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
with the air of people who seek to propitiate by an act of civility; even the very children scraped and howed, as if they feared the omission might be fatal to them, and, clinging to the hands and dress of their parents, looked up occasionally to their countenances to discover whether the apprehensions of their own fluttering and timid hearts were likely to be realised. Still there was sufficient of curiosity with all to render them attentive spectators of the passing troop. Hitherto, it had been imagined, the object of the English was an attack on the encampments of their enemies; but when the gaze of each adult inhabitant fell on the unaccoutred form of the lone soldier, who, calm though pale, now moved among his comrades in the ignominious garb of death, they could no longer doubt its true destination.

The aged made the sign of the cross, and mumbled over a short prayer for the repose of his soul, while the more youthful indulged in half-breathed ejaculations of pity and concern that so fine and interesting a man should be doomed to so dreadful a fate.
Canadians, cape, or hood, attached to it:

his face was ruddy and shining as that of any rival Boniface among the race of the hereditary enemies of his forefathers; and his thick short neck, and round fat person, attested he was no more an enemy to the good things of this world than themselves, while he was as little oppressed by its cares: his nether garments were of a coarse blue homespun, and his feet were protected by that rudest of all rude coverings, the Canadian shoe-pack. This was composed of a single piece of stiff brown leather, curved and puckered round the sides and front, where it was met by a tongue of softer material, which helped to confine it in that position, and to form the shoe. A bandana handkerchief fell from his neck upon his chest; the covering of which was so imperfectly drawn, as to disclose a quantity of long, coarse, black, and grisly hair.

numerous numerously DD

Upon his large feet he wore mocassins, made of the same pliant material with his leggings, and differing in shape from the foot-gear of his companion in this particular only, that they had
no tongue introduced into the front; they were puckered together by a strong sinew of the deer, until they met along the instep in a seam concealed by the same ornamental quill-work that decorated the garters: a sort of flap, fringed like the leggings, was folded back from the ankle, upon the sides of the foot, and the whole was confined by a strong though neat leathern thong, made of smoked deer-skin also, which, after passing once or twice under the foot, was then tightly drawn several times round the ankle, where it was finally secured. Two strips of leather, about an inch and a half in width, attached to the outer side of each legging, were made fast at their opposite extremities to a strong girdle, encircling the loins, and supporting a piece of coarse blue cloth, which, after passing completely under the body, fell in short flaps both before and behind. The remainder of the dress consisted of a cotton shirt, figured and sprigged an a dark ground, that fell unconfined over the person; a close deer-skin hunting-coat, fringed also at its edges; and a coarse common felt hat, in the string of which (for there was no band) were twisted a number of variegated feathers, furnished by the most beautiful and rare of the American autumnal birds. Outside this hunting-coat, and across the right shoulder, was flung an ornamented belt, to which were appended, on
the left side, and in a line with the elbow, a shot-pouch, made of the untanned hide of some wild animal, and a flask for powder, formed of the horn of the buffalo; on which, highly polished for this purpose, were inscribed, with singular accuracy of proportion, a variety of figures, both of men, and birds, and beasts, and fishes; two or three small horn measures for powder, and a long thin wire, intended to serve as a pricker for the rifle that reclined against the outside of the hut, were also attached to this belt by strips of deer-skin of about six inches in length. Into another broad leathern belt, that confined the hunting coat, was thrust a tomahawk, the glittering head of which was uppermost, and unsheathed; while at the opposite side, and half supporting the powder-horn, the huge handle of a knife, whose blade was buried in a strong leathern sheath, was distinctly visible.

I.241.13 formidable
I.241.14 considerably
I.241.17 in a singular degree
I.241.20 general
I.242.3 cheek-bone
I.242.4 shining, black
I.242.17 lower
I.242.17-19 We have already stated the
upper part of his leggings terminated about mid-thigh;

From WCL,DD

the limb

WCL,DD

and throw himself forward in the eager attitude of one waiting until the object of his aim should appear in sight,

WCL,DD

seat to DD

and picturesque

WCL,DD

active and

WCL,DD

any thing

anything DD

assumed--

assumed. WCL,DD

--his right cheek reposing on the ornamented stock of his rifle, and his quick and steady eye fixed in one un-deviating line with the sight near the breech, and that which surmounted the extreme end of the deadly weapon.

WCL,DD

than the aim was taken, the WCL,DD

trigger was pulled WCL,DD

butt-end DD

infinite

WCL,DD

already alluded to

WCL,DD

but partaking in some degree of the idiom of both,

WCL,DD

Jamaique WCL,DD
Fleur de lis
the pockets
is, indeed, a
master
de
Fleur de lis
Still, as
Honour
summary and
Fleur de lis
, on interrogation,
gun-carriages
Honour
Honour
der- skin
under-/tone
Heaven
, not unmingled with
alarm, passed
angry and
or

VARIANTS
Fleur de Lis DD
his pockets WCL
is indeed a WCL, DD
Master
the DD
the DD
Fleur de Lis DD
Still as WCL, DD
honour WCL
honor DD
[omits] WCL, DD
Fleur de Lis DD
[omits] WCL, DD
gun carriages WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
gun-carriages WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
WCL, DD
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<td>The mandate</td>
<td>This mandate</td>
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<td>Fleur de lis</td>
<td>Fleur de Lis</td>
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<td>I.254.1</td>
<td>off, however, two ranks,</td>
<td>off, however, two</td>
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<td>I.254.24</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>the</td>
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<td>ranks.</td>
<td>ranks.</td>
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<td>The order</td>
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<td>Fleur de lis</td>
<td>Fleur de Lis</td>
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<td>I.257.10</td>
<td>energies,--</td>
<td>energies--</td>
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<td>I.258.10-11</td>
<td>heaven with</td>
<td>heaven, with</td>
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<td>I.259.11</td>
<td>here&quot;</td>
<td>here,&quot;</td>
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<td>I.259.12</td>
<td>chest)</td>
<td>chest,</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.260.9</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>which</td>
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<td>I.260.15</td>
<td>nor</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
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<td>I.260.18</td>
<td>any thing</td>
<td>anything</td>
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<td>I.262.12</td>
<td>breathing, as</td>
<td>breathing as</td>
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<td>I.263.24</td>
<td>Détroit</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.264.5</td>
<td>in our introductory chapter</td>
<td>[omits]</td>
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<td>I.264.13</td>
<td>Détroit</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
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<td>I.264.23</td>
<td>Détroit</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
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<td>I.265.2</td>
<td>as we have elsewhere shown,</td>
<td>[omits]</td>
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<td>I.265.4</td>
<td>bore, in</td>
<td>bore in</td>
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<td>I.266.18</td>
<td>stated, lay</td>
<td>stated lay</td>
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<td>I.266.22</td>
<td>to have sealed</td>
<td>to seal</td>
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I.268.17 Prayer-book
I.269.14-15 upwards of
I.270.23 Fleur de lis
I.270.24- I.271.3 took he increased the space that divided him from his companions, and lessened that which kept him from his panting and nearly exhausted
I.272.14 "Meanwhile
I.272.15 Fleur de lis
I.273.5-9 Although the exertions of the former had been stupendous, such was the eagerness and determination of the latter, that at each step he gained perceptibly on his victim.
I.274.11 recapture
I.275.16 recapture
I.276.14 flight, until
I.276.24 Fleur de lis
I.277.1 victim, in
I.277.19 garment
I.278.5 paralysed
I.278.16 away; and
I.278.25 Fleur de lis
I.278.25 lis.
"Hear you this, Colonel de Haldimar?" shouted the latter in a fierce and powerful voice, and in the purest English accent: "Hear you the curse and prophecy of this heart-broken woman? You have slain her husband, but she has found another. Ay, she shall be my bride, if only for her destestation of yourself. When next you see us here," he thundered, "tremble for your race. Ha, ha, ha! no doubt this is another victim of your cold and calculating guile; but it shall be the last. By Heaven, my very heart leaps upward in anticipation of thy coming hour. Woman, thy hatred to this man has made me love thee; yes, thou shalt be my bride, and with my plans of vengeance will I woo thee. By this kiss I swear it."

As he spoke, he bent his face over that of the pale and inanimate woman, and pressed his lips to hers, yet red and moist with blood spots from the wounds of her husband. Then wrestling, with a violent effort, his reeking tomahawk from the crunched brain of the unfortunate soldier, and before any one could recover sufficiently from the effect of the scene altogether to think even of interfering, he expedition he had previously bore off his prize in triumph, and fled, with nearly the same direction of the forest, before any one manifested, in the direction of the forest.
CHAPTER I.

our first volume has
drawbridge
Detroit
not, as
secretly
moccasins
one of those
coats
elsewhere described
3.1
formed
lend
They were both well armed.
powder horn
shot pouch
put off the dignity and distance of his usually unapproachable nature, to
be dejection

CHAPTER XI. WCL
CHAPTER X. DD

the previous pages have
WCL, DD
draw-bridge DD
Detroit WCL, DD
not as DD
secretly DD
moccasins WCL, DD
a WCL, DD
coat WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD

forming DD
render DD
[omits] WCL, DD
powder-horn DD
shot-pouch DD
put off his usual distance, to WCL, DD
be, dejection DD
II.5.18-19 to be insensible
II.5.19 or, if not insensible,
II.5.22 undissembled
II.6.6 every thing
II.6.15 lis
II.6.23 you will, to
II.8.3 adieus
II.9.5 agitated; and
II.10.6 within me,
II.10.7 spirits, and
II.10.16 afterwards, the
II.11.15 lis
II.12.8 elder, as
II.12.13 womans
II.13.12 ear
II.13.13 of woman's
II.14.7 For
II.14.24 Each
II.16.4 "It is
II.16.7 loud, as if
II.16.8-9 house, and
II.16.14 Détroit, we
II.16.18 de canoe
II.17.3-4 evident, if disposed to harm them, he

VARIANTS

to be, if not insensible WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
everything DD
Lis DD
you will to DD
adieux DD
agitated: and WCL, DD
[omits] DD
spirits and WCL, DD
afterwards the WCL, DD
Lis DD
elder as WCL, DD
woman DD
ears DD
of a woman's DD
For WCL, DD
Each WCL, DD
"It is WCL, DD
loud as if DD
house and DD
Detroit we WCL, DD
the canoe DD
evident, if disposed to harm them he WCL
II.17.9 neutralize
II.18.21 Heaven, use
II.21.6 preparation
II.22.1 CHAPTER II.
II.23.22 parts as
II.24.20 moccasined KB, DD
II.25.14-15 equipment, worn
II.26.1 Heaven WCL
II.26.9 any thing
II.26.12 refilling
II.27.2 inquiringly
II.27.3 his
II.27.5 Partly
II.28.6 faculties had,
II.28.23 betrayed he
II.29.14 "Impossible
II.29.20 surprise, the
II.29.22 Heaven
II.29.24 this?--Is
II.30.2 fancy?--Do
II.30.15 any thing
II.31.2 window; it

VARIANTS

evident if disposed
to harm them he DD
neutralise WCL, DD
Heaven use DD
preparations DD

CHAPTER XII. WCL
CHAPTER XI. DD
parts, as WCL, DD
moccasined WCL
equipment worn WCL, DD
heaven KB, DD
anything DD
re-filling DD
enquiringly WCL, DD
this WCL, DD
Partly WCL, DD
faculties, had, WCL, DD
betrayed that he WCL, DD
"Impossible WCL, DD
surprise the DD
heaven WCL, DD
this? Is DD
fancy--Do WCL, DD
anything DD
window, it DD
VARIANTS

divine," is WCL,DD
[omits] WCL,DD
the DD
souls DD
It is, that WCL,DD
know and DD
"Drop WCL,DD
opened! and WCL,DD
everything DD
[omits] DD
[omits] WCL,DD
our DD
unfeigned WCL
around DD
his DD
table and DD
The heavens WCL,DD
Cautiously WCL,DD
Lis DD
savage, in WCL,DD
heaven WCL,DD
it is not! DD
"Quick WCL,DD
your DD
lost: the WCL,DD
II.41.8 The howl

II.42.22-23 cries of the rushing band, cries of a band of Indians

II.43.9 "What

II.43.24 Détroit

II.44.1 CHAPTER III.

II.44.2 to

II.44.6 garrison

II.44.7 arms, by

II.44.8 works; a

II.44.12 bomb proof

II.45.1 latter

II.45.16 deer-skin

II.45.19-20 himself, and

II.46.3 warrior;

II.46.10 True; you

II.46.11-14 in a tone now completely divested of the haughtiness which formerly characterised his address to his officers.

