Document généré le 10 août 2025 07:15

Ontario History

Clarifying an Image
The “Misrepresentation” of Major John Richardson

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Volume 116, numéro 1, spring 2024

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1110097ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.7202/1110097ar

Aller au sommaire du numéro

Éditeur(s)

The Ontario Historical Society

ISSN

0030-2953 (imprimé)
2371-4654 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article

Finlayson, A. (2024). Clarifying an Image: The “Misrepresentation” of Major John Richardson. *Ontario History*, *116*(1), 65–82. https://doi.org/10.7202/1110097ar

Résumé de l'article

Le major John Richardson a été reconnu comme le premier auteur canadien de renommée internationale et le “père de la littérature canadienne”, mais malgré ces reconnaissances, il a souvent été présenté sous un jour négatif, comme un échec, un romancier “inconnu” ou “ignoré” au Canada et qui a également échoué aux États-Unis, où il est mort dans la pauvreté. romancier “inconnu” ou “ignoré” au Canada et qui a également échoué aux États-Unis où il est mort dans la pauvreté. Il a également été décrit comme un “Hotspur” qui “cherchait” constamment les ennuis et comme un simple imitateur de James Fenimore Cooper. Ces descriptions le déforment et sont basées sur des demi-vérités et des suppositions et méritent d’être clarifiées.

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Clarifying an Image

The "Misrepresentation" of Major John Richardson

by Alan Finlayson

Abstract

Major John Richardson has been recognized as Canada's first internationally recognized author and the "Father of Canadian Literature" but despite these acknowledgements, has often been portrayed in a negative light as a failure, a novelist who was "unknown" or "ignored" in Canada and who failed as well in the United States where he died in poverty. He has also been portrayed as "a Hotspur," who constantly "sought" trouble and a mere imitator of James Fenimore Cooper. These depictions misrepresent him and are based on half-truths and assumptions and are in need of clarification.

Résumé: *Le major John Richardson a été reconnu comme le premier auteur canadien de renommée internationale et le "père de la littérature canadienne", mais malgré ces reconnaissances, il a souvent été présenté sous un jour négatif, comme un échec, un romancier "inconnu" ou "ignoré" au Canada et qui a également échoué aux États-Unis, où il est mort dans la pauvreté. romancier "inconnu" ou "ignoré" au Canada et qui a également échoué aux États-Unis où il est mort dans la pauvreté. Il a également été décrit comme un "Hotspur" qui "cherchait" constamment les ennuis et comme un simple imitateur de James Fenimore Cooper. Ces descriptions le déforment et sont basées sur des demi-vérités et des suppositions et méritent d'être clarifiées.*

Canada's Major John Richardson and America's James Fenimore Cooper were born seven years apart and died within nine months of each other. Both men emerged as writers in the 1820s and were their nation's first internationally successful novelists. Both were historians as well as novelists, avid nationalists, sensitive to criticism and embroiled in controversies. Despite their many similarities, the two authors have been treated very differently. Cooper, despite bitterly fighting with the press and being described by a contemporary as having a "senseless egotism and never-tiring vanity," has been forgiven his personal "failings" and transformed by Americans from "a figure of controversy to a figure of national pride." They praise him for his sensitivity to the Indians' point of view, for his skill as a historian,

and for his cultural leadership at the beginning of "the American cultural Revolution."[1] However, despite Richardson's patriotic efforts "to infuse a spirit of National Literature into his native land" and general acceptance of him by academics as "the father of our literature," a "cultural icon," and "the artist who first showed that Canadian history was interesting enough to be matter for literature,"[2] he has not received the same degree of respect. As the late Cooper scholar Hugh MacDougall stated in 2011, despite being "a foundation stone" of Canadian Literature, Richardson has been granted his "fame" "sometimes rather reluctantly." He has often been depicted as an unattractive figure, "a Hotspur who forever sought, and found, trouble," "another tough luck writer" who was not only "irascible," "prickly," "inordinately sensitive," "unreliable," possessed a "personal pique," and suffered from a "persecution complex" but was a failure, "unknown as a novelist in his native country," "ignored in Canada" and who flees to New York City where he "functioned as an impoverished hack" and died in poverty.[3]

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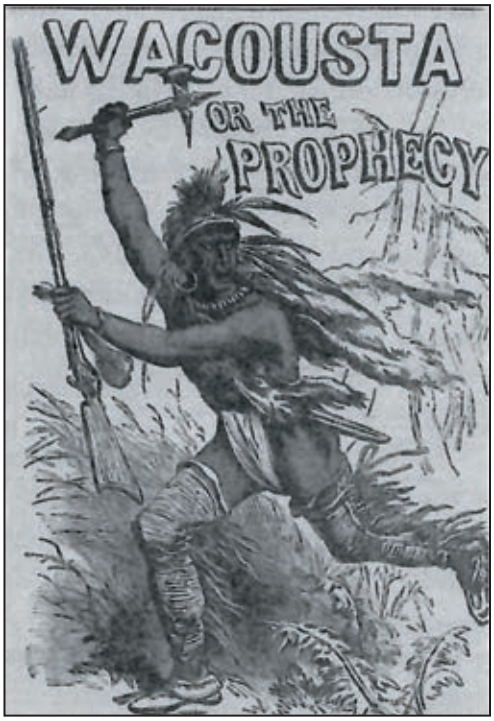
[1] This is Bryant's word. See his "Discourse on the Life and Genius of Cooper" at <http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/biographic/memorial.html>. Cooper was said to have the "inability to let any perceived slight against his honor, no matter how insignificant, go unpunished." He was said to have a tendency to "pick a quarrel in his preface[s]" "make fun of his critics" and be sarcastic yet was almost immediately referred to after his death as "our Hesiod, our Theocritus," America's "national writer," and "our National Novelist." Nick Louras, *James Fenimore Cooper: A Life.* (Washington: Chronos Books, 2016), 99, 228, 264, 291, 299, 304; Allan Nevins, ed., *The Leatherstocking Saga,* "Introduction" (New York: Pantheon, 1954), 3; Wayne Franklin, *James Fenimore Cooper: The Early Years.* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2007), xxviii, 4, 278, 481; Kay House, "Cooper as Historian" <http://www.oneonta.edu/~cooper/articles/suny/1986suny-house.html>; Robert D. Madison, "Cooper's Place in American Naval Writing", <http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/articles/suny/1982suny-madison1.html>

[2] Richardson's words in *The New Era*, 26 January 1842. The previous year he had written of his efforts "to introduce into [Canada] that spirit of refinement, through the instrumentality of literature." See Donald Stephens, ed., *The Canadian Brothers*, "Editor's Introduction," lviii, lxix. John Richardson, "Petition to Baron Sydenham," July 1841, in Carole Gerson, "Shaping the English-Canadian Novel,1820-1900," (Phd Thesis, University of British Columbia,1977), 13. James Reaney "Author's Notes" in John Moss, ed., *Wacousta: Canadian Critical Edition* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press,1998), 483; George Woodcock (1977), quoted in Michael Hurley, *The Borders of Nightmare* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1992), 39.

