

Articulating Resistance: Translating Acadie & Ireland as Post-colonial and Subaltern

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A Thesis

in the

Département d'études françaises

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts (Traductologie) at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2009

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*Your file* *Votre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-63136-2  
*Our file* *Notre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-63136-2

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## ABSTRACT

### Articulating Resistance: Translating Acadie & Ireland as Post-colonial and Subaltern

Amanda Leigh Cox

This thesis addresses the comparison of Subaltern Acadie and Ireland and the resistance in translation that they manifest to counter colonialism and Empire.

Though separated temporally, Ireland and Acadie share key characteristics: a basis in orality, post-colonial history, and Subaltern status. These qualities provide a common ground for the comparative analysis of how both societies access discourses of power - an effort manifested through translation. The corpus consists of: Acadie - Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Évangéline* and its French Canadian translation by Pamphile LeMay; Ireland - *Tàin Bo Cualgne* and its English translations by Lady Augusta Gregory (*Cuchulàin of Muirthemne*) and Joseph Dunn (*The Ancient Irish Epic Tale Tàin Bo Cualgne, the Cualgne Cattle-Raid*). The Acadien text manifests passive resistance by repeating historical inaccuracies, emphasizing Orientalizing practices and essentialism, and the insertion of LeMay's political ideology into the translated text. The Irish texts manifest active resistance through Irish nationalist-oriented translations that can be twinned with temporality and key political events, and widely variant translations that demonstrate Ireland's long translation history and tradition.

In terms of methodology, this thesis draws upon research and theories from: Post-Colonial Studies, Translation Studies, as well as Acadien and Irish political and cultural history.

## Dedication

To my Da ~this is your Masters Thesis too

To Martine and Lorraine, my thesis-izers ~two words: "thesis box"

## **Acknowledgements**

My most sincere and heartfelt thanks to Paul, my long-suffering and wonderfully encouraging Supervisor.

Love and thanks to my family: Roberto, Da, Mum, Kristine, Mike & Max; Lynda, Tania & Danny, Marisa & Joseph, and Sal.

I would also like to thank Debbie for her enthusiasm, Jean-Marc for his patience and willingness to help, Jason for his advice, Matt for being my long-distance guide, Jozina & Isa for their cheerful support.

Je tiens à remercier aussi le Département d'études françaises and the Irish Canadian Studies Department for their contributions.

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### **Introductory Notes:**

In all cases, the ‘native’ languages of the Subaltern cultures analyzed here have been respected; French for Acadie; Irish-Gaelic for Ireland.

The use of the French forms of Acadie, Évangéline (with accents), Le Grand Dérangement, are standardized throughout this thesis, and should not be considered errors in typing, spelling, or simple oversights. Additionally, LeMay at times uses archaic French spellings in his translation, which has been faithfully copied into this thesis where LeMay’s text has been directly quoted.

Irish-Gaelic is subject at times to significant lexical flux; I have tried as much as possible to employ the most common Irish-Gaelic forms for names, places, etc. Therefore, Medb, Aillil, Tàin Bo Cualgne, Cualgne, Cuchulàin, are standardized throughout this thesis and should not be considered errors in typing, spelling, or oversights. Further, as some debate exists around the preference of name for Ireland’s indigenous language, I have used the hyphenated term “Irish-Gaelic”, which combines the two most popular appellations.

These conventions and preferences have been made to afford the maximum amount of respect and acknowledgement to both Acadie’s and Ireland’s struggles to be recognized on their own terms, and especially *in* their own terms.

## 1.1 Introduction

This thesis will demonstrate the use of passive or active resistance in translation through a comparative corpus study of texts originating from two similar post-colonial societies: Acadie and Ireland. Though temporally distant, Acadie and Ireland typify the oral, post-colonial, and Subaltern societies that use translation as a means to access discourses of power. In post-colonial contexts, the Subaltern is typically unable to access Empire-controlled discourses of power; translation then becomes a valuable tool for the Subaltern to access these discourses, thereby enacting resistance to Empire.

In the framework of this thesis, there are two varieties of resistance in translation – passive and active. Passive resistance is typified by a translated text that closely resembles the source text; it replicates Orientalizing practices and essentialisms, faithfully duplicates historical errors, and most importantly contains textual evidence of the translator's resistant political ideology. Overall, passive resistance in translation is subtle, and has a cumulative effect. The Acadien corpus used to demonstrate passive resistance is Pamphile LeMay's French Canadian translation of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's original English epic poem *Évangéline*; which features all three of the above-mentioned translative characteristics. Adding credence to the legitimacy of LeMay's passive resistance translation is the fact that it has endured as the national story of Acadie for generations – a fact which clearly indicates that Acadiens generally identify with LeMay's translation. On the contrary, active resistance in translation has a bold and pronounced effect; translators are highly visible in the text and rewrite and retranslate source texts. Some of the key characteristics that lead to the manifestation of active resistance in translation are: the interaction between temporality and key political events, and an established tradition of translation. The Irish corpus under study



is the ancient tale *Tàin Bo Cualgne*, which manifests active resistance through its translations from Irish-Gaelic to English by Lady Augusta Gregory and Joseph Dunn. Both Gregory and Dunn translate and rewrite the *Tàin* to support the goals of Irish nationalism in the era in which they were published. The wide stylistic variance inherent in both texts speaks to Ireland's strong tradition of translation, which is accommodating towards divergent translation styles and approaches. *Évangéline* and *Tàin Bo Cualgne* demonstrate that passive and active resistance in translation is used by the Subaltern in order to access power in a post-colonial context, resist Imperial domination, as well as assert Subaltern identity.

Theories and critical discourses from the fields of Post-Colonialism, Translation Studies, as well as Acadian and Irish history will illustrate and support assertions of resistance in translation. Concepts such as Lawrence Venuti's assertion of translator in/visibility in a text, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's definition of the Subaltern, Tejaswini Niranjana's theories of re-translation as reparation, Maria Tymoczko's insider/outsider minority cultural inclusion in translation, Michael Cronin's history of minority translation, and Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus all contribute to the analytical framework of this thesis.

Resistance in translation is an important phenomenon to examine because it highlights the importance and power of translation in undeniable terms. Translation is a productive, creative, and extraordinary means for cultures to define themselves in their own terms in contexts where they have been historically alienated from that power. Particularly in post-colonial contexts, resistance in translation acts as a means of reparation - a concise and articulate way for the Subaltern to begin to heal the wounds and suffering of the Colonial past (BANDIA 2008).

This thesis will demonstrate, through the examination of LeMay's translation of *Évangéline* (Acadie), and Lady Gregory and Joseph Dunn's translations of *Táin Bo Cualgne* (Ireland), that these two Subaltern cultures resort to passive or active resistance in translation in order to combat Imperial domination.

## 1.2 Translation, Power, Resistance

A combination of theories from translation, post-colonial, and cultural studies scholars provides a suitable theoretical framework for the issues raised in this paper. Additionally, references pertaining to the history, culture, and societies of both Ireland and Acadie have been useful.<sup>1</sup>

Lawrence Venuti's (1995) introduction of the concept of translator in/visibility highlighted the translator's presence in a text; it is defined as whether the translator chooses to be more or less visible in the text they are translating, a decision made based on their political and social circumstances, opinions, and the nature of the text itself. The translator's presence in a text is a key notion when examining translation in a context of social or political turmoil - for example a post-colonial context. The translator's in/visibility in this aforementioned context is of paramount importance since minority culture information which is omitted or transmitted in translation can provide invaluable information about that minority culture's position in the overall translative process, as well as its status and relationship with the powers that control the translative process - who generally speaking are Imperial powers. Translation can be a powerful tool in circumstances where a minority group is seeking to access the discourse of power in a society where they are otherwise prevented from attaining even a modicum of power. The choices that individual translators make during the act of translation can either align them with the oppressive Empire, or align them with the minority, oppressed, cultures they may be translating. Venuti's work relates to this thesis in terms of the primordial concepts of a translator's in/visibility and the influence

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<sup>1</sup> See Bibliography for a complete list of all references, documentation, and related literature.

of translators/translation on history as means to access power and as agents of cultural-political change in (post)colonial contexts.

Translation itself has had a privileged and damned role – translators and their translations are considered a conduit for intercultural understanding, yet are also often considered to be “lesser” or “inferior” to the original source author/text. This strange polarity lends translators a sort of cloak of invisibility; enabling them to complete their main task of rendering a text from one language to another – as well as their political and philosophical task of forcibly entering the discourse of power.<sup>2</sup> Using translations as a means to power can effectively create, cultivate, and bring to a fever pitch, nationalist movements (which can so often result in overcoming the powers-that-be). Translation is a perfect tool for resistance: passive resistance - in contexts where an uprising would be brutally quashed; and active resistance - in contexts where overt resistance would be generally ignored by a complacent oppressive Empire. Both of these forms of resistance in translation strongly bear the mark of translators themselves, proving that whilst perhaps “invisible” to the eyes of history, translators do indeed shape the course of their respective societies.

Gayatri Spivak’s seminal work *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988) furthers thought on the situation of the oppressed seeking power in post-colonial societies. Spivak’s concept of the Subaltern, as well as her inquiries as to whether or not this Subaltern can speak are also of consequence in this paper, as both Acadie and pre-Republic Ireland were Subaltern. As defined by Spivak, the Subaltern are a group of people who have been excluded from

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<sup>2</sup> As for the translations themselves: their positive or negative reception, or their “invisibility” depends on a variety of factors too broad to address in this thesis.

participation in the discourse of power in an absolute fashion. She takes care to point out that while the Oppressed and the Subaltern may share the characteristic of having no access to the discourse of power, the Subaltern are decidedly more endangered since their voices have been *silenced* by Empire, leaving them with no traditional means to protest. Spivak explains further that power is essentially a discourse or conversation, that must include speakers and listeners. She asserts that the silenced Subaltern will find a way to speak - thus accessing power and entering into a discourse with their oppressors - by whatever means possible: enter the use of translation as a means to resist Empire. Spivak includes yet another caveat; warning that a Subaltern text translated by an Imperial culture is vulnerable to having Imperial hegemony imposed upon it. This phenomenon is clearly illustrated in reference to the translator's in/visibility; if a translator is complicit with Empire, the translation they produce of a minority culture's text risks reflecting and reinforcing Empire's stereotypes towards said minority culture, thus completely obliterating any chance for that minority culture to access the discourse of power. A narrative ordained by Empire permanently affects the Subaltern's narrative - a process that is unlikely to occur in the opposite direction. However, the Subaltern can voice passive or active resistance to Empire through specific writing and translative strategies as defined and addressed in this thesis: namely active or passive resistance in translation. Passive resistance to Empire can be indicated in a translation that retains and reinforces Empire's perceived negative cultural or social essentialisms about the dominated culture or society. The replication of these essentialisms by colonial subjects in translation passively resists them by highlighting their inaccuracy. Active resistance is a more straightforward process as the Subaltern takes Empire's source texts and rewrites, retranslates, and ultimately corrects them.

Spivak's work applies to this thesis because of its assertion that those who lack access to power discourses will inevitably find a way to speak - translation *is* that access to power; from overt active resistance that creates Subaltern national unity and nationalist movements, to more subtle passive resistance that mocks not only Empire's supposed infallible power, but also its erroneous suppositions about their colonized subjects. Translation as a means for the Subaltern to access the discourse of power has long been a viable theory; when combined with Venuti's concept of the translator's invisibility, Spivak's theory becomes even more relevant to the post-colonial context.

As posited in Maria Tymoczko's work *Translation In a Post-Colonial Context* (1999) the translation of minority languages and cultures provides a means for those cultures to be reformulated as tools of resistance. The very translation of minority languages and cultures can help solidify national identity including establishing a dynamic of insider / outsider cultural membership. Socio-cultural markers such as place names and elements of cultural archeology help to create the boundaries of this insider / outsider polarity, wherein Empire and its representatives are "outsiders" and minorities are "insiders" with relative cultural specificity and exclusivity. The above-mentioned polarity ensures that the hegemony of Empire and its inherent power struggles endure, in a context whereby Empire and minority are locked in a love-hate relationship - requiring yet struggling against each other. This tangled dance is similar to the act of translating itself; the translator forcibly moving between the foreign source text, and their own attempts to make it both relevant and real to their own familiar target culture and language. Tymoczko's work highlights the importance of choosing a text to be translated that the target audience identifies with, should the translator desire to use translation as a tool for resistance. The notion of minority culture relating to a

translated text is required in order for the target audience to receive that text's message; the text must in some way relate back to said minority and its struggles. Additionally, this culturally pertinent translated message of resistance must also be somewhat inaccessible to the majority culture, so that the translation and its message of resistance directed towards the minority culture cannot be intercepted and consequently stopped by the majority culture before it reaches its target, minority audience. Tymoczko's research applies to this thesis through the assertion that while translation can be a tool for resistance, care must also be taken to choose a culturally appropriate text to ensure that said messages of resistance are received, decoded, understood, and embraced by the culture which desires to combat Empire.

Specific to the subject of Ireland, Michael Cronin's *Translating Ireland – Translation, Languages, Cultures* (1996) details the history of Ireland in tandem with the translation history of Ireland, proving itself to be doubly useful. It is a summary and a reference of Ireland's translation history and the various trends and politics surrounding translation activity through the ages on the Island; all of which is displayed on a backdrop of the social, cultural, and political events that make up both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland's complicated history. The global effect of politics on translation cannot be ignored; this is especially true in the case of Ireland, where historical invasions generally resulted in aspiring conquerors adapting native Irish customs and way of life, thus enriching and reinforcing both Ireland's native culture as well as its tradition of translation. However, this trend changed radically when the United Kingdom took Ireland as its first colony; their goal was to oppress and defeat the Irish in every way possible; taking over the land, people, and resources for the benefit of the British Empire alone - a true colonization effort. During the

establishment of the Irish plantations, a British Empire-espoused smear campaign of all things Irish took place - which included defaming Ireland's otherwise largely praised translation history and practice. Oppression came in the form of various laws and political events that essentially removed and excluded native Irish people from power (as well as from education, land possession, and employment), and as a result, the Irish had no choice but to turn once again to translation to assert themselves and raise their voices in protest - thus the birth the of Celtic Revival.

As mentioned above, Cronin's book is relevant to this thesis because it documents the expertise the Irish had in terms of translation; not just from Irish-Gaelic to English, but from various languages such as Latin, Greek, French, English, from Antiquity to the present. This vital information reinforces the hypothesis put forth by this thesis, namely that the active resistance seen in the translation of *Tàin Bo Cualgne* was indeed a conscious effort on the part of both Lady Gregory and Joseph Dunn to refute and defy Imperial assertions of Irish cultural inferiority. Further to this point, translation is frequently used as a nation-building tool - there is ample evidence to prove that both Gregory and Dunn chose to support Irish Nationalism and to help construct Irish cultural heritage with their translations of *Tàin Bo Cualgne*.

Also important to this thesis is Tejaswini Niranjana's (1992) concept of re-translation which calls for the assertive self-representation of post-colonial subjects to counter Imperial hegemonic discourse; this often takes the form of literally re-writing a translation, or a figurative cultural or societal re-translation. Niranjana espouses the rectification of history by quite simply re-writing it - however those who have the right to do this are clearly



identified as those whose voices have been silenced throughout history: minorities; the oppressed, the subjects of colonization.

Niranjana's view of re-translation is that it is a pathway for the Subaltern to access power by rectifying Imperial misconceptions and fabrications, often espoused in, or perpetuated through translation or other cultural products. This theory finds an equal partner in theories of resistance in translation; a resistance which can take two forms - passive and active - both of which function well with Niranjana's theory. Passive resistance in translation includes the subtle highlighting and repetition of erroneous stereotypes in translations, which leaves space for *readers* of the translation to question the validity, authority, and legitimacy of the text - and Empire itself. Active resistance also works well with Niranjana's assertions, since this type of translation can closely resemble the wholesale re-writing or re-translating of a source text and/or a culture's entire history.

Though Niranjana's work focuses on the context of Indian colonization, the theme of British Imperialism runs through her book and this thesis; as both Ireland and Acadie felt the sting of British colonization efforts. By considering the post-colonial context from which Niranjana's theories originate, and then applying her theories to both Ireland and Acadie, a clearer picture of British Imperial rule is provided. Clearly, Niranjana's notions of re-writing, translation, and re-translation apply to this thesis, because both Ireland and Acadie use translation to rectify the Imperially-established and incorrect stereotypes put forth about them.

General theories of orality and oral cultures will be used very briefly to provide a deeper understanding of the pre-existing and fully functioning cultures that came to be colonized by the British Empire. Walter Ong's research on oral communication, as

showcased in his 2002 book *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (second edition) has long been a testament to the fact that oral cultures did (and do) have a clearly transmitted and defined cultural and social history. Ong asserts that orality is just as effective as written cultural products in terms of the accuracy of the information provided. This applies to this thesis as Ireland and Acadie were fundamentally orally-based cultures; only with the arrival of Empire were they generally forced to shift from orality as a primary means of cultural transmission to writing. Interestingly though, to this day, oral songs, stories, and histories still retain a place of importance in these cultures, which reinforces the strength of orality. These oral offerings are partnered with - and not replaced by - written offerings of resistance, since translations, books, and other written cultural products are more easily transmittable and enable the reader to contemplate issues and questions on their own time. This study focuses on source material that is fundamentally oral in nature, in contrast to creative written fiction. Acadie's *Évangéline* and Ireland's *Tàin Bo Cualgne* are oral legends that articulate resistance in their written translations in a manifestly divergent fashion: Acadie's expression is decidedly *passive* whilst Ireland's is categorically *active*.

The manifestation of passive or active resistance will be demonstrated in examining the following two texts. *Évangéline* recounts the story of two young Acadian lovers during Le Grand Dérangement, from their initial separation during the deportation process to their eventual reunification a virtual lifetime later. *Tàin Bo Cualgne* is an ancient tale of Pagan Ireland wherein hero Cuchulàin defends his people and their prized brown bull against the attack of the conniving Queen Medb.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Évangéline* is a written, English rendering of the French oral legend of the Acadian Grand Dérangement. Penned in 1847 as one in the series of Longfellow's quasi-historical fireside epic poems, it is rife with historical inaccuracies.