II.46.17 "We

II.47.3 Heaven

II.47.8 artillery-man

II.47.14-15 with the exception of their leader and two others,

II.47.17 who

VARIANTS

The howl WCL,DD

cries of a band of Indians WCL,DD

What WCL

Detroit WCL,DD

CHAPTER XIII. WCL

CHAPTER XII. DD

[omits] WCL,DD

garrison WCL

arms by DD

works: a DD

bomb-proof WCL,DD

[omits] DD

deer skin WCL,DD

himself and DD

warrior: WCL,DD

True: you WCL,DD

[omits] WCL,DD

"We WCL,DD

heaven WCL,DD

artillery man WCL,DD

[omits] DD

[omits] DD
II.48.14 any thing
II.48.22 civilised
II.49.6 The order
II.49.10 were [amended "was" in errata]
II.49.13 has, for
II.50.7 lies
II.50.21 he
II.51.4 course, until
II.51.14 "The warriors
II.52.6 himself; "but
II.53.5-6 Ottawas, and the other tribes, find
II.53.22 self-command
II.53.22-23 Ottawas, and the other tribes, ask
II.54.6 The warrior
II.54.9 "The rich
II.54.23 strong holds
II.55.4 but
II.55.19 council room
II.56.3 The warrior
II.56.15 strong hold
II.56.16 fly, he
II.56.18 fox" (and this was said with marked emphasis), "what
Saganawn (pointing to the pistols of the officers) "could

A second stronghold

He next

Ugh

emotion

"Even everywhere

Meanwhile manufactured, after room, near any thing the example any thing seat, that To the Ugh

VARIANTS

fox, (and this was said with marked emphasis,) what DD

A half WCL, DD

Saganaw DD

Saganaw (pointing to the pistols of the officers) could "He WCL, DD

A second WCL, DD  ugh! WCL, DD

did DD

stronghold DD

He next WCL, DD ugh WCL, DD

motion DD

Even WCL, DD

everywhere DD

Meanwhile WCL, DD manufactured after WCL, DD room near WCL, DD anything DD thee xample DD any thing DD seat that WCL, DD To the WCL, DD ugh WCL, DD
CHAPTER XIII. "OCTOBER"

block houses

CHAPTER XIV. "OCTOBER"

CHAPTER XIII. "OCTOBER"

block-houses WCL, DD

CHAPTER XIV. "OCTOBER"

CHAPTER XIII. "OCTOBER"

council-hall DD

buffalo WCL, DD

? What DD

strongholds DD

cunning like DD

strongholds DD

Saganaws believing DD

strongholds DD

Indian.--"When WCL

whom he DD

ughs WCL, DD

Detroit WCL, DD

Detroit WCL, DD

governor; for DD

Detroit WCL, DD

country. But DD

[omits] DD

The Shawanese and the Dela-
wares are great nations; but
the Ottawas are greater than
any, and their chiefs are
full of wisdom.

warrior in WCL, DD

warrior in WCL, DD

heart--fear KB, DD

heart--fear KB, DD
right?" The

"Does

their

great

came, the

lis

"The great

wrong, if

sick, but

"Ugh!

listeners, to

lis

evident, swayed

purpose, so

strong hold

Détroit

strong holds

The Indian

on whom we have already inflicted too much of this scene,

Suffice it to observe,

each

The latter

strong hold

Ottawa
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<td>II.85.24</td>
<td>very sick.</td>
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<td>II.86.9</td>
<td>&quot;When</td>
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<td>II.88.8</td>
<td>war whoop</td>
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<td>bear's</td>
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<td>II.91.5</td>
<td>themselves, they</td>
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<td>II.91.9</td>
<td>length it came, that</td>
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<td>II.91.10-11</td>
<td>who saw no beauty</td>
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for as DD
very sick." WCL,DD
"When WCL,DD
war-whoop DD
block-house WCL,DD
whom for DD
CHAPTER XIV. DD
bear's WCL,DD
themselves they DD
length came that WCL,DD
who saw beauty WCL
The DD
men who DD
pursued, after WCL,DD
exceeded were DD
realized DD
liveliest DD
in DD
Detroit WCL,DD
life that DD
bnt WCL
shriek uttered DD
recently in WCL,DD
Oh, Blessington, pursued the sensitive and affectionate young officer, "I should vainly attempt to paint all that passed in my mind at that dreadful moment. Nothing but the depth of my despair gave me strength to support the scene throughout. I saw the frantic and half-naked woman glide like a phantom past the troops, dividing the air with the rapidity of thought. I knew it to be Ellen; for

The discovery and standing room."

I tried to give vent to my overcharged heart in tears; but the power was denied me, and I sank at once into that stupefaction which you have since remarked in me, and which has been increasing every hour. What additional cause I have had for the indulgence of this confirmed despondency you are well acquainted with. It is childish, it is unsoldierlike, I admit: but, alas! that dreadful scene is eternally before my eyes, and absorbs my mind, to the exclusion of every other feeling. I have not a thought or a care but for the fate that too certainly awaits those who are most dear to me; and if this be a weakness, it is one I shall never have the power to shake off. In a word, Blessington, I am heart-broken."
II.100.16 and manner

II.100.18 heart;

II.100.18-107.17 and it was some moments before he could so far recover himself as to observe,—

"That scene, Charles, was doubtless a heart-rending one to us all; for I well recollect, on turning to remark the impression made on my men when the wretched Ellen Halloway pronounced her appalling curse, to have seen the large tears coursing each other over the furrowed cheeks of some of our oldest soldiers: and if they could feel thus, how much more acute must have been the grief of those immediately interested in its application!"

"Their tears were not for the denounced race of De Haldimar," returned the youth,—"they were shed for their unhappy comrade—they were wrung from their stubborn hearts by the agonising grief of the wife of Halloway."

"That this was the case in part, I admit," returned Captain Blessington. "The feelings of the men partook of a mixed character. It was evident that grief for Halloway, compassion for his wife, secret indignation and, it may be, disgust at the severity of your father, and sorrow for his innocent family, who were included in that denunciation, predominated with equal force in their hearts at the same moment. There was an expression that told how little they would have pitied any anguish of
mind inflicted on their colonel, provided his children, whom they loved, were not to be sacrificed to its accomplishment."

"You admit, then, Blessington, although indirectly," replied the young De Haldimar in a voice of touching sorrow, "that the consummation of the sacrifice is to be looked for. Alas! it is that on which my mind perpetually lingers; yet, Heaven knows, my fears are not for myself."

"You mistake me, dearest Charles. I look upon the observations of the unhappy woman as the ravings of a distracted mind—the last wild outpourings of a broken heart, turning with animal instinct on the hand that has inflicted its death-blow."

"Ah, why did she except no one member of that family!" said the unhappy De Haldimar, pursuing rather the chain of his reflections than replying to the observation of his captain. "Had the weight of her malediction fallen on all else than my adored sister, I could have borne the infliction, and awaited the issue with resignation, of not without apprehension. But my poor gentle and unoffending Clara,—alike innocent of the cause, and ignorant of the effect,—what had she done to be included in this terrible curse?—she, who, in the warm and generous affection of her nature, had ever treated Ellen Halloway rather as a sister than as the dependant she always appeared." Again he covered his eyes with his
hands, to conceal the starting tears.

"De Haldimar," said Captain Blessington reprovingly, but mildly, "this immoderate grief is wrong—it is unmanly, and should be repressed. I can feel and understand the nature of your sorrow, but others may not judge so favourably. We shall soon be summoned to fall in; and I would not that Mr. Delme, in particular, should notice an emotion he is so incapable of understanding."

The hand of the young officer dropped from his face to the hilt of his sword. His cheek became scarlet; and even through the tears which he half choked himself to command, there was an unwonted flashing from his blue eye, that told how deeply the insinuation had entered his heart.

"Think you, Captain Blessington," he proudly retorted, "there is an officer in the fort who should dare to taunt me with my feelings as you have done? I came here, sir, in the expectation I should be alone. At a fitting hour I shall be found where Captain Blessington's subaltern should be—with his company."

"De Haldimar—dear De Haldimar, forgive me!" returned his captain. "Heaven knows I would not, on any consideration, wantonly inflict pain on your sensitive heart. My design was to draw you out of this desponding humour; and with this view I sought to arouse your pride, but certainly not to wound your feelings. De Haldimar," he concluded,
with marked expression, "you [omits] WCL, DD
must not, indeed, feel offended with one who has known and
esteemed you from very boyhood. Friendship and interest
in your deep affliction of spirit alone brought me here—the same feelings prompted
my remark. Do you not believe me?"

"I do," impressively return-ed the young man, grasping the
hand that was extended to him in amity. "It is I, rather,
Blessington, who should ask you to forgive my petulance;
but, indeed, indeed," and
again his tone faltered, and
his eye was dimmed, "I am
more wretched even than I am
willing to confess. Pardon my
silly conduct—it was but the
vain and momentary flashing
of the soldier's spirit im-
patient of an assumed imputa-
tion, and the man less than
the profession is to be taxed
with it. But it is past; and
already do you behold me once
more the tame and apprehensive
being I must ever continue
until all is over."

"What can I possibly urge
to console one who seems so
willing to nurse into conviction
all the melancholy imaginings
of a diseased mind," observed
Captain Blessington, in a
voice that told how deeply
he felt for the situation of
his young friend. "Recollect,
dearest Charles, the time
that has been afforded to our
friends. More than a week has
gone by since they left the
fort, and a less period was
deemed sufficient for their
purpose. Before this they must
have gained their destination.
In fact, it is my positive belief they have; for there could be nothing to detect them in their disguise. Had I the famous lamp of Aladdin," he pursued, in a livelier tone, "over the history of which Clara and yourself used to spend so many hours in childhood, I have no doubt I could show them to you quietly seated within the fort, recounting their adventures to Clara and her cousin, and discoursing of their absent friends."

"Would to Heaven you had the power to do so!" replied De Haldimar, smiling faintly at the conceit, while a ray of hope beamed for a moment upon his sick soul; "for then, indeed, would all my fears for the present be at rest. But you forget, Blessington, the encounter stated to have taken place between them and that terrible stranger near the bridge. Besides, is it not highly probable the object of their expedition was divined by that singular and mysterious being, and that means have been taken to intercept their passage? If so, all hope is at an end."

"Why persevere in viewing only the more sombre side of the picture?" returned his friend. "In your anxiety to anticipate evil, Charles, you have overlooked one important fact. Ponteac distinctly stated that his ruffian friend was still lying deprived of consciousness and speech within his tent, and yet two days had elapsed since the encounter was said.
to have taken place. Surely [omits] WCL,DD we have every reason then to infer they were beyond all reach of pursuit, even admitting, what is by no means probable, the recovery of the wretch immediately after the return of the chiefs from the council."

A gleam of satisfaction, but so transient as to be scarcely noticeable, passed over the pale features of the youthful De Haldimar. He looked his thanks to the kind officer who was thus solicitous to tender him consolation; and was about to reply, when

II.107.17 the attention The attention WCL,DD
II.108.1 as the as the WCL
II.108.9 now, as now as DD
II.108.21 ramparts; "but ramparts; but DD
II.109.10 then, let then let DD
II.109.20 arm, on arm on DD

II.110.1 CHAPTER VI. CHAPTER XVI. WCL
II.111.14 any thing anything DD
II.115.8 nation nations DD
II.115.14 groups at groups, at WCL,DD
II.116.6 gate by gate, by WCL,DD
II.116.15 blockhouses block-houses WCL,DD
II.118.15 father is father, is WCL,DD
II.121.4 when, at when at WCL,DD
and, above all,
point, was
fort; and
were
council-room, not
sport from
force outstripped
council-room
any KB,DD
he first
governor calmly
with
strong-hold

Détroit
war-dance
council-room
Prairie
made, that
secured. KB,DD

and above all, DD
point was WCL,DD
fort, and WCL,DD
was WCL,DD
council-room not DD
sport, from WCL,DD
force, outstripped WCL,DD
council room WCL,DD
are WCL
the first WCL,DD
governor, calmly WCL,DD
[omits] DD
strong hold WCL
stronghold DD
Detroit WCL,DD
war dance WCL,DD
council room DD
prairie WCL,DD
made that WCL,DD
secured.* WCL

*The occurrences re-
lated in this chapter,
and the awful details
which follow relative
to the destruction of
Fort Michillimackinac,
are historically correct.
For a very interesting
account of this event-
ful period of our hist-
VARIANTS

ory, see "Travels in the interior parts of North America, for more than 4,000 miles, in the years 1760, &c., by Jonathan Carver." But for a more interesting book, "Travels and Adventures in Canada, and the Indian territory, between the years 1760 and 1776, By Alexander Henry, Esq." Number 4081, octavo, in the Philadelphia Library. For a condensed and satisfactory account, see also 2d vol. of "Thacher's Indian Biography," recently published in New York, and to be had in every book store; in it will be found a life of Pontiac, or Pontiac, as it is sometimes spelled.--Ed.