[3] See Hugh MacDougall, "The Novels of John Richardson, 'The Canadian Cooper'," 2, 7, <http://external.oneonta.edu/cooper/articles/suny/2011suny- macdougall.html>; Desmond Pacey, "A Colonial Romantic: Major John Richardson, Soldier and Novelist," *Canadian Literature*, 1:3 (Winter 1960), 56; Edward Watts, "Cooper, Richardson, and the Frontiers of Nationalism," James Fenimore Cooper Society Website (2002), 5, <http://external.oneonta.edu/cooper/articles/ala/2002ala-watts.html>; Peter Unwin, "The Pen and the Sword," *The Beaver*, 86:1 (2006), 33; Daymond and Monkman, "Tecumseh" (1992), "Introduction," 4, <http://canadianpoetry.org/library/early-writing-in-canada/early-canadian-long-poems/richardson/>; Mary Lu MacDonald, *Literature & Society in the Canadas 1817–50* (Lewiston: E. Mellon Press, 1992), 78; Dennis Duffy, "Review of Richardson's *The Monk Knight of St. John*," *American Review of Canadian Studies* (Winter 2002), (quoted in MacDougall, 2); Dennis Duffy, *Gardens, Covenants, Exiles: Loyalism in the Literature of Upper Canada/Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1982),45; and Sandy Antal, *A Wampum Denied: Procter's War of 1812*, "Forward," (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), A7-8.



Cover of Dewitt's 1875 edition of Richardson's novel Wacousta or the Prophesy.

This negative image of Richardson is unjust and in need of clarification.

Richardson's depiction as a failed novelist is a "half-truth" at best. Clearly sales of his works were poor in Canada [4] but he was not "unknown as a novelist" there nor "ignored." Literate Canadians certainly would have known of him. Although his early works were at first published anonymously, Richardson was listed as an author in England in *The Literary Blue Book of 1830* and by the time of his arrival in 1838 was known to be the author of *Ecarte* and hence *Wacousta*.[5] His *Ecarte; or, The Salons of Paris* had been praised by the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1829 for its "ingenuity," "vivid descriptions of fashionable life," "animated dialogue," and it "sold well" in Britain and the United States where it was quickly pirated.[6] With the publication of *Wacousta* in December of 1832, he had achieved international recognition. The novel was seen by London's *Morning Post* as "a work of higher order... worthy of our best writers of historical romance" and Miss Sheridan of *The Court Magazine* thought he had "no ordinary talent" and that his "wild descriptions and sketches of character" were "quite equal to the highly gifted Cooper." It was also praised by *The Athenaeum, The United Service Gazette, and The Satirist.* It was "read by the whole court" of William IV and quickly pirated by the American publishers Key and Biddle and Adam Waldie who described it as "a very superior production"

[4] Richardson himself admitted that "not more than one twentieth of the Canadian people were aware of the existence of the book [Wacousta]," and sales of his *The Canadian Brothers* and his 1842 History were poor. See Richardson, *Eight Years in Canada* (Montreal: Cunningham, 1847), 92–93; Stephens, *The Canadian Brothers*, lviii; and A.C. Casselman, "Introduction," *Richardson's War of 1812* (Toronto: Historical Publishing, 1902), xxxvi.

[5] *Wacousta* (1832) was advertised as being "By The Author of *Ecarte*." A letter in *United Service Gazette* of December 1836 referred to "Major Richardson of *Ecarte* notoriety," and Richardson confirmed his identity as its author in January 1837. See David Beasley, *The Canadian Don Quixote* (Simcoe: Davus Publishing, 2004), 77, 130.

[6] Carl Ballstadt, ed., *Major John Richardson: A Selection of Reviews and Criticism* (Montreal: Lande, 1972), 31–33; Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 70.

and published it serially reaching perhaps 18,000 readers. As well, it was performed as a play in New York in 1833, 1834, and 1836, and in Boston in 1837.[7]

The Canadian press announced Richardson's arrival in New York, and the literary community eagerly awaited his return to Canada.[8] Advertisements for a new Canadian edition of *Wacousta* appeared from May to November of 1838, and a volume of his memoirs was published that Fall in Montreal.[9] The press noted him having "passed through" Toronto in late October of 1839. They noted that, when he visited Detroit, he was treated as a celebrity and in 1840 he was referred to there as "the *renowned* author of *Wacousta*" (my italics).[10] In Canada, *The Literary Garland* commented on his "high reputation an author," published a segment of *Wacousta,* and hoped to see a copy "in every boudoir from the Atlantic to Lake Erie." It also published two chapters of his forthcoming sequel, and noted with pride that it was written by a Canadian who "is not, even in the literary world of England 'unknown to fame'." *The Montreal Gazette* thought the sequel "an honour to Canadian literature," and *The Quebec Mercury* wanted it in "every library in these Provinces."[11] Reviews appeared in the *Montreal Courier, Toronto Examiner,* and *Kingston Chronicle* in early 1840, the latter journal also reviewing *Wacousta* in March of 1841 and, in 1843, even Richardson's bitter enemy Francis Hincks referred to "the high eminence" Richardson "occupie[d] in the world of letters."[12] Richardson lived at various times in Montreal, Brockville, and Kingston, travelled to Quebec City, Toronto, Amherstburg, Prescott, Sandwich, and Windsor, and was never a wallflower. The press would have featured his being fired by *The Times*, his activities in Montreal, and his comments. His *New Era* featured several of his writings including his newly written history, an account of the role played by the army of Upper Canada during the War of 1812 which he had been encouraged to write to counter the American texts being used in Canadi-

[7] Douglas Cronk, "The Editorial Destruction of Canadian Literature: A Textual Study of Major John Richardson's Wacousta; Or, The Prophecy," (Master's thesis, Simon Fraser, April 1977), 62, and *Wacousta* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987), "Editor's Introduction," xxviii and endnote #47 liv. See Ballstadt, 35–39; H. Taylor to Richardson, August 1833 in *Stephens,* The Canadian Brothers, 3-4.

[8] Beasley, *Quixote*, (2004),143.

[9] Advertisements for his works were widespread. He is known to have sent circulars to promote *The Canadian Brothers* to at least fifty towns. Beasley, *Quixote*, (2004), 161; W.F.E .Morley, *A Bibliographic Study of John Richardson,* (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada,1973), 56.

[10] Stephens, *The Canadian Brothers*, "Editor's Introduction," xliii; Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 154 and 169.

[11] Beasley, *Quixote* (2004) 143, 154-55, 169; Morley, 68-69, 72-73; Cronk, *Wacousta*, "Editor's Introduction," xxxvii. *Stephens, The Canadian Brothers*, xliii; xxxviii, li, xlix, liv-lvi;

[12] MacDonald, *Literature and Society*, 78; Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 195.