Both linguistically and culturally the story has been filtered through the English empire, but nevertheless maintains its status as chief narrative of Le Grand Dérangement despite efforts by Acadie's native sons and daughters to replace the inaccurate opus. Its most popular French Canadian translation articulates resistance via the translator's (Pamphile LeMay) extreme fidelity to the source text, which highlights the inherent imperialistic caricatures of the Acadien people that Longfellow wrote into his source text.

The Red Branch Cycle of Stories - featuring *Tàin Bo Cualgne* - predates Saint Patrick's Christian conquest of pagan Ireland, when they were translated from Ancient oral Gaelic legend to written English. *Tàin Bo Cualgne* depicts the battle and theft of Ulster's sacred Brown Bull; a tale complete with magical intrigue, bloody fighting, and an eventual victory for the embattled Ulsterites. Each translation of this story replicates the essential elements of resistance which characterize it, namely vehement resistance to all those considered invaders. Active resistance to imperial domination is manifested in *Tàin Bo Cualgne* because the elements of inherent resistance in the story are inescapable, key features of the story that must be replicated in all translations. Ireland's story cycles pervade Irish culture to such an extent that Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants, as well the Irish in the Republic have elevated *Tàin Bo Cualgne's* main character Cuchulàin to a national folk hero.

Post-Colonial Studies in combination with Translation Theory provide a suitable framework to examine Acadien and Irish resistance in translation. Additionally, historical references inform this work of the historical realities of Ireland, Acadie, and their interface with the British Empire, firmly grounding it in fact. The combination of translation theory and history in this thesis produce a work which contributes to on-going discussions in both Post-Colonial Studies and Translation Theory, all the while laying the groundwork for future related study.

### 1.3 Orality, Post-colonialism, The Subaltern: Acadie & Ireland

Though separated by space and time, Acadie and Ireland share similar contexts in that they are both originally orally-based cultures, as well as post-colonial, and Subaltern societies. Additionally, in both cases it is with the British Empire that these two groups have had to engage in physical and cultural battles.

Post-colonial and Subaltern studies have tended to focus on relatively modern societies where established written texts serve as testaments to a colonized nation's resistance to Imperialism. Little attention has been given to European post-colonial societies where the cultural voice was one of orality. These societies felt the effects of colonization profoundly; the act of colonization was accompanied by the rapid and violent displacement of their indigenous oral culture to a new, invasive, and invariably oppressive writing system. Acadie and Ireland are examples *par excellence* of societies suffering from the displacement and transition from orality to writing, which is coupled with the further oppression of being forced into using a non-native language in translation. The presence of oral culture in Acadie and Ireland is important to this thesis as it reinforces the absolute lack of access both societies had to the Imperial discourse of power (amply qualifying them as Subaltern – to be discussed later), and also therefore making translation one of the sole effective methods of resisting the British Empire.

In general terms, oral culture can be defined as the transmission of cultural goods, history, laws, and customs intergenerationally in the absence of a writing system. Oral cultures often have bardic or Homeric traditions wherein a particular member of society is entrusted with retelling 'origin' stories featuring standard themes, elements, and fixed expressions (formulas) which are adapted to express a specific idea under similar metrical

conditions. Scholar Milman Parry revolutionized the field of oral cultural studies, asserting that the Homeric (bardic) tradition in fact provided a rich, reinforcing context which optimized and improved the quality of information being transmitted orally. In many oral cultures, the bardic tradition and its resulting poetry and songs serve as cultural and societal records. When writing displaces orality, the aforementioned oral texts are translated into writing, a process which emphasizes the importance of oral culture as a valid means of communicating cultural goods.

The combination of cultural, political, and societal characteristics place both 5<sup>th</sup> century Ireland and 17<sup>th</sup> century Acadie in the realm of oral culture, despite the enormous temporal gap between the two societies. Ireland in the 5<sup>th</sup> century was functioning efficiently without writing; there was effective political, social, and cultural organization and thus, no need for that society to change. The conquest which introduced writing to 5<sup>th</sup> century 'oral' Ireland was the conquest of Ireland's souls - not her land. As a result, Saint Patrick's arrival was not greeted with the hostility that other conquests had experienced; at the time, Ireland was primarily interested in quelling the small-scale territorial battles between Kings and defending itself from Viking or other politically-based invasions.

As for those who would become the Acadiens, France was preoccupied with conquest in foreign territories, and showed little concern for the poor farming classes in the South-West if there was no threat of revolt from them. So long as they paid their land tithes, France cared little for the literacy of the population which would later become Acadie; thus marking them as oral (and Subaltern, to be discussed later) even before arrival on foreign shores. Once across the Atlantic, the Acadiens were subjected to constant changes of political regime – courtesy either the French or British Empires – as well as lack of education and generalized farming poverty, keeping the Acadiens an oral people. The temporal gap

between Ireland and Acadie may be great, but the similarities in their orality and socio-cultural circumstances are remarkably similar.

The definition of Post-colonial Studies is as varied as the former colonies are themselves; in its most general sense, it is a multidisciplinary approach to the study of the three main stages of the colonialization process. Broadly categorized, these three stages are: the initial besieging of foreign lands by Empire (which thus become colonies); the period encompassing the establishment/entrenchment of Empire within these new colonies; and finally the retreat/defeat of Empire, as the colonies establish independence. Within this vast definition are encompassed discourses of power relations between cultures - both the oppressed and the oppressive - and how each group affects and alters not only the cultural output but also the de facto culture of the other.

Acadie's cred as a post-colonial society began with its 'discovery' by Samuel de Champlain in 1567. Less than 50 years later the first Acadien settlement was established in 1604 on Île Saint-Croix and then joined by another settlement a year later in Port-Royal (MAILLET 1984, p.9). Initially under French rule, Acadie existed under menacing conditions - the fertile land between New France and New England was constantly fought over: "between 1604 and 1763 Acadie swung between French and English sovereignty four times." (LYONS 2002, p.3). The pivotal cultural event which shaped Acadie was Le Grand Dérangement: briefly, the British Empire demanded Acadien loyalty, and when that loyalty was refused, a wholesale deportation of the entire Acadien settlement was set into motion.

... Over 10,000 Acadians were loaded onto ships and sent mostly to different American colonies. Over 75% of the Acadian population were evicted from their homeland between 1755 and 1762. (LYONS 2002, p.17)

Le Grand Dérangement scattered Acadiens across Québec, Ontario, the North American Eastern seaboard, and as far south as the American state of Louisiana (who now refer to themselves as Cajuns). Many Acadiens eventually did return to the Maritime Provinces, living quietly in small, scattered communities and finally submitting to the British oath of allegiance in what would eventually become Canada. Today, Acadiens are living something of a cultural renaissance; August 15<sup>th</sup> marks 'La Fête des Acadiens' and a national flag has been adopted: France's tri-couleur with a yellow star in the upper left hand corner. As previously stated, Acadie was an oral culture; as such the only tales of its experience under French or British Colonialism are stories or documents based on relatively scant historical resources largely written from the perspective of the French or British Empires. This lacuna also applies to accounts of the event which spurred Acadie's decolonization (Le Grand Dérangement) including the text under study in this paper, namely the poem *Évangéline* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. This quasi-historical poem has since become Acadie's national story; its translation can be considered the crucial event in Acadie's cultural reparations, as Acadie subverts the colonial reading and 'telling' of its past, thereby shaking off its colonial shackles, and emerging finally as post-colonial.

Ireland's experience as a British colony was a decidedly messy affair, since Ireland was one of the British Empire's first colonies. Predictably, Ireland's decolonization was equally complicated and occurred on multiple levels - namely politically and culturally, and generally these two elements were simultaneous. Ireland first became the subject of 'colonial interest' round about the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when Saint Patrick came to civilize and Christianize the inhabitants of the island, who had existed for centuries as pagans in a highly organized society. The arrival of Saint Patrick also marked the beginning of the end of orality as the main method of cultural expression in Ireland, because of he and his monk's written

translation of Ireland's oral culture. Centuries later, and throughout a series of invasions by, and contentious attempts to live with, the British Empire, the Irish began the long and violent process of decolonization. The first rebellion to attempt to sever Ireland from Britain took place with the ill-fated Irish Rebellion of 1798. Though this particular effort failed to accomplish its goal, Irish emancipation efforts continued, leading to decades of almost continuous rebellion and insurgency, and later, two failed parliamentary bills for Irish Home Rule. Nonetheless, neither the British Empire nor the Irish would give up. Meanwhile, something of a turning point came in roughly 1898, at the height of the Celtic Revival, a literary and cultural movement that sought to further Irish Nationalism by establishing a distinct Irish literary tradition, canon, and culture; in essence the basis of Ireland's *cultural* decolonization. The Celtic Revival's source texts were the very same ancient Irish pagan tales recorded by Saint Patrick - the Irish Story Cycles - and they were translated, re-translated, and otherwise reworked by those who are now considered seminal Irish writers, such as William Butler Yeats, John Synge, and Lady Augusta Gregory. In this context, Lady Augusta Gregory published her translation of one of these stories, the *Táin Bo Cualgne* renamed *Cuchuláin of Muirthemne* in (1902) - one of the texts to be studied in this thesis. On the political front a decade later in 1912, a third Irish Home Rule bill passed but was thwarted by WWI; the bill later became the 1914 Government of Ireland Act. In the same year, another (albeit minor) player in the Celtic Revival published his own translation of the ancient Irish tale *Táin Bo Cualgne*, Joseph Dunn's translated version, called *The Ancient Irish Epic Tale Táin Bo Cualgne - the Cualgne Cattle-Raid*. April 1916's Easter Rising was a major political event in Ireland's emancipation. Occurring after both Gregory's and Dunn's translations, it can nonetheless be considered - at least in part - a result of the cumulative effect of the Celtic Revival's politically oriented literature. Three years later, Ireland took her



independence by force and in January 1919, the Dàil Eireann formed the first “official” Irish Parliament and asserted sovereignty over the whole island, whilst its sister military organization, the IRA, waged the Irish War of Independence from 1919 to roughly 1921. As a result of these cumulative pressures, the British government had no choice but to pass a fourth and final Government of Ireland Act in 1920; a year later, the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 established an Irish Free State to the South whilst conflictedly, Northern Irish Protestants opted *out* of joining with the Southern Irish Free State and kept six Northern counties under the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom (modern day Northern Ireland). Despite Home Rule, political violence continued in the South during 1922 and 1923 as opponents to the Anglo-Irish Treaty fought the Irish Civil War over the dividing up of Ireland and the imposition of a British-manufactured Irish State. When Southern Ireland proclaimed a Constitution of Ireland in 1937, peace finally settled in the South. However, in roughly thirty years time, Northern Ireland exploded into violence; from 1969 to 1999 the era of *The Troubles* reigned; a battle of loyalties between the Protestants (pro-British) and Catholics (pro-Nationalist). A thorny and violent affair, Ireland’s long path to decolonization and status as post-colonial stems not only from political emancipation via self-rule, but also through cultural emancipation during which the writers of the Celtic Revival used translation to advance their cultural and political goals.

Subaltern is a classification which readily applies to both Acadie and Ireland; originally oral societies, which were subsequently colonized, who then fought to decolonize themselves (therefore making them post-colonial), it is clear that access to power was not available to these former colonies. Antonio Gramsci developed the general concept of the Subaltern as essentially silenced, powerless societies, whilst Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

applied and elaborated on Gramsci's definition in reference to the subterfuge of the British colonization of India. Spivak's concept of the Subaltern is of particular relevance to this thesis. In *Can The Subaltern Speak*, (1988) Spivak alludes to discourse as 'speaking' and being 'heard', positing that both are multi-participant activities which provide an access to power. Should one participant be unable to participate in the discourse either metaphorically or literally, then alternative ways of participating must be found. The Subaltern are social classes who are *characterized* by their inability to access viable pathways to legitimate, established social or political discourses or power by the Empire. However, the Subaltern are also required for colonial hegemony to function: they are defined in relation to the majority which oppresses and silences them, yet they are essential elements in that majority's self-definition. Translation therefore becomes an effective method for the Subaltern to create a voice as well as a discourse; by politicizing the act of translation and employing strategies that resist Empire either passively - by replicating and thus mocking erroneous colonial stereotypes or ideas actively - by retranslating and rectifying texts.

The status of the Acadien Subaltern is evident due to their position as merely chattel in France and Britain's land possession war. Acadie was situated on fertile and strategically located land which connected New France to New England, and both to the Atlantic Ocean and St. Lawrence River trade routes. Although their lot was of no concern to the eventual winner of the "land wars," their allegiance to the eventual "winner" was required in order for the land to be successfully ruled. When at last the British Empire won the battle for the East Coast of Canada, Acadie faced a double problem: not only had Acadie been an oral society, but it was also a French society suddenly in the hands of the English. Forcibly deported during Le Grand Dérangement, Acadiens were scattered and their culture effectively

dispersed by the British Empire. As a result, to say the Acadiens had no access to the discourse of power is rather an understatement.

Ireland was divided between the Northern and Southern (pre-Republic) regions, with further religious and social divisions in Northern Ireland. In United Kingdom-governed Northern Ireland, the majority of the population - Unionist Protestants loyal to the British Empire - fought with minority anti-Imperialist Nationalist Catholics determined to gain self-rule in the six provinces of Ulster. Though historically a minority in the populace, Unionist Protestants had been given substantial political and civil authority by the British Crown, and repressed 'their subjects' - the Catholic Nationalists - to the fullest extent possible; denying them access to traditional instruments of power such as government. As a result, the North was the scene of constant unrest; physical and otherwise. To the South in pre-republic Ireland, Nationalist Catholics had the overwhelming majority in terms of population, and minority Unionists were lesser in number but still completely held the reins of power. Regardless of location - North or South - England needed to negotiate with both of Ireland's Unionists and Nationalists; however as soon as sectarian violence began in earnest in either the North or South of Ireland, England abandoned its Unionist mercenaries, however without relinquishing control of the land, or administration of law. Nationalist Catholics were henceforth perpetually kept out of power (in both the North and South), and it can therefore be said that the Nationalist movement - and those who participated in it - can be classified as Subaltern. That Subaltern then chose to call upon translation as recourse to mount Irish resistance to Empire.

Though seemingly divergent, Acadie and Ireland share much in common; from their common background as oral cultures, to their historical position as post-colonial, to their

status as Subaltern. With these three characteristics in mind, it is clear that translation fits into their respective societies in an important way; as a much-needed method of transformative self-articulation and a desperately needed access to power. Acadie's *Évangéline* and Ireland's *Tàin Bo Cualgne* were oral tales translated first into writing, then into the language of the dominating Empire. These translations serve as assertions of resistance against said ruling colonizing force, however the way in which Acadie and Ireland articulate and manifest their protestations is quite divergent; the Acadien reaction is decidedly passive whilst Ireland is categorically active. *Évangéline*, written from the perspective of the conquering English through American writer Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is rife with historical and cultural inaccuracies concerning the most painful event in the Acadien culture's existence. However, this epic poem nonetheless maintains its status as chief narrative of Le Grand Dérangement despite the efforts of Acadie's French-speaking native sons and daughters to replace Longfellow's misguided and inaccurate opus. This acceptance belies a passive resistance; each time *Évangéline* is read its historical context and legitimacy are questioned, bringing to the fore of public consciousness the injustices suffered by the Acadien people. The Irish Story Cycles predate Saint Patrick's Christian conquest of pagan Ireland, the point at which they were taken from oral legend to written story. Within these story cycles, *Tàin Bo Cualgne* depicts the battle and theft of Ulster's sacred Brown Bull; a tale complete with magical intrigue, bloody fighting, and an eventual victory for the Ulsterites. The story highlights a staunch and violent resistance to all those considered invaders, establishing Ulster - and Ireland by extension - as a fierce warrior society protected by fearless heroes. Ireland's story cycles pervade Irish culture to such an extent that even those on divergent sides of the Nationalist debate have elevated Cuchulàin to a hero - some for his defense of the Gael, others for his defense against those considered intruders.

## 2.0 Forms of Resistance

With Acadie and pre-Republic pagan Ireland established as oral, postcolonial, and Subaltern cultures, a suitable corpus is established in order to analyze the resistance manifested by each society within a selection of their literary works. The Acadien corpus consists of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's original English poem *Évangéline*, and its French Canadian translation by Pamphile LeMay. To demonstrate Acadie's passive resistance, one must examine *Évangéline*'s multiple incarnations: its origin as individual, oral, French accounts of the Acadien experience of Le Grand Dérangement; its consequent transformation as a written English epic poem, and its translation into Canadian French. Though he was the original author of the written poem, Longfellow was not responsible for the version of *Évangéline* that is most widely read in Canada. A French Canadian translation of the original English poem was produced in 1865 by Léon Pamphile LeMay; this version of the poem has become wildly popular and has overtaken its original in renown, becoming emblematic of Acadie. Though a European French translation was published around 1853, only LeMay's French Canadian translation will be examined in this thesis for several reasons. Firstly, using only LeMay's translation allows for a more focused study, which reflects the space constraints of a Masters thesis. Secondly, Acadie is considered a part of Francophone Canada and the North American cultural space, thus fitting the conditions of being a cultural minority and Subaltern in this context. Thirdly, only LeMay's translation demonstrates resistance because of the aforementioned cultural context. The European French translation would only replicate and reinforce Imperialist tidings and notions; politically speaking, France at the time had already lost the war against the British to gain Acadie 'for keeps' and showed little interest in encouraging popular support for the Acadiens within the European Francophonie – as it might inspire unwanted questioning as to why such a new colony had

been so quickly lost in the first place. LeMay's translation had a vested interest in articulating resistance to Empire: the French Empire for their failure to protect and defend Acadie, and the British Empire for the violent and immediate act of brutal deportation. LeMay's translation and the political orientation it took then become the sole voice for - and by extension of - lost Acadie. *Évangéline*, as taken by staunchly French Canadian LeMay, had the double duty of being an opportunity not only to profile a member of the Canadian Francophonie, but also to bolster the plight of disadvantaged Canadian Francophones; in short an attempt to unify Canadians of French origin and support a nationalist agenda.