II.138.1 CHAPTER VII.

II.138.5 lis

II.138.12 court-martial

II.138.12 martial, distinctly

II.139.9 known most

II.139.11 subject

II.141.7 look-out

II.142.7 hair:

II.142.14 not

II.143.4 winch
secured, before
nivir
rigimentals
Donellan;
'All's well!
any where
interwoven, that
him
footing, by
loose
path, which
himself, proceeded
observed:
blade of

Gallantry in the civil-
ised man is a sentiment
that never wholly abandons
him; and in whatever clime
he may be thrown, or under
whatever circumstances he
may be placed,—be it called
forth by white or by blacka-
moor,—it is certain to
influence his conduct: it
is a refinement, of that
instinctive deference to the
weaker sex, which nature has
implanted in him for the
wisest of purposes; and which,
while it tends to exalt those
to whom its influence is ex-
tended, fails not to reflect
a corresponding lustre on
himself.
Most men love to render tribute to a delicate and pretty foot. Some, indeed, go so far as to connect every thing feminine with these qualities, and to believe that nothing can be feminine without them. For our parts, we confess, that, although no enemies to a pretty foot, it is by no means a sine qua non in our estimation of female perfection; being in no way disposed, where the head and heart are gems, to undervalue these in consideration of any deficiency in the heels. Captain de Haldimar probably thought otherwise; for

When WCL,DD

Captain de Haldimar WCL,DD

anything DD

and secretly WCL,DD

and drawing DD

thickly, although WCL,DD

Within these groups of human forms lay, wrapped WCL,DD

admirable DD

and DD

and sat a little aloof from his inferiors, with his DD

cry that WCL,DD

[omits] DD
jerkin, or hunting-coat, of leather
scalping-knife
man; and
Ottawa, are
group, at
and
any thing
Détroit
the
despaired
give
characterize
any thing
shape half
ear

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHAPTER XVII.

garrisons
Michilimaciknac
deliberative
every thing
war-pipe
Michilimackinac
and, with
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CHAPTER IX.

nearly now

captivity: and

Heaven

?--Recollect

Indians; and

Englishman, as

twinkle

observed, sneeringly,

garrison.

are, indeed, a

father; and

race, and

carcass

exultingly;

sentinels I

years; and

believe that

twinkled

but, until

calm

Heaven

CHAPTER XIX. WCL

now nearly WCL,DD

captivity; and DD

heaven WCL,DD

? Recollect DD

Indians: and WCL,DD

Englishman DD

quail DD

observed sneeringly WCL,DD

garrison." WCL,DD

are indeed a DD

father: and WCL,DD

race and DD

carcass WCL,DD

exultingly, WCL,DD

sentinels, I DD

years, and WCL

believe, that DD

quailed DD

but until DD

quiet DD

heaven WCL,DD

[omits] DD
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<td>who were, in some degree, who were, in some degree, DD</td>
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<td>who, although who, also, although DD</td>
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<td>the shoal-loving pickerel or pike, or white or black bass, or [omits] WCL,DD</td>
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<td>mourned his mourned at his DD</td>
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<td>frame; and frame: and WCL,DD</td>
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<td>however had WCL,DD</td>
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<td>sitting room DD</td>
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<td>extremity on DD</td>
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<td>the DD</td>
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II.248.11 carcass

II.248.18 Head-/-dresses

II.248.22 quivers handomely, and

II.249.3 horsehair

II.249.3 feathers curiously

II.249.22 sculptor but

II.251.4 transatlantic

II.251.8 and, scattered

II.251.16 Detroit

II.252.3 of

II.252.13 stern-sheets

II.253.1 , and somewhat petite

II.253.2-4 with one small and delicate-ly formed hand supporting her cheek, while the other played almost unconsciously

II.253.4 letter,

II.253.7 beyond, and

II.253.17- II.254.5 Neither did the face belies the general expression of the figure. The eyes, of a light hazel, were large, full, and somewhat prominent—the forehead broad, high, and redolent with an expression of character—and the cheek rich in that peculiar colour which can be likened only to the downy hues of the peach, and is,
in itself, a physical earnest of the existence of deep, but not boisterous—of devoted, but not obtrusive affections; an impression that was not, in the present instance, weakened by the full and pouting lip, and the rather heavy formation of the lower face.

II.254.6 expression, moreover, expression moreover, DD
II.254.15 nay, the voluptuousness nay voluptuousness DD
II.255.8 could would DD
II.255.11 united heart united, heart WCL,DD
II.255.12 thought in thought, in WCL,DD
II.256.13 Detroit Detroit WCL,DD
II.257.4 the [omits] DD
II.258.1 Heaven heaven WCL,DD
II.258.13 heart: then heart; then WCL,DD
II.258.19 to deny that I to deny that, I WCL,DD
guilty.---But guilty. But WCL,DD
II.260.1 But, who But who DD
II.260.2 their their WCL
II.260.8 Pottowatamies by Pottowatamies, by WCL,DD
II.260.20 note—/book note book WCL,DD
II.261.8 ball-players ball players WCL,DD
II.261.16 attraction attractions DD
II.262.4 beauty." beauty. WCL
II.262.8 come.—Adieu come. Adieu WCL,DD
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*See Thacher's Indian Biography, and the other works already referred to. The above is historically true, and scarcely exaggerated.—Ed. WCL
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II.331.7  nowhere
II.331.11  nowhere
II.331.15  plain, however,
II.331.18  attempts
II.332.1  ."Then
II.332.15  END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

long-since
moreover contributed

well-known
more; and
Charybdis
at the
bore
his
and the occasional spighting
of tobacco juice upon the
deck,—all these symptoms

CHAPTER XXIII.  WCL
CHAPTER XXII.  DD
long since  WCL,DD
moreover, contributed  WCL,DD
well known  WCL,DD
more; and  WCL,DD
Charbydis  WCL,DD
at that  DD
held  DD
his  DD
[omits]  WCL,DD
III.5.21 visitant
III.6.2 up
III.6.13 the hell
III.6.24 Jones's
III.6.24 all-overishness
III.7.3 I'm damned
III.7.3-4 but energetic
III.7.9 then, again
III.7.15 nat'r'l
III.7.16 hav'n't
III.7.20 ear.--Hark
III.8.7 Didn't
III.8.8 groan like
damn my eyes,
III.8.15 a'rn't
devil, you
III.9.3 hand, and
III.9.5 boatswain:
alongside
III.9.10 what
III.9.16 the hell's
III.9.16-17 eyeballs
III.9.18 incrustation, as of blood covering

VARIANTS

visitor DD
u / WCL
[omits] WCL, DD
Jones' WCL
all overishness WCL
Hang me WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
then again WCL, DD
nat'ral DD
hav'nt WCL
havn't DD
ear. Hark DD
Did'nt WCL
groan, like WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
arn't WCL, DD
devil you DD
hand and WCL, DD
boatswain; DD
along side DD
what's WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
eye-balls WCL, DD
incurstutation as of blood, covering WCL, DD
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III.22.19 men, resolved
III.22.24 service, in
III.23.2 lis
III.24.12 Détroit
III.24.13 spirit, reflected
III.24.17 dispatched
III.25.9 still
III.27.7-11 Their vitality had been sucked, as it were, by its cold and bloodless lips; and little more than the withered rind, that had contained the seeds of so many affections, had been left.

III.27.13 of KB, DD
III.27.19 and crushing [omits] WCL, DD
III.28.7 her; and her: and DD
III.28.15 for [omits] DD
III.29.15 Détroit Detroit WCL, DD

III.30.1 CHAPTER II.
III.30.15 their the DD
III.32.4 council-room council room WCL, DD
III.32.6 weapons, were weapons were DD
III.32.21 council-room council room WCL, DD
III.33.1 about around DD
and, parrying

guard-room

saw, at a glance, there

scene; but

and

the midst of

hold, and

yet

Détroit

cruellest

a belief

reappeared

well-known

When she had last gazed upon it was from the window of her favourite apartment; and even while she held her beloved Clara clasped fondly in her almost maternal embrace, she had dared to indulge the fairest images that ever sprung into being at the creative call of woman's fancy. How bitter had been the reverse! and what incidents to fill up the sad volume of the longest life of sorrow and bereavement had not Heaven awarded her in lieu! In one short hour the weight of a thousand worlds had fallen on and crushed her heart; and when had how was the panacea to be obtained to restore one moment's
cessation from suffering to her agonised spirit? Alas! she felt at that moment, that, although she should live a thousand years, the bitterness and desolation of her grief must remain.

| III.43.12 | true, pursued | [omits] WCL,DD |
| III.43.16-III.44.12 | Even as one who, under the influence of incipient slumber, rejects the fantastic images that rise successively and indistinctly to the slothful brain, until, at length, they weaken, fade, and gradually die away, leaving nothing but a formless and confused picture of the whole; so was it with Miss de Haldimar. Had she been throughout alive to the keen recollections associated with her flight, she could not have stirred a foot in furtherance of her own safety, even if she would. The mere instinct of self-preservation would never have won one so truly devoted to the generous purpose of her deliverer, had not the temporary stupefaction of her mind prevented all desire of opposition. It is true, in the moment of her discovery of the sex of Ouanasta, she had been able to exercise her reflective powers; but they were only in connection with the present, and wholly abstract and separate from the past. | [omits] WCL,DD |
---when, in short, she saw nothing but what reminded her of the terrific past, the madness of reason returned, and the desolation of her heart was complete. And then, again, when she thought of her generous, her brave, her beloved, and too unfortunate father, whom she had seen perish at her feet—when she thought of her own gentle Clara, and the sufferings and brutalities to which, if she yet lived, she must inevitably be exposed, and of the dreadful fate of the garrison altogether, the most menial of whom was familiar to her memory, brought up, as she had been, among them from her childhood—when she dwelt on all these things

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<td>sea-board</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.48.2</td>
<td>anxiously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.48.3</td>
<td>water-buckets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.48.3</td>
<td>and, while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.49.1</td>
<td>dangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.49.6</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.51.7</td>
<td>that, in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.51.12</td>
<td>in these countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.51.16</td>
<td>Nature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VARIANTS

[omits] WCL,DD
and be damned to you, circumstance resistance, to throughout, the again riggings deck, until pouch-belts unresistingly misconception; for :--she here river lines sailors, and enemy, threw but with lis

CHAPTER III.
council-scene Détroit our introductory comprehended therefore, that, as

CHAPTER XXV. CHAPTER XXIV. council scene Detroit a previous comprehended, therefore, that as
and, with
here
damned
Erskine. Who
and, stretching
any thing
every thing
The error
A voice
forth
bed-room
occurred
and, discontinuing
Charles
must admit
the manifestation of
greatly
officer):
"what
father; he, therefore, answered
bending
Any thing
do Blessington
'Secure
and with
there
[omits]
Erskine. 'Who
and stretching
anything
everything
The error
A voice
[omits]
bed-room
occurred
and discontinuing
Charles
must, admit
[omits]
[omits]
officer:
what
father: he therefore answered
bounding
Anything
do, Blessington
"Secure
"And wherefore thus carefully wrapped up?" remarked Lieutenant Johnstone, "unless it had been intended it should meet with no injury on the way. I certainly think the portrait never would have been conveyed, in its present perfect state, by an enemy."

"The fellow seemed to feel, too, that he came in the character of one whose intentions claimed all immunity from harm," remarked Captain Wentworth. "He surely never would have stood so fearlessly on the brink of the ditch, and within pistol shot, had he not been conscious of rendering some service to those connected with us."

To these several observations of his officers, Colonel de Haldimar listened attentively; and although he made no reply, it was evident he felt gratified at the eagerness with which each sought to remove the horrible
impression he had stated to have existed in his own mind.