[13] His "Tecumseh," "Jack Brag in Spain," and "Recollections of the West Indies" were also featured. W.R. Riddell, *John Richardson* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1923), 21, fn23. The issue of American influence was not new. See, for example, the Letter of "Palemon" in *Kingston Gazette*, 19 September 1815 in A. Bowler,

an schools.[13] The *Chatham Weekly Journal* announced its appearance and promoted its purchase exclaiming "we know of no work better calculated to nourish the germs of loyalty in the breasts of the rising generation of Canadians than a perusal of Richardson's War of 1812."[14] Political opposition and fear of upsetting American sensibilities, however, resulted in it not being used as a text. Its sale in book form failed commercially as did his journal and further attempts at newspaper publishing but this was not unique. Almost all publications of the era failed. Authors published at their own expense and asked for subscribers, many of whom ultimately did not pay. Richardson was "the first man in the Canadas who attempted to live on the monetary rewards to be gained by creative writing," but, as historian Mary Lu MacDonald has stated, "the economic reality of the colony precluded a life devoted solely to literature." Of sixty-three periodicals produced between 1817 and 1851, only six lasted more than two years. The *Montreal Courier* noted at the time of Richardson's publishing of *The Canadian Brothers* that there was "but little encouragement in this portion of the Empire for the cultivation of polite literature."[15]

Richardson was not "ignored." In 1846, a dinner was held in his honour, the host referring to him as "a gentleman who, by the splendour of his genius has shed an additional lustre on his native country" and in 1849, a reviewer in the March issue of the *Literary Garland* believed that his newly written novel *Hardscrabble,* "ought, I think, to produce a sensation, and to assume a place in the first rank of that department of imaginative literature."[16] In 1862, Morgan not only included him among his "celebrated" Canadians, but stated that Richardson "*speedily became known here* [Canada]," that *Wacousta* was *"immensely popular,"* and that *Ecarte, The Canadian Brothers* and *Eight Years in Canada* were *"much esteemed."* (italics added)[17] Richardson's "failure"

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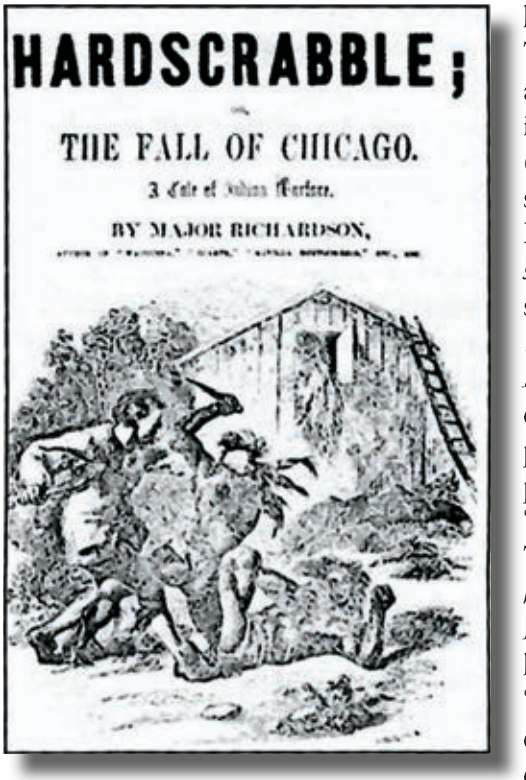
ed., *The War of 1812* (Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973), 80–82. In the 1830s, there was still concern over the use of "false accounts of the late war," and Lt.-Gov. Sir George Arthur, whom Richardson met on two occasions, remarked on "the madness of allowing Americans to be instructors of the Youth of the Country." See Elaine Gold, "Teachers, Texts and Early Canadian English 1791–1841," 94–95, <homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~cla-acl/2003/Gold.pdf>. Mabel Burkholder, "Gallant Major Our First Novelist," *Hamilton Spectator*, 2. "Teachers, Texts and Early Canadian English 1791–1841," 94–95,

[14] Mabel Burkholder, "Gallant Major Our First Novelist," *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 August 1958, 26. Modern historian Kenneth Windsor has termed his 1842 history "[m]uch the best written of the early histories of the War of 1812." Kenneth Windsor, "Historical Writing in Canada (to 1920)" in Carl Klinck, ed., *Literary History of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 214.

[15] Klinck, ed., "Introduction," *The Canadian Brothers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), vii; MacDonald, quoted in Suzanne Bowness, "In Their Own Words: Prefaces and Other Sites of Editorial Interaction in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Magazines" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ottawa, 2012), <https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/22807/3 Bowness_Suzanne_ 2012_Phd Thesis.pdf>; MacDonald, *Literature and Society*, 42–43, 50, 53–54, 65, 104.

[16] Richardson, *Eight Years in Canada*, 93; Beasley *Quixote* (2004), 237

[17] Henry J Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Montreal: Worthington, 1862), 295-96.



was economic, the result of the lack of a reading market. Where there *was* such a market, his works were popular.[18] When he moved to the United States in 1849, *Hardscrabble* was immediately published in serial format and met with "unprecedented popularity," compelling the paper's editor to reprint "for a third time... the early numbers of the present volume" and include the whole volume in a later issue. Its sequel *Wau-nan-gee* met with similar success and was proclaimed "perhaps the most interesting story of the kind which has ever issued from the American Press." The editor of New York's *Sunday Mercury* also had to provide reprints of the serialized version of Richardson's *Westbrook the Outlaw* and published three of his short stories. In 1850-51, American publishers Dewitt and Davenport published *Hardscrabble* in novel form as well as Richardson's *The Monk Knight of St. John, Ecarte, Wacousta*, and *The Canadian Brothers* (as *Matilda Montgomerie).* They also purchased the rights to *Westbrook* which they published as a novel in 1853. During this period, Richardson's "The Sunflower," "The North American Indians," and "A Trip to Walpole Island" appeared in *Graham's Magazine* and *Copway's American Indian.* Richardson gave a lecture which left people standing in the aisles, and held "almost breathless throughout" and the eminent American critic Rufus Griswold called *Ecarte* "a very brilliant novel" and "worthy of the best masters of romantic fiction." Richardson was also referred to as "among the most vigorous and fascinating writers of the age" and "a great artist." The *New York Daily Tribune* termed *Wacousta* "that romantic and soul-searching story" and Francis Parkman singled out Richardson as Cooper's only "equal" in capturing the "very spirit of the wilderness." Beasley has described Richardson as "the best- known author in New York City" at this time.[19] However, despite the popularity of his writings, Richardson lived in

[18] Richardson noted that he was "much better known" in America than Canada and that Americans, unlike Canadians, were "reading people" who encouraged him to write *Wacousta's* sequel. Richardson, *Eight Years*, 92, 104, 172.

[19] Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 248, 261, 266–67, 279, and "Tempestuous Major," 25; Francis Parkman, "The Works of James Fenimore Cooper," *The North American Review*, vol. 74 (January 1852), 156. It is

poverty and died of malnutrition, a fact emphasized by his detractors, but a condition not uncommon to authors of his time, "two- thirds" of whom "had no fixed living quarters." He had sold the rights to his novels and therefore did not reap the financial benefits of their popularity. He, like many other authors, was "the victim of rapacious publishers" and, as the editor Samuel Nichols remarked, "the way of literary men of the city is hard indeed!"[20] Clearly, his "failure" was financial and not unique. Cooper, in fact, was the only American author before 1850 able to support his family primarily from his royalties and his career was in the 1840s "in ruins." Watts admits that by 1849 "had he [Cooper] not been able to negotiate a deal that year with Putnam's he might have met a similar fate [to Richardson]."[21]

Richardson's reputation has suffered because he was an early victim of what today would be referred to as "Americanization." He was forced to see his two major works, *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers,* reissued in versions that were not only bowdlerized, but "Americanized." DeWitt and Davenport based their 1851 revised edition of *Wacousta* on Waldie's 1833 pirated version and omitted over 15,000 of Richardson's words, his references to Canada, and any passages which might be offensive to American patriotism.[22] *The Canadian Brothers* was similarly transformed into *Matilda Montgomery* with over seventy original passages omitted, including Richardson's "Dedication" and "Preface" and his patriotic account of the Battle of Queenston Heights.[23] Having agreed to only "some *slight* alterations,"(italics added), upon seeing the publication he quickly

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interesting to note that Parkman owned a copy of Richardson's *Eight Years in Canada* with the inscription, "To Francis with Kind Regards of the Author, J Richardson." One wonders what works and editions of Richardson he might have read and if he had seen Richardson's note about Gladwyn's informant in his "Notes" to *Tecumseh* (1828) when researching his *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851). Despite stating in the "Preface" to his first edition that "careful search [was] made for every book which directly or indirectly, might throw light upon the subject," he does not mention Richardson. See Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), xxiii; and Howard Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1970).