Prior to Le Grand Dérangement, Acadie was generally a peaceful colony of poor farmers and artisans, a society where literacy would more than likely be confined to clergy and some clerics. Resultantly, no tradition of "resistance" in literary form existed; the only resistance Acadie had was either in the form of armed civil battle, or the creation of oral stories which could be retold through subsequent generations. Clearly, neither of these methods of resistance are immune to decay or erasure. Post Grand Dérangement, with these considerations in mind, LeMay was the only person able to mount resistance on behalf of the former colony - albeit with substantial time-delay. An important historical footnote from the era of *Évangéline's* translation is the 1865 veto vote from the province of New Brunswick (the historic centre of Acadien life and settlement) on the issue of joining the Canadian Confederation - as if doomed to repeat history, New Brunswick and its Acadiens clearly set themselves apart culturally and politically from all others (at least for a period of time). During the time of *Évangéline's* translation Acadiens were also still recovering from their traumatic deportation, and many remained scattered across the Atlantic seaboard. Those who had succeeded in returning to their homeland had survival as a more pressing concern than any writing or translation of their deportation story. Acadiens that had

returned clung to their French language not only as a symbol of their heritage but also as a badge, emblematic of their painful past. In this context the use of French could be viewed in and of itself as resistance, however it remained a minority - and some would even assert 'covert' - language, thus making original literary production in it a very unlikely prospect; at the very least, the audience for original French-language work would consist largely of Francophones (the proverbial converted), therefore not making it a highly effective method of resistance. Examining this context in its entirety, it is doubtful that any original French-language writing to resist or combat Empire could be created; translation would therefore have the task of resisting Empire. It would not be until the Acadien cultural revival circa the 1980s that original works in French - or surprisingly in Chiac (Acadien French with heavy contributions from English) - that Acadien original works whose purpose was to express Acadien nationalism would be created. The task of representing and consequently defending these displaced peoples prior to the Acadien cultural revival era, clearly fell to Pamphile LeMay.

Born in 1837 in Lotbinière, Québec, during his adult life Pamphile LeMay had always been involved with language and literature. Originally a lawyer by trade, he also took on the position of supernumerary translator in Quebec City, at the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. He shifted his focus and became a librarian in 1868; creating the Legislative Assembly library catalogue essentially from scratch. In retirement he then focused on writing, translation, and politics. His written works boast a pronounced interest in French Canadian cultural heritage: *Hymne Nationale pour les Canadiens français* (1869), *Les vengeances: poème canadien* (1875) and *Fables canadiens* (1882) to name a few. Like Longfellow, LeMay's works were marked by romanticism, a love of the rural life and its people. His interest in translating *Évangéline* was clearly due to his affinity for Longfellow's style, as well

as the subject matter “A skilful storyteller, he sensitively reinterpreted the legends that form part of the French Canadian cultural heritage...” (PELLERIN 2000, par. 9).

LeMay's translation of *Évangéline* demonstrates passive resistance. A specific variant of the more generalized resistance in translation, passive resistance occurs when translations accept, include, and condone errant source texts. Using the inaccuracies inherent in these errant source texts, passively resisting translators place emphasis on this contentious misinformation, by replicating and subtly exaggerating essentialist characterizations of their culture, and Imperial/empirical claims to the turn of events which are described; thereby silently and yet powerfully imploring the reader to question the validity of Empire and its source text. This tendency is evident in LeMay's approach to the text; his version of *Évangéline* is an extremely faithful translation of the text, which highlights the inherent Orientalized, essentialist tone in Longfellow's work. In replicating Longfellow's style and tone with exacting precision, he allows readers to experience Longfellow's Orientalized, essentialist treatment of Acadien life and history. The source text is melodramatic, flowery, and full of romantic notions - all of which are in direct contrast with the reality informed readers may already possess - that Le Grand Dérangement was a real event which essentially sought to destroy the Acadien world. By translating faithfully, LeMay's translation manifests resistance because LeMay rectifies Longfellow's lack of interest and accuracy in *Évangéline* by focusing attention on the source text's inaccuracies and Longfellow's Imperialist mocking essentializing of Acadie.

Passive resistance as a translation strategy works reasonably well in contexts where resistance has an obligation to remain covert to some degree, for example because of the threat of retribution from Empire. An example of this would be a pre-revolutionary context, or circumstances where a minority is attempting to gather its forces in order to decolonize



itself or overthrow the oppressive powers that be. Alternatively, passive resistance as a translation strategy could also be viable in cases where any substantial changes to the source text would be met with such un-receptiveness as to lead to the outright dismissal of the translation. The translation of a poem so thoroughly enshrined in the American canon, by one of America's so-called best loved poets, could easily be considered such a case.

However the complications that may be encountered in correctly interpreting this type of translation are multiple. The translation may be seen simply as the work of an over-zealous or inexperienced translator, since its focus on faithfulness may erroneously be viewed as the work of someone who subscribes to the novice and only-selectively-appropriate word-for-word method of translating. The risk of this interpretation increases particularly if the translation comes early on in the translator's career; which, in cases where majority regimes are about to be overthrown by a previously oppressed and voiceless minority, could well be the case.

Further to this there is the issue of an informed audience, who are necessary in order to correctly decipher the clues left by such a faithful translator. The issue of an informed audience is a substantial concern; 'informed readers' in this context are necessarily those who speak and understand both the source and target languages in a functional capacity. In order to derive the most from the resistant translation, these readers should also be at least precursoryly familiar with the socio-cultural, political, and historical context of the source and target-language texts. This reader-profile is something of a tall order, though clearly not each and every one of the conditions must be fulfilled in order to understand and benefit from the messages embedded in a passive-resistance text. A chief advantage of this style of translating is that, if the right balance is struck between subtle embellishment and faithful translation, the translated text can become popular, well-accepted, and have a very long

lifespan; one that may potentially outlive the original. This long lifespan then continues to propagate the discussion surrounding the resistant translation and the minority culture that it represents. Such is the case with LeMay's translation of *Évangéline*, which has remained unchallenged by other translations, and has become a part of the Acadien cannon.

Nonetheless, passive resistance cannot truly be considered the translational resistance strategy of choice - at least in my mind - save of course in the specific contexts delineated above. In such contexts, the texts as well as the minority/Subaltern societies which they represent, do in fact benefit from this indirect, understated strategy; however there are multiple and specific criteria that need to be fulfilled in order for maximum 'benefit' to be derived from the translation.

The corpus for the analysis of active resistance in translation which originates within an Irish context consists of: Lady Augusta Gregory's *Cuchulàin of Muirbherne* and Joseph Dunn's *The Ancient Irish Epic Tàin Bo Cualgne – The Cualgne Cattle-Raid*. Though these two translations are relatively contemporary to one another, and also use the same source texts, each manifests a distinct translational strategy. As a result, each of the texts manifests different varieties of active resistance in translation.

The text which both Gregory's and Dunn's translations are based upon is the *Book of Leinster* and the *Lebor na hUidre*, both of which are relatively neutral in terms of political orientation. It was only during the 1880's that the *Book of Leinster* and the *Lebor na Uidre* became the unwitting subject of political attention, and even then, uniquely through the optic of translation. Both of the aforementioned texts are ancient documents; transcribed versions of old Irish oral tales by Saint Patrick's monks in the 15th century. The monks

recorded pre-Christian Ireland's oral history as 'harmless entertainment' never knowing that their work would one day later be the foundation for Ireland's political self-determination. The largest and most important story contained in the *Book of Leinster* and the *Lebor na hUicre* is the *Táin Bo Cualgne*. The *Táin* recounts some of the history of Northern Ireland (Ulster) in particular focusing on a character named Cuchulàin; a Hercules-like man-boy who is essentially the patron saint of Ulster. The plot focuses on a cattle raid which essentially pits 'Gaelic Cuchulàin' against 'the southern intruder Queen Medb'. Without spoiling the end of the story, one could easily say that the plot follows the history of modern Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, leaving the reader to wonder if the story is art imitating life, or life imitating art.

Lady Isabelle Augusta Gregory was born in County Galway in 1852, the daughter of an Anglo-Irish landlord. This distinction is important as it marks Gregory as belonging to both the 'privileged' and 'disadvantaged' classes. To rather brutally truncate the complicated and tumultuous history of Ireland, essentially, one of the methods Britain used to colonize Ireland was to send its loyal subjects - (Anglo) Protestants - to live there and administer law and land to the (Irish) Catholic. Protestants - a religious distinction-cum-social class - although a minority, effectively dominated the 'native' Irish Catholics for decades, effectively forcing them into the status of disadvantaged. However, when these British subjects settled and had children in Ireland, their children began to self-identify as the socio-cultural hybrid 'Anglo-Irish' - meaning (British)Protestant/Anglo by heritage, but Irish by birth. Many of the Anglo-Irish sympathized with the plight of the 'native' Catholic Irish for self-rule, and Lady Augusta Gregory was no exception. Lady Augusta Gregory was a major participant in the Celtic Revival of 1896, a movement which sought to: create a distinctly Irish literary

canon; instil a sense of pride and respect in the Irish for their literary and cultural heritage; and to spur on the nationalist movement for a liberated self-governing Ireland. In concert with William Butler Yeats, John Synge and others, Gregory and co. mined Ireland's Gaelic-language cultural past cataloguing myths, icons, and legends for suitable figures upon which to hang the mantle of a glorious Irish past, rewriting and re-translating Irish folktales. As a result of both the cultural environment and her political interests, in 1902, Gregory translated the ancient tale *Tàin Bo Cualgne* as *Cuchulàin of Muirthemne*. Gregory's translation replicates the *Tàin's* inherent active resistance, and employs it to articulate the Subaltern, (in this case Irish Nationalism); also manifesting resistance to the Imperialist idea that Ireland was bereft of cultural depth, and by extension lacking sufficient 'maturity' to stand on her own as an independent nation. However, in the effort to cultivate cultural depth, Gregory's translation gentrifies the story, converting it almost entirely into prose, obliging the *Tàin* and its hero Cuchulàin to serve as Romantic Nationalist symbols of a noble and gracious 'authentic Gaeldom'. Her translation renders the story into a sweeping legend, reinforcing the notion that Ireland had rich cultural heritage, yet, potentially implying that Ireland was stuck in a fairy-tale like existence.

Several years later in 1914, Joseph Dunn's translation of the *Tàin* appeared, featuring a vastly different translative orientation - but still maintaining active resistance to Empire. A Professor at Washington D.C's Catholic University of America who summered in Ireland, Dunn too had a marked interest in Irish culture. Though his translation, entitled *The Ancient Irish Epic Tale Tàin Bo Cualgne – The Cualgne Cattle-Raid* is arguably his best-known work, he was also one of the editors of a notable, thick encyclopaedia named *The Glories of Ireland*, a summary of all the achievements of the Irish people.

Dunn's translation of the *Tàin* took a notably academic tone; stylistically speaking, he was faithful in his translation - replicating the complex, episodic nature of this once-oral tale.<sup>3</sup> The variance between Dunn's and Gregory's translations can be explained with the following two facts: firstly, Dunn faced a different nationalist reality; Irish sovereignty was advancing concretely at the time of his translation but it was marred by violence, therefore Dunn had to tone down the passionate rhetoric in lieu of a more sober tone. Secondly, Dunn's position as professor no doubt influenced his perception of which aspects of the *Tàin* should be preserved, highlighted, or omitted. Dunn's translation is faithful to the original almost to fault - he includes each and every of the multiple literary styles existent in the *Tàin* - reflecting the piece's history as an originally oral performance story.

Unfortunately, this attention to the *Tàin*'s oral heritage, in written form, makes for a rather obtuse read. However, this is the way in which active resistance manifests itself in Dunn's translation. His practically combative inclusion of styles, details, and information seeks to prove that Ireland's ancient works while archaic, are first and foremost historical and 'academically significant'. This notably resists the Imperialist idea that Ireland was bereft of cultural legitimacy as compared to the Empire which controlled it. Dunn's translation places Irish culture far away from Gregory's quaint dreaminess, instead marking it as historic, legitimized, and worthy of academic and historical interest. Once again it is seen that the resistance so evident within the tale of *Tàin Bo Cualgne* itself bleeds through into its translations; proving its worth as an object of study under the auspices of resistance in translation.

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<sup>3</sup> At the same time that Dunn's translation appeared, an equally inclusive and sober German translation of the *Tàin* was published by Ernest Windisch; the two translations were remarkably similar to one another, as both authors had closely collaborated.

Ireland's complicated history as the object of invasions and colonization underscores its rich tradition of translation. After successive waves of outright invasions and cultural invasions by the Celts, Saint Patrick, Vikings, and finally the Anglo Normans, Ireland has become an absolute locus of translation. As a testament to the resilience and ingenuity of the Irish, instead of abandoning their heritage and culture, it was generally the 'invaders' who adapted to Irish ways of life, enriching the milieu of translation and culture with each successive wave of settlement. With the arrival of Saint Patrick in the 5th century, Ireland began the steady shift from a primarily oral culture, to a split oral / written culture. Saint Patrick's monks' primary goal was to convert the pagans to Christianity, but their interest in the pre-existing Irish Story Cycles and Irish oral heritage led them to transcribe, catalogue, and translate these historical items. The Monks discovered in Ireland a people with an established system for education complete with entire family lines who were dedicated scholars in particular subjects. A class of people called Filids were experts in all matters political, social, historical, and cultural - something the Monks chose to capitalize on when they established monasteries (for conversion purposes as well), recruiting those in Irish society who were already capable translators. It did not take long for high quality translations by Irish translators of religious and philosophical texts in Irish, Latin, French, English, and Italian to circulate throughout Europe, as did the translators themselves.

The face of translation in Ireland was to drastically change with the arrival of the British Empire's plantations in the mid 1500s (CRONIN 1996, p.xi), a scheme to colonize the island by supplanting the Irish with subjects loyal to Britain, and takeover not only of physical land, but the culture and society as well. The British Crown also more or less successfully outlawed the use of the Irish language in Ireland; though some distantly separated pockets of Ireland maintained their use of the Irish language (for example the

Aran Islands on the Western Irish coast) as a general rule, the British Empire imposed the use of English. This statute - as well as the oppressive socio-political measures that accompanied it - greatly reduced translation in Ireland. As if adding insult to injury, the British Crown also took great pains to denigrate anything Irish - from the nature of the people themselves to translations and cultural works.

As Ireland began the long process of struggling to free itself from Imperial oppression, a cultural movement called the Celtic Revival in the late 1800s sought to engender pride and a feeling of nationalism from within. Taking old Irish legends, oral stories, and 'myths' as source texts, several writers and playwrights such as Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats, and John Synge re-translated Ireland and Irish culture, making it an emblem of national pride, fashioned to accompany the burgeoning political movement for independence. Though it never fully disappeared even under oppression, Ireland's translators, creators, and writers were experiencing a renaissance whose effects are still felt to this day. Presently, Ireland is regarded as a country with a rich heritage of cultural production; though its history of expertise in translation remains relatively unknown, as time passes, many are becoming more familiar with this aspect of Irish history.

Active resistance as a translation strategy is clearly a very direct approach to opposing not only Empire's domination, but the nature and verity of Imperial claims. It shares a key similarity to re-translation; the bold assertion of the Subaltern's right to power, and the insistent presence of said group in power discourses. This is indicative of active resistance in translation's position as engaged in and defining itself within the confines of post-colonialism. Translation, however, does not necessarily feel the need to maintain a resemblance to the source text, since its primordial goal is to refute colonial claims at all

costs and by all means necessary. As a result, re-translations may wholly re-write and re-work the source text - therefore working outside (and defining itself as outside) the colonial context that active resistance uses to juxtapose itself against.

Active resistance in translation is a strategy that works well in contexts where overt resistance is possible, i.e. where the means of production can be accessed - at least in part - by the minority/Subaltern group. 'Reception' is also key to the success of active resistance: the engaged translators producing actively resisting texts need to be accepted by the minority/Subaltern as representative(s) of the minority/Subaltern, since the text speaks for this group so vociferously. The criteria of acceptance also needs to be applied to the translated product itself; it must be viewed as both belonging to and being representative of the minority/Subaltern.

The aforementioned specificity of the target audience may be somewhat reminiscent of the specificity of the target audience required for the proper reception of a passively resisting text; however, active resistance's criteria are markedly easier to come by. In the case of actively resisting texts, a positive target audience reception is defined by cultural acceptance and shared cultural experiences, which - due to the extensive reach of colonialism - are far more common (witness the similarity of the post-colonial experience between such geographically distant locations as Canada and Australia, for example). This gives active resistance in translation the added bonus of potentially appealing to *all other cultures* that have experienced Imperial oppression, in addition to the specific target audience of the translator's fellow countrymen. As mentioned previously, in the case of passively resisting translations, some basic dual language knowledge is a criterion which generally relies on the availability of language instruction - a factor which is contingent on Empire, and therefore might take generations to truly become a widely distributed socio-cultural characteristic.



Overall, active resistance is a more obvious and indisputable form of participation in colonial power discourses, as it enables minority/Subaltern groups to articulate their stories (or versions of events) in a clear manner. Active resistance - so long as circumstances permit - might be considered the preferred method of resistance in translation since its message is readily accessible and obvious to those receiving/reading texts. The longevity of actively resisting translations can be more or less ensured, since they may be considered some of the more sophisticated indicators of unrest in the colonized population in their search for independence. Additionally, its reach tends to be universal - virtually *all* former colonies can readily identify with the assertions of texts altered by actively resisting translations.

In both corpus studies, active or passive resistance will be shown as articulated through adherence to, or divergence from, the source texts in terms of translation strategies and ideologies. For example, in LeMay's case, his extreme fidelity to Longfellow's (source) text will be used to demonstrate that LeMay sought to articulate Subaltern passive resistance. By examining Gregory and Dunn's translations of the *Tàin Bo Cualgne* in combination with the political ideologies and era that permeate them, the articulation of Subaltern active resistance can be demonstrated.