Meanwhile duty; and

CHAPTER IV.

given

It was in vain the faithful old Morrison, who never suffered his master to mount a guard without finding some one with whom to exchange his tour of duty, when he happened not to be in orders himself, repeatedly essayed, as he sat stirring the embers of the fire, to enter into conversation with him. The soul of the young officer was sick, past the endurance even of that kind voice; and, more than once, he impetuously bade him be silent, if he wished to continue where he was; or, if not, to join his comrades in the next guard-room. A sigh was the only respectful but pained answer to these sharp remonstrances; and De Haldimar, all absorbed even as he was in his own grief, felt it deeply; for he knew the old man loved him, and he could not bear the idea of appearing to repay with slight the well-intentioned efforts of one whom he had always looked upon more as a dependant on his
family than as the mere rude soldier. Still he could not summon courage to disclose the true nature of his grief, which the other merely ascribed to general causes and vague apprehensions of a yet unaccomplished evil. Morrison had ever loved his sister with an affection in no way inferior to that which he bore towards himself. He had also nursed her in childhood; and his memory was ever faithful to trace, as his tongue was to dwell on, those gentle and amiable qualities, which, strongly marked at an earlier period of her existence, had only undergone change, inasmuch as they had become matured and more forcibly developed in womanhood. Often, latterly, had the grey-haired veteran been in the habit of alluding to her; for he saw the subject was one that imparted a mournful satisfaction to the youth; and, with a tact that years, more than deep reading of the human heart, had given him, he ever made a point of adverting to their re-union as an event admitting not of doubt.

Hitherto the affectionate De Haldimar had loved to listen to these sounds of comfort; for, although they carried no conviction to his mind, impressed as he was with the terrible curse of Ellen Halloway, and the consequent belief that his family were devoted to some fearful doom, still they came soothingly and unctuously to his sick soul; and, all deceptive
even as he felt them to be, he found they created a hope which, while certain to be dispelled by calm after-re- flection, carried a moment- ary solace to his afflicted spirit. But, now that he had every evidence his adored sister was no more, and that illusion of hope was past for ever, to have heard her name even mentioned by one who, ignorant of the fearful truth the events of that night had elucidated, was still ready to renew a strain every chord of which had lost its power of harmony, was repugnant beyond bearing to his heart. At one moment he resolved briefly to acquaint the old man with the dread- ful fact, but unwillingness to give pain prevented him; and, moreover, he felt the grief the communication would draw from the faithful servitor of his family must be of so unchecked a nature as to render his own suffer- ings even more poignant than they were. Neither had he (independently of all other considerations) resolution enough to forego the existence of hope in another, even although it had passed entirely away from himself. It was for these reasons he had so harshly and (for him) unkind- ly checked the attempt of the old man at a conversation which he, at every moment, felt would be made to turn on the ill-fated Clara.

III.98.4 that, in that in DD
Not that there was any external influence to produce this effect, for the utmost stillness reigned both within and without the fort; and, but for the howling of some Indian wolf-dog in the distance, or the low and monotonous beat of their drums in the death-dance, there was nought that gave evidence of the existence of the dreadful enemy by whom they were beset. But the whole being of the acutely suffering De Haldimar was absorbed in recollections connected with the spot on which he stood. At one extremity was the point whence he had witnessed the dreadful tragedy of Halloway's death; at the other, that on which had been deposited the but too unerring record of the partial realisation of the horrors threatened at the termination of that tragedy; and whenever he attempted to pass each of these boundaries, he felt as if his limbs repugned the effort.

In the sentinels, his appearance among them excited but little surprise; for it was no uncommon thing for the officers of the guard to spend the greatest part of the night in visiting, in turn, the several more exposed points of the ramparts; and that it was now confined to one particular part, seemed not even to attract their notice. It was, therefore, almost wholly unremarked by his men, that the heart-stricken De Haldimar
paced his quick and uncertain walk with an imagination filled with the most fearful forebodings, and with a heart throbbing with the most painful excitement.

Hitherto, since the discovery of the contents of the packet, his mind had been so exclusively absorbed in stupifying grief for his sister, that his perception seemed utterly incapable of outstepping the limited sphere drawn around it; but now, other remembrances, connected with the localities, forced themselves upon his attention; and although, in all these, there was nothing that was not equally calculated to carry dismay and sorrow to his heart, still, in dividing his thoughts with the one supreme agony that bowed him down, they were rather welcomed than discarded.

His mind was as a wheel, embracing grief within grief, multiplied to infinitude; and the wider and more diffusive the circle, the less powerful was the concentration of sickening heart and brain on that which was the more immediate axis of the whole.

III.101.8 as he pursued his

III.101.15 the whole of

III.103.3-4 in the case of this unfortunate victim—a severity

III.103.23 lis

III.104.1 and, subsequently

III.104.2 when, disguised
monstrous in DD
who after all, DD
heaven WCL,DD
subject, answer DD
it with DD
asked." WCL
which I have reason to believe are DD

"This is singular indeed," [omits] WCL,DD
exclaimed Captain Blessington, in a tone that marked his utter and unqualified astonishment at what had now been disclosed to him; "but surely, Charles," he pursued, "if the packet handed me by Halloway were the same you allude to, he would have caused the transfer to have been made before the period chosen by him for that purpose."

"But the name," pursued De Haldimar; "how are we to separate the identity of the packets, when we recur to that name of 'Reginald'?"

"True," rejoined the musing Blessington; "there is a mystery in this that baffles all my powers of penetration. Were I in possession of the contents of the letters, I might find some clue to solve the enigma: but---"

"You surely do not mean this as a reproach, Blessington?" fervently interrupted the youth. "More I dare not, cannot say, for the secret is not my own; and feelings,
which it would be dishonour

to outrage, alone bind me to
silence. What little I have
revealed to you even now,
has been uttered in confid-
ence, I hope you have so
understood it."

"Perfectly, Charles. What
you have stated, goes no
further; but we have been
too long absent from our
guard, and I confess I have
no particular fancy for
remaining in this chill
night-air. Let us return."

De Haldimar made no
opposition, and

III.110.10 they both

III.110.20 direction, and

III.111.8 opinions

III.111.18 every where

III.113.3-
III.113.22 "The fire is at the near
extremity of the wood on Hog
Island," exclaimed Lieuten-
ant Johnstone. "I can dis-
distinctly see the forms of a
multitude of savages dancing
round it with hideous ges-
tures and menacing attitudes."

"They are dancing their
infernal war dance," said
Captain Wentworth. "How I
should like to be able to
discharge a twenty-four
pound battery, loaded with
grape, into the very heart
of the devilish throng."

"Do you see any prison-
ers?—Are any of our friends
among them?" eagerly and
tremblingly enquired De
Haldimar of the officer who
had last spoken.
Captain Wentworth made a [omits] WCL,DD sweep of his glass along the shores of the island; but apparently without success. He announced that he could discover nothing but a vast number of bark canoes lying dry and upturned on the beach.

III.113.23 their the Indians' WCL,DD
III.113.23 war dance war-dance DD
III.114.13 Erskine. "By Erskine. By DD
III.114.13 Heaven heaven WCL,DD
III.115.2 Détroit Detroit WCL,DD
III.115.3 north-western northwestern WCL
III.115.23 crediting what crediting, what WCL,DD

III.117.1 CHAPTER V. CHAPTER XXVII. WCL
III.117.6 covering cover WCL,DD
III.118.1 rampart, of rampart of WCL,DD
III.118.12 the devil [omits] WCL,DD
III.119.2 Heaven heaven WCL,DD
III.120.2 lis Lis DD
III.121.1 D---n Hang WCL,DD
III.121.22 main-mast main mast WCL,DD
III.124.22 lis Lis DD
III.126.4 governor with governor, with WCL,DD
III.126.5 remarked, and remarked and DD
"Forgive me, my father," exclaimed the youth, grasping a hand that was reluctantly extended. "I meant it not in unkindness; but indeed I have ever had the conviction strongly impressed on my spirit. I know I appear weak, childish, unsoldierlike; yet can it be wondered at, when I have been so often latterly deceived by false hopes, that now my heart has room for no other tenant than despair. I am very wretched," he pursued, with affecting despondency; "in the presence of my companions do I admit it, but they all know how I loved my sister. Can they then feel surprise, that having lost not only her, but my brother and my friend, I should be the miserable thing I am."

Colonel de Haldimar turned away, much affected; and throwing his back against the sentry box near him, passed his hand over his eyes, and remained for a few moments motionless.

"Charles, Charles, is this your promise to me?" whispered Captain Blessington, as he approached and took the hand of his unhappy friend. "Is this the self-command you
pledged yourself to exercise? [omits] WCL,DD
For Heaven's sake, agitate not your father thus, by the indulgence of a grief that can have no other tendency than to render him equally wretched. Be advised by me, and quit the rampart. Return to your guard, and endeavour to compose yourself."

III.132.7 Heaven
III.132.16 Detroit
III.133.7 shore, the
III.133.10 paddle
III.135.6 All
III.136.5 Colonel
III.136.8 "What
III.136.15, by G----!
III.136.22 generous-hearted
III.136.22 Heaven
III.137.10 one
III.137.16 Captains

CHAPTER VI.

III.138.1

Doubtless, many of our readers are prepared to expect that the doom of the unfortunate Frank Halloway was, as an officer of his regiment had already hinted, the fruit of some personal pique and concealed motive of vengeance; and that the

CHAPTER XXVIII. WCL
CHAPTER XXVII. DD

[omits] WCL,DD
dénouement of our melancholy story will afford evidence of the governor's knowledge of the true character of him, who, under an assumed name, excited such general interest at his trial and death, not only among his military superiors, but those with whom his adverse destiny had more immediately associated him. It has already been urged to us, by one or two of our critical friends to whom we have submitted what has been thus far written in our tale, that, to explain satisfactorily and consistently the extreme severity of the governor, some secret and personally influencing motive must be assigned; but to these we have intimated, what we now repeat, --namely, that we hope to bear out our story, by natural explanation and simple deduction. Who Frank Halloway really was, or what the connection existing between him and the mysterious enemy of the family of De Haldimar, the sequel of our narrative will show; but whatever its nature, and however well founded the apprehension of the governor of the formidable being hitherto known as the warrior of the Fleur de lis, and however strong his conviction that the devoted Halloway and his enemy were in secret correspondence, certain it is, that, to the very hour of the death of the former, he knew him as no other than the simple private soldier.

To have ascribed to Colonel de Haldimar motives that would have induced his eagerly seeking
the condemnation of an innocent man, either to gratify a thirst of vengeance, or to secure immunity against personal danger; would have been to have painted him, not only as a villain, but a coward. Colonel de Haldimar was neither; but, on the contrary, what is understood in worldly parlance and the generally received acceptation of the terms, a man of strict integrity and honour, as well as of the most undisputed courage. Still, he was a severe and a haughty man,—one whose military education had been based on the principles of the old school—and to whom the command of a regiment afforded field for the exercise of an orthodox despotism, that could not be passed over without the immolation of many a victim on its rugged surface. Without ever having possessed any thing like acute feeling, his heart, as nature had formed it, was moulded to receive the ordinary impressions of humanity; and had he been doomed to move in the sphere of private life, if he had not been distinguished by any remarkable sensibilities, he would not, in all probability, have been conspicuous for any extraordinary cruelties. Sent into the army, however, at an early age, and with a blood not remarkable for its mercurial aptitudes, he had calmly and deliberately imbibed all the starched theories and standard prejudices which a mind by no means naturally gifted was but too
well predisposed to receive; [omits] WCL,DD
and he was among the number of those (many of whom are indigenous to our soil even at the present day) who look down from a rank obtained; upon that which has been just quitted, with a contempt, and coldness, and consciousness of elevation, commensurate only with the respect paid to those still above them, and which it belongs only to the little-minded to indulge in.

As a subaltern, M. de Haldimar had ever been considered a pattern of rigid propriety and decorum of conduct. Not the shadow of military crime had ever been laid to his charge. He was punctual at all parades and drills; kept the company to which he was attached in a perfect hot water of discipline; never missed his distance in marching past, or failed in a military manœuvre; paid his mess-bill regularly to the hour, nay, minute, of the settling day; and was never, on any one occasion, known to enter the paymaster's office, except on the well-remembered 24th of each month; and, to crown all, had never asked, consequently never obtained, a day's leave from his regiment, although he had served in it so long, that there was now but one man living who had entered it with him. With all these qualities, Ensign de Haldimar promised to make an excellent soldier; and, as such, was encouraged by the field-officers of the corps, who unhesitatingly pronounced him
a lad of discernment and
talent, who would one day
rival them in all the glor-
ious privileges of martinet-
ism. It was even remarked,
as an evidence of his worth,
that, when promoted to a
lieutenancy, he looked down
upon the ensigns with that
becoming condescension which
befitted his new rank; and
up to the captains with the
deferential respect he felt
to be due to that third step
in the five-barred gate of
regimental promotion, on
which his aspiring but chained
foot had not yet succeeded in
reposing. What, therefore, he
became when he had succeeded
in clambering to the top,
and looked down from the
lordly height he had after
many years of plodding service
obtained, we must leave it to
the imaginations of our read-
ers to determine. We reserve
it to a future page, to re-
late more interesting part-
iculars.