[20] Beasley noted that "in no biographical dictionary is the fact of his death in poverty omitted (as if to imply he deserved this squalid end)." David Beasley, "Tempestuous Major: The Canadian Don Quixote," *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, vol. 74, no. 1 & 2 (January & February 1970), 25; Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 280, 326 endnote #72. This was the author Thompson's phrase. George Thompson, *My Life: or the Adventures of Geo. Thompson, being the Auto-Biography of an Author* (Boston: Federhen & Co., 1854), chapter IV, <http://www.manybooks.net/titles/thompsong 2863528635. html.>. Beasley tells us that "an angry letter denouncing rich publishers who underpaid their writers appeared in a prominent newspaper" shortly after Richardson's death. See Beasley, "Major John Richardson Newsletter," 21 June 2011, <http://davuspublishing.blogspot.com/2010/12/major-john-richardson-newsletter.html>.

[21] Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*, (New York: Random House,1996), 412; Louras, *James Fenimore Cooper,* 3; Watts, "Cooper, Richardson," 6.

[22] Cronk writes that "scholars and general readers are grossly misled... by every edition after 1832." Cronk, "The Editorial Destruction," 1.

[23] Richardson wrote: "[T]he Americans, dismayed at the intrepidity of this handful of assailants...

changed publishers, but the damage had been done. For over a century, reviewers saw in Richardson's two major works only "a spirited imitation of Cooper" because they were unknowingly reading the faulty versions.[24] Only in the last third of the twentieth century did many of Richardson's writings re-appear and his original editions of *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers* become readily available.[25] As a result, scholars have been better able to show that Richardson owed Cooper "no explicit debt" despite his 1851 statement that he had "robbed" from Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans,*[26] Richardson admired Cooper, but like others was not satisfied with Cooper's depiction of Native people. While he enjoyed Cooper's writing, he described Cooper as "the *charming* Indian novelist" (italics added) and in 1842—after the Leather Stocking series was complete— wrote that he had *yet* to see an account "*sufficiently accurate* to convey a just idea of the character of these people"[27] (italics added). Cooper, unlike Richardson, knew of Native people only "from reading and from hearing [his] father speak of them." A "romancer" rather than a "realistic" writer, he wrote that "the rigid adhesion to truth... destroys the charm of fiction" and stressed that his characters were "creations." In contrast, Richardson saw himself as a historian and repeatedly stressed the historical accuracy of his writings, seeing them as beyond *"mere fiction*." He wished to "res-

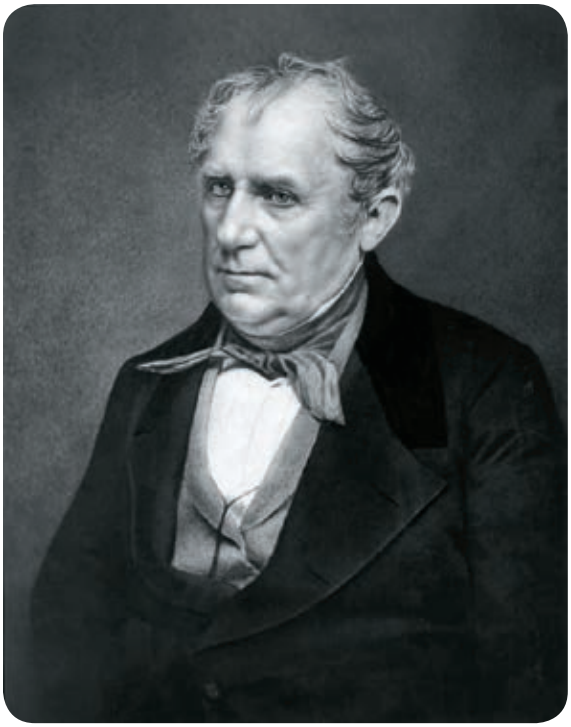
broke and fled... yielding to the panic which had seized them, [they] flew wildly, madly... towards the precipice... Despair, rage, agony, and even terror, were imprinted on the countenances of these, for they fought... as men without hope" It is not surprising such an account was removed. Unfortunately, few Canadians are familiar with the novel. See Richardson, *The Canadian Brothers,* Stephens, ed., 470-71 and "Editor's Introduction" lx-lxv, lxviii.

[24] These are Bourinot's words in 1893. Quoted in Cronk, "The Editorial Destruction," 178.

[25] For example, *Frascati's; or Scenes in Paris* was discovered in 1971 and *Westbrook, the Outlaw* in 1972. Richardson's *The Canadian Brothers* was reissued in 1976 and 1992. In 1987, the original version of *Wacousta* became available. See Beasley, *Episodes and Vignettes: An Autobiography Vol.2* (Simcoe: Davus, 2015), 129, 195; Klinck, ed., *The Canadian Brothers* (1976); Cronk, ed., *Wacousta* (1987); Stephens, ed., *The Canadian Brothers*, 1992). Beasley in particular has been responsible for making available many of Richardson's writings." "The North American Indians," "A Trip to Walpole Island," "The Sunflower," "Ampata," "Captain Leslie," and "Criminal Love" in his *Major Richardson's Short Stories* (Penticton: Theytus, 1985); the novels *Ecarte* (2004), *Westbrook* (2004), *Frascati's* (2004), and *The Monk Knight of St. John* (2005); and the essays "A Canadian Campaign" and "Recollections of the West Indies" (2011).

[26] See Leslie Monkman, "Richardson's Indians," *Canadian Literature*, vol. 81 (1979), 87; Dennis Duffy, "Beyond the Last Mohican: John Richardson's Transformation of Cooper in Wacousta," *American Review of Canadian Studies* (Autumn 1992); Hurley, *Borders*, 21–22, 24; and Beasley, *Quixote* (1977), 176 and (2004), 242. Despite such studies, Richardson has been presented as a mere imitator of Cooper. For a critique of the articles by Watts' and MacDougall, see Alan James Finlayson, "Re-evaluating the 'Canadian Cooper,'" James Fenimore Cooper Society Website, <http://jfcoopersociety.org/articles/other/2019other-finlayson.html>.

[27] General Lewis Cass wrote that Cooper's Uncas and Hardheart "have no living prototype in our forests" and in 1852 even the devoted Parkman noted that Cooper's Indian characters "for the most part either superficially or falsely drawn." See Blake Nevius, ed., *James Fenimore Cooper: The Leatherstocking Tales*, vol. 2 (New York: Library of America, 1985), endnote #492.15, 1051, and Parkman's essay, 150, 155. Richardson, "Introduction" to *Wacousta* (1851) in Moss, ed., 434; *Eight Years* 161; Casselman, ed., 5.