### 3.0 Passive Resistance in Acadie

#### 3.1 Acadie, Le Grand Dérangement, & *Évangéline*

As defined previously, passive resistance in translation includes accepting and adopting errant translations, using their inherent misinformation to highlight exaggerated essentialist colonial claims. The translated text that passively resists has the hallmarks of: a pre-occupation with loyalty to the source text, an emphasis on reinforcing essentialized or Orientalized views of a minority culture, and a subtle yet tangible political statement on behalf of the minority culture being translated. When taken together, these features have the cumulative effect of imploring the reader to question the validity and authority of the text; through which readers may also indirectly question Empire. The French Canadian translation of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Évangéline* features all three of these hallmarks. However, before analyzing LeMay's translation, one must be familiar with the source text.

#### 3.2 *Évangéline* – A Précis of the Poem

*Évangéline*'s surrogate father Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was born in 1807 in Portland, Maine, of British lineage. One of America's best-loved poets, Longfellow's 'fireside poems' bear the hallmarks of sweeping descriptions of countryside, themes of liberty and love, and sentimental embellishment. Having spent substantial time in Europe imbibing its tall tales, Longfellow remarked a lack of similar literary heritage in America. Legend has it that in 1844, Longfellow and contemporary Nathaniel Hawthorne were told the story of a young Acadien woman who lived through Le Grand Dérangement by Priest H.L. Conolly (a guest at one of Hawthorne's dinner parties); Conolly had in turn heard the tale by way of an unnamed French Canadian woman (LAXER 2006, p.172). At the time, American literature was seeking to define itself as more than mere frontier stories and

“...there was a growing nationalism among mid-nineteenth century American writers, stemming from the perceived need for a ‘storied’ or ‘haunted’ American history to compare to that of Europe, and from the American desire to shape a common social mythology.” (QUETCHENBACH 1998, p.2). Hawthorne was disinterested in writing the tale himself, and left it to Longfellow, who took on the project due to his desire to enhance his name as a writer and to provide American literature with a nationalistic, romantic past. Longfellow’s engagement to write the poem/story of the fabled woman who lived through Le Grand Dérangement may have stemmed from more or less honest intentions, but was of course marred by a gross lack of accurate historical resources from which to base his work. The resulting story caters more to Longfellow’s desire to provide America with a textured past than vindicating Acadien suffering. Longfellow’s manipulation of Le Grand Dérangement is evidenced by its obvious historical inaccuracies, a notable example being *Évangéline*’s confounding return route North - including her brief sojourn as a Shawnee squaw (see descriptions beginning on page 182).

Published in 1847, and comprising 1400 English verses, *Évangéline* recounts the fate of young Acadien lovers Évangéline Bellefontaine and Gabriel Lajeunesse. The countryside and its people are described in romanticized, idyllic prose, creating an environment that echoes Biblical Eden. Literally the day after Gabriel asks for Évangéline’s hand in marriage, their love affair is brought to an abrupt crossroads as the British Empire forcibly deports the Acadien settlement in 1755’s Le Grand Dérangement at Grand Pré. During actual deportation, whilst the men and women are separated and boarding separate ships, the Priest implores Acadiens to forgive the soldiers for the solemn nature of their task; a spontaneous hymn breaks out. Évangéline herself stays bizarrely positive until she sees her

once-proud father reduced to a bewildered tragic old man. Deportation continues, and the men are sent to sea; Gabriel drifts away as Évangéline calls out for him, herself detained on the shore; eventually Évangéline herself is unceremoniously shipped south. In the years that follow, lovesick yet ever-faithful Évangéline travels north, searching for her Gabriel throughout the United States, using scant clues and hearsay to guide her. Her ceaseless quest ends when finally, as a nurse in a Philadelphia military hospice, she and Gabriel are reunited. Their reunion is fleeting however, as Gabriel succumbs to his wounds while held in his beloved Évangéline's arms; she follows him into death soon after, and the two are finally together forever. The poem ends with the sentiment that at least and at last the two lovers were once again joined, and mentions their twin burial underneath an oak tree, which it is implied is still standing to this day.

### **3.3 Passive Resistance: Commentary and Analysis**

#### **3.3.1 Historical Facts and Inaccuracies**

Acadie, located on Canada's East Coast, was and is considered a distinct cultural entity complete with its own national tale based on Le Grand Dérangement – the forced deportation of the Acadien settlement by British (who were assisted by the governments of the New England-area provinces). A French colony with an oral culture, the Acadien people used their native French language to pass down cultural maxims, social behaviors, and genealogy until the paradigm shift of Le Grand Dérangement. The latter event solidified Acadie's status as Subaltern, as it forged their national history, culture, and mindset as one distinct from that of the dominant British North American. Although Acadien accounts of Le Grand Dérangement in oral French surely must have existed during and shortly after the event, popular non-political interest in the event did not occur until after Longfellow's

English poem was published, roughly one hundred years later. The vast and violent dispersion of Acadien culture prevented the transmission - and therefore also the permanence - of any 'native' cultural or deportation stories, as these were dispersed and displaced along with the peoples they represented. As victors, the British Empire, having access to writing and the printing press, had the privilege of recounting the events of Le Grand Dérangement. As a result, all the sources Longfellow consulted to write *Évangeline* were written by those representing or supporting the British Crown or New England's political powers (who were equally unfriendly towards Acadie and her people). Therefore, it can easily be said that *Évangeline* was written from the point of view of the Colonizer.

When Henry Wadsworth Longfellow began writing *Évangeline*, the scant resources that were available to him bore the heavy mark of English colonial damage control, which understated the ruthlessness of the Acadien deportation - in fact finding ways to justify it. Accurate written sources - particularly those written in French - concerning Le Grand Dérangement were not widely available until the early 1980s Acadien Cultural Revival. As a result, Longfellow (some hundred years prior) had to rely on documents in the Harvard and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries. The aforementioned issues of bias in mind, Longfellow's 'research' has its obvious faults, and despite some researchers' insistence that he did well with what he could find, the majority - such as Charles Calhoun - allude to the questionable historic pedigree of all of Longfellow's quasi-historical poems (also including the Song of Hiawatha, the Courtship of Miles Standish), calling attention to the fact that:

As was his poetic practice, once Longfellow had briefed himself on the factual background, he used this material with a very free hand. He was a bard, not a historian; what mattered was the basic human truth of his story,

not its particulars. *Évangéline* is a work of fiction; Longfellow devised its heroine and her quest, as well as the scenery that she moves through. The poem even starts on a fictional note: “This was the forest primeval” is a better description of the coast of Maine, where Longfellow grew up, than the low-lying marshlands of Acadia, which he had never visited.” (MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2000, par.5)

*In Search of Evangeline* author Dr. Carl Brasseaux goes straight for the jugular, specifying one of the historical references that Longfellow used, but rather bluntly defaming it:

Longfellow possessed a very limited knowledge of Acadian history, confined largely to his perusal in 1841, of Thomas C. Haliburton’s *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*. Never having encountered the Acadiens residing in his native Maine or in the neighbouring Canadian Maritime provinces, he was unaware of the rich but untapped dispersal lore... (BRASSEAUX 1988, p.9).

Further research into the biography of Thomas C. Haliburton reveals that he was the first Canadian-born son of staunch British Tories, who spent several years as a somewhat questionable court judge in Nova Scotia. His judicial leanings were decidedly Anglican, Tory, and conservative; bills he supported and rulings he handed down favoured the British Crown and declaimed popery (and Catholicism, the predominant faith of French Acadiens) in general. His literary endeavours were varied and extensive, yet quite possibly suffered from political and ideological cross-pollination; his Yankee clockmaker character Sam Slick seems at once to mock and celebrate Nova Scotians and life in a small town; his quasi-academic works were recognized as solid efforts, but were certainly not regarded as

definitive volumes of unbiased history. These facts in mind, it becomes clear that the version of events that Longfellow referenced as the basis of *Évangéline* was essentially biased and somewhat inaccurate to say the least.

Perhaps then, this glaring lack of appropriate historical source materials simply adds insult to injury. Longfellow had in fact never intended to produce a historical retelling of Acadien suffering, rather, he sought to use the Acadien Le Grand Dérangement as a means to fortify American literature and culture - thereby exploiting Acadien history and misfortune - mimicking the common Colonial intention and privilege of obfuscating and preventing the transmission of minority cultural history and experience. This particular case of historical inaccuracy for the sake of creativity would not be so tragic were it not for the fact that Acadie desperately needed a voice. No one could recount *their* version of Le Grand Dérangement and there was no real hope of being able to do so, considering the entire nation were in exile scattered throughout North America and seemingly forever in minority status. Therefore, Acadie was doubly the object of colonization - firstly and literally by way of Britain, secondly by way of America through Longfellow.

In order to succeed in creating an American epic based on the Acadien deportation, Longfellow had to Americanize *Évangéline*, and erase all but the most basic facts of Le Grand Dérangement - namely that the mass deportation occurred and Acadien families were torn apart. Another key infusion of Americana is the strange and winding route Évangéline takes to find her beloved Gabriel. Instead of staying along the Atlantic coastline and retracing the original deportation route, Évangéline literally wanders across America, traveling on the Mississippi River and its tributaries,

..Past the Ohio shore and past the mouth  
of the Wabash,

Into the golden stream of the broad and swift

Mississippi... (LONGFELLOW 1847, p.128)

She then heads down to Louisiana, then to Florida's Gold Coast, then back up through Louisiana near the Atchafalaya River Bayou, then she appears in the Ozarks, and spends several seasons in the Shawnee First Nation territories (in and around Ohio and Kentucky), before heading towards Delaware and Michigan, then finally to Pennsylvania where she finds Gabriel. This dizzying route covers three of America's most emblematic regions: the Old South, America's Heartland (the American mid-west) and Wilderness Rivers area (north-eastern America). The use of the Mississippi River in *Évangéline* is strategic; in the American Literary Canon, the Mississippi River appears frequently as a symbol of American identity, independence, and pride, and is referenced in key American works such as William Faulkner's *The Bear*, Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, and Herman Melville's *The Confidence Man*. Musically, it is the basis for the musical *Show Boat*, and is referenced in popular song from jazz's Bessie Smith (*Jazzbo Brown from Memphis Town*) to country's Johnny Cash (*Big River*) to rock's Led Zeppelin (*When the Levee Breaks*) to name but a few.

Évangéline's route succeeds in being an enduring, symbolic cross-section of the vastness and greatness of the American territory, however it is utterly unrelated to anything Acadien exiles would have experienced, considering they were deported with only the clothes on their backs expressly so that they *could not* easily return to Acadie. All the more perplexing then, is the fact that LeMay faithfully translated these journeys across an America - 'distance allegories' - that Acadiens would have known nothing of:

Rapide et frémissante une longue nacelle

Glissant sur les flots d'or du Grand Mississippi.

Elle passa devant le Wabash assoupi



Et devant Ohio qui balance ses ondes  
Comme un champ de maïs berce ses tiges blondes  
(LEMAY 1870, [Éditions Boréal] p.129)

This begs the question ‘Why?’ The answer to this question relates directly back to Venuti’s concept of the translator’s in/visibility: LeMay had to faithfully translate Longfellow’s poem - including the historical flaws and Americanization it contained - because he needed to produce a quality translation in order for it to appeal to and be accepted by the *overall* Francophone public - in France, in the New World, in the Colonies. With a wide overall Francophone readership and appeal, LeMay would be able to make certain that his translation could also be put in the hands of his target audience - the Acadiens - who would be able to access the subtle clues of resistance he would leave for them and them alone.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, LeMay had to be more or less ‘invisible’ in his translation of the distance allegories in the text (the Mississippi River, Évangéline’s traverse across America’s symbolic regions) to ensure that his translation would be regarded as one of quality, and worthy of wide distribution; in this he succeeded, since his is considered the authoritative French translation of Longfellow’s poem. There is another strategic reason why the faithful translation of distance allegories was needed. Although many of the American symbols would be far from the realm of the Acadien exile experience, they do speak to the foreignness of what deported Acadiens encountered; simply put, LeMay was able to highlight how exotic and strange the new land that Acadiens were deported to was to them. LeMay used the distance allegory stanzas to manifest subtle resistance in terms of Évangéline’s characterization. In this stanza near the end of Part IV, Évangéline’s search for Gabriel takes her north to Michigan:

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<sup>4</sup> As will be discussed further in this thesis, LeMay’s ‘clues’ would be recognized by Acadiens because they referenced Acadien history, culture, or society.

... far to the north and east, it said, in the Michigan forests,  
 Gabriel had his lodge by the banks of the Saginaw River.  
 And, with returning guides, that sought the lakes of St. Lawrence,  
 Saying a sad farewell, Evangeline went from the Mission.  
 When over weary ways, by long and perilous marches,  
 She had attained at length the depths of the Michigan forests,  
 Found she the hunter's lodge deserted and fallen to ruin!  
 (LONGFELLOW 1847, p.201)

“Gabriel le chasseur avait planté sa tente  
 Au fond du Michigan, sous la voûte flottant,  
 Sous les pesants arceaux des antiques forêts,  
 Où de la Saginaw roulent les flots muets.”  
 Évangéline, enfin redue à l'espérance,  
 Oubliant sa faiblesse, oubliant sa souffrance,  
 Et tout ce qu'a d'amer une deception,  
 Dit un adieu pénible à l'humble mission.  
 Cherchant à fuir ses maux, sa triste destinée,  
 Avec elle partit la fidèle Shawnée.  
 Après avoir longtemps erré dans le desert;  
 Après avoir, hélas! plus d'une fois souffert  
 L'aiguillon de la faim et d'une soif acerbe;  
 Après avoir couché, sans nul abri, sur l'herbe,  
 Elle atteignit des bois éloignés vers le Nord,  
 Et de la Saginaw suivit au loin le bord.  
 Un soir elle aperçut, au fon d'une ravine,  
 La tente chasseur... Elle était en ruine!..  
 (LEMAY 1870 [Éditions Boréal], p.201)

Longfellow's original text uses Évangéline's travel to the North-Eastern boreal forests of Michigan to advance the plot, so she can leave the Mission in the Plains Shawnee territory and move closer to where the end of the story will take place, namely Philadelphia, PA. As such, Longfellow treats her voyage as long and difficult, but in an understated way - for this deception of not finding Gabriel is ultimately no different from the other deceptions of not

finding Gabriel. LeMay on the other hand, embellishes the text with ‘markers’ or adjectives that focus paradoxically on Évangéline’s toughness and the pain that she feels; “oubliant sa faiblesse, souffrance, soif acerbe.”<sup>5</sup> This subtle addition of inherently positive characteristics appeals to the toughness and steadfastness that Acadiens would view themselves as possessing after having survived Le Grand Dérangement and making new lives for themselves outside of their homeland. It speaks to the indefatigable character of Acadiens, and how despite immense hardship, they will ‘tough it out’ as much as needs be to achieve their goals. To the regular reader, this passage is simply a stylistic choice on the part of the translator; viewed within the context of passive resistance in translation, LeMay’s additions serve to remind Acadiens of their proud heritage, as well as refuting Colonial claims that the ‘Acadien problem had been settled’ by forced deportation and attempted cultural extermination.

For many Acadians, Evangeline is a literary testimonial to their ancestor's ultimate triumph over the devastating Diaspora of 1755.

For these Acadians, the epic injects through its portrayal of the suffering endured by the exiles a human element sadly absent from the existing historical literature on Le Grand Dérangement. (BRASSEAU 1988, p.51)

Another example of LeMay writing resistance by way of cultural codes in the text is the addition of Évangéline’s Shawnee friend accompanying the Acadienne to Michigan. It is mentioned that both Évangéline and her Shawnee friend have suffered the pain of losing the one they love; this parallel is significant considering that it alludes to both a physical love, but

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<sup>5</sup> LeMay in fact takes care to balance his use of adjectival resistance markers; passages which address Le Grand Dérangement feature negative adjectives only in reference to the British, and thus are relatively few. As the poem progresses and focuses on Évangéline, his choice of adjectives is positive in reference to the Acadienne so often used as a representation of Acadie.

also a homeland, rendering both women exiles since the British Crown also stole land from First Nations people in the colonies (North America, Australia, New Zealand, etc) as well as the Acadiens. For the average Francophone reader, the mention of First Nations would add some 'frontier exoticism' to the story, whereas to Acadiens, the 'exile' and 'lost love' parallels are potent and telling. It is also well-documented that the Acadiens had good relations with the Mi'kmaq and other First Nations - therefore culturally, this addition would be seen as acceptable and perhaps even logical. It is equally well documented that American settlers *did not* have good relations with the First Nations therefore, in the Americanized English version *Évangéline* travels to Michigan alone. This is yet another instance of LeMay's passive resistance in the text - in spite of the almost wholesale erasure of Canadianness in the poem, LeMay inserts an Acadie-specific reference that is culturally coded so as to only 'appear' obvious for his target audience. This serves as proof that LeMay was subtly tailoring his translation to reflect an Acadien re-telling of the poem, and therefore resisting Longfellow's original.

Longfellow's efforts to create a distinctly *American* tale from *Le Grand Dérangement* ultimately resulted in the further exile of Acadie and her people, plunging them ever deeper into subalternity. As only the most elemental historical aspects of the Acadien deportation were selected for use in the poem, Longfellow's Americanization of *Évangéline* held the barb of cultural misappropriation. LeMay however turned this to his advantage; his faithful translation resulted in the wide acceptance of his work. Particularly, LeMay's faithful translation of distance allegories helped portray the vastness and strangeness of America from the Acadien point of view; it also satisfied the taste for adventure that Francophone readers would have, and gave LeMay a chance to leave subtle culturally-coded elements of resistance for Acadien readers.

### 3.3.2 Orientalization and Essentialism

The prose style of Longfellow's original text draws heavily on the Romantic tradition, while reflective of the literature of Longfellow's era and his overall style, the adjectival, sugary, and overindulgent prose gives readers the impression that what they are reading is akin to fable. Main characters Évangéline and Gabriel are portrayed as near-perfect physical specimens who are simple, highly God-fearing folk, marked by what Edward Said (1979) would categorize as a mystical 'Otherness' - in this case their connection to the land, and dedication to church and community.<sup>6</sup> Acadiens are described in a way that sets them apart from otherwise common or average folk - this difference is their *essential* characteristic: Acadiens are *nothing but* godly and good, making them different, the essentialized Other. Within the confines of this characterization, virtually everything relating to Acadie (the territory) is essentialized down to a kind of quasi-parody - the sun is brighter in Acadie, children stop their playing to kiss the hand of the Priest as he walks down the street - leading the reader to regard this place as a sort of unsustainable Orientalized paradise.