III.143.4-5 however, from this outline
of his character, as well as

III.143.9 recommendation

III.145.12 every thing

III.146.19 Court

III.148.14 any thing

III.148.15 or

III.148.22 him, who

III.149.1 few, who
father, for
when, on
heart, as
valued
mean while
Court
Every thing
any thing
recorded in the last pages of our first volume
one
lis
night--was
Heaven
fatal
after-arrangement WCL
realised
paid),
apprehensions
son, Colonel
was, moreover, a
than of repose
second volume
waved
that

father for DO
when on DO
heart as DD
valuable DD
meanwhile WCL,DD
court WCL,DD
Everything DD
anything DD
[omits] WCL,DD
a man WCL,DD
Lis DD
night,--was WCL,DD
heaven WCL,DD
[omits] DD
after arrangement KB,DD
realized DD
paid,) WCL,DD
apprehension WCL,DD
son Colonel DD
was, moreover a DD
than repose WCL,DD
previous pages WCL,DD
waived WCL,DD
[omits] DD
VARIANTS

CHAPTER XXIX. WCL
CHAPTER XXVIII. DD

nature WCL, DD
forming as it DD
defence DD
night-fires DD
ridge beyond DD
beings; one WCL, DD
Lis DD
chief; and DD
vacant; and DD
[omits] DD

blue eyed WCL, DD
"Who WCL, DD
recall WCL, DD
you,--", turning DD
self possession WCL
and with DD
monster; never DD
[omits] DD
your poor mother DD
as in DD
smiles did WCL, DD
had DD
am,"--he WCL, DD
love

kindness, which

?--What

?--Whence

quarrelled

county

warrior, enquiringly

our

opening of the

Baronet

Baynton (sorrow-stricken

every thing

and, on

main land

bound hand

were, at the moment, in

war tent

every thing

every thing

unavailable

circumstanced, to

declaration

loved WCL, DD

kindness which DD

? What DD

? Whence DD

quarrelled WCL

country DD

warrior enquiringly DD

[omits] DD

[omits] DD

baronet WCL, DD

Baynton, ( DD

sorrow stricken WCL

everything DD

and on DD

mainland WCL, DD

bound, hand DD

were at the moment in DD

war-tent DD

everything DD

everything DD

unavoidable WCL, DD

circumstanced to DD

declarations DD
remarkable he 

hands

upraised

own. Come

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER XXX. WCL

CHAPTER XXIX. DD

, unnatural to say,

us which

Unnatural, I repeat, for fire and ice are not more opposite than were the elements of which our natures were composed.

this incongruous friendship --friendship! no, I will not so far sully the sacred name as thus to term the unnatural union that subsisted between us;--whether

, then,

proud, and haughty, and

Nature's

"I have said our intimacy excited surprise among our brother officers. It did; for all understood and read the character of your father, who was as much disliked and distrusted for the speciousness of his false nature, as I was generally esteemed for the frankness and warmth of mine. No one openly censured
the evident preference I gave him in my friendship; but we were often sarcastically termed the Pylades and deemed of the regiment, until my heart was ready to leap into my throat with impatience at the bitterness in which the taunt was conceived; and frequently in my presence was allusion made to the blind folly of him, who should take a cold and slimy serpent to his bosom only to feel its fangs darted into it at the moment when most fostered by its genial heat. All, however, was in vain. On a nature like mine, innuendo was likely to produce an effect directly opposite to that intended; and the more I found them inclined to be severe on him I called my friend, the more marked became my preference. I even fancied that because I was rich, generous, and heir to a title, their observations were prompted by jealousy of the influence he possessed over me, and a desire to supplant him only for their interest's sake. Bitterly have I been punished for the illiberality of such an opinion. Those to whom I principally allude were the subalterns of the regiment, most of whom were nearly of our own age. One or two of the junior captains were also of this number; but, by the elders (as we termed the seniors of that rank) and field officers, Ensign de Haldimar was always regarded as a most prudent
and promising young officer. [omits] WCL,DD

"What conducd, in a great degree, to the establishment of our intimacy was the assistance I always received from my brother subaltern in whatever related to my military duties. As the lieutenant of the company, the more immediate responsibility attached to myself; but being naturally of a careless habit, or perhaps considering all duty irksome to my impatient nature that was not duty in the field, I was but too often guilty of neglecting it. On these occasions my absence was ever carefully supplied by your father, who, in all the minutiae of regimental economy, was surpassed by no other officer in the corps; so that credit was given to me, when, at the ordinary inspections, the grenadiers were acknowledged to be the company most perfect in equipment and skilful in manœuvre. Deeply, deeply," again mused Wacousta, "have these services been repaid.

III.198.9 waved WCL,DD

III.198.15-199.14 Often had I passed whole days in climbing the steep and precipitous crags which overhang the sea in the neighbourhood of Morton Castle, ostensibly in the pursuit of the heron or the seagull, but self-acknowledgedly for the mere pleasure of grappling with the difficulties they opposed to me. Often, too, in the most terrific tempests, when sea and sky have met in one black and threatening mass,
and when the startled fisherman have in vain attempted to dissuade me from my purpose, have I ventured, in sheer bravado, out of sight of land, and unaccompanied by a human soul. Then, when wind and tide have been against me on my return, have I, with my simple sculls alone, caused my faithful bark to leap through the foaming brine as though a press of canvass had impelled her on. Oh, that this spirit of adventure had never grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength!" sorrowfully added the warrior, again apostrophising himself: "then had I never been the wretch I am.

This was a position in which I had often wished once more to find myself placed, and I felt buoyant and free as the deer itself I intended to pursue. In vain did my companions (and your father was one) implore me to abandon a project so wild and hazardous. I bounded forward, and they turned shuddering away, that their eyes might not witness the destruction that awaited me. Meanwhile, balancing my long gun in my upraised hands, I trod the dangerous path with a buoyancy and elasticity of limb, a lightness of heart, and a fearlessness of consequences, that surprised even myself. Perhaps it was to the latter circumstance I owed my safety,
for a single doubt of my security might have impelled a movement that would not have failed to have precipitated me into the yawning gulf below.

III.202.1 in this manner

III.202.2 yards, when yards further, when

III.202.6-13 Pausing here for a moment, I applied the hunting horn, with which I was provided, to my lips. This signal, announcing my safety, was speedily returned by my friends below in a cheering and lively strain, that seemed to express at once surprise and satisfaction; and inspired by the sound, I prepared to follow up my perilous chase.

III.202.21-203.1 As I continued to advance I found the ascent became more precipitous, and the difficulties opposed to my progress momentarily more multiplied. Still, nothing daunted,

III.203.8 sounding-boards sounding boards

III.203.11 succeeded. succeeded.

III.203.11-14 Again Wacousta paused. A tear started to his eye, but this he impatiently brushed away with his swarthy hand.

III.203.20-206.20 "Why did my evil genius so will it," resumed Wacousta, after another pause, during
which he manifested deep emotion, "that I should have heard those sounds and seen that face? But for these I should have returned to my companions, and my life might have been the life—the plodding life—of the multitude; things that are born merely to crawl through existence and die, knowing not at the moment of death why or how they have lived at all. But who may resist the destiny that presides over him from the cradle to the grave? for, although the mass may be, and are, unworthy of the influencing agency of that Unseen Power, who will presume to deny there are those on whom it stamps its iron seal, even from the moment of their birth to that which sees all that is mortal of them consigned to the tomb? What was it but destiny that whispered to me what I had seen was the face of a woman? I had not traced a feature, nor could I distinctly state that it was a human countenance I had beheld; but mine was ever an imagination into which the wildest improbability was scarce admitted that it did not grow into conviction in the instant.

In order to do this, it was necessary that my feet and hands should be utterly without incumbrance; for it was only by dint of climbing that I could expect to reach that part of the projecting
rock to which my attention had been directed.

III.207.24- Here, however, Here however, DD
III.208.11 through throughth DD
III.208.12 doubtful. doubtful." WCL,DD

III.208.12- If I have been thus minute in the detail of the dangerous nature of this passage," continued Wacousta, gloomily, "it is not without reason, I would have you to impress the whole of the localities upon your imagination, that you may the better comprehend, from a knowledge of the risks I incurred, how little I have merited the injuries under which I have writhed for years."

Again

III.208.22 one One WCL,DD
III.208.23 broken, occurred broken, here occurred WCL,DD
III.209.6 now,—Loved now. Loved WCL,DD

III.210.2- How often, while tossed by the raging elements, now into the blue vault of heaven, now into the lowest gulfs of the sea, have I madly wished to press to my bounding bosom the being of my fancy's creation, who, all enamoured and given to her love, should, even amid the danger that environed her, be alive but to one consciousness,—that of being with him on whom her life's hope alone reposed! How often, too, while bending over some dark and threatening
precipice, or standing on the utmost verge of some tall projecting cliff, my aching head (aching with the intensestess of its own concep-tions) bared to the angry storm, and my eye fixed un-shrinkingly on the boiling ocean far beneath my feet, has my whole soul—my every faculty, been bent on that ideal beauty which controlled every sense! Oh, imagination, how tyrannical is thy sway—how exclusive thy power—how insatiable thy thirst! Sur-rounded by living beauty, I was insensible to its in-fluence; for, with all the perfection that reality can attain on earth, there was ever to be found some deficieny, either physical or moral, that defaced the symmetry and destroyed the loveliness of the whole; but, no sooner didst thou, with magic wand, conjure up one of thy embodiments, than my heart became a sea of flame, and was consumed in the vast-ness of its own fires.

"It was in vain that my family sought to awaken me to a sense of the acknowledged loveliness of the daughters of more than one ancient house in the county, with one of whom an alliance was, in many respects, considered desirable. Their beauty, or rather their whole, was insufficent to stir up into madness the dormant passions of my nature; and although my breast was like a glowing furnace, in which fancy cast all the more exciting images of her coinage to secure the
last impress of the heart's approval, my outward deportment to some of the fairest and loveliest of earth's realities was that of one on whom the influence of woman's beauty could have no power. From my earliest boyhood I had loved to give rein to these feelings, until they at length rendered me their slave. Woman was the idol that lay enshrined within my inmost heart; but it was woman such as I had not yet met with, yet felt must somewhere exist in the creation. For her I could have resigned title, fortune, family, every thing that is dear to man, save the life, through which alone the reward of such sacrifice could have been tasted, and to this phantom I had already yielded up all the manlier energies of my nature; but, deeply as I felt the necessity of loving something less unreal, up to the moment of my joining the regiment, my heart had never once throbbed for created woman.

Time, however, is not given me to dwell on the mingled beauty and wildness of a scene, so consonant with my ideas of the romantic and the picturesque. Let me rather recur to her (although my heart be lacerated once more in the recollection) who was the presiding deity of the whole,—the being after whom, had I had the fabled power of Prometheus, I should have formed and animated the sharer of that
sweet wild solitude, nor once felt that fancy, to whom I was so largely a debtor, had in aught been cheated of what she had, for a series of years, so rigidly claimed.

III.213.19 this divinity

the divinity WCL,DD

III.214.14-17 yet, with my soul kindled into all that wild uncontrollable love which had been the accumulation of years of passionate imagining,

[omits] WCL,DD

III.214.19 grow.

grow, WCL,DD

III.214.19-22 It seemed as though I had not the power to think or act, so fully was every faculty of my being filled with the consciousness that I at length

[omits] WCL,DD

III.214.22 gazed

gazing WCL,DD

III.216.15 soul;
soul WCL,DD

III.216.15-21 and every time she fled, the classic desposition of her graceful limbs, and her whole natural attitude of alarm, could only be compared with those of one of the huntresses of Diana, intruded on in her woodland privacy by the unhallowed presence of some daring mortal.

[omits] WCL,DD

III.217.16 aching

aching DD

III.218.2 sympathizing

sympathising WCL,DD

III.218.4 was

were WCL,DD

III.218.15 Heaven

heaven WCL,DD
all over! Oh, let me linger
on the recollection, even
such as they were, when her
arms first opened to receive
me in that sweet oasis of
the Highlands.

was.