James Fenimore Cooper, c.1850, American author of The Last of the Mohicans *among other novels. Artist: Mathew Benjamin Brady.*

cue" individuals he admired from "oblivion" and "circulate through the most attractive and popular medium, the merits of those whose deeds and sufferings have inspired him with the generous spirit of eulogistic comment."[28] Contemporaries praised Richardson's portrayal of Native Americans and did not see his work as a mere imitation of Cooper. Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, had simply provided Richardson with evidence that a novel about Indian warfare could be commercially successful and inspired him to write a tale based on accounts he had heard about the siege of Pontiac. As the already published author of at least two novels, two poems, and several articles, as Logan remarked in 1916, he had learned to write long before reading Cooper.[29]

An assumption has been made about Richardson's personality. Portrayals paint him as a troublemaker, but has he been misrepresented? While early character sketches emphasized his talent and "gallant" nature,[30] in 1924, A.H.U.

[28] Nevins, ed., 7, 10, 25; Nevius, ed., vol. 1, 7; Richardson, *Eight Years*, 92, and his "Prospectus" to *Tecumseh* 1 March 1828. See Daymond and Monkman, "Tecumseh." He conducted research into Pontiac's siege and the siege of Chicago before writings the novels *Wacousta*, *Hardscrabble*, and *Wau-nan-gee.* See Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 79–80; 243–44. *Westbrook, the Outlaw* was based on the "notorious" individual who Richardson's uncle Charles had arrested in July 1812. He expands on Westbrook's evil nature but maintains true to the events of his career. See Beasley, ed., *Westbrook, the Outlaw* (Simcoe: Davus, 2004), "Introduction," iv; "Westbrook," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6; and E.A. Cruikshank, "A Study of Disaffection in Upper Canada in 1812–15" in M. Zaslow, ed., *The Defended Border* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1964), 205–23. Richardson "Prospectus" to *Tecumseh* and "Prefatory Inscription" to *Wau-nan-gee.*

[29] J.D. Logan, "Re-Views of the History of the Literary History of Canada" *The Canadian Magazine*, 48:2 (December 1916), 128. Richardson may have also written *The Confessions of Julia Johnstone* (1825), *The Roue, or, The Hazards of Women* (1828) and its sequel *The Oxonians* (1830), "An Attempt at a Tour" (1829), and several articles featured in *The Lucubrations of Sir Humphrey Ravelin* (1823). See Beasley, "The Search for Major John Richardson's Unknown Writings," *Ontario History*, CXIII:2 (Autumn 2021), 167–94, and Sarah Murden, "All Things Georgian," <georgianera.wordpress.com>.

[30] See the studies by Horning (1894), Casselman (1902), Carstairs (1902), Burpee (1904), MacMurchy (1906), Burwash (1912), Marquis (1914), Logan (1916 and 1924), Baker (1920) and Riddell (1923). None of these authors depict Richardson as a troublemaker.

Colquhoun accused him of desiring "to *seek* entrance" to quarrels (italics added). No sources were provided to support this allegation. Casselman's 1902 study is mentioned; however Casselman, while admitting that Richardson could be "pugnacious" and "a merciless assailant" who wrote "very severe" articles versus the Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry and Francis Hincks in particular, made no suggestion that Richardson *started* trouble.[31] In the inaugural issues of *Canadian Literature* in 1959-60, Desmond Pacey who had previously attacked Richardson, expanded on Colquhoun's negative image and described Richardson as "obnoxious," "haughty," "belligerent," and "bellicose," "a Hotspur who forever sought, and found, trouble."[32] Again, he provided no supporting sources, and Pacey was working with limited resources, noting that only Casselman and Riddell had attempted biographies.[33] One suspects he based his negative opinion largely on Francis Hincks' 1845 description of Richardson since he refers to Hincks in his article. Hincks described Richardson as "universally admitted to be the most quarrelsome and disagreeable person in every society into which he gains admittance," whose "very appearance... is enough to excite disgust."[34] Given his adversarial relationship with Richardson" and personal reputation, Hincks cannot be considered an objective source. In 1842, Hincks was charged with libel and his very presence was seen as "polluting" the Bagot Administration. A Montreal paper described him as "a reptile" and in 1846 he was beaten with a club for having "defamed" an opponent. The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* notes that he was

[31] A.H.U. Colquhoun, *Tecumseh and Richardson: The Story of a Trip to Walpole Island and Port Sarnia* (Toronto: Ontario Book Co.1924),22; Casselman, xxii, xxxvi, xxxviii, xliii.

[32] In 1951 in his *Creative Writing in Canada*, Pacey had attacked Richardson's *The Monk Knight of St. John's* "sly, lascivious, lip-licking dirtiness" and implied that Richardson's mind was "affected." When contacted by Beasley in the 1960s about writing a biography of Richardson, he said he had decided against it. See Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 253 and "Writing Richardson's Biography" in Catherine Sheldrick Ross, ed., *Recovering Canada's First Novelist* (Erin: Porcupine's Quill,1984), 23; Pacey, "Colonial," passim. Pacey's negative view of *The Monk Knight of St. John* is challenged by others such as Beasley, *Quixote* (2004) 250-57 and Michael Hurley, "Double Entendre: Rebel Angels and Beautiful Losers in John Richardson's 'The Monk Knight of St. John" *Canadian Literature*, (Spring 1991), 107-118.

[33] Pacey, "Colonial," 51. Researchers in the first quarter of the twentieth century were frustrated by the lack of available material and the fact that he was "almost completely forgotten." Beasley in 1970 was upset not only by the fact that Richardson was still "unknown" to the citizens of Canada but that the facts recorded about him were often incorrect. In 1973, Derek Crawley noted that Richardson had been "relegated to the realm of semi-oblivion" and that all articles and books about him would occupy "very little space." See Casselman, *Richardson's War,* xliv-v; Beasley, "Tumultuous," 100; and Crawley's "Introduction" to Morley, *Bibliographic Study,* 21 and 23.

[34] Pacey, 51. Hincks, *The Pilot*, 17 June 1845. Quoted in Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 202. Hincks, in turn, influenced Dent, who was also known for his "sensational journalism" and "savage characterizations of those he saw as villains." Dent found nothing to admire in Richardson's writings and termed his *Eight Years* "unreliable." Charles Dent, *The Last Forty Years* (Toronto: Virtue, 1881), 197, 574. See G. H. Patterson, "J.C. Dent," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. Xl. Beasley accuses Richardson's enemies of "manufacturing" a negative image of him. Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 284.

Sir Francis Hincks, a politician, colonial administrator, and newspaper publisher, had a very low opinion of Richardson which heavily influenced later historians.

"completely at home with the vituperative journalism of his day" and the author of "editorials that provoked heated responses." Historian Michael Cross refers to him as "scurrilous," "the great satan" and a "sly opportunist," and historian James Roy terms him an "unscrupulous man, with a tongue like a two-edged sword." Richardson described Hincks' career as "a libel on colonial politics."[35] His negative image does not coincide with the assessments of Richardson's character by other contemporaries. In 1836, Lieutenant-Colonel Boyd wrote that he thought him "incapable of acting derogatory to the highest to the highest principles of honour" and Assistant Surgeon William Lampton stated that "not the slightest implication can be cast on [his] conduct as an officer and a gentleman." In 1837, Richardson's character was defended in the British House of Commons by the highly respected General Hardinge and Captain Bolero and in 1838, Lord Durham praised Richardson as "a man of honour and integrity." George Thompson described him in 1854 as "a gentleman," "a much-valued friend" "a fine person" with "a generous heart and the most winning manners," "a general favourite with his associates" who "love[d] to assemble at his humble lodgings and avail themselves of his splendid conversational powers," whose death "caused the most profound grief in the breasts of all who knew him." *Friends* paid for his "handsome" funeral.[36] Clearly he was not seen as "obnoxious" by everyone.