... Then came the laborers home from the field, and serenely the sun sank Down to his rest, and twilight prevailed. Anon from the belfry Softly the Angelus sounded, and over the roofs of the village Columns of pale blue smoke, like clouds of incense ascending, Rose from a hundred hearths, the homes	Bientôt les laboureurs revenant de l'ouvrage À l'étable menaient leur pesant attelage. Le soleil émaillait la pente du côteau : Et ses derniers rayons, comme des filets d'eau, Jusqu'au au fond du val, glissaient de roche en roche. De sa voix argentine au même instant la cloche Annonçait l'Angelus et le déclin du jour. Et, par-dessus les toits et les monts d'alentour,
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<sup>6</sup> This characterization spreads to the other figures in the book - including Évangéline's father - as well as to 'group thought/ actions' - ie instances where the Acadiens have assembled for one reason or another.

of peace and contentment.  
 Thus dwelt together in love these simple  
 Acadian farmers –  
 Dwelt in the love of God and of man.  
 Alike were they free from  
 Fear, that reigns with the tyrant, and envy,  
 the vice of republics.  
 Neither locks had they to their doors, nor  
 bars to their windows;  
 But dwellings were open as day  
 and the hearts of owners;  
 There the richest was poor, and the  
 poorest lived in abundance.  
 (LONGFELLOW 1847, p.24)

On voyait la fumée en colonnes bleuâtres,  
 Comme des flots d'encens, s'échapper de ces  
 âtres  
 Où l'on goûtait la paix, le plus divin des biens.  
 Ainsi vivaient alors les simples Acadiens :  
 Leur jours étaient nombreux et leur mort était  
 sainte.  
 Libres de tout souci comme de toute crainte,  
 Leurs portes n'avaient point de clef ni de  
 loquet;  
 Car dans l'ombre des nuits nul n'était inquiet ;  
 Et, chez ces bonnes gens, on trouvait la  
 demeure  
 Ouverte comme l'âme, à chacun, à toute heure.  
 Là le riche vivait avec frugalité,  
 Le pauvre n'avait point de nuits d'anxiété.  
 (LEMAY 1870 [Éditions Boréal], p.24)

The wholesome and winsome descriptions of Acadie in the above cited passage certainly evoke beauty, but they are also drenched in a romanticism that is ultimately an unsustainable illusion. The tone of this passage implies a place so beautiful and magical that *it may not have even existed in the first place*; the reader's incredulity at the mere existence of Acadie undermines any feelings of 'paradis perdu' that Longfellow and LeMay may have sought to cultivate.

There is sufficient 'fact' in *Évangéline* so as to leave the reader correctly convinced that some portions of *Évangéline* must be true, but the Orientalization employed by Longfellow also makes readers doubt that *Évangéline* is made of anything but pure fiction.

For all of Longfellow's heavy-handed romanticism in describing Eden-like pre-deportation Acadie, he does not equally embellish or dwell on the very real tragedy of Le Grand Dérangement; obligatory but perfunctory mentions are made to weeping mothers and children separated from their menfolk, the haphazard separation of families, the wholesale destruction by arson of the entire Acadien settlement - the most salient elements of truth in *Évangéline*. When romanticism and reality are juxtaposed, these spaces between the historical truth and the fictional in *Évangéline* leave the text in a state of flux where readers are no longer convinced of the text's authority over the story or the truth of said story; creating a context for remembrance, debate, and most importantly resistance to Empire's purported authority. The Subaltern can then use both the flux and the reader's questioning to reveal passive resistance within the context of translation.

A key change in the English versus the French versions of the poem is the orientation of the narrative voice, whose obligation it is to tell the story like an all-seeing Godly eye. In the original English version of the poem, it passively recounts the story from the seemingly unbiased stance of 'storyteller'. However, when LeMay uses his translation of the narrative to insert his own political views, Longfellow's narrative's orientation is laid bare; Longfellow was in fact spinning his story from an Imperial point of view. This can be taken as evidence of the British Empire's influence - though he was not British-born Longfellow was of British lineage which clearly made its mark. Much like the Empire it evokes, Longfellow's narrative is powerful and uniquely convincing; its presence demonstrating the pervasion and endurance of Colonial power, even after the poem's original publishing:

The characters were nevertheless regarded as fictional... until the dawn of the twentieth century... No longer seen as the creation of Longfellow's fertile imagination, she [Évangéline] became accepted as an historical figure whose poignant story was accurately recounted by America's first great poet. [Later writers of Acadian stories] used the fictional accounts of Evangeline as historical narratives...they thus created a legend which bore only faint resemblance to the original story line and almost none to historical events. (BRASSEAU 1988, p.7)

Longfellow may not have intended to 're-colonize' or reinforce Acadie's subalternity in writing, but the end result is exactly that - due to the enduring popularity of his poem, the Orientalization evident in his writing style, as well as the erroneous information on which he based *Évangéline*, Acadie in English remains subjugated and Subaltern.

However, in the French Canadian translation, this same narrative has the function of providing LeMay with a basis for resistance. In the name of passive resistance, LeMay's translation subtly alters the narrative's orientation: in contrast to its seemingly non-partisan orientation in English, in LeMay's translated French Canadian version the narrative voice still tells the story, but often speaks of its own accord - standing in judgement of the British, (for example characterizing soldiers as "*méchants*") while also highlighting the nobleness of Évangéline's steadfast search for Gabriel.

In its essentialized, Orientalized state, the Acadian Subaltern are given diminished status (in what is supposed to be its own story, no less!); since Acadie 'cannot' even tell its own story, it reinforces the Colonial claim that Acadie has little to say, and that it is unworthy of a voice of its own. However, it is only in *English* that Acadie is effectively or



essentially silenced; the above dynamic demonstrates one of Spivak's notions that the Subaltern does speak through the act of translation.

By far, the most potent way in which LeMay succeeds in his efforts to manifest passive resistance in his French Canadian translation of *Évangéline* is through the use of rhyme. This is an outright pure addition; Longfellow's original does not rhyme. Bourdieu's theories of field and habitus are relevant here; the field is the translation, whilst the habitus is induced by rhyme, and both of these elements/discourses operate within language and are a refraction of society and culture, where according to Bourdieu (1993), Spivak (1988), and Niranjana (1992) power struggles are manifest. In LeMay's translation, rhyme lulls readers in to a rhythm, a phenomenon with a similar effect to Bourdieu's definition of a reader's 'habitus' - wherein the reader ceases to 'read', instead believing in and becoming a part of the story being told. The line between objective/subjective, or more specifically in this case fact/fiction becomes blurry as the reader engages with the poem. However, over the course of the story every now and then the reader stops at a certain rhyme - perhaps the rhyming is problematic: tiresome, overwrought, forced, or 'different' somehow (an archaic form, strange word usage, a doubtful rhyme, etc). This breaks the reader's habitus, and the reader then becomes aware that they are reading an *imperfect text* - a text that may not have absolute authority over the truth, which in turn allows the translator to make their presence known, and be visible in the text. The most obvious example of this are the contortions that LeMay occasionally must go through to make the poem fit his imposed rhyme structure. The following passage is particularly telling for a number of reasons, one of which is its appearance near the very beginning of the poem, strategic since it allows LeMay to make his presence known, as well plunging the translation into the aforementioned state of flux

(wherein the reader questions the authority of the text) from the outset. LeMay – making now visible in the text - manhandles this passage, adding lines and themes in order to make them rhyme, and swapping metaphors with no real purpose - uselessly switching Longfellow’s use of “dust and leaves” for “le sable” as a metaphor for the Acadian population in diaspora. LeMay also adds some overt awkwardness to the last two lines of the stanza where “souvenance” and “romance” are forced to rhyme, but yet don’t quite succeed.

Where is the thatch-roofed village, the  
 home  
 of Acadian farmers –  
 Men whose lives glided on like rivers that  
 water the woodlands,  
 Darkened by shadows of earth, but  
 reflecting an image of heaven?  
 Waste are those pleasant farms, and the  
 farmers forever departed!  
 Scattered like dust and leaves, when the  
 mighty blasts of October  
 Seize them, and whirl them aloft, and  
 sprinkle them far o’er the ocean.  
 Naught but tradition remains of the  
 beautiful village of Grand Pré  
 (LONGFELLOW 1847, p.18)

Et le joli village avec ses toits de chaume?  
 Et la petite église avec son léger dôme?  
 Et l’heureux Acadien qui voyait d’ombrage,  
 Mais réfléchit aussi du ciel la pure image?  
 Partout la solitude, aux foyers comme aux  
 champs!  
 Plus es gais laboureurs! la haine des méchants  
 Un jour, les a chassés comme au bord d’une  
 grève  
 Le sable frémissant que a brise soulève  
 Roule en noirs tourbillons jusqu’au plus haut de  
 l’air  
 Et sème sur les flots de la bruyante mer!  
 La hameau de Grand-Pré n’est qu’une  
 souvenance ;  
 La saule y crôit, le merle y siffle sa romance.  
 (LEMAY 1870 [Éditions Boréal], p.18)

Additionally and as a general rule, when the English and French texts are placed side-by-side the French can be almost half a page longer, add to this the bulk of forced rhyme

and bilingual readers looking to compare passages will no doubt find themselves reading and re-reading in the effort to locate a rhyme-camouflaged stanza.

Rhyming is clearly a conscious choice on LeMay's part, its purpose is to subtly and yet unequivocally inform readers that they are reading a text that is in flux, whose 'truth' is fluid and highly questionable. Stylistically a potentially daring choice, it manages to remain 'faithful' to Longfellow's original text because it adds to the romanticism of the French Canadian translation; in short, it is something of a masterstroke of passive resistance in translation. Where Longfellow's choice of words create an Acadie that is an idyllic, impossible place, LeMay's rhyming engages with readers and periodically snaps them out of their romantic lull to realize the faults of the text.

Adding another wrinkle to the *Évangéline* controversy is the fact that Acadie does not seem able to *ever* escape essentialism in one form or another. During the Acadien cultural revival of the 1980s, Acadien artists of all kinds created works to cultivate nationalist sentiments. Noted Acadienne writer Antonine Maillet contributed greatly to this enterprise by authoring many fiction and non-fiction books about Acadie and her people. Though Maillet clearly takes great pride in her heritage and patrie, her depictions of Acadie are strangely reminiscent of Longfellow's simplistic, essentialist tone:

... les Acadiens, tous sortis de la France, du centre-ouest surtout, tous  
pêcheurs, artisans ou paysans, et quasiment tous fiers et contents de l'être...  
Les Acadiens ... continuaient de cultiver la terre, boire, dormir et manger...  
(MAILLET 1984, p.23)

Maillet - known for her creative advocacy of Acadie - in the above quote seems to essentialize Acadie into a type of 'paradis perdu' (a claim that is worthy of discussion yet not

the focus of this thesis), even though Maillet's quote appeared roughly 130 years after Longfellow's *Évangéline* was published. Another example of Maillet's potentially 'essentializing touch' is her 're-translation' of *Évangéline* the character, whose fundamental nature she alters from a naive, obedient, god-fearing virgin, to a feminist iconoclast. Both Longfellow's and Maillet's *Évangéline* characters are *positive* yet still *stereotypical* archetypes from different historical eras - the 1800s 'chaste goodwoman dutifully following her husband', and the late 1980s 'modern liberated woman' who - with a nod to Acadien history - keeps company with other 'exiles' in Montreal, in the effort to soothe the trauma of her conflicted past. At the height of the Acadien revolution, Maillet's 'new *Évangéline*' was a comment on the status of women in Acadien culture - however with the passage of time, her remodeling of *Évangéline* has devolved into yet another stereotype of Acadienité. It is perplexing that Acadie seems to always be under some sort of pressure - whether from 'inside' or 'outside' of the culture - to *be something* or to represent something. Maillet's political interests and goals are intriguing and varied, but not the focus of this work, however they do amply illustrate that Acadie and Acadien identity still remain somewhat in subalternity and flux.

### 3.3.3 LeMay: Politics in Translation

Bereft of a land to call their own, possessing only the orally-recorded experience of a tragic event, Acadie found itself in a similar situation of linguistic flux to Renaissance France and Reformist Germany in terms of the absence of a written, formalized language. Although French as a language (both written and spoken) was firmly established in Europe, in North America, it was a minority language generally relegated to the realm of orality. As history repeatedly demonstrates, once a language stabilizes - usually via a literary catalyst and

monumental event - a solidified national culture develops. *Évangéline* may have been originally written in English, but Pamphile LeMay's translation into French Canadian is what galvanized it as representative of Acadie and Acadianité. Even today, *Évangéline*'s emblematic presence is unchallenged in Acadie and Cajun culture; numerous 're-tellings and spin-offs' exist, but none have replaced LeMay's work in terms of its importance or popularity. It remains unknowable if LeMay intended for his translation to become the culturally unifying force for Acadie that it has; what is obvious however is LeMay's interest in promoting Francophone Canada, and by extension, his willingness to translate in a way that would support its distinct cultural identity - including the production of a translation that articulates passive resistance.

LeMay's productive and niche literary career began in his retirement; a former government employee, one might assume that he was able to only take on projects that were of personal interest to him. LeMay's original and translated works focused unwaveringly on the plight of the French Canadian people and culture. Referred to by Romain Légaré as one of the "chefs de l'offensive romantique qui donna naissance à la poesie canadienne", his body of creative work focuses on the lives and history of French Canada, from the very self-explanatory and obviously patriotic *Hymne nationale pour la fête des canadiens français* to *Les Vengeances - Poème rustique*, the tale of an "Indian's revenge" via kidnapping of the infant son of an Habitante that had previously spurned his love. The two above-mentioned works serve as evidence of the existence of specific themes around which LeMay's works circle:

Pamphile LeMay a chargé son oeuvre ...des pensées sereines de sa foi religieuse, des fidélités ardentes de son patriotisme, des leçons des vertus familiales et civiques qu'il souciait d'annoncer toujours. Deux grands amours

on dominé tout son oeuvre et son existence: l'amour de Dieu et l'amour de la patrie. (LÉGARÉ 1969, p.13)

Longfellow's *Évangéline* fits very well indeed into LeMay's thematic preoccupations on a number of levels, therefore its translation must have been something of an easy choice to make. Proof that LeMay chose to translate *Évangéline* using passive resistance is evidenced by a number of extra-textual factors. Considering the time lag of the original English-language version of *Évangéline* in terms of the post-Le Grand Dérangement era, and LeMay's pronounced interest in French Canadianité, he would have surely been aware of the deportation of the Acadien settlements. Even a cursory look into historical archives would have demonstrated a clear lack of deportation-era documents - leaving a lacuna, or perhaps more appropriately a vacuum - for LeMay's *Évangéline* translation project; even if it wasn't historically accurate, at the very least it gave Acadiens some kind of voice. Further, through *Évangéline's* translation, LeMay had the valuable opportunity to help write into history what had happened to the Acadien nation, at last giving them a voice within and throughout the Francophonie. Since English-language readers were satisfied with Longfellow's poem (and history indicates that they were, considering *Évangéline's* immense popularity), and would also presumably lack appropriate French language reading skills, monolingual English Empire-friendly readers would have no reason to read LeMay's translation - thereby giving LeMay the valuable opportunity to manifest passive resistance in his translation. In light of the fact that LeMay's translation would favourably document another society that was a part of the Canadian Francophonie, (thus enriching Francophone Canadian cultural heritage) *and* considering that his translation would more or less be effectively 'safe' from the eyes of English readers, LeMay demonstrates Tymoczko's (1999) theory that the successful transmission of resistance messages is dependent on the use of texts that are minority-

culture recognizable or appropriate. Further supporting Tymoczko's theory and evidence of LeMay's ability to incorporate passive resistance into his translation is the fact that LeMay could accomplish all of the above objectives while using *Canadian French*, another factor that would attract his target audience of Acadiens. An added bonus, *Évangéline's* French translation also gave LeMay the opportunity to increase the potential canon of a budding literary tradition - a project which, according to Romain Légaré, LeMay was already profoundly invested in.

That LeMay was aware of translating with a pro-Acadien bias is clear; in his preface to the bilingual edition he writes:

Les Acadiens comme les Canadiens<sup>7</sup> ont conservé le culte de souvenir...  
...comme sur les rivages de l'ancienne Acadie où sont restés les descendants des fils de la France, le voyageur retrouve le même... attachement que les persécutions les plus cruelles n'ont pu ébranler, la même urbanité, le même amour de la nationalité, amour sublime qui réunit toutes les amours et prête à un peuple quelque faible qu'il soit, une énergie et une vigueur qui tiennent du prodige. (LEMAY 1870 [Éditions Boréal], p.11)

It is clear from the above quotation that LeMay harbours a particular affection for the ensemble of French Canada and its culture, praising its common historical origins, and durability. In the paragraph following this, LeMay waxes poetic about Le Grand Dérangement, giving readers his own passionate - if clearly biased - rendition of events:

...tout à coup, l'Angleterre jalouse de la prospérité des colons Français, arme une flotte, choisit le plus envieux de ses enfants et le plus barbares de ses

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<sup>7</sup> In this case used to mean French Canadians

soldats, et les lâche comme une meute enragée sur l'heureuse colonie. On appelle l'hypocrisie et la trahison au secours de la violence.

(LEMAY 1870 [Éditions Boréal], p.11).

After reading such an 'oriented' description, there can be no doubt that traces of LeMay's anti-English political orientation will be evident throughout the text.