Your age cannot exceed sev-
enteen; and time will supply
what your mere girlhood ren-
ders you deficient in."

It seemed to her as if the
illusion she had just creat-
ed, were already dispelled
by his language, even as her
own momentary interest in
the fierce man had also been
destroyed from the same cause.

Unspoiled by the forms, un-
vitiated by the sophistries
of a world with which she
had never mixed, her intel-
gent innocence made the
most artless avowals to my
enraptured ear,—avowals
that the more profligate
minded woman of society
would have blushed to whis-
per even to herself. And for
these I loved her to my own
undoing.

"Blind vanity, inconceiv-
able folly!" continued Wac-
ousta, again pressing his
forehead with force; "how
could I be so infatuated as
not to perceive, that al-
though her heart was filled
with a new and delicious passion, it was less the individual than the man she loved. And how could it be otherwise, since I was the first, beside her father, she had ever seen or re-collected to have seen? Still, Clara de Haldimar, he pursued, with haughty energy,

"I was WCL, DD

foot; but WCL, DD

herculean WCL, DD

[omits] WCL, DD

My physical faculties had not yet been developed to their present grossness of maturity, neither had my moral energies acquired that tone of ferocity which often renders me hideous, even in my own eyes. In a word, the milk of my nature (for, with all my impetuosity of character, I was generous-hearted and kind) had not yet been turned to gall by villainy and deceit. My form had then all that might attract—my manners all that might win—my enthusiasm of speech all that might persuade—and my heart all that might interest a girl fashioned after nature's manner, and tutored in nature's school. In the regiment, I was called the handsome grenadier; but there was another handsomer than I,—a sly, insidious, wheedling, false, remorseless villain. That villain, Clara de Haldimar, was your father.

"But wherefore," continued Wacousta, chafing with the recollection, "wherefore do I,
like a vain and puling schoolboy, enter into this abasing contrast of personal advantages? The proud eagle soars not mere above the craven kite, than did my soul, in all that was manly and generous, above that of yon false governor; and who should have prized those qualities, if it were not the woman who, bred in solitude, and taught by fancy to love all that was generous and noble in the heart of man, should have considered mere beauty of feature as dust in the scale, when opposed to sentiments which can invest even deformity with loveliness? In all this I may appear vain; I am only just.

"I have said that

III.223.8 your
III.223.10 than her
III.223.11 Such was the case;--
III.224.6 search, at
III.224.24 secrecy
III.225.12 abode
III.225.21 principal
III.225.22 dispatched
III.225.24 master, that
III.226.9 who
III.227.12-
228.11 Nature is too impervious a law-giver to be thwarted in her dictates; and however
We may seek to stifle it, her inextinguishable voice will make itself heard, whether it be in the lonely desert or in the crowded capital. Possessed of a glowing heart and warm sensibilities, Clara Beverley felt the energies of her being had not been given to her to be wasted on herself. In her dreams by night, and her thoughts by day, she had pictured a being endowed with those attributes which were the fruit of her own fertility of conception. If she plucked a flower, (and all this she admitted at our first interview, "groaned Vacousta,) "she was sensible of the absence of one to whom that flower might be given. If she gazed at the star-studded canopy of heaven, or bent her head over the frowning precipices by which she was everywhere surrounded, she felt the absence of him with whom she could share the enthusiasm excited by the contemplation of the one, and to whom she could impart the mingled terror and admiration produced by the dizzying depths of the other.

III.228.12 deceitful,)

III.228.13-232.10 With a candour and unreservedness that spring alone from unsophisticated manners and an untainted heart, she admitted, that the instant she beheld me, she felt she
had found the being her fancy had been so long tutored to linger on, and her heart to love. She was sure I was come to be her husband (for she had understood from her aged attendant that a man who loved a woman wished to be her husband); and she was glad her pet stag had been wounded, since it had been the means of procuring her such happiness. She was not cruel enough to take pleasure in the sufferings of the poor animal; for she would nurse it, and it would soon be well again; but she could not help rejoicing in its disaster, since that circumstance had been the cause of my finding her out, and loving her even as she loved me. And all this was said with her head reclining on my chest, and her beautiful countenance irradiated with a glow that had something divine in the simplicity of purpose it expressed.

"On my demanding to know whether it was not her face I had seen at the opening in the cliff, she replied that it was. Her stag often played the truant, and passed whole hours away from her, rambling beyond the precincts of the solitude that contained its mistress; but no sooner was the small silver bugle, which she wore across her shoulder, applied to her lips, than 'Fidelity' (thus she had named him) was certain to obey the call, and to come bounding up the line of cliff to the main rock, into which
it effected its entrance at a point that had escaped my notice. It was her bugle I had heard in the course of my pursuit of the animal; and, from the aperture through which I had effected my entrance, she had looked out to see who was the audacious hunter she had previously observed threading a passage, along which her stag itself never appeared without exciting terror in her bosom. The first glimpse she had caught of my form was at the moment when, after having sounded my own bugle, I cleared the chasm; and this was a leap she had so often trembled to see taken by 'Fidelity,' that she turned away and shuddered when she saw it fearlessly adventured on by a human being. A feeling of curiosity had afterwards induced her to return and see if the bold hunter had cleared the gulf, or perished in his mad attempt; but when she looked outward from the highest pinnacle of her rocky prison, she could discover no traces of him whatever. It then occurred to her, that, if successful in his leap, his progress must have been finally arrested by the impassable rock that terminated the ridge; in which case she might perchance obtain a nearer sight of his person. With this view she had removed the bushes enshrouding the aperture; and, bending low to the earth, thrust her head partially through it.
Scarcely had she done so, however, when she beheld me immediately, though far beneath her, with my back resting against the rock, and my eyes apparently fixed on hers.

"Filled with a variety of opposite sentiments, among which unfeigned alarm was predominant, she had instantaneously removed her head; and, closing the aperture as noiselessly as possible, returned to the moss-covered seat on which I had first surprised her; where, while she applied dressings of herbs to the wound of her favourite, she suffered her mind to ruminate on the singularity of the appearance of a man so immediately in the vicinity of their retreat. The supposed impracticability of the ascent I had accomplished, satisfied, even while (as she admitted) it disappointed her. I must of necessity retrace my way over the dangerous ridge. Great, therefore, was her surprise, when, after having been attracted by the rustling noise of the bushes over the aperture, she presently saw the figure of the same hunter emerge from the abyss it overhung. Terror had winged her flight; but it was terror mingled with a delicious emotion entirely new to her. It was that emotion, momentarily increasing in power, that induced her to pause, look back, hesitate in her course, and finally be won, by my supplicating manner,
to return and bless me with her presence.

III.232.13 in this manner;

III.232.15 coeval

III.232.17 silver toned

III.233.7 her;

III.233.18-236.6 Again the bell was rung; and this time with a violence that indicated impatience of delay. I tore myself from her arms, darted to the aperture, and kissing my hand in reply to the graceful waving of her scarf as she half turned in her own flight, sunk finally from her view; and at length, after making the same efforts, and mastering the same obstacles that had marked and opposed my advance, once more found myself at the point whence I had set out in pursuit of the wounded deer.

"Many were the congratulations I received from my companions, whom I found waiting my return. They had endured the three hours of my absence with intolerable anxiety and alarm; until, almost despairing of beholding me again, they had resolved on going back without me. They said they had repeatedly sounded their horns; but meeting with no answer from mine, had been compelled to infer either that I had strayed to a point whence return to them was impracticable, or that I must have perished in the abyss. I
readily gave in to the former idea; stating I had been led by the traces of the wounded deer to a considerable distance, and over passes which it had proved a work of time and difficulty to surmount, yet without securing my spoil. All this time there was a glow of animation on my cheek, and a buoyancy of spirit in my speech, that accorded ill, the first, with the fatigue one might have been supposed to experience in so perilous a chase; the second, with the disappointment attending its result. Your father, ever cool and quick of penetration, was the first to observe this; and when he significantly remarked, that, to judge from my satisfied countenance, my time had been devoted to the pursuit of more interesting game, I felt for a moment as if he was actually master of my secret, and was sensible my features underwent a change. I, however, parried the attack, by replying indifferently, that if he should have the hardihood to encounter the same dangers, he would, if successful, require no other prompter than the joy of self-preservation to lend the same glow of satisfaction to his own features. Nothing further was said on the subject; but conversing on indifferent topics, we again threaded the mazes of rock and underwood we had passed at an early hour, and finally gained the town in which we were quartered.
"During dinner, as on our way home, although my voice occasionally mixed with the voices of my companions, my heart was far away, and full of the wild but innocent happiness in which it had luxuriated. At length, the more freely to indulge in the recollection, I stole at an early hour from the mess-room, and repaired to my own apartments.

In the course of the morning, I

This was an amusement of which I was extremely and in which I had attained considerable excellence; being enabled, from memory alone, to give a most correct representation of any object that particularly fixed my attention. She had declared utter ignorance of the art herself; her father having studiously avoided instructing her in it from some unexplained motive; yet as she expressed the most unbounded admiration of those who possessed it, it was my intention to surprise her with a highly finished likeness of herself at my next visit. With this view I now set to work; and made such progress, that before I retired to rest I had completed all but the finishing touches, to which I purposed devoting a leisure hour or two by daylight on the morrow.

While on the morrow

While on the tomorrow
servant, returned

charged, I

beheld not

observed with

scrutinizing

him, laughingly, what

Whatever, however, his opinion of the lady might be, there could be no question that the painting was exquisite; yet, he confessed, he could not but be struck with the singularity of the fact of a Cornish girl appearing in the full costume of a female Highlander. This, I replied, was mere matter of fancy and association, arising from my having been so much latterly in the habit of seeing that dress principally worn. He smile one of his then damnable soft smiles of assent, and here the conversation terminated, and he left me.

There was a mellowed softness in her countenance, and a tender languor in her eye, I had not remarked the preceding day. Then there was more of the vivacity and playfulness of the young girl; now, more of the deep fervour and the composed serenity of the thoughtful woman. This change was too consonant to my taste—too
flattering to my self-love— [omits] WCL, DD
not to be rejoiced in; and
as I pressed her yielding
form in silent rapture to my
own, I more than ever felt
she was indeed the being for
whom my glowing heart had so
long yearned.

The likeness was perfect,
[omits] WCL, DD
even to the minutest shading
of her costume; and so forc-
ibly and even childishly did
this strike her, that it was
with difficulty I could per-
suade her she was not gazing
on some peculiar description
of mirror that reflected back
her living image.

assented; WCL, DD

retain keep WCL

With a look of the fondest
love, accompanied by a
pressure on mine lips that
distilled dewy fragrance
where they rested, she
thanked me for a gift which
she said would remind her,
in absence, of the fidelity
with which her features had
been engraven on my heart.
She admitted, moreover, with
a sweet blush, that

She herself had WCL, DD

and in DD

portrait she WCL, DD

Words of fire, emanating
[omits] WCL, DD
from the guilelessness of
innocence, glowed in every
line; and yet every sentence
breathed an utter unconsciousness of the effect those words were likely to produce. Mad, wild, intoxicated, I read the letter but half through; and, as it fell from my trembling hand, my eye turned, beaming with the fires of a thousand emotions, upon that of the worshipped writer. That glance was more than her own could meet. A new consciousness seemed to be stirred up in her soul. Her eye dropped beneath its long and silken fringe—her cheek became crimson—her bosom heaved—and,

III.243.11 all confidingness

III.243.14—244.2 "Had I been a cold-blooded villain—a selfish and remorseless seducer," continued Wacousta with vehemence—"what was to have prevented my triumph at that moment? But I came not to blight the flower that had long been nurtured, though unseen, with the life-blood of my own being. Whatever I may be now, I was then the soul of disinterestedness and honour; and had she repose on the bosom of her own father, that devoted and unresisting girl could not have been pressed there with holier tenderness. But even to this there was too soon a term.

III.244.2 The hour

III.244.5 arms;
not, however, without first securing the treasured letter, and obtaining a promise from your mother that I should receive another at each succeeding visit.

The days of our meeting were ever days of pure and alloyed happiness; while the alternate ones of absence were, on my part, occupied chiefly with reading the glowing letters given me at each parting by your mother. Of all these, however, there was not one so impassioned, so natural, so every way devoted, as the first. Not that she who wrote them felt less, but that the emotion excited in her bosom by the manifestation of mine on that occasion, had imparted a diffidence to her style of expression, plainly indicating the source whence it sprung.