[35] Richardson, *Eight Years,* 193; Michael Cross, *Robert Baldwin* (Toronto: Oxford University Press,2012), 162-63, 334; William Ormsby, "Francis Hincks," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XI.: James Roy, *Kingston: the King's Town* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1952), 216.

[36] Casselman "Introduction" xliii and xxxix; Riddell calls him "buoyant in spirit," "wholesome," "cultured and dignified," and "gifted," and Beasley, while not denying his faults, "admire[s] him greatly" describing him as a "sensitive and talented man," a man of "integrity" who "must have been a good friend" and had been "misrepresented." See Riddell, *John Richardson* 198, 203, 204; Beasley, "Writing," in Ross, *Recovering Canada's First Novelist,* 23, 28, and *Quixote* (2004), v, 208, 284. For the contemporary comments, see Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 116, 131 and Thompson, <http://www.manybooks.net/titles/thompsong2863528635.html>

Lord Durham praised Richardson as "a man of honour and integrity."

Richardson's involvement in duels is seen as evidence of his supposed "aggressive" nature, yet duels were a common means of settling disputes between "gentlemen" of his era. One hundred duels were fought in the United States' Navy Officer Corps alone between 1799 and 1849 and historian Lawrence James has concluded that "[p]ersonal honour was the peculiar virtue which separated gentlemen from other men and exalted their standing in the eyes of the world...." Cooper had dueling pistols, and in England, future British Prime Ministers Canning and Palmerston fought a duel in 1809, as did Wellington when prime minister in 1829. In Upper Canada, Riddell mentions six Upper Canadian duels between 1800 and 1833, not including John Norton's "duel" of 1823 and in 1849, the year Richardson left Canada, Canada's own future prime minister, John A. Macdonald, challenged fellow politician William Blake to a duel.[37] Richardson was a military man, a man of honour, and a "gentleman," and as a "gentleman," he saw himself duty-bound to defend women. In 1831 he risked his life to save a young bride's life and then saw to it that she received the pension to which she was entitled. He fought two duels in defence of a lady's honour, and in several of his novels and one poem he deplores the treatment of women. In *The Monk Knight of St. John*, written only two years after the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention, he complained of women being the "slaves of men" and called for "more liberality" on the part of men. He wrote two of his works in defence of a lady's reputation.[38]

It is unfair to assume that he was always the instigator of his interpersonal conflicts. In his feud with de Lacy Evans, it was Richardson who was exonerated and said to have "suffered *considerable*

[37] Lawrence James, *The Iron Duke: A Military Biography of Wellington* (London: Thistle, 1992; Kindle edition, 2016), Loc. 213, 221; Riddell, "The Duel in Early Upper Canada," *Canadian Law Times*, September 1915, passim; Donald Creighton, *John A Macdonald: The Young Politician* (Toronto: Macmillan,1952), 137-38; Franklin, , *James Fenimore Cooper,* 128.

[38] He came to the defence of Julia Johnson (1825) and Lola Montes (1851). See Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 41-42, 59-60, 75-78, 275; Beasley (ed), *The Monk Knight of St. John*, (Simcoe: Davus,2005), 75, 161. *The Roue, or, The Hazards of Women (1828)* and its sequel *The Oxonians (*1830) were also written as warnings to ladies of the dangers of society. See Beasley, "Search."

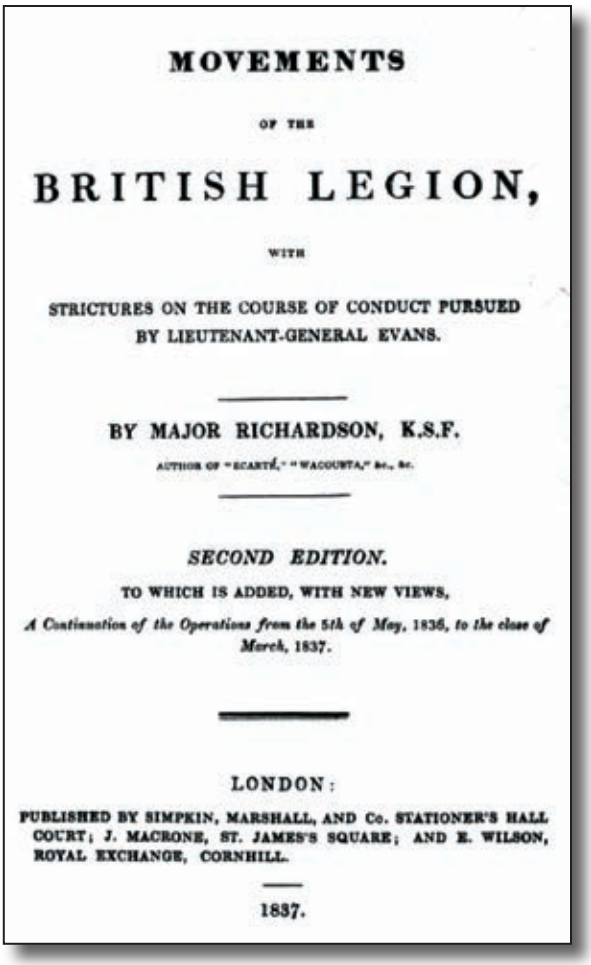
British General Sir George de Lacy Evans, pictured here in an 1855 photograph, feuded with Richardson.

persecution" (italics added). In Montreal in 1839, he was ostracized and called a coward because of his criticism of the British Legion,[39] and in 1846, a parliamentary committee investigated his removal as Superintendent of Police on the Welland Canal and ruled that he had been the *victim* of an "injustice." Many of his writings should be accepted, as he labelled them *defensive* responses to "slights" he had received and not as indications of an "aggressive" nature.[40] Could many of Richardson's interpersonal conflicts been the result of him being treated in a discriminatory manner because he was a Canadian and of Native American ancestry? Did "racial" and "national" slights play a role in creating the bitterness he felt towards the "hypocrisy" of European society he so often criticized? He commented on "the "loathsome hypocrisy of civilized life," wrote that the world was "made up of appearances and falsehood alone," and in late 1851, concluded that the world was "made up of villainy, hypocrisy, and selfishness..." Was he again more the victim than the aggressor, "more sinned against than sinning?"[41] Richardson described his complexion as "not many shades lighter" than that of a Negro, was proud of his native ancestry and would not have accepted

[39] Colonel Wetherall, Commanding Officer of the British Regiments in Montreal and brother to the Paymaster under Evans, termed Richardson a liar and "vulgar charlatan." Beasley writes that Richardson was "*hounded* by the British military in Canada who never forgave him for his criticism of the British Legion" (italics added) and that his enemies probably caused his wife's death. See Beasley, "Tumultuous," 4, *Quixote* (2004), 145, 312 endnote #55; and his "Newsletter" of 2 April 2016; Richardson, *The Guards in Canada*; *or, The Point of Honour* (Montreal: H.H. Cunningham,1848), 9, <https://digitalarchive.tpl.ca/objects/342022/the-guards-in-canada-or-the-point-of-honor-being-a-sequel#>.