Meanwhile had spread in the village the tidings of ill, and on all sides	Cependant du village un grand trouble s'empare, Car on sait des Anglais la conduite barbare;
Wandered, wiling, from house to house the women and children...	Et les yeaux tout en pleurs, tremblants, épouvantés,
Long at her father's door Evangeline stood, with her right hand	Les femmes, les enfants courent de tous côtés. Longtemps Évangéline attendait son vieux père,
Shielding her eyes from the level rays of the sun, that, descending,	À la porte, debout, sus l'auvent solitaire, Tenant sa main ouverte au-dessous de ses yeux
Lighted the village street with mysterious splendor, and roofed each Peasant's cottage with golden thatch, and emblazoned its windows.	Afin d'intercepter les reflets radieux... Du soleil qui semblait vouloir jeter encor Un long regard d'amour sur cette noble terre
Lo! within had spread the snow-white cloth on the table;	Que venait d'enchaîner l'égoïste Angleterre. Sur la table était mise une nappe de lin:
There stood the wheaten loaf, and the honey fragrant with wild flowers;...	Déjà pour le souper étaient servis le pain,...

(LONGFELLOW 1847, p.84) (LEMAY 1870 [Éditions Boréal], p.84)

In the above passage - which offers a snapshot of some of the post-deportation order aftermath - the Longfellow quote focuses on the emotional toll of the news of the deportation (the wandering women and children crying), and juxtaposes this with Évangéline's own unknowing weird serenity, and Acadie's circadian rhythms (the sun calmly setting) as if nothing out of the ordinary had happened. LeMay's translation clearly transmits these sentiments, but also includes some telling additions. In LeMay's version, the second



sentence (“*Car on sait des Anglais la conduit barbare...*”) is pure addition, and does not appear anywhere in Longfellow’s original text either before or after the stanza shown here.

Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that this addition exists solely to demonize the English and categorize them as barbaric. This is but one instance of LeMay adding phrases or adjectives meant for ‘Acadien eyes only’ - in this stanza in particular he is resisting Longfellow’s focus on the overall chaos of the deportation order in lieu of ensuring that French readers understand whose fault this chaos is - namely the English. In this way, LeMay and his political leanings are visible in the translation - albeit here for one sentence, but a poignant sentence indeed. Further along in this passage, Longfellow offers readers a melancholy last glance of the *vie quotidienne* in Acadie - the setting sun highlighting the beauty of Acadie, and Évangéline’s having prepared a meal (the bread on the table) for a dinner that will never occur, nor will ever occur in the same way again. LeMay’s translation may follow Longfellow’s setting sun, but he takes care to point out that *his* sun pauses to *lovingly* admire the Acadien countryside – that has ‘now been stolen by the British’ – before similarly evoking Longfellow’s melancholy; another tug at the heartstrings of the French reader, and another instance of LeMay’s choice to be both political and visible in the translation.

...Having the glare of the burning village  
for funeral torches,  
But without bell or book, hey buried the  
farmer of Grand Pré.  
And as the voice of the priest repeated the  
service of sorrow,  
Lo! with a mournful sound, like the voice of  
a vast congregation,  
Solemnly answered the sea, and mingled its  
roar with the dirges.

...Mais le peuple gémit. La mer avec éclats  
Répondit, à l’instant, à ses plaints funèbres,  
On aurait dit entendre, au milieu des ténèbres,  
Les versets alternés, graves et solennels,  
Des moines à genoux devant les saints autels.  
Or ce fracas de l’onde annonçait la marée.  
Chaque barque du bord aussitôt démarré,  
Bondit légèrement et glissa sur les flots.  
Les soldats au coeur dur, les sales matelots  
Repirent, tout joyeux, leur odieuse tâche,

<p>T'was the returning tide, that afar from the waste of the ocean, With the first dawn of the day, came having and hurrying landward. Then recommenced once more the stir and noise of embarking...</p>	<p>Et chantant, et sifflant, et ramant sans relâche, Ils eurent bientôt mis sur le pont des vaisseaux Les colons qui restaient au bord des vastes eaux...</p>
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(LONGFELLOW 1847, p.113)

(LEMAY 1870 [Éditions Boréal], p.113)

This particular passage is taken from the point in the story where it is discovered that Évangéline's Father, Benoit, has died - an event which is set against the backdrop of the Acadien villages burning, and the chaos of deportation in full swing. Offered few options, the villagers decide to bury the beloved old man by the sea, and as the Priest performs a humble make-shift ceremony, it seems as though even the sea mourns the loss of one of Acadie's eldest members. Benoit Bellefontaine's death is symbolic - it marks a paradigm shift which ends Acadie's peaceful prosperous existence and foreshadows the tumult of the coming decades. His burial at sea is equally symbolic - the Acadien people came from France to their new home by ship, then grew to rely on the Atlantic for sustenance, only to be finally dispatched by boat from their lands. That Benoit is buried at sea poetically alludes to the fate of Acadien people equally being left to the whims of the Atlantic and its tides, something which Longfellow himself highlights when he has the sea 'respond' to the villagers' mournful sounds during the funeral. LeMay's use of a rhyming structure (as discussed previously) forces him to linger on the description of the funeral - it may also potentially prepare French readers for the addition he truly wants them to notice, namely his whiplash-like return to the deportation order. Where Longfellow uses the return of the tides and daylight to bring the reader to focus on the *inevitability* of the return of the deportation order (not *who* is executing the order), LeMay forces the reader to focus on those executing the order - with an abrupt end to the sea allusions, and the immediate caricature of cold-

the order - with an abrupt end to the sea allusions, and the immediate caricature of cold-hearted, singing, whistling, British soldiers gleefully herding Acadiens onto ships to be deported like so many cattle. While there can be no doubt that the British soldiers would execute their *cold-hearted task*, that they would so do whilst singing, whistling, and being otherwise quite 'cheerful' is a damning characterization indeed. The fact that Longfellow does not even mention the presence of English soldiers or the British Crown at all in this stanza, nor in the previous or following stanzas, only lays bare LeMay's chosen visibility in the text.

Also significant here is LeMay's use of the word "colons" in his translation. While Longfellow's passage continues to focus on the sounds of deportation at Grand Pré "...then recommenced once more the stir and noise of embarking..." LeMay employs a potent and damning term - "colons" to refer to the Acadiens. The entire community rounded up and contained at the seaside like animals or cargo, huddled overnight awaiting deportation boats, the Acadiens truly are "colonized" at this point in the story. No longer able to control their fate, the Acadiens are subject to the whims of the British Empire, and are clearly - at least in LeMay's eyes - nothing but chattel to be shipped away and forgotten. LeMay uses "colon" expressly to highlight the hopelessness and helplessness that inevitably besiege those who have experienced the violence of Imperial domination. It is important to note that passive resistance can be manifested by a translator's visibility or invisibility in any given text. Dependent on political, social, or other circumstances, a translator will determine the most effective way of expressing their political and resistance message, and decide to be visible or invisible.

By his own admissions in the translated text's preface, and by the trail of proof that litters his translation, LeMay confesses to his political orientations and the obligatory

visibility that they require. LeMay stood firmly in the pro-Acadien-anti-British camp, and as such chose to manifest passive resistance in his translation. On the whole a faithful translation, there exist instances where LeMay becomes visible, and directs the reader's attention to his political insertions in the text, in lieu of completely, strictly sticking to Longfellow's emotional or plot-focused stanzas.

In spite of various contentious elements within *Évangéline*, since its translation into French Canadian it has established itself as the defining tale of the Acadien Nation; efforts by Acadie's native sons and daughters to replace Longfellow's poem have only resulted in a multiplicity of Grand Dérangement stories. To say Acadie has accepted *Évangéline* without reservation would be an understatement: an entire tourist and cultural industry exists based on the characters Évangéline and Gabriel, with as many people claiming they existed as claiming that they were fictitious. Stores, newspapers, festivals, baked goods, children, and even pets are named in the couple's honour. This frenzied phenomenon is possible through passive resistance in translation; despite huge historical errors, continuity problems, and the wholesale essentialization or Orientalization of Acadien culture, translator LeMay was able to tap into the need for Acadie to find a voice to tell its own version of Le Grand Dérangement - however imperfect. LeMay's translation subverts the authority of the English post-colonial text by faithfully replicating all the historical errors and essentialized stereotypes found within *Évangéline* - thereby subtly mocking the English text. LeMay's use of rhyme activates the readers' habitus, but the contrived nature of his rhyme also periodically shocks (disrupting their habitus) readers into the realization that what they are reading isn't 'fact' at all. Further, clear and obvious additions to his French Canadian text allow LeMay's political position to be revealed *to French readers only*, thereby ensuring culture-specific transmission of

resistance messages. In all of these ways, LeMay manifests passive resistance, and chooses at times to be visible or invisible in his translated text. Ironically or perhaps perfectly, LeMay's translation of the poem *Évangéline* echoes the character Évangéline – seemingly modest and naïve, but determined and steadfast in the end.

#### 4.0 Active Resistance in Ireland

Active resistance in translation is the binary to passive resistance; instead of accepting erroneous translations and subtly highlighting their inaccuracies through replication (as in passive resistance), active resistance seeks to valorize the Subaltern and its own point of view through overt 'translation disobedience'. Active resistance in translation takes the form of a highly mediated 'corrective' translation or outright re-writing of the source text wherein the Subaltern culture repossesses or reappropriates its own stories from Empire, and translates or rewrites them into a text which reflects the Subaltern's version of events. A hallmark of active resistance is evidence of the temporal distance between the act of colonization and the point at which the Subaltern manifests active resistance in translation. Temporality is seen through the interface between key political events or movements and the appearance of active resistance translations to support said political events or movements. Equally indicative of active resistance translations is an established history of translation in the Subaltern culture - whether prior to, during, or post-colonization. The Subaltern requires a translation heritage and capable translators who acknowledge and can use translation's transformative power as a 'productive' medium, because active resistance so frequently manifests itself as re-translation. This characteristic is evidenced by massive variations in the translation of the same source text that cannot be accounted for purely on the basis of translator visibility or stylistic choice.

Active resistance in translation has a bold and undeniable effect on the translated text; translators are highly visible, and this visibility combined with their translative choices produce new translated texts. Passive resistance in translation has a subtle cumulative effect and the translated text resembles the source text; translators may or may not be visible in their translations. Both Lady Augusta Gregory and Joseph Dunn take the ancient Irish oral

tale of *Tàin Bo Cualgne* and translate it to enact active resistance on behalf of the Subaltern that was pre-Republic Ireland.

#### 4.1 The Irish Story Cycles, *Tàin Bo Cualgne*, Cuchulàin

There are four distinct story cycles in total which address differing eras of Irish history and culture; they appear in more or less chronological order. The first cycle is the Mythological Cycle - the least thoroughly documented cycle - and it concerns itself with the most ancient gods and goddesses of Ireland, as well as a nation of shape-shifting beings – the Tuatha De Danann – considered to be the indigenous people of Ireland. The main themes of this cycle are the genesis of Ireland and its people, and the various early invasions of the country. The second cycle - the Ulster Cycle (also called the Red Branch Cycle) - begins circa the Christian era in Ireland, and concerns itself with the people of Ulaid; present-day North-Eastern Ireland and the County of Connaught. The tales focus on the warrior society that Ireland was, cataloguing the lives, battles, and deaths of Cuchulàin in particular and his contemporaries, along the way recounting the history of the aforementioned regions. The third cycle in order is the Fenian Cycle, which addresses roughly the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and concerns itself mainly with the counties of Leinster and Munster. Thematically, there is substantial similarity to the Ulster Cycle in terms of its focus on battle and warrior stories, however the Fenian Cycle features hero Fiann mac Cumhaill and his warriors, the Fianna. There is also a great deal of reference to the Irish-Gaelic speaking communities of Scotland, similarities which are also seen in the latter community's own ancient warrior tales. The final story cycle is the Historical Cycle (sometimes referred to in plural); it relies on the work of bards to catalogue the lives, reigns, and genealogies of the earliest documented Kings of Ireland – be they truthful, or partially or

fully fictional. This last Cycle bears the most obvious evidence of Irish bardic tradition, as many of the stories are written in prose.

*Tàin Bo Cualgne* - known variously in shortened Irish-Gaelic as the *Tàin* or in common English as *The Cattle Raid of Cooley* - is one of several stories based on the character of Cuchulàin - the central figure of the Ulster Cycle (Red Branch) of stories. Cuchulàin's characterizations echo those of Greece's Hercules; the tales feature his acts of awe-inspiring reckless courage, egotism, cleverness, sexuality, and frankness of speech. They also share with the reader some of Cuchulàin's less savoury traits, namely his deformation-causing battle fury, his penchant for bloody combat, and his 'intimate acts' - all are present and accounted for in stories which feature his larger-than-life personality. Nephew of King Conor of Ulster, and fathered by the Sun God Lugh, it is Cuchulàin's adopted human father Sualtim MacRoth that raises the young warrior-to-be. As a boy-child his stunning victories were those of an experienced warrior; he took on rabid guard dogs and quasi-battalions of older boys singlehandedly - and won. By the time he was seventeen Cuchulàin was peerless among the champions of Ulster and Ireland. When at last Cuchulàin finally does come to his end (during *Tàin Bo Cualgne*), it is as a young man in battle, during which he displays his usual gallantry. His death is not due to a lack of skill, but rather is a result of witchcraft - he is obliged to fight cowardly enemies despite omens that would otherwise indicate he should not; during the battle itself he is forced to break taboos that put his life in danger. His demise is described as a genuinely glorious, gory (his enemy cuts off his hand to make sure Cuchulàin is dead) yet truly lamentable event for all of Ireland. His tragic and conflicted death reflects the tumultuous and difficult history Ireland has born witness to, which is perhaps why Cuchulàin remains so emblematic a symbol for Irish culture:



Thousands of years of history can easily be reduced to symbolism. An armalite or political slogan in place of the warrior's sword, has often been the image portrayed of Cuchulàin when the darker side of (Northern) Irish history is painted on the gable walls of the province. (British Broadcasting Corporation 2007, p.4)

#### 4.2 *Tàin Bo Cualgne*

The oldest vernacular tale in Western Europe, the saga of *Tàin Bo Cualgne* is the principal story in the Ulster Cycle, and recounts Cuchulàin and his Ulstermen's fight against Queen Medb of Connacht and her armies. In order to ensure that she possesses the most valuable and worthy herd of cattle in all of Ireland, Queen Medb slyly persuades her husband Aillil to steal the sacred, prized bull of Cualgne (Ulster) - Don Cualgne. Aillil complies and rallies their massive combined armies, and they head towards the North, along the way enlisting the aid of the questionably-principled War Goddess Macha - who has an extensive command of black magic. After an exhaustive series of riddles, games, tests, and combats (to say nothing of the many deaths) Cuchulàin betters each and every fighter brought to battle him. As Cuchulàin fights individual warriors sent to battle him, his fellowmen and battalion (the Ulstermen) guard both Don Cualgne and Ulster itself. Medb and Macha tire of waiting for victory, and so Macha casts a spell on the Ulstermen - rendering them zombie-like. Only Cuchulàin can resist the spell, and he delays Aillil and Medb's attack with more gruesome feats of heroism; uncharacteristically, he is unable to defeat Medb and Aillil's armies single-handedly, and the Bull is taken. All is not lost however, as in a twist of fate, both the Kingdom of Ulster and its Bull are saved through the death of Sualtim MacRoth (Cuchulàin's human father), who, seeing the unjust battle, rouses from Macha's spell, mounts his horse and angrily screams a battle cry. Sualtim's horse rears violently and the edge of his

shield rebounds, decapitating him; but his head continues to cry out, waking the other warriors, who then counter attack the enemy armies. The Ulstermen heroically win the battle, take back the bull and save Ulster. In the end, however, Macha reaps her dark revenge, and tricks Cuchulàin into fighting Lugaid, one of his sworn enemies. Lugaid's spear runs Cuchulàin through, but it isn't until his hand is severed and a crow (Macha's animal form) rests on his shoulder that Cuchulàin at last succumbs to death.

Aside from being an historical relic, the *Tàin* is also a cautionary tale, for its main underlying theme is the readiness of the Irish to defend their homeland from any sort of intruder.

### **4.3 Active Resistance - Commentary and Analysis**

#### **4.3.1 Temporality, Political Events, Translation**

Temporality is a key preoccupation in the post-colonial world; the interplay between key political events in a country's history, and the appearance of translations that manifest active resistance indicate the moment at which the Subaltern can finally speak for itself. Nationalist sentiments articulated in the Subaltern's active resistance translations are also subject to political tides.

Colonization comes in many forms, through physical occupation of land and cultural colonization; the latter generally taking place once the 'ground war' has been won, and Empire begins to entrench its dominance; implanting into Subaltern society political, social, and cultural institutions. Generally, a first phase of cultural colonization occurs by way of the restriction, displacement, or extinguishing of the Subaltern's native culture, language, and social structure by that of Colonial culture. Empire then busily 'studies' its new acquisition,

producing often vast quantities of literature or documentation on the subject of the Subaltern. In this literature, the newly-minted Subaltern is treated as an Orientalized Other (SAID 1979, p.1), and is submitted to the 'rigors' of Imperial study and judgement. Literature such as field or frontier reports, ethnography studies (including, and especially, studies that focus on language, culture, and society), or simple fiction all reinforce Colonial assumptions and stereotypes about Subaltern cultures under Imperial control and are purposely damaging towards said Subaltern. Such literature is openly circulated among Imperial subjects both in the new colony and back in the 'homeland'; its distribution is wide and its effects are felt for generations. With the passage of time, this biased Empire-generated literature eventually finds its way back to the Subaltern, who in many cases (due to the subjugation or extinction of their native language(s)) may now be able to read and understand Empire's imposed language, as well as the often vicious falsehoods that circulate about their culture. Such a paradigm shift in culture and language occurs over generations and as a result, Subaltern frustration and anger come to a proverbial head; the Subaltern can no longer tolerate Imperial misinformation and thus actively seeks a means to access power. Enter active translation: the means for the Subaltern to speak and access discourses of power, and also the most effective way for the Subaltern to radically change the perception of its culture both at home and abroad. In this context, passive resistance is not as effective a means of manifesting resistance since its subtlety in combating Imperial notions might make it appear complicit with erroneous, well-circulated, and accepted Colonial claims. Therefore, active resistance by way of translation, retranslation, and rewriting gives the Subaltern the cultural space to produce/re-translate/create/write texts that legitimately reflect their culture and society. In active resistance, the translator *will* be visible in the translated text.