It was not to be supposed (and I should have been both pained and disappointed had it been otherwise,) that she would consent to abandon her parent without some degree
of regret; but, having foreseen this objection from the first, I had gradually prepared her for the sacrifice. This was the less difficult, as he appeared never to have treated her with affection,--seldom with the marked favour that might have been presumed to distinguish the manner of a father towards a lovely and only daughter. Living for himself and the indulgence of his misanthropy alone, he cared little for the immolation of his child's happiness on its unhallowed shrine; and this was an act of injustice I had particularly dwelt upon; upheld in truth, as it was, by the knowledge she herself possessed, that no consideration could induce him to bestow her hand on any one individual of a race he so cordially detested; and this was not without considerable weight in her decision.

III.247.4 cheek, and cheek and DD

III.247.10 Church church WCL,DD

III.247.17-21 And had she been the daughter of a peasant, instead of a high-born gentleman, finding her as I had found her, and loving her as I did love her, I should have acted precisely in the same way.

III.247.23-249.4 The opening before alluded to as being the point whence the old woman made her weekly sally to the market town, was of so intricate and labyrinthian a character that none but
the colonel understood the secret of its fastenings; and the bare thought of my venturing with her on the route by which I had hitherto made my entry into the oasis, was one that curdled my blood with fear. I could absolutely feel my flesh to contract whenever I painted the terrible risk that would be incurred in adopting a plan I had once conceived,—namely, that of lashing your mother to my back, while I again effected my descent to the ledge beneath, in the manner I had hitherto done. I felt that, once on the ridge, I might, without much effort, attain the passage of the fissure already described; for the habit of accomplishing this leap had rendered it so perfectly familiar to me, that I now performed it with the utmost security and ease; but to imagine our united weight suspended over the abyss, as it necessarily must be in the first stage of our flight, when even the dislodgment of a single root or fragment of the rock was sufficient to ensure the horrible destruction of her whom I loved better than my own life, had something too appalling in it to suffer me to dwell on the idea for more than a moment.

III.249.14 parent whose
III.249.22 agreed
III.251.1–5 I kissed them eagerly away, [omits]
partial gloom that was again [omits] WCL, DD
clouding her brow. She ob-
served it pained me to see
her thus, and she made a
greater effort to rally.

III.251.18 length, to length to DD
III.252.10 seeing, the seeing the DD
III.252.16 bandage, or bandage or DD
III.253.21 effect affect WCL

III.254.2- Here the transport of my joy [omits] WCL, DD
255.3 was too great to be controll-
ed; I felt that now my prize
was indeed secured to me for
ever; and I burst forth into
the most passionate excla-
mations of tenderness, and fall-
ing on my knees, raised my
hands to Heaven in fervent
gratitude for the success
with which my enterprise had
been crowned. Another would
have been discouraged at the
difficulties still remaining;
but with these I was become
too familiar, not to feel the
utmost confidence in encounter-
ing them, even with the treas-
ure that was equally perilled
with myself. For a moment I
removed the bandage from the
eyes of your mother, that she
might behold not only the far
distant point whence she had
descended, but the frowning
precipice I had daily been in
the habit of climbing to be
blest with her presence. She
did so, and her cheek paled,
for the first time, with a
sense of the danger I had
incurred; then turning her
soft and beautiful eyes on
mine, she smiled a smile that
seemed to express how much her love would repay me. Again our lips met, and we were happy even in that lonely spot, beyond all language to describe. Once more, at length,

III.255.8-17 Again she smiled, and with a touching sweetness of expression that fired my blood, observing at the same time she feared no danger while she was with me, but that if my object was to prevent her from looking at me, the most efficient way certainly was to apply a bandage to her eyes. Oh! woman, woman! groaned Wacousta, in fierce anguish of spirit, "who shall expound the complex riddle of thy versatile nature?"

III.255.20-21 taken from the pouches of two of my men

III.257.2- Alas! continued the warrior, again interrupting himself with one of those fierce exclamations of impatient anguish that so frequently occurred in his narrative, "what subject for rejoicing was there in this? Better far we had been dashed to pieces in the abyss, than I should have lived to curse the hour when first my spirit of adventure led me to traverse it." Again he resumed:--

III.257.11 transport transports DD

III.257.18 fulness fullness DD
I then raised her from the earth, imprinting a kiss upon her fair brow, that was hallowed by the purity of the feeling I had so recently indulged in; and

As she had hitherto encountered no fatigue, and was, moreover, well provided with strong buskins I had brought for the purpose, I thought it advisable to discontinue the use of the netting, which must attract notice, and cause us, perhaps, to be followed, in the event of our being met by any of the hunters that usually traversed these parts. To carry her in my arms, as I should have preferred, might have excited the same curiosity, and I was therefore compelled to decide upon her walking; reserving to myself, however, the sweet task of bearing her in my embrace over the more difficult parts of our course.

Had she been a divinity, I could not have worshipped her with a purer feeling. While I yet knelt, I fancied I heard a sound behind me; and, turning quickly, beheld the head of a man peering above a point of rock at some little distance. He immediately, on witnessing my action, sank again beneath it, but not in suffi-
cient time to prevent my
almost assuring myself that
it was the face of your
father I had beheld. My first
impulse was to bound forward,
and satisfy myself who it
really was who seemed thus
ever on the watch to inter-
cept my movements; but a
second rapid reflection con-
vincing me, that, having been
discovered, it was most like-
ly the intruder had already
effected his retreat, and
that any attempt at pursuit
might not only alarm your
mother, but compromise her
safety. I determined, how-
ever, to tax your father
with the fact on my return
to quarters; and, from the
manner in which he met the
charge, to form my own con-
clusion.

Meanwhile

when, skirting

"At a calmer moment, I
should have been startled at
the last observation; but my
mind was too much engrossed
with the principal subject
of my regret, to pay any
attention to the circumstance.
It was said the detachment
would be occupied in this
duty a week or ten days, at
least; and how was I to
absent myself from her whom
I so fondly loved for this
period, without even being
permitted first to see and
account to her for my ab-
sence? There was torture in
the very thought; and in the
height of my impatience, I
told the serjeant he might
give my compliments to the [omits] WCL,DD colonel, and say I would see the service d---d rather than inconvenience myself by going out on this duty at so short a notice; that I had private business of the highest importance to myself to transact, and could not absent myself. As the man, however, prepared coolly to depart, it suddenly occurred to me, that I might prevail on your father to take my duty now, as on former occasions he had willingly done, and I countermanded my message to the colonel; desiring him, however, to find out Ensign de Holdi-mar, and say that I requested to see him immediately at my quarters, whither I was now proceeding to change my dress.

III.263.16 entered; entered my quarters; WCL,DD

III.263.19 reminded reminded DD

III.263.22 raillery raillery DD

III.265.16 any thing anything DD

III.265.14 very [omits] DD

III.266.6 her, whom her whom WCL,DD

III.266.8 confident confident DD

III.267.1 hastening hastening DD

III.267.5-14 Again the warrior seemed agitated with the most violent emotion; he buried his face in his hands; and the silence that ensued was longer than any he had previously indulged in. At length he
made an effort to arouse himself; and again exhibiting his swarthy features, disclosed a brow, not clouded, as before, by grief, but animated with the fiercest and most appalling passions, while he thus impetuously resumed.

III.268.1 CHAPTER XI.

III.268.10– Brief must be the probing of wounds, that nearly five lustres have been insufficient to heal; brief the tale that reveals the infamy of those who have given you birth, and the utter blighting of the fairest hopes of one whose only fault was that of loving, "not too wisely, but too well."

III.269.5– Yes," continued Wacousta, his wounded feeling and mortified pride chafing, by the bitter recollection, into increasing fury, while his countenance paled in its swarthiness, "the wife, the wedded wife of yon false and traitorous governor! Well may you look surprised, Clara de Haldimar: such damnable treachery as this may startle his own blood in the veins of another, nor find its justification even in the devotedness of woman's filial piety.

III.269.21 and I a and I, a
III.269.22 men.

III.269.22-270.3 Even as our common mother is said to have fallen in the garden of Eden, tempted by the wily beauty of the devil, so did your mother fall, seduced by that of the cold, false, traitorous De Haldimar."

III.272.10-275.8 But what do I say? fiercely continued the warrior, an exulting ferocity sparkling in his eye, and animating his countenance; "had he fallen, then my vengeance were but half complete. No; it is now he shall feel the deadly venom in his heart, that has so long banqueted on mine.

"Determined to know from her own lips," he pursued, to the shuddering Clara, whose hopes, hitherto strongly excited, now began again to fade beneath the new aspect given to the strange history of this terrible man;--"determined to satisfy myself from her own acknowledgment, whether all I had heard was not an imposition, I summoned calmness enough to desire that your mother might confirm in person the alienation of her affection, as nothing short of that could convince me of the truth. He left the room, and presently re-appeared, conducting her in from another: I thought she looked more beautiful than ever, but, alas! I had the inexpressible horror to discover, before a word was uttered, that all
the fondness of her nature [omits] WCL,DD was indeed transferred to your father. How I endured the humiliation of that scene has often been a source of utter astonishment to myself; but I did endure it. To my wild demand, how she could so soon have forgotten her vows, and falsified her plighted engagements, she replied, timidly and confusedly, she had not yet known her own heart; but if she had pained me by her conduct, she was sorry for it, and hoped I would forgive her. She would always be happy to esteem me as a friend, but she loved her Charles far, far better than she had ever loved me. This damning admission, couched in the same language of simplicity that had first touched and won my affection, was like boiling lead upon my brain. In a transport of madness I sprang towards her, caught her in my arms, and swore she should accompany me back to the oasis—when I had taken her there, to be regained by my detested rival, if he could; but that he should not eat the fruit I had plucked at so much peril to myself. She struggled to disengage herself, calling on your father by the most endearing epithets to free her from my embrace. He attempted it, and I struck him senseless to the floor at a single blow with the flat of my sabre, which in my extreme fury I had unsheathed. Instead, however, of profiting by the
opportunity thus afforded to execute my threat, a feeling of disgust and contempt came over me; for the woman, whose inconstancy had been the cause of my committing myself in this ungentlemanly manner; and bestowing deep but silent curses on her head, I rushed from the house in a state of frenzy. How often since have I regretted that I had not pursued my first impulse, and borne her to some wild, where, forgetting one by whose beauty of person her eye alone had been seduced, her heart might have returned to its allegiance to him who had first awakened the sympathies of her soul, and would have loved her with a love blending the fiercest fires of the eagle with the gentlest devotedness of the dove. But destiny had differently ordained.

"Did my injuries end here?"
pursued the dark warrior, as his eye kindled with rage.

III.275.9 "No: for weeks"
III.275.9 any thing
III.275.24 life, and
III.276.8 pursued, with
III.276.24 admitted I
III.277.3-13 Next succeeded one that referred to the message I had given, and countermanded, to the sergeant of my company, when in the impatience of my
disappointment I had desired [omits] WCL,DD
him to tell the colonel I
would see the service d---d
rather than inconvenience
myself at that moment for
it. This was unsupported by
other evidence, however, and
therefore failed in the
proof. But the web was too
closely woven around to admit
of my escaping.--

III.277.14 any thing anything DD
III.277.15 this same man a petty officer WCL,DD
III.277.22 evinced, while evinced while DD
III.278.13 the encouragement, the sanc-
tion the encouragement and sanction DD

III.278.18-280.13 "How acted my brother [omits] WCL,DD
officers, when, previously
to the trial, I alluded to
the damnable treachery of
your father? Did they con-
demn his conduct, or sympath-
ise with me in my misfortune?
--No; they shrugged their
shoulders, and coldly ob-
served, I ought to have
known better than to trust
one against whom they had so
often cautioned me; but that
as I had selected him for my
friend, I should have be-
stowed a whole, and not a
half confidence upon him.
He had had the hypocrisy to
pretend to them he had
violated no trust, since
he had honourably espoused
a lady whom I had introduced
to him as a cousin, and in
whom I appeared to have no
other interest than that of
relationship. Not, they
said, that they believed he
actually did entertain that
impression; but still the excuse was too plausible, and had been too well studied by my cunning rival, to be openly refuted. As for the mere fact of his supplanting me, they thought it an excellent thing—a ruse d'amour for which they never would have given him credit; and although they admitted it was provoking enough to be ousted of one's mistress in that cool sort of way, still I should not so far have forgotten myself, as to have struck him while he was unarmed, when it was so easy to have otherwise fastened an insult on him. Such," bitterly pursued Wacousta, "was the consolation I received from men, who, a few short weeks before, had been sedulous to gain and cultivate my friendship,—but even this was only vouchsafed antecedent to my trial. When the sentence was promulgated, announcing my dismissal from the service, every back was turned upon me, as though I had been found guilty of some dishonourable action, some disgraceful crime; and, on the evening of the same day, when I threw from me for ever an uniform that I now loathed from my inmost soul, there was not one among those who had often banqueted at my expense, who had the humanity to come to me and say, 'Sir Reginald Morton, farewell.'
I had never ceased to love,
even while I despised her;
and notwithstanding, had she,
after her flagrant inconstancy,
thrown herself into my arms,
I should have rejected her with scorn,
still I was sensible no other woman
could ever supply her place
in my affection.