[40] Richardson makes the point in *The Guards in Canada* that he "had never fought a duel in any other spirit than that induced by the necessity for *punishing an insult*" (italics added) and challenged the accusation that he was "a quarrelsome man." He wrote the book to defend his honour, "a shade" having been thrown "over my character" and wished to "vindicate" himself and show that he had never acted but as "a man of honour."—Richardson, *Guards*, 3, 20, 36, 53; and Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 220, 309 endnote #13.

[41] These are the words used by the *United Service Gazette* in 1837.Quoted in Beasley, *Quixote* (2004),130.



MOVEMENTS

OF THE

BRITISH LEGION,

WITH

STRICTURES ON THE COURSE OF CONDUCT PURSUED BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL EVANS.

BY MAJOR RICHARDSON, K.S.F.

AUTHOR OF "ECARTÉ," "WACOUSTA," &c., &c.

SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, WITH NEW VIEWS,

A Continuation of the Operations from the 5th of May, 1836, to the close of March, 1837.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND Co. STATIONER'S HALL COURT; J. MACRONE, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE; AND E. WILSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE, CORNHILL.

1837.

racial insults.[42] As early as his writing of *Tecumseh* in 1823, he indicates a sense of being unaccepted in European society. He wrote of those "curs'd from birth" and a decade later, described life as a "lottery" in which he had been held back because of his *birth.* In his highly autobiographical *The Canadian Brothers (*1840) he creates an interesting exchange in which British and Canadian officers under Brock argue. Having made it appear that a missing Canadian officer has been derelict in his duty, he has British officers question the "fidelity" of Canadians and their worthiness for command. Upon being challenged about his comments, the British officer, implies that a Canadian should be honoured to have even been "received" into a British regiment. The Canadian officer's uncle who is also a Canadian, informs his nephew that he too has had to listen to such comments "from persons not only older, but much higher in rank."[43] This exchange may be imaginary, but perhaps not, for such sensitivity by Canadians to a British attitude of superiority appears in the comments of Upper Canadians of the period. William Lyon Mackenzie complained of persons who perceived Canadians as "a race of mortals vastly *inferior* to the English

[42] Richardson, *Eight Years*,18. Throughout his writings he praised Native Americans' "air of independence and dignified pride" seeing them as "gentlemen of nature," "the first lords of the earth," and portraying them in heroic roles, often saving the lives of white friends. He told of Indian love affairs, their love of the land, stressed that they were unique "nations," and worried about their "extermination." Native poet Pauline Johnson referred to Richardson as "the excellent author" and commended him for providing a less one-dimensional Native character in his Oucanasta based on the Indian woman who is thought to have saved the garrison in 1763. Pauline Johnstone, "A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction" (1892) <<https://canlitguides.ca/canlit-guides-editorial-team/e-pauline-johnson-tekahionwake/a-strong-race-opinion-1892-by-e-pauline-johnson-tekahionwake/>>; See "A Trip to Walpole Island in 1848" in Beasley (ed) *Short Stories*,122; *The Monk Knight of St. John*, Beasley, ed), 8, 25, 217; and Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 276.

[43] Richardson, *Journal of the Movements of the British Legion*, (London: Effingham-Wilson, 1836), 51, and Richardson*, The Canadian Brothers,* Stephens, ed., 33-40.

and Yankees," and the *Literary Garland* commented in 1840 on "*aspersions hitherto too frequently cast... as being secondary in sterling worth* to that of the parent country" (italics added). In the *Christian Guardian* that same year, Egerton Ryerson criticized emigrants who belittled Canadians and MacDonald refers to the fact that "emigrant" authors were determined to retain their "British" outlook. For example, Susanna Moodie, although having lived in Canada for thirty-seven years, still wrote in 1869 of her being "heartsick" and wanting "to return and die upon my native soil."[44]

Richardson was no saint. He was outspoken, vain, and quick to take offence. However, he and his works are deserving of greater respect. Unlike Cooper, he did not win almost instant success, was not awarded generous financial advances, and did not have access to a large reading market.[45] As early as the fall of 1839, he was aware that Canadians were "too much pounds, shillings and pence men to care much about polite literature," and that "they would far more rejoice in a grand distiller of whiskey than a writer of books." Regardless, he continued to work for over a decade to instill in Canadians a pride in their country.[46] Critics have accorded him too little credit for his patriotic motives and artistic successes. He deserves to be given the benefit of the doubt not only regarding his personality, but in his possessing more than simply self-interested motives in promoting his literature. Although living in England, he proudly identified himself as a Canadian and, according to Cronk, wrote *Wacousta* "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." He was "consciously writing the first Canadian novel." He also wrote its sequel *The Canadian Brothers* as a nationalist, referring to it as a "national" and "Canadian" project, and including it with his *Tecumseh* and *Wacousta*, as one of what he termed his "NATIONAL AND HISTORIC Works."[47] Clearly, he was a financial failure, but the

[44] M. Fairley, ed., *The Selected Writings of William Lyon Mackenzie 1824–37* (Toronto: Oxford University Press,1971), 111; Stephens, ed., lii–liii. See Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada" in W.L. Morton, ed., *The Shield of Achilles* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 29; MacDonald, *Literature*, 147; Moodie to Anna Ricketson, 4 September 1869, quoted in *Gerson*, 315.

45 Cooper achieved success with his second book, *The Spy* which was "an immediate and resounding success," and his third, *The Pioneers*, sold out (3500 copies) on its first day. Publishers paid him advances of $4,000 and $5,000— "a princely sum"— on several occasions. See Nevius, *James Fenimore Cooper,* 1322 and Louras, *James Fenimore Cooper,* 193.

[46] See Richardson's letters to William Hamilton Merritt of 21 November and 17 December 1839 in Beasley, *Quixote* (2004) 160–61. Susanna Moodie made a similar observation in 1853, noting that "The Canadian people are more practical than imaginative. Romantic tales and poetry would meet with less favour in their eyes than a good political article from their newspapers" and that "The sin of authorship meets with little toleration in a new country." See Gerson, 15.

[47] He wrote that he wanted to recall "the gallant deeds performed by... the troops ...in defence of their invaded firesides." Casselman, 2. In his "Prospectus" to *Tecumseh* of 1828 and letters of 1837, he identifies himself as a Canadian. In the 1840s, he wrote that looked forward to a time when "these fine provinces shall have risen into a position to enable them to take their stand among the nations of the

circumstances in which he worked need to be understood and his successes celebrated. He derived no income from the sales of either his *Ecarte* or *Wacousta* both of which sold well in the United States because of existing copyright laws.[48] Only after a decade of effort did he feel "compelled" to leave. His wife had died, his finances were in dire straits, and conditions in Canada were hardly conducive to economic success. The Reform Party had come to power and Canada was "a country almost without hope." The Canadian economy was in the third year of a depression, Montreal had "exploded" in violence that Spring, and there was talk of annexation. As Casselman noted, Richardson "had tried by every honourable means to gain a livelihood among the people he loved best... hop[ing] that his countrymen would appreciate his efforts." Fifteen thousand other Canadian residents also left for the United States in that year alone, yet many have perceived his departure as what York termed "a desertion of national culture"[49] In years to come many others followed. An observer in New York City in 1893 noted the "large number of writers, born Canadians, Canadians in heart, and hope, and ambition, who have been obliged to make their homes in other countries." Should all these individuals be seen as "failures" as well? As Mount states, Canada even late in the nineteenth century, could simply not "sustain and thus retain its writers." Later, expatriates Bliss Carmen and Charles G.D. Roberts returned home as "conquering Canadian heroes" for having succeeded in America and England.[50] Despite also conquering those markets, Richardson has not received similar acclaim.[51]

The attention given to the deaths of

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earth" and "the chain of nominal dependence which now binds them to England will be cast loose." He sold his commission, his sole means of support, to buy his printing press. He petitioned for financial aid but received none apart from the award given by the legislature after he had submitted his History. It should not be surprising that he later bitterly accused Canada of being "alone" in "not honouring its authors," of being "indisposed to the encouragement of literature," and felt that he might as well have published "in Kamtschatka." See Richardson's "Prospectus" for his *New Era*, 2 March 1842, his *Eight Years*, 36, 94–6, 104 and his "Introduction" to Wacousta (1851) in Moss (ed), 439; Stephens (ed) "Introduction," lv, lviii; Beasley, Quixote (2004), 133, and Cronk, "The Editorial Destruction," 59. For greater detail on his patriotic efforts, see Alan James Finlayson, "Major John Richardson: Canadian Patriot and Literary Nationalist," *Ontario History*, CXI:1 (Spring 2019).