Active resistance in translation as a means to access power has taken place in many of the former British colonies. While Niranjana Tejaswini cites India as her prime example of active resistance in translation in her 1992 book *Siting Translation*, Ireland has also experienced similar political and cultural struggles against the British Empire. As a result, both India and Ireland have fruitful and productive histories of active resistance in translation, as well as retranslation and rewriting.

Perhaps the most important literary artefact in Ireland is the *Tàin Bo Cualgne*. Throughout Ireland's cultural history, there have been roughly ten key translations of *Tàin Bo Cualgne* dating from roughly the 1870s up to the 1970s; all of which have been based on two ancient texts that appeared fifty years apart (roughly early 12<sup>th</sup> century and mid-12<sup>th</sup> century): the *Lebor na hUidre* and the *Book of Leinster* (TYMOCZKO 1999, p.71).<sup>8</sup> However, the only available source texts for the *Tàin* since the nineteenth century have been translations. Each of these translations appear around the same time as various major political and cultural events along the path to Ireland's independence - indicating that temporality, political events, and the production of active resistance translations interact intimately with one another. Textual evidence of this intersection can be found in nationalist-oriented *Tàin* translations by Lady Augusta Gregory (*Cuchulain of Muirthemne*) and Joseph Dunn (*The Ancient Irish Epic Tale Tàin Bo Cualgne, "The Cualgne Cattle-Raid"*); these translations support the Subaltern's political and cultural goals - goals which are a function of the highly politicized era in which they were created.

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<sup>8</sup> Modern translations of the *Tàin* can no longer be based on these sources because both are written in Early Irish-Gaelic, which is largely inaccessible even to modern Irish-Gaelic speakers since it was not actively taught nor promoted during the Celtic Revival, when the majority of *Tàin* translations were taking place.

## Lady Augusta Gregory

Lady Augusta Gregory's translation of the *Táin* entitled *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* manifests active resistance by fostering Irish nationalism in the Irish general public, and thereby also enriching the Irish literary canon.

*Cuchulain of Muirthemne* appeared at a pivotal point in Irish history; 1902 marked two years after the second failed Irish Home Rule Bill, almost one century after the first Irish Rebellion to rid the country from British colonial rule, and was just a few years prior to the height of the Celtic Revival - Ireland's most important nationalist cultural movement. A major player in the Celtic Revival (alongside William Butler Yeats, Edward Martyn, and John Synge), Lady Gregory contributed via literature to Irish emancipation by aligning herself with Ireland's Nationalists resolutely standing for Home Rule. Gregory mined Ireland's wealth of oral folk tales, catalogued and combed Irish myths, icons, and legends for suitable figures upon which to hang the mantle of a glorious Irish past - just what was needed to keep hope of Irish sovereignty alive in a context of frustrated Irish nationalism. Gregory translated extensive volumes of Irish literature specifically for her Irish nationalist audience, similar to Saint Patrick's monks in her productivity and depth of subject. However, during the course of her translations, she understatedly admits to altering the fundamental nature of her source texts by wilfully mixing and matching sources;

When I began to gather these stories together, it is of you [the reader] that I was thinking, that you would like to have them and to be reading them.

...When I went looking for the stories in the old writings, I found that the Irish in them is too hard for any person to read that has not made a long study of it. ... what I have tried to do, to take the best of the stories, or whatever parts of each will fit best to one another, and in that way to give a

fair account of Cuchulain's life and death. ...I left out a good deal I thought you would not care about for one reason or another.... (GREGORY 1902, p.vi)

For the 'benefit' of her Irish nationalist readers Gregory took the *Tàin*, and created a Romantic epic recalling the style, tone, and structure of stories in other established National literary canons, modelling her re-translation on historical epics such as those found in tales of the Greek Gods, the Roman battles, and other highly historical and favourably viewed Literary Classics canons, in order to engender a sense of nationalism and national pride in her readers. The highly political orientation of Gregory's works is something that W.B. Yeats alludes to in his preface to Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirbherne*, where he simultaneously underlines the nationalistic underpinnings of Gregory's work (and presumably all Celtic Revivalists' work). Yeats also adds an element of religion to his vision of Ireland's cultural revival:

We Irish should keep these personages much in our hearts, for they lived in the places where we ride and go marketing... If we will but tell these stories to our children the Land [Ireland] will begin again to be a Holy Land... (GREGORY 1902, p.xvii)

A poignant example of Gregory wishing to appeal to the higher ideals of Irish pride and Irish nationalism through *Cuchulain of Muirbherne* is a passage that depicts the advice hero Cuchulain gives to Lugaid, a future King of Ireland. Cuchulain, while on his sick-bed begins to counsel the young man for his future duties; a lengthy speech covering many subjects and pages, including veiled references to the trials of pre-Republic Ireland;

...do not be light-minded, hard to reach, or proud. ...do not be overcome with the drunkenness of great riches... Do not let wrongful possession stand because it has lasted long, but let witnesses be searched to know who is the right owner of land... Let the tellers of history tell truth before you...  
... let the heir be left in lawful possession of the place his fathers lived in; let strangers be driven off it by force. (GREGORY 1902, p.295)

The passage references modern Ireland in that it reinforces the importance of the typically Christian values of modesty, humbleness, sobriety - despite the fact that Cuchlain is a hero in *pagan* Ireland; Lady Gregory 'makes' Cuchulàin espouse Christian values so as to better relate to her modern-era nationalist readers. The passage then proceeds to address land ownership issues - which cuts straight to the heart of Irish Home Rule and nationalism. Here, Cuchulàin tacitly approves Irish Home Rule, through his assertion that heirs should have possession of where their fathers lived, and that all others - namely the British Empire - should be "driven off by force." Adding further credence to the hypothesis that this (and many other) passages are pro-nationalist messages expressly inserted into the translation, is the fact that this entire section (Cuchulàin giving advice to Lugaid) does not appear in Dunn's translation, despite the fact that these two translations are based on the same two source texts.

The above example of active resistance in translation supporting the nationalist cause is complimented by Gregory's strategic choice of the first tale she chose to translate from the Irish story cycles. The *Táin* - the jewel in the crown of the Ulster Story Cycle - is essentially a tale of resistance against 'intruders'; its plot is essentially an Irish hero defending his beloved country from enemies within who wish to use its inherent wealth for their own benefit; a sentiment that Irish nationalists shared in relation to colonization by the British

Empire. The choice to re-translate the singular *Tàin* also speaks to Tymozcko's assertion that the Subaltern must have an interest in the text to be translated in order for that translation to succeed in speaking on behalf of said Subaltern. Gregory took the *Tàin* and modernized it by essentially erasing its heritage as an oral tale, however this also allowed her to create a truly Irish story that anyone could read and be proud of. This is particularly important in light of 1902's political climate: two Irish Home Rule bills had already failed in the British parliament, continued *Irish nationalist* support for Home Rule was essential if Home Rule was to become a reality.

Some question Gregory's use of English for an Irish nationalist text, however this choice was strategic. By translating from Irish-Gaelic into English, Gregory firstly ensured that a maximum of readers could access *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* since at the time in Ireland, English had overtaken Irish-Gaelic as the language of the general population (though some isolated populations [the Aran Islands] still spoke Irish-Gaelic as a first language). Another benefit to publishing in English was the fact that her translations could also be read by the British Empire, thereby immediately challenging the wealth of widely distributed biased Imperialist literature that sought to reinforce Ireland's Subaltern status. The final and perhaps most crafty benefit to Gregory translating into English was the fact English was the language of 'great literary canons'; by ensuring that her translations were in that language, she ensured that her translations could easily insert themselves into canons that even to this day are considered to contain some of the English language's most notable works.

The appearance of Lady Gregory's translation *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* coincides with a period of Irish history that was marked by a strong need for continued support of Irish nationalism. Already a keen nationalist and Celtic Revivalist herself, Gregory's translation of



the seminal *Tàin* fans the flames of Irish nationalism - she converts an oral pagan story into a Romantic epic; popularizing Irish history and providing Irish nationalists with a much needed source of cultural pride in the years that followed political failure to gain Home Rule.

### Joseph Dunn

Joseph Dunn's translation of the *Tàin* entitled *The Ancient Irish Epic Tale Tàin Bo Cualgne*, "*The Cualgne Cattle-Raid*" (henceforth *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid*) manifests active resistance by providing Ireland with an exhaustively historic and scholarly translation which displays all the uniqueness of Ireland's – and Western Europe's - oldest oral tale. *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid* establishes Ireland's reputation as an historic, cultured society worthy of *legitimate* academic study and interest, in contrast to the years of Empire-directed 'study' which sought to colonize Ireland both politically and culturally.

Joseph Dunn's translation appeared in 1914, another unique period of Irish history that saw the first concrete success of Irish efforts to secure Home Rule. Irish sovereignty was advancing concretely via the passing of Irish Home Rule bills in the British Parliament in 1911, and 1912; it was finalized with the 1914 Government of Ireland Act. Despite this seemingly huge political success, Dunn's translation still had a nationalist impetus as a backdrop. Though the third Irish Home Rule bill had been passed, a hotly contentious issue remained between Unionists and Nationalists, namely the inclusion or exclusion of present-day Northern Ireland into what would eventually become the Republic of Ireland.<sup>9</sup> Between 1914 and 1920, Irish politics remained unstable; in 1916, the Easter Rising brought Irish nationalism again to the fore when a small but determined insurgency led by Patrick (Padriac) Pearse took the Dublin General Post Office by force - demanding the immediate

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<sup>9</sup> This matter would not be settled until years later in the 1920 Government of Ireland Act - delays were due in part to WWI 1914-1918.

establishment of an Irish Republic. The British Army quashed the protesters with extreme violence, which in turn led to widespread support for anti-British violence, Irish nationalism and the Sinn Féin (the Irish Republican Army's political branch). Again in 1918, more political unrest, this time centred on the forced conscription of Irish men into Britain's WWI military. A few months later the Irish electorate voted in Sinn Féin MPs, and on January 21, 1919 Ireland defiantly established its own 32-county Dail Éireann (Irish Republic parliament) against the wishes of the British Empire. Despite political agreements on paper, Ireland during the time of Dunn's translation was still hugely affected by nationalism, the fight for Home Rule, and the violence that surrounded both.

Joseph Dunn was a Yale-educated Irishman who taught at the Catholic University of America (CUA) in the School of Letters Department of Keltic [sic] Languages and Literature. At the CUA some of his fellow professors were also Irish Nationalists, including Thomas Joseph Shahan and P.J. Lennox – the latter working with Dunn as co-editor of a massive volume entitled *The Glories of Ireland*. Dunn himself was a professor in Old and Middle Irish-Gaelic; he summered in Ireland where he researched subject matter for his books – roughly 30 publications, almost all of which address Irish culture, language, or nationalism. Such titles as *The Gaelic Literature of Ireland*; *The Odyssey of Boru*; *A Legendary Life of Saint Patrick*, and *The Need and Use of Celtic Philology* clearly place Dunn in the nationalist camp. At the same time, the very nature of his works places equal importance on Ireland's culture as worthy of study, and highlight Ireland's intellectual contributions to the world. In the preface to *The Glories of Ireland* Dunn and Lennox overtly express this orientation;

... we have been forced to the conclusion that the performances of the Irish race in many fields of endeavour are utterly unknown to most people, and they are not nearly so well known as they deserve to be. Hence there came

to us the thought of placing on record, in an accessible, comprehensive, and permanent form, an outline of the whole range of Irish achievement during the last two-thousand years. (DUNN & LENNOX 1914, p.i)

*The Glories of Ireland* and *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid* were published in the same year; it is fair to assert that these documents were guided by similar nationalist ideologies; just as the body of work that Celtic Revivalists produced shares their particular brand of nationalist ideology.

A dedicated academic, Dunn's translation has a scholarly tone that articulates Ireland's cultural past as being unique and worthy of legitimate academic interest and unbiased study. By presenting *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid* complete with all of its variety of antiquated oral and literary stylings, Dunn marks his translation as a unique cultural item that historically documents Ireland's unique pagan past, transporting it into the modern era. Dunn's translation also places Irish Culture far away from Gregory's Romantic nationalist dreaminess (see previous section), cultivating intellectual nationalism based on pride in Ireland's uniquely documented oral history. Translations that could bolster Ireland's reputation as historically distinct from Britain allowed it to gain a foothold in the academic world – thereby quickly and efficiently overcoming widely circulated misinformation about Ireland's lack of history. Accessing scholarly interest also enabled Subaltern-generated Irish culture and history to circulate in the high-prestige world of academia; it also to some extent ensured its longevity by way of debates and research.

Nationalism in Dunn's era had turned a corner; there were glimmers of hope for Home Rule, but Ireland was still marred by serious violence. The British Empire was finally getting ready to leave Southern Ireland; stirring up additional emotionally-charged nationalist sentiment had the potential to incite increased violence and fighting. As a result, Dunn

shifted the focus of his cultural nationalism to a kind of intellectual-cultural nationalism. Previous Imperial literature had implied that Ireland was a land of lawless lazy dreamers; as its lengthy and highly intellectualized name would suggest, Dunn's translation sought to counter these widespread assumptions by approaching the historic *Tain* as just that, an historic document. It would appear that at least for a time he succeeded, as indicated by Maria Tymoczko;

Joseph Dunn's translation... served for half a century as the principle scholarly version of the TBC in English... ...Dunn made a reasonable attempt to preserve the formal qualities of early Irish literature... Moreover, more of the content appeared than ever before in English... (TYMOCZKO 1999, p.74)

The degree to which Dunn emphasizes the intellectual and scholarly elements of the *Tain* is also clear in his characterizations of Cuchulain, particularly during Ferdiad's combat with Cuchulain. Ferdiad is like a brother to him. The two warriors grew up together, 'trained' together; although Cuchulain remains the more skilled of the two, a battle with Ferdiad would require a great deal from Cuchulain in terms of skill and emotion. In the passage cited below, the Cuchulain Dunn creates is not the brave and battle-lusty Cuchulain depicted in most other *Tain* translations; Dunn translates a rational, and even intellectual Cuchulain who tries to convince Ferdiad *not* to fight him, explaining that their fight has been manufactured by the ill-doings of Aillil and Medb, and that Ferdiad will gain no fame from this battle. Of the two warriors, it is only Cuchulain who is able to rationalize that their battle is avoidable and *should be* avoided; it is Cuchulain who - rather articulately no less - seeks the best outcome for Ferdiad, as opposed to serving his own interests.

“Come now, O Ferdiad,” cried Cuchulàin, “not meet was it for thee to come to contend and do battle with me, because of the instigation and intermeddling of Aillil and Medb. And all that came because of those promises of deceit, neither profit nor success did it bring them... And none the more, Ferdiad, shall it win victory or increase of fame for thee...  
...It is not right for thee to come to fight and combat with me...it was together we were used to seek out every battle and every battle-field, every combat and every contest... (DUNN 1914, p.122)

In the end, it is Ferdiad who insists that the battle commence; the battle lasts for several days, and predictably, Ferdiad is killed by the unmatched hand of Cuchulàin. This reticence to fight can be viewed as a more ‘gallant’ translation of Cuchulàin who - quite logically - does not want to fight ‘family’ and most importantly, who calls upon *logic first* when faced with conundrums. This display of altruism and logic is also seen prior to Cuchulàin’s battle with his foster-brother Ferbaeth. When Ferbaeth comes to Cuchulàin’s camp the night before their battle, drunk, arrogant, and recanting their friendship, Cuchulàin tries to convince his young and naïve foster-brother not to fight. Cuchulàin’s advice goes unheeded and his patience runs out however, and Ferbaeth is slain, though the passage describes his death as almost accidental, “...And Cuchulàin threw the holly-spit over his shoulder after Ferbaeth, as he would care as much that it reached him or that it reached him not...” (DUNN 1914, p.81). These depictions of a more rational and less war-mongering Cuchulàin are pertinent because of the historical and cultural significance of Cuchulàin as a representational figure of Ireland itself;

Cuchulàin came to epitomize the ideal of militant Irish heroism... permitted nationalist identification with a hero of the most uncompromising sort, and it

glorified individualism and action on behalf of the tribe. This refraction of early Irish literature, thus, sets a trajectory that leads directly to the 1916 Easter Rising. (TYMOCZKO 1999, p.79)

Joseph Dunn's translation clearly emphasizes a more moderate hero for the Irish to hold to high esteem; Cuchulàin the Thinker, the Reasoner, and above all the Altruistic is the focus here. This reinforces the political aims of 1914 Ireland; namely a quelling of violence and the establishment of a peaceful, free state seeking its place on the world stage.

Joseph Dunn's translation of the *Tàin* reflects his own desire to reinforce Irish nationalism on an intellectual level. His *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid* is firmly scholarly in tone, and stood as the academic reference for the *Tàin* for over fifty years. His depiction of Cuchulàin is as a rational, thoughtful warrior who in some cases sought to avoid battles. Dunn's translation orientation notably reflects the political events of the era; Ireland was progressing steadily towards Home Rule, and tensions related to this were high. Active resistance is manifested in an intellectual fashion, calling upon the Irish to recognize, celebrate, and focus on their cultural heritage and history as a conduit of nationalism.

The interplay of temporality, political events, and translation can be seen throughout colonialism; in terms of active resistance in translation, this rings even more true. In Ireland, the appearance of translations that manifest active resistance are related to key political events in the nation's modern history which centre on the fight for Irish Home Rule. Nationalist ideologies that support this fight are articulated in differing ways by Lady Gregory and Joseph Dunn in each of their translations of the *Tàin*. Lady Gregory's pre-Republic of Ireland translation fostered a passionate Romantic era nationalism whose purpose was to continue to drive the Irish towards Home Rule. Joseph Dunn's translation

focused on highlighting the historical, intellectual side of the *Tàim*, because his translation occurred in an era of violent political strife.

#### 4.3.2 Established Translation Tradition

Another key factor for the manifestation of active resistance in translation is the presence of a Subaltern history or tradition of translation, be it before, during, and after colonization. A strong history of translation leads to skill and versatility in the act of translation itself, and also equates to translations being viewed as an original, viable, and legitimate form of resistance and cultural expression.