In truth,

beauty, and
regiment; and

How," pursued Wacousta, with
bitter energy, "shall I express the deep loathing I
felt for those children? It
seemed to me as if their
existence had stamped a seal
of infamy on my own brow;
and I hated them, even in
their childhood, as the offspring of an abhorred, and,
as it appeared to me, an
unnatural union.

heard, moreover (and this
gave me pleasure), that

unrepealed; and

confidence at
III.285.11 harass
III.286.24 felt can
III.286.24 pity), let
III.288.8 yet, if
III.288.11-19 Who, when my cup was mantling with the only bliss I coveted upon earth, traitorously emptied it, and substituted a heart-corroding poison in its stead? Who blighted my fair name, and cast me forth an alien in the land of my forefathers? Who, in a word, cut me off from every joy that existence can impart man? Who did all this?

III.288.19 Your
III.289.8 continued, with
III.289.13 Again I
III.289.14 Wacousta.
III.289.23 --"for
III.290.17 . But"
III.291.2 that, in
III.291.10 continued, bitterly
III.292.4 Heaven
III.292.19 Heaven's
III.292.21 her
III.292.23 and, stooping
III.293.22 of the maniac

VARIANTS

harrass DD
felt, can WCL,DD
pity,), let WCL,DD
yet if DD
[omits] WCL,DD

--Your WCL,DD
continued with WCL,DD
Again, I WCL,DD
Wacousta; DD
--for WCL,DD
"But" DD
that in DD
continued bitterly WCL,DD
heaven WCL,DD
heaven's WCL,DD
[omits] DD
and stooping WCL,DD
of maniac DD
III.294.19 speechless, before
III.295.7 young
III.296.9 bridge, over
III.296.24 disadvantages
III.298.16 stopped
III.299.9 countenances, disclosed
III.300.14 and, springing
III.300.16 dress,—
III.300.24 Oh!
III.302.15 bitter
III.303.22 fort; under

VARIANTS

speechless before WCL, DD
[omits] WCL, DD
bridge over WCL, DD
disadvantage DD
stooped DD
countenances disclosed WCL, DD
and springing WCL, DD
dress— WCL, DD
[omits] DD
better DD
fort; under DD

III.304.1 CHAPTER XII.

CHAPTER XXXIV. WCL
CHAPTER XXXIII. DD

III.308.6-309.2 Never was human loveliness in death so marked as in Charles de Haldimar; and but for the deep wound that, dividing his clustering locks, had entered from the very crown of the head to the opening of his marble brow, one ignorant of his fate might have believed he but profoundly slept. Several women of the regiment were occupied in those offices about the corpse, which women alone are capable of performing at such
moments, and as they did so, [omits] WCL,DD suffered their tears to flow silently yet abundantly over him, who was no longer sensible either of human grief or of human joy. Close at the head of the bed stood an old man, with his face buried in his hands; the latter reposing against the wainscoting of the room. He, too, wept, but his weeping was more audible, more painful, and accompanied by suffocating sobs. It was the humble ye almost paternally attached servant of the defunct—the veteran Morrison.

III.309.13- At length the preparations of the women having been completed, they retired from the room, leaving one of their number only, rather out of respect than necessity, to remain by the corpse. When they were departed, this woman, the wife of one of Blessington's sergeants, and the same who had been present at the scene between Ellen Halloway and the deceased, cut off a large lock of his beautiful hair, and separating it into small tresses, handed one to each of the officers. This considerate action, although unsolicited on the part of the latter, deeply touched them, as indicating a sense of the high estimation in which the youth had been held. It was a tribute to the memory of him they mourned, of the purest kind; and each, as he received his portion, acknowledged with a
mournful but approving look, [omits] WCL,DD
or nod, or word, the motive
that had prompted the offer-
ing. Nor was it a source of
less satisfaction, melancholy
even as that satisfaction
was, to perceive that, after
having set aside another
lock, probably for the sister
of the deceased, she selected
and consigned to the bosom of
her dress a third, evidently
intended for herself. The
whole scene was in striking
contrast with the almost
utter absence of all prepar-
ation or concern that had
preceded the interment of
Murphy, on a former occasion.
In one, the rude soldier was
mourned,—in the other, the
gentle friend was lamented;
nor the latter alone by the
companions to whom intimacy
had endeared him, but by
those humbler dependents,
who knew him only through
those amiable attributes of
character, which were ever
equally extended to all.

Gradually Gradually WCL,DD
Gradually WCL,DD

Gradually WCL,DD
now
in which
realised
Heaven
more,—
but, on
so that, if
and, not long
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TC</th>
<th>VARIANTs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III.315.9 and, at</td>
<td>and at DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.315.11 lis</td>
<td>Lis DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.315.20 recapturing</td>
<td>re-capturing DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.316.1 Heaven</td>
<td>heaven WCL,DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.316.3 hand of</td>
<td>hand of of DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.316.4 not; he</td>
<td>not; he DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.316.17 recaptured</td>
<td>re-captured DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.317.3 ---Impossible!</td>
<td>Impossible! WCL,DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.317.13 are all acquainted</td>
<td>are all well acquainted DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.317.18 it; but</td>
<td>it, but DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.318.15 But, what</td>
<td>But what DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.319.14 and, to</td>
<td>and to DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.319.17 that, for</td>
<td>that for DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.320.2 and, but for</td>
<td>and but for DD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| III.320.5-18 Her dress was a simple white [omits] WCL,DD robe, fastened round her waist with a pale blue riband; and over her shoulders hung her redundant hair, resembling in colour, and disposed much in the manner of that of her brother, which had been drawn negligently down to conceal the wound on his brow. For some moments the baronet gazed at her in speechless agony. Her tranquil exterior was torture to him; for he feared it betokened some alienation of reason. He would have preferred to witness the most hysteric convulsion of grief, rather
country. There
any thing
that, after
you whom
cold-blooded
What KB, DD
me after
cast
stedfast
moments, a:
Heaven
"this KB,DD
This KB,DD
I beg to offer you my
Heaven
more, free
pursued, mournfully,
foreground
--Clara
--We
arms.
either
--If

VARIANTS
country. "There WCL
anything DD
that after DD
you, whom DD
cold blooded WCL
"What WCL
me, after DD
cut DD
steadfast WCL,DD
moments as WCL,DD
heaven WCL,DD
"This WCL
"This WCL
I beg to offer my WCL,DD
heaven WCL,DD
more free DD
pursued mournfully, WCL,DD
fore-/ground WCL
fore-ground DD
. Clara WCL,DD
. We WCL,DD
arms! WCL,DD
[omits] DD
. If WCL,DD
than that traitorous calm;
and yet he had not the power
to seek to remove it.

[omits] WCL,DD

III.320.22 come; with
come here with DD
III.321.1 Nay WCL
nay KB,DD
III.321.5 May I not ask
May I ask DD
III.321.6 More and more
[omits] WCL,DD
Dismayed WCL,DD
III.321.6 dismayed
III.321.10 Clara, to
Clara to DD
III.321.17 mingled, despite
mingled despite DD
III.323.7 deathlike
death-like WCL,DD
III.324.9 mingled
[omits] DD

III.325.1 CHAPTER XIII.
CHAPTER XXXV. WCL
CHAPTER XXXIV. DD

III.325.7-8 in the order we have describ-
ed in our first volume; that
is to say

[omits] WCL,DD

III.325.10 guard-house
guard house WCL,DD
III.326.2 clearing, when
clearing when DD
III.326.10 staff, which
staff which WCL,DD
III.326.16 afterwards
afterward WCL
III.326.21 first
[omits] DD
IIl.329.6 Heaven
heaven WCL,DD
III.329.13 Morton the
Morton, the WCL,DD
III.343.7 "Men
III.345.9 staff, but
III.345.12 chest
III.347.11 outstep
III.348.16 chief
III.350.13 both hands with
III.350.13 intent, when
III.351.1 gasping
III.351.6 and, seeing
III.351.6 struggling as
III.351.7 presumed, with
III.353.21 lis
III.354.20 Sumners
III.355.13 yell as of a
III.356.4 gauntlet,) a
III.356.12 suddenly, the
III.357.8 in air
III.359.5 heart-rendering
III.359.9 musingly

CHAPTER XIV.
III.360.1
III.360.16 been
III.362.9 denoted, that

CHAPTER XXXVI. WCL
CHAPTER XXXV. DD
[omits] DD
denoted that WCL,DD
Spelling Variants Initiated By DD

The following list records DD's spelling of "our" words found in the previous editions. In each instance DD changes "our" to "or" although DD does not change every word containing "our". These changes occur to twenty-two words, and this list records only the basic form of each word and not each word as it occurs with a prefix or suffix, as a plural, in a past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TC</th>
<th>VARIANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III.363.14</td>
<td>hitherto, unnoticed</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.364.10</td>
<td>Lawson, fly</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.366.2</td>
<td>cousin, depart</td>
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<td>III.366.3</td>
<td>ring, of</td>
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<td>III.366.6</td>
<td>then, throwing</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.366.16</td>
<td>her, whose</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.366.22</td>
<td>who, during</td>
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<td>III.366.23</td>
<td>scene, had</td>
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<td>III.367.3</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.367.14</td>
<td>have, doubtless,</td>
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<td>III.367.16</td>
<td>Adjutant Lawson</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.368.5</td>
<td>days, during</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.370.6</td>
<td>was, to</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.371.11</td>
<td>THE END KB,DD</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hitherto unnoticed</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lawson fly WCL,DD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>cousin depart DD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ring of WCL,DD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>then throwing DD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>her whose DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>who during DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>scene had DD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[omits] DD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>have doubtless DD</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjutant, Lawson</td>
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<td></td>
<td>days during DD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>was to DD</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>END OF WACOUSTA. WCL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tense, as a participle, adjective, or adverb.

ardour to ardor: I.175.22, II.221.16, II.301.21.

candour to candor: II.34.24, III.78.13, III.239.13.

clamour to clamor: I.106.20, III.61.11.

clangour to clangor: II.284.1.


demeanour to demeanor: I.130.13, I.213.5, II.62.5, III.126.23, III.143.24, III.160.11.


fervour to fervor: I.258.11, II.187.17, III.16.8, III.323.13.

harbour to barbor: I.153.9, I.167.6.

honour to honor: I.32.21, I.33.4, I.33.12, I.33.15, I.33.19, I.141.9, I.145.4, I.146.5, I.148.10, I.148.17, I.153.15, I.206.14, I.209.19, I.210.16, I.247.24, I.249.8, I.249.11, I.249.12, I.252.3, I.252.8, II.27.20, II.49.22, II.52.12, II.62.19, II.73.15, II.142.9, II.142.14, II.143.6, II.143.8, II.144.3, II.144.8, II.145.17, II.145.22, II.146.1, II.146.6, II.204.13, II.262.18, II.263.18, II.308.19, II.313.7, II.313.14, II.313.20, II.314.5, II.314.11, II.314.13, II.315.3, II.316.8, II.316.16, II.324.19, II.325.3, III.18.3, III.18.7, III.18.18, III.19.4, III.20.1, III.20.13, III.21.3, III.21.4, III.21.14, III.53.6, III.70.1, III.105.3, III.146.16, III.264.
Zangsur to langor: 1,192.12.

Rancus to rancar: 1.29, 15, 11.81.2*

T~JQUF to rigor: 1,227.18, 11.240.20, 111.155.4.

Rumour to rumor: I.256.7.

Saviour to savior: II.175.14, II.186.11, III.39.8.

Splendour to splendor: I.98.3, II.299.3, III.17.3.

Succour to succor: I.28.15.

Vapour to vapor: I.88.15.

Vigour to vigor: II.268.13, III.24.22.