[48] Lack of copyright protection was also a concern for Sir Walter Scott and Cooper, who discussed it when they met in Paris in 1826 and Dickens complained of pirating when in America in 1841. Louras, *James Fenimore Cooper,* 140-41; Nevius, *James Fenimore Cooper,* 1323; and MacDonald, *Literature*, 41.

[49] This is the word he used in *Westbrook*. See Beasley, ed., *Westbrook, The Outlaw,* 7; Casselman, "Introduction," xxxix; J.M.S. Careless, *Union of the Canadas* (Kindle edition 2016), Loc.3411, 3432, 3449, 3456, 4010; and Lorraine York, *Literary Celebrity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 5.

[50] Nick Mount, *When Canadian Literature Moved to New York*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 7-8, 12.

[51] His popularity in the United States is generally diminished. Pacey refers to him only as "something of a celebrity," Watt as "a marginal novelist," Unwin that he achieved "some acclaim," and MacDougall that he "found a publisher for *several short frontier novels*" (italics added). See Pacey, 55; Watt, 6; Unwin, 31;

Cooper and Richardson reflects their treatment in history overall. In America, Cooper's death was considered "a national calamity." A committee charged with arranging an appropriate tribute received letters of praise, and Parkman wrote a commemorative essay. In February of 1852, New York City saw the arrival of "the most cultivated audience the city could boast," dignitaries who made speeches and paid their respects at a grand memorial. It is assumed that Richardson was in attendance.[52] Within three months, Richardson was dead. Although his death was "widely reported in the [local] newspapers" and the circumstances of his death lamented, he was quietly buried outside the city and the location of his remains are unknown. Having died far from home, Canadians knew few details. Morgan could only write in 1862 that "we believe, he died in the United States some years ago" and the *Dictionary of National Biography* of 1896 listed his death as occurring in 1863.[53]

At Cooper's Memorial, Bryant spoke of the "pride" Americans took "in the glory his writings had reflected on the American name."[54] Richardson's writings similarly reflected attention on Canada internationally, but he has not garnered the same degree of respect from Canadians. As MacDougall noted, "he never in his lifetime received the recognition he deserved."[55] Things have not changed. Whether or not his writing is "equal" to Cooper's is not the issue. What is important is that he should be recognized for the efforts he made to establish a greater Canadian identity and his writings respected as they were in his day. More Canadians should be made aware that "Ca-

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MacDougall, 7. Mention has already been made of the publication of his works in Britain and America before his death. Between 1852 and 1900 in the United States, *Ecarte* was republished two times; *Wacousta* three times; *Matilda Montgomerie* twice; *Hardscrabble* six times; *Wau-nan-gee* twice; and *The Monk Knight* once. German editions of *Wacousta* and *Hardscrabble* were also published during this period as well as a Canadian edition of *Wacousta* in 1868 and multiple twentieth century editions of his works. This does not seem to indicate "failure" as a novelist. See Beasley, *Quixote* (2004) "Checkllist of Richardson's Works," 286–93.

[52] "Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper" (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852), annotated by Hugh C. MacDougall, James Fenimore Cooper Society, 2001 < http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/biograpic/memorial.html> (Lounsbury 1883) (quoted by Louras, *James Fenimore Cooper*, 1; Beasley, *Quixote* (2004), 326 endnote #69.

[53] Beasley, "Newsletter," 21 June 2011; Morgan (1862), 296; Sir Sidney Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 48 (1896), 232–33.

[54] Bryant, < http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/biograpic/memorial.html>

[55] MacDougall, "The Novels of John Richardson," 7. See Michael Hurley, "The Ward of 1812: Major John Richardson—Child Soldier, War Historian, and the Father of Canadian Literature," *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 53 (2016), 12, <https://utpjournals.press/doi/pdf/10.3138/ijcs.53.9>, 3; Daniel Coleman, "The National Allegory of Fraternity: Loyalist Literature and the Making of Canada's White British Origins," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 36:3 (Fall 2001), 131; Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town,* 7. Nevins refers to the Leatherstocking series an "an American epic." See Nevins, *James Fenimore Cooper*, 5; and R.P. Baker, "John Richardson And The Historical Romance" in *A History of English Canadian Literature to the Confederation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1920), 133–35.

nadian Literature" did not begin in the twentieth century and that Pre-Confederation Canada produced a writer whose works were not only "much esteemed" in Canada, but popular and respected internationally. Like Cooper, he provided his country with her "first national prose epic," "the fictional epic of Canada's formation," an "Intensely imagined past" based like Cooper's on "the force of his own recollections."[56] However, those "recollections" have not garnered to same degree of respect as the writings of travellers and emigrant settlers.[57] Unlike the brief observations provided by foreign visitors and emigrant settlers so often cited, Richardson provides detailed portrayals of the people of his time as well as opinions and viewpoints. As a proud Canadian his writings accurately reflect the perceptions and values of an emerging Canadian nation and deserve greater notice. He deserves to be presented in a more positive manner and recognized not only for his patriotic efforts but as a "national writer" rather than a failure.

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[56] For example, historian G.M. Craig in his 1963 history of Upper Canada does not mention Richardson or his writings apart from referring to his history as "an early Canadian account written by a participant" in the bibliography, despite Richardson's status as an internationally recognized author and the fact that he had been named as a "Person of National Significance." None of his other writings are mentioned despite *The Canadian Brothers* being described by Baker as a prime example of "an early attempt to give expression to the spirit of nationality" and "the emergence of Canadian national" and, as such, "one of the most significant books of its time." He does include works by seven other contemporary authors. Similarly, S.F. Wise mentions the writings of Haliburton but not Richardson, despite his focus being on Upper Canada and Richardson's writings being supportive of the "vesuvian mentality" of which he wrote. J.M.S. Careless in his study of the period, does mention Richardson as "English Canada's first native-born novelist," the author of *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers* and numerous other works besides" but does not attach any significance to him, seeing him mostly as the "eccentric" editor of a Brockville journal. See G.M. Craig. *Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963); R.P. Baker, "John Richardson And the Historical Romance" in *A History of English Canadian Literature to the Confederation* (London: Oxford University Press,1920), vii-viii; 133-35; S.F. Wise, *Canada Views the United States* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967); and Careless Kindle edition, Loc.1014; Finlayson, "Patriot," 87-90. Persons of National Historic Significance (Canada) <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Persons_of_National_Historic_Significance_(Canada)>.