The very nature of Irish culture and society has been shaped and influenced by its translators, whose heritage and contribution sadly remain for the most part unacknowledged. Prior to the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the culture of the island of Ireland was rather homogenous, with the population speaking a common language, practicing a common pagan religion, and being ruled by Brehon Law. Frequently the object of invasions and conquests, the Irish quickly became skilled at translating themselves as well as the language they spoke in order to assist in the integration of newly arrived peoples and cultures. The arrival of Saint Patrick in the 15<sup>th</sup> century led to increased levels of translation; including most notably the initial shift from orality to written language. During the Catholic Church's Christianizing efforts, cooperation with the 'native population' was stressed, which included recognition of the stature and importance of Irish-Gaelic to the Irish. The Catholic Church made quick use of the Irish translator's skills; religious materials were swiftly translated into Irish-Gaelic vernacular. Newly established Irish monasteries became well-respected hubs of learning and translation. The Church also encouraged its Irish translators to travel to monasteries throughout Europe

to hone their translation abilities, circulate their translations, and otherwise practice their craft; it was a successful and highly productive time for Irish translation.

The translation tide turned with colonization by the British Empire, and Ireland faced a new translation-based reality: the potential loss of their indigenous language through conquest. Pre-Imperial conquest Ireland experienced translation from the position of a majority language; post-Imperial conquest Ireland experienced translation as a minority language on the verge of suffocation. This is an important point to consider, as it forced Irish translators (and Ireland itself) to discover the power of translation in a political context. During the British Empire's cultural colonization efforts, some of the first victims were Irish translations and cultural works, which were dismissed as inferior on the grounds of the liberties Irish translators took in adjusting their texts to appeal to their target audiences.

Translators did not see accuracy apart from the cultural ambiance of their readership. ...translators were more given to the use of dynamic than to formal equivalence in their translation practice. (CRONIN 1996, p.17)

A large part of this criticism is based on opposing views of language and translation: the British Empire had historically viewed and used language and translation as a means to colonize, while the Irish had historically viewed and experienced language and translation (through the Catholic Church for example) as an enriching cultural exchange and means to communicate.

Therefore, changes, omissions, bold adaptations of source material to the cultural tastes and linguistic habits of the target audience were not



automatically [considered] signs of linguistic incompetence but rather a natural response to a translation paradigm. . . (CRONIN 1996, p.6)

When the British Empire began establishing laws to restrict the use of Irish-Gaelic in order to replace it with the English language (so the 'native' population would be easier to govern), Ireland got a glimpse of what the future held: from that point onwards, translation and language in Ireland became inseparable from politics and resistance. Colonization had provided Irish translators with intimate experience and familiarity with the power that translation could wield, they were therefore more able to recognize how to use translation to advance their own causes - namely to articulate active resistance against Empire. As a result, Ireland has a rich history of active resistance in translation, which historically has been inexorably linked to Irish nationalism:

Irish texts were translated for the purposes of the reclamation of Irish culture. Most of the translation of Irish texts into English from the eighteenth century forward was done by or for the Irish themselves. . . The Irish seized translation of their own cultural heritage as one means of re-establishing and defining their nation and their people: throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries alike translation was engaged for the purposes of nationalism or proto-nationalism, leading to both cultural and armed resistance. (TYMOCZKO 1999, p.21)

Lady Gregory and Joseph Dunn made their careers based on Irish language and literature; both were skilled translators and writers who worked from Irish-Gaelic to English, and both shared strong nationalist sentiments. Their dexterity in rendering two utterly different translations of the *Tàin* offers proof of the assertion that active resistance in

translation is most successfully manifested in a culture or society that has an established history of translation. A culture with a translation history and heritage views translation as a legitimate vehicle for the assertion of power, as a platform for cultural exchange, and as a productive medium - not simply as a form of textual mimicry. Textual evidence of this can be found in the significant differences between Lady Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthenne*, and Joseph Dunn's *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid*, despite the fact that these two translations were based on the same source texts.

Lady Gregory's extensive production of Irish-Gaelic to English translations of Irish Story Cycles and folk tales certainly speaks to her abilities as a prolific translator. In terms of Gregory's translation of the *Tàin*, two of the major changes in the text are: its transformation into prose, and the use of the Kiltartan dialect for speech.

Gregory... one of the principal translators to represent TBC (*Tàin Bo Cualgne*) completely as prose narrative, uses an Irish folk dialect of English – the Kiltartan speech – for her translation and divides the text into relatively short chapters which suggest a collection of folktales. (TYMOCZKO 1999, p.102)

These translative choices demonstrate Gregory's skills as a translator in rendering a complicated, pagan-era text filled with archaic stylings and cultural lacunae into a text that reads easily, and focuses on target audience reception. A prose text format allowed Gregory to render the text attractive to Irish nationalists, as it created a stylized, Romantic-era Cuchulàin that could more easily embody the perceived nobleness of Irish nationalist sentiments than the source text's pagan-era, battle-obsessed Cuchulàin. The use of the

Kiltartan dialect is important in that it is a dialect of English that resembles Irish-Gaelic; employed expressly to tug at the heartstrings of her nationalist readers:

...to use the dialect properly, i.e. artfully, it was necessary to know the Irish language... All around her in south Country Galway and north Country Clare the native Irish were speaking a form of English heavily indebted to Irish grammar and syntax. Gregory gained an intimate knowledge of the speech-form around Gort, which she used for all her works, and which became known as the Kiltartan dialect... Her achievement was to discover a new language which had at once dignity and a popular flavour. (MURRAY 1997, p.44)

The Kiltartan dialect - influenced as it was by Irish-Gaelic - is an overt act of active resistance in translation to the English language and the Empire it represented. Gregory essentially used Irish-tinged English to foster nationalist sentiments - a bold act of active resistance that could not be ignored.

Another major change Gregory instituted in her rendering of the *Tàin* was to 'cleanse' or seriously downplay gory or scatological elements. One such example is the passage where boy-child Cuchulàin defeats Culain (or Culann) the Smiths' guard dog with nothing more than a hurley stick and ball:

the hound heard him coming, and began such a fierce yelling that he might have been heard through all Ulster, and he sprang at him as if he had a mind not to stop and tear him up at all, but to swallow him at the one mouthful. The little fellow had no weapon but his stick and ball, but when he [Cuchulàin] saw the hound coming at him, he struck the ball with such force

that it went down his [the dog's] throat, and through his body. Then he seized him by the hind legs and dashed him against a rock until there was no life left in him. (GREGORY 1902, p.10)

The focus of this passage is not the abject terror of being a small, weapon-less boy being attacked by a ravenous watch-hound, but rather on Cuchulàin's quick-thinking reaction to his immediate peril. Using the only objects available to him - his hurley stick and ball - he dispatches the dog in a fairly understated, yet still fantastical fashion, all of which takes place in one and half sentences. This is significant on a number of levels; the killing of pets or guard dogs was (and remains) socially unacceptable for the era in which Gregory was translating the *Tàin*. Further, Gregory sought to cultivate nationalist pride; certainly depictions of the bloody deaths of dogs did not fit that bill; a better option was to refocus the passage so that it emphasized Cuchulàin's wit and skill. This small example demonstrates that despite passages deemed culturally 'inappropriate' for her modern era, Gregory, a skilled translator, was able to adjust her translation to suit her modern target audience by subtly shifting the focus of the segment in lieu of omitting it altogether. Gregory can clearly be seen demonstrating skill as a translator, as well as manifesting active resistance in translation, since she manipulates the *Tàin* during the translation process in order to have it support her nationalist agenda.

Lady Gregory drew upon the Irish translation tradition in her creation of *Cuchulàin of Muirthemne*. Her manipulation in translation of the *Tàin* source text allowed her to articulate active resistance and support Irish nationalism, accessing Irish nationalist readers through the creation of a highly readable and accessible prose text; the creation and use of an near-

Irish-Gaelic English – the Kiltratan dialect, and a translation which refocused passages considered culturally inappropriate for her era into brief, palatable passages.

Joseph Dunn's career as an academic influenced his practice as a translator, this can be seen in his rendering of the *Táin* as *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid*. The exhaustive inclusion of every possible detail of the *Táin* source texts demonstrates not only his skill as a translator but also manifests active resistance in that the text is so clearly scholarly and historic in nature, that any notion that Ireland lacks cultural history can be easily dispelled.

Dunn was guided by a different translative ideology when he rendered the *Táin* into the scholarly version attributable to him:

...scholars of early Irish language, literature, and history have shown a blithe disregard for making their translations accessible, never mind palatable, to the general reading public, because the nationalist program required simply that scholars and philologists unearth and document the nation's past, not that they make translations of the medieval heritage readable.

(TYMOCZKO 1999, p.136)

Despite Tymoczko's somewhat damning characterization of Irish academic translation in general, her quote does highlight two salient facts: that translation was a genuine part of the Irish nationalist agenda, and that there were at least two well-established approaches to translation in Ireland, namely; literary and scholarly. The latter point would not be possible, were it not for generations of translators prior to both Dunn and Gregory, who established Ireland's translation excellence and tradition. It is clear that Gregory falls into the "literary" camp, while Dunn is clearly in the "academic" or "scholarly" camp.

It is worth recalling that the *Tàin's* origins are oral and pagan; this is a tale that would more than likely have been told by an animated bard at a gathering or similar event, for the entertainment and cultural edification of people of all ages. The *Tàin* is also renowned for its gory depictions of battles, injuries, and deaths, to say nothing of its frequent mention of bawdiness and bowel movements. As mentioned previously in this section, one part of the *Tàin* is the story of Cuchulàin slaying Culann the Smith's guard dog. In Gregory's version, the passage is short, is recounted as discretely and genteelly as possible, and focuses on Cuchulàin's resourcefulness. In Dunn's version, the passage has a significantly different orientation:

The watch-dog descried the lad and bayed at him, so that in all the countryside was heard the howl of the watch-hound. And not a division of feasting was what he [the hound] was inclined to make of him [Cuchulàin], but to swallow him down at one gulp past the cavity of his chest and the width of his throat and the pipe of his breast. And the lad had not with him any means of defence, but he hurled an unerring cast of the ball, so that it passed through the gullet of the watch-dog's neck and carried the guts within him out through his back door, and he laid hold of the hound by the two legs and dashed him against a pillar-stone that was near him, so that every limb of him sprang apart, so that he broke into bits all over the ground. (DUNN 1914, p.38)

There are three very conspicuous elements of Dunn's translation that mark it as scholarly, and entirely different from Gregory's work. The first noticeable element is the archaic and obtuse language Dunn uses to tell the story; it certainly lends credence to Tymoczko's assertion that Irish translators and literary scholars made no efforts to render

their texts easy to read. As a result, one can safely posit that academic translations - Dunn's included - were directed at a specific target audience: other scholars with an interest in Irish culture and history (for who else would feel the ardent desire to plough through almost 200 pages of similarly challenging translation?). Dunn's 'marked' language also gives the text an exaggerated feeling of 'academia-speak'; its unemotional and somewhat opaque nature does not allow for the passionate cries of Irish nationalism to be heard; what emanates from the translation instead is a moderate - but no less resolute - Irish nationalism which is solidly based on the history of a nation-becoming. Secondly, there is much more drama in Dunn's translation, due in part to the repetition which is indicative of oral tales, and especially the *Táin's* origins as a performed oral story. Repetition allowed the bard to keep his audience in suspense, to heighten drama, and to otherwise 'perform' the tale; it also provided a handy fail-safe should one get lost in their own story. However, given that this particular translation of the *Táin* is in written form, there is no real need to include such repetition - unless the very purpose of the translation is to demonstrate the story's ancient oral past; just what Dunn sought to do. The third striking element, are the visceral descriptions used to illustrate both the watch-hound's 'plans' for Cuchulàin, and Cuchulàin's slaying of the beast. Much like repetition, these drawn-out descriptions would have served as a basis for a bard's gesticulations during story-telling. However, since in this translation the passage's visceral elements are couched in the context of a scholarly translation, they are somewhat neutralized, as they can be interpreted as nothing more than the simply faithful translation of a source text from a grandiose and dramatic Irish pagan past; once again Dunn finds a way to emphasize the scholarly aspect of translation.

All the above elements taken together equate to a translation that is perhaps a tedious read for the general public, but does in fact accurately reflect the *Táin's* pagan

origins. In this sense, Dunn's translation can be rightly viewed as an historical, cultural artefact that displays all the strange, unique, and foreign aspects of its Irish-Gaelic source texts; in fact it could be stated that the more obtuse and foreign *The Cualgne Cattle-Raid* text appears, the more convincingly it appears to *legitimately* be an historical and cultural artefact worthy of academic interest. The expertise required to navigate the translation of such a complicated and varied oral story is profound, and cannot be acquired 'overnight'. It takes years of practice as well as references, examples, and guidance from previous generations of translators that have come up against similar challenges in their efforts to provide Ireland with documentation of its past.

Translation then becomes an act of recovery. The translator like the archaeologist rescues records from oblivion. The "site" of translation is the patient unearthing of the language and literature of ancient civilizations...

(CRONIN 1996, p.105)

Joseph Dunn used a decidedly scholarly orientation to translation in order to render a text that actively resists Empire's erroneous assumptions that Ireland was bereft of history and culture. By including all the typical markers of an oral tale in his written translation (markers such as repetition, visceral descriptions), and combining them with a specifically academic-sounding choice of words, Dunn provided indisputable proof that the *Tàin* is in fact solid evidence of Ireland's unique history and culture.

Subaltern cultural translation heritage enables a higher degree of success in terms of the manifestation of active resistance because translators are highly skilled in their craft, and because translation is viewed as a productive medium to access power and to create a uniting, nationalist literature. Ireland is a prime example of this phenomenon; Lady Gregory



in 1902, and Joseph Dunn in 1914 both created translations of Ireland's most important oral tale - the *Tàin Bo Cualgne*. These translations were radically different in translation style, and yet both articulated a strong Irish nationalist sentiment and disputed Imperial claims of Ireland's lack of historical and cultural merit.

Active resistance in translation is an effective means for the Subaltern to access power in a colonial context. The interplay of temporality, major political events, and the appearance of resistant translations not only articulate, but regroup nationalist sentiment. A strong translation heritage affords nationalism-minded translators the skills and dexterity required to take ancient historical texts into the modern era, creating with them narratives of national pride that endure for generations and become emblematic of the Subaltern's struggle - and eventual success - in accessing the discourses of power. Ireland is a classic example of a Subaltern deftly using active resistance in translation to counter well-circulated Imperial misinformation, but also to eventually gain independence from Empire. This achievement was significantly assisted by the timely appearance of rallying, nationalist translations of Ireland's most cherished cultural artefact - *Tàin Bo Cualgne* - provided by Lady Augusta Gregory and Joseph Dunn, who despite their differences in translative approach, both used active resistance in translation to speak for the Irish Subaltern and finally win the fight for Irish Home Rule.

## 5.0 Conclusion

Acadie and pre-Republic Ireland share many similarities in terms of their basis in orality, their status as Subaltern, and post-colonial. Both society's use of translation as resistance to Imperial hegemony is another striking similarity, though Acadie and Ireland use divergent forms of resistance in translation - namely passive or active, respectively.

As seen in Pamphile LeMay's French Canadian translation of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's English-language poem *Évangéline*, Acadie uses translation as a means to enact resistance against Empire through the use of hallmarks of passive resistance in translation: faithful translation of the source text - including repetition of erroneous historical facts and harmful Orientalizing and essentializing statements, as well as the subtle insertion of political messages meant for the target audience of the Subaltern society. These textual characteristics inherent in passive resistance have a subtle, cumulative effect on the translated text which gives the impression of a 'well rendered translation.' However, further investigation of the translated text reveals that what appears to be 'translation obedience' is in fact an assertive, profoundly *disobedient* statement put forth by the Subaltern to combat and undermine Empire's misconceived notions and authority.

Ireland manifests resistance in translation differently, as a result of two aspects of Irish culture and society; namely the interaction of temporality and the appearance of translations, and an established translation tradition. Interplay between temporality and translation is evident in Gregory's *Cuchulàin of Muirthemne*; published in 1902, it is highly romantic in style and tone, seeking to inspire Irish nationalist readers to find pride and passion in their culture - nationalist sentiments that were essential to the continuation of Ireland's fight to attain Home Rule. Joseph Dunn's translation *The Ancient Irish Epic Tàin Bo Cualgne - the Cualgne Cattle-Raid* occurred in 1914, when the British government's delays in

administering Irish Home Rule lead to violence. Dunn's translation took on a sober and academic tone - calling upon the Irish to recall their historic and culturally significant heritage as a source of nationalism.

The substantial variation in translation styles used by Gregory and Dunn indicates each translator's mastery over and confident flexibility with translation. These abilities can in part be attributed to Ireland's rich history of translation, which for centuries has cultivated highly skilled translators. In their divergent translations, Gregory renders the *Tàin* into prose and gives characters a contrived Kiltartan dialect in which to speak; Dunn produces an obtuse, academic translation that mimics - as much as possible - an oral rendition of the *Tàin*.

Resistance to Empire is a popular theme in Post-Colonial and Translation Studies; my specific contribution to both subject areas is an examination of the nature of the resistance manifested by the Subaltern, which enables readers to better understand the Subaltern's means of accessing the discourse to power previously denied them. This thesis also helps to shed light on the position of the Subaltern vis-à-vis Imperial encroachment and hegemony in terms of the production of cultural goods. The comparative study of Acadie and Ireland is a new pairing in Post-Colonial and Translation Studies - to my knowledge no prior comparison between these two cultures has been undertaken.

The validity of the study of resistance through translation in a post-colonial context is well established; this thesis contributes to the further definition and delineation of passive and active resistance. Its focus on oral texts as source texts, the interaction between translation, culture, and history, as well as the unique comparison of Acadie and Ireland reflect modern academia's trend towards interdisciplinary study. Taken together, these

elements bring new and enriching elements to current discourses in Translation Studies, Orality, and Post-Colonialism.

Future areas of study include a corpus study that encompasses a wider cross-section of post-colonial and Subaltern cultures formerly under British rule. The purpose of such an examination would be to determine if there was a preference or tendency that led to passive or active resistance being used as the vehicle of choice for anti-Empire sentiment in former British colonies.

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