

# William Kirby's *The Chien D'Or / The Golden Dog / A Legend Of Quebec*: Translation and Transformation

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*Introductory Note:* I presented a version of this paper entitled "Serialised and Censored in Montreal: The Case of William Kirby's *Le chien d'or / The Golden Dog*" at a session on "Textual Criticism and Editing" at the 19th Triennial Conference of the International Association of University Professors of English held at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, in August 2004; Paul Eggert was the other participant. Harold Love was a member of the audience, and, as usual, he greeted what we had to say with enthusiasm. And that is what I particularly liked: no matter what the subject, Harold was interested; no matter how intricate the argument, Harold asked the right question; and no matter how much he disagreed, Harold remained courteous. When he died, I lost a friend, but, more importantly, the academic world lost both a gentleman and a genuinely Renaissance man. I dedicate this much revised version of my Vancouver talk to the memory of Harold Love.



David M. Hayne concluded his article on Pamphile Le May's translation of *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog*<sup>1</sup> by William Kirby (1817–1906) by stating that "*The Golden Dog* and *Le Chien d'or* ... have led a parallel existence, being published and pirated, reworked and revised, admired and adapted."<sup>2</sup> But the story is even more complicated. In the nineteenth century their existence was not so much parallel as paradoxical. Kirby wrote his novel in the decade after the Canadian Confederation of 1867 with the express purpose of helping to bring what he called Canada's double treasure of two languages, two literatures, two histories, and two groups of heroes together into one bilingual and bicultural Canadian nation. Almost twenty years after Confederation, Le May's 1884 translation began the transformation of the French version of Kirby's text into a work that celebrated the language, literature, and history of only one of these cultural entities, that of French Canada. A study of *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog* as it was conceived by Kirby and translated by Le May, then, not only provides a history of textual transmission but also reveals dominant themes in the cultures of English Canada and French Canada/Quebec.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog* is the title that I use when I refer in this article to Kirby's text generically. When I am referring to a particular issue, impression, or edition of the text, I cite its specific title. In transcribing the quotations, I have followed their punctuation, spelling, and other accidentals. Unless otherwise specified, the English translation of each quotation in French is mine.

<sup>2</sup> David M. Hayne, "*The Golden Dog* and *Le Chien d'or*: Le May's French Translation of Kirby's Novel," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 20 (1981): 50–62.

The first impression of the first edition of *The Chien D'Or / The Golden Dog / A Legend Of Quebec* was “issued at last” in February 1877.<sup>3</sup> Its author, an Englishman whose family had migrated to Cincinnati, Ohio, from Yorkshire in 1832, had settled in what is now Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, in 1839 after visiting various places in Upper and Lower Canada, including Quebec. It was there that he first saw on a stone house in the rue Buade “a Golden Dog, in a crouching position, rudely carved in relievo, with the following inscription underneath:— ‘Je Suis Un Chien Qui Ronge Lo, / en le rongeant je prends mon Repos, / Un temps viendra qui n'est pas venu, / Que je morderay qui m'aura mordu. / 1736,’”<sup>4</sup> or, in Kirby's translation, “I am a dog that gnaws his bone, / I couch and gnaw it all alone— / A time will come, which is not yet, / When I'll bite him by whom I'm bit.”<sup>5</sup>

Kirby saw the carving again in 1865 when he spent just over a month in Quebec. This time he read a copy of *Maple Leaves: A Budget of Legendary, Historical, Critical, and Sporting Intelligence* by James MacPherson Le Moine, the bilingual “lawyer, office holder, and author”<sup>6</sup> who became a close friend. This 1863 publication contained a sketch of “Le Chien d'Or—The Golden Dog” that connected the carving to “Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, a Quebec merchant” who owned the house in the rue Buade in the mid-eighteenth century; his quarrel with “the Intendant (Bigot), perhaps for refusing to aid him in his peculations and extortions”; and his murder in 1748 by “Pierre Legardeur, Sieur de Repentigny,” the “French lieutenant” whom Bigot, “to annoy Philibert,” had ordered billeted at his house.<sup>7</sup> Le Moine's work also had a sketch about “A Visit to Château-Bigot,” the country residence of the last Intendant of New France, and one about “Marie Josephte Corriveau,—A Canadian Lafarge,” the “hideous figure”<sup>8</sup> who was hanged in 1763 for the murder of her husband.

Kirby, who always emphasised that *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog* “originated”<sup>9</sup> with Le Moine's work, discussed these sketches with Benjamin Sulte, “a clever French Canadian.”<sup>10</sup> Kirby had met Sulte, who was to have a long career in Ottawa

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum, Robert Kurczyn Lovell to William Kirby, 21 February 1877, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>4</sup> James MacPherson Le Moine, *Maples Leaves: A Budget of Legendary, Historical, Critical, and Sporting Intelligence* (Quebec: Printed, for the Author, by Hunter, Rose and Company, 1863), 30.

<sup>5</sup> William Kirby, *The Chien D'Or / The Golden Dog / A Legend Of Quebec* (New York and Montreal: Lovell, Adam, Wesson and Company, 1877), 116.

<sup>6</sup> Roger Le Moine, “Le Moine, Sir James MacPherson,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14: 1911–1920 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 646–48.

<sup>7</sup> Le Moine, *Maple Leaves*, 31. It now seems that the house was built and the stone carving and its inscription placed on it in about 1688 by Timothée Roussel, a surgeon who came from near Pézenas, France, where a similar stone can still be seen in the garden of a house just outside the city.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, William Kirby, “A Biographical Sketch of the Author of ‘Maple Leaves’,” in James MacPherson Le Moine, *Maple Leaves, 1894* (Quebec: L. J. Demers, 1894), 7–11.

<sup>10</sup> ALS, William Kirby to James MacPherson Le Moine, 7 April 1877, The LeMoine Correspondence,

as a federal public servant, earlier in Niagara-on-the-Lake. In a letter Kirby wrote to Le Moine in April 1877 shortly after the publication of *The Chien D'Or*, he explained that when he had visited Quebec in 1865, Sulte, who was then living in the city, and he had "talked much of Chateau Bigot and the Chien d'or. I wanted Sulte ... to write the story, and finally half in jest, half in earnest, threatened him, that if he would not write the story of the Chien d'or I would—!—That was the beginning of it."<sup>11</sup>

Kirby wrote and revised his novel over several years from the late 1860s to 1876, when John Lovell finally accepted it for publication by the newly-established firm of Lovell, Adam, Wesson and Company of New York and Montreal. Set in Quebec and its environs in a few weeks in the autumn of 1748, the plot of *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog* involves three love stories, each of which is more or less developed in the form of a love triangle. François Bigot is flirting with Angelique des Meloises while he is concealing at his country residence Caroline de St Castin, the Acadian Métisse to whom he is betrothed. Le Gardeur de Repentigny is pursuing Angelique, who is actively encouraging Bigot's suit; Bigot himself is challenging his henchman De Pean to marry Angelique. Pierre Philibert is courting Amelie de Repentigny, Le Gardeur's sister, with whom he has long been in love; she is being pursued, albeit languidly, by Angelique's brother.

Through such aspects as their positions and professions, these personae, most of whom are based on historical figures, allow Kirby to describe the social and religious customs of eighteenth-century New France and to introduce French-Canadian legends. The aunt and guardian of Le Gardeur and Amelie, for instance, is the widowed Lady de Tilly, who runs both a large house in Quebec and an important seigneurie farther up the St Lawrence. Fanchon Dodier, the aunt of one of Angelique's maids, is La Corriveau. Not only does Kirby use his characters and their connections to depict the culture of the French colony, he also employs them to sketch its political problems. Pierre Philibert, for example, is the son of the Bourgeois Philibert, the leader of the so-called *Honnêtes Gens* and the one merchant in Quebec powerful enough to withstand the machinations of Bigot, who, with his associates, is ruining New France.

In *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog*, however, Kirby did more than celebrate the French-Canadian nation of New France. Rather, he linked this nation to its Greek, Roman, Viking, and Norman roots and its aboriginal affiliations and thereby united its history with that of Canada's British settlers. The novel became, thus, a kind of national epic that incorporated Kirby's vision of the new Dominion of Canada created by the confederation of Quebec (Canada East), Ontario (Canada West), New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia in 1867 and extended by the inclusion of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, and

William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1634, A-1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Prince Edward Island in 1873. In his epic Kirby presented the new Dominion as bilingual, bicultural, Christian, conservative, European, imperial, and northern. Or, as he wrote to Sulte in November 1867, "Canada possesses a double treasure: her two languages, her two literatures, her two histories, with her double memory of great men and great deeds that flow together like two rivers and are joined in the waters of our St. Lawrence."<sup>12</sup>

In the years immediately after Confederation this narrative of two founding peoples joining together under Queen Victoria and under God to build a new nation appealed to many Canadians, both English-speaking and French-speaking. In a letter he wrote to its author in early April 1877, for example, Le Moine predicted "a great—a very great success" for Kirby's work.<sup>13</sup> The reviews in English-Canadian and French-Canadian newspapers and periodicals were equally enthusiastic. Nevertheless, while the English-language items emphasised the Canadian content of the work, the ones in French welcomed *The Chien D'Or* more as a novel about French Canada. Pantaléon Hudon, the reviewer in the March 1877 issue of the *Revue Canadienne*, described the subject of the novel as "entirely French-Canadian."<sup>14</sup> Sulte began his review published in the *Opinion Publique* on 3 May 1877 by saluting both "*Le Chien d'or*" and its author. The spirit of the book was "eminently sympathetic to French Canadians,"<sup>15</sup> about whose history Kirby must have read "two hundred volumes."<sup>16</sup> Emphasising the importance of this history for the "French-Canadian race,"<sup>17</sup> he concluded, "As long as we remain what we have been, all will go well, in our honour."<sup>18</sup> The tendency to read Kirby's Canadian novel as one uniquely about French-Canadian culture increased when *The Chien D'Or* was translated into French.

<sup>12</sup> "le Canada possède un trésor double: ses deux langues, ses deux littératures, ses deux histoires, avec sa double mémoire de grands hommes et de grands faits qui coulent ensemble comme deux fleuves et se joignent dans les eaux de notre St. Laurent." See William Kirby to Benjamin Sulte, 18 November 1867, *Ordre* (Montreal), 27 November 1867, 1. The letter was published as part of an article on the growing interest that French-Canadian and English-Canadian writers were taking in each other, a rapprochement that would lead to "honour to the country" ("honneur au pays") for the new "Canadians, sons of two races that were formerly rivals," ("Canadiens, fils de deux races autrefois rivales") who "can and must now live together like brothers; the actions reserved for those of French blood in this coming together will, furthermore, be neither the least glorious nor the least noble" ("peuvent et doivent vivre fraternellement ensemble; la part d'action que le sang français se réserve dans ce rapprochement, ne sera ni la moins glorieuse, ni la moins noble").

<sup>13</sup> ALS, James MacPherson Le Moine to William Kirby, 2 April 1877, The LeMoine Correspondence, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1634, A-1.

<sup>14</sup> "tout canadien-français." See P[antaléon] H[udon], "Bibliographie," *Revue Canadienne* 4 (1877): 227.

<sup>15</sup> "éminemment sympathique aux Canadiens-français." See Benjamin Sulte, "Le Chien D'Or," *Opinion Publique* (Montreal), 3 May 1877, 208.

<sup>16</sup> "deux cents volumes." Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> "race canadienne-française." Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "Tant que nous resterons ce que nous avons été, tout ira bien, en notre honneur." Ibid.

In a letter written to Kirby on 9 April 1877, Sulte had already wondered if the novel “should not be translated.”<sup>19</sup> However, in his letter of 17 May 1877, in reply to Kirby’s enthusiastic response to this suggestion, he explained that bringing a translation to pass would not be easy. One reason was that the publishing conditions in Quebec were not yet in place, and, therefore, it was difficult for French Canadians to create “all the elements that make up a national literature.”<sup>20</sup> Another was the problem of finding a suitable translator. It was possible that “some French-Canadian writer”<sup>21</sup> might offer to do the job, but for the moment Sulte did not see anyone whom he could recommend.

Over the next seven years there were at least three projects to translate the novel and four possible translators. In 1880 Sulte himself was approached about undertaking the assignment by George Bull Burland, one of the owners of the *Opinion Publique*. “The proposal bore no fruit” because the newspaper “was already in financial difficulty.”<sup>22</sup> It did, however, prompt Kirby to contemplate the idea, suggested by Sulte in the letter in which he discussed terms for the translation, of selling a “French text ... to Paris.”<sup>23</sup> This was especially important to Kirby because he did not own the copyright of *The Chien D’Or*, and he had heard from the federal Department of Agriculture, which administered Canadian copyrights, that if he could “copyright a French translation in France,” he could, “by a deposit, made at the Stationers’ Hall, in London, of the French book, acquire the privilege of a British copyright, in accordance with the International Treaty on copyright, between France and the United Kingdom.”<sup>24</sup>

Kirby pursued the idea of a French version of *The Chien D’Or* published in Paris in the letters that he exchanged in January 1884 with Louis Fréchette, the well-known French-Canadian poet. In a letter dated 17 January, Fréchette reminded Kirby that they had already discussed the possibility of his translating the “interesting novel Le Chien d’Or.” He had since been “offered so much a page by one of our literary journals,” and he “would like to know on what condition or terms” Kirby “would allow” him “to accept.” The amount that he would be paid for the translation, he added, was “only a trifle and not perfectly determined yet,” but he was “anxious, in the interest of” French-Canadian literature that Kirby’s “book should be published

<sup>19</sup> “ne devrait pas être traduit.” See ALS, Benjamin Sulte to William Kirby, 9 April 1877, The Sulte Correspondence, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1634, A-2.

<sup>20</sup> “tous les éléments qui composent une littérature nationale.” See ALS, Benjamin Sulte to William Kirby, 17 May 1877, The Sulte Correspondence, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1634, A-2.

<sup>21</sup> “quelque écrivain Canadien-français.” Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Hayne, “*The Golden Dog* and *Le Chien d’or*.”

<sup>23</sup> “texte français ... à Paris.” See ALS, Benjamin Sulte to William Kirby, 28 February 1880, The Sulte Correspondence, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1634, A-2.

<sup>24</sup> ALS, Joseph-Charles Taché, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, to Josiah Burr Plumb, 10 March 1880, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

in both languages.”<sup>25</sup> In his reply of 21 January, Kirby stated that his novel was “essentially a French book and ought to have been translated long ago.” Expressing his hope to have it published “in Paris,” his need to have “interim copyright,” and his wish to “share equitably” in any profits, he asked Fréchette to make him an offer.<sup>26</sup> In the same month the pair exchanged another set of letters about the translation, but a deal was not reached.

It was François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel who finally succeeded. A lawyer, journalist, and politician, who also wrote essays and pamphlets to support his views, Trudel was known throughout his life for his “unshakeable attachment to the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy” and his commitment to “militant Catholic action.” A follower of “ultramontanism,” especially as it was conceived in France in the nineteenth century, he believed in the “supremacy” of the Roman Catholic Church in every sphere of human life and, therefore, in the subordination of the state to the church.<sup>27</sup> Appointed to the Senate of Canada in 1873 by Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, by the early 1880s Trudel’s relationship with the Conservative Party was becoming increasingly uneasy as he accused those who represented its Quebec wing in particular of being too willing to compromise the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church in their political decisions. His main reason, in fact, for establishing the *Etendard* in 1883 was to provide a venue for publishing ultramontane views. And, although it was not supported by all the clergy, the *Etendard* was reasonably successful during the 1880s. The newspaper issued a morning, noon, and evening edition each day, as well as publishing a weekly version. Already in 1883 it had a total circulation of over 9,000 among its “preferred public” of “clergymen, politicians, professionals, ‘citoyens éminents,’ and teaching and religious institutions,” and it had become the “ultramontane flagship in Montreal.”<sup>28</sup> One of the items it regularly provided for this readership was a “feuilleton,” or serialised novel.

On 24 April 1884 Trudel informed Kirby that he had just finished reading *The Chien D'Or* and that, among others, Sulte had recommended that he approach the author about a project that he was meditating. This was “to publish as a serial ... in the ‘Etendard,’ then to put out as a volume” Kirby’s “admirable Canadian novel.”<sup>29</sup> He was particularly interested in this enterprise because the work offered “a very

<sup>25</sup> ALS, Louis Fréchette to William Kirby, 17 January 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>26</sup> Holograph copy, William Kirby to Louis Fréchette, 21 January 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>27</sup> Nadia F. Eid, “Trudel, François-Xavier-Anselme,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11: 1881–1890 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 891–95.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 63.

<sup>29</sup> “celui de publier en feuilleton, dans ... ‘L’Etendard,’ puis mettre en volume votre admirable roman Canadien.” See ALS, François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel to William Kirby, 24 April 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

precious Christian and moral teaching.”<sup>30</sup> As the translator he suggested Félicité Angers, who wrote using the pseudonym Laure Conan. The “first woman in French Canada to pursue a literary career,” she was the author of *Angélique de Montbrun*, the psychological novel set in nineteenth-century Quebec that had been serialised in the *Revue Canadienne* in 1881–82, and that was published in volume form in 1884. She was also “fluent in English.”<sup>31</sup>

The publisher wanted, however, “some details modified,”<sup>32</sup> including the shortening of passages, the deletion of repetitions, the correction of errors in history, and the omission of “certain allusions to religious divisions that have been denatured and that would unnecessarily offend a great number of readers.”<sup>33</sup> His specific example of the last was “The Market Place on St. Martin’s Day,” the chapter that describes the scene in the market place of Quebec just before the murder of the Bourgeois Philibert. It narrates, among other religious matters, the sermon of “Padre Monti, an Italian newly arrived in the colony,” in which the Jesuit “enlarge[s] upon the coming of Anti-Christ and upon the new philosophy of the age, the growth of Gallicanism in the colony, with its schismatic progeny of Jansenists and *Honnêtes Gens*, to the discouragement of true religion and the endangering of immortal souls.”<sup>34</sup> Trudel also named the improbable scene in the convent where Amelie dies in the arms of Pierre, and some love scenes between the various couples that were “a little too free.”<sup>35</sup> There were, he added, “some liberties that the severity of our customs does not allow, even between those who are engaged.”<sup>36</sup> But, Trudel reassured Kirby, apart from the overlong passages and the “St. Martin” chapter, “all the other modifications would account for perhaps no more than twenty lines in all.”<sup>37</sup>

Over the next month Trudel and Kirby continued to discuss the translation. In his letter of 3 May 1884, the former reported that Conan had refused to translate the novel. Sulte, whom he had also asked, did not have time to do it. He proposed, therefore, that Pamphile Le May, the librarian at the Quebec Legislative Assembly, the translator of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s *Evangeline A Tale of Acadia* (1847), and a poet and novelist in his own right, should do the translation. On 16 May 1884

<sup>30</sup> “un enseignement chrétien & moral très précieux.” Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Manon Brunet, “Angers, Félicité,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15: 1921–1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 27–31.

<sup>32</sup> “quelques modifications de détails.” See ALS, François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel to William Kirby, 24 April 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>33</sup> “certaines allusions à des divisions religieuses qui ont été dénaturées & qui froisseraient inutilement grand nombre de lecteurs.” Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> *The Chien D’Or* (1877), 597.

<sup>35</sup> “un peu trop libres.” See ALS, François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel to William Kirby, 24 April 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>36</sup> “quelques libertés que la sévérité de nos mœurs n’admettent pas, même entre fiancés.” Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> “tout le reste des modifications ne comprendraient peut-être pas plus d’une vingtaine de lignes en tout.” Ibid.

Trudel wrote to Kirby that he was in the process of making the necessary arrangements, and on 2 June 1884 Le May himself sent the author a letter. He wished to know who had the rights to translate *The Chien D'Or*. Was it Fréchette or Trudel? If it were Fréchette, he was prepared to cede them. Trudel, he added, would pay him “a little something to do this translation.”<sup>38</sup>

By early June 1884 Trudel and Kirby had concluded their negotiations. They had agreed that Kirby would copyright the translation in Canada in his name, but that he would give the rights to it to the *Etendard* for five years. Kirby also promised not to approve another translation during this time. Trudel would pay Kirby nothing for the serial; instead he would give the author a royalty of 10% when the translation was published in volume form. The serial would begin to appear “some time between June and September 1884.”<sup>39</sup> Trudel had originally hoped that the first parts of the serial would be ready in time for “our great national holiday of St. John the Baptist on 24 June.”<sup>40</sup> In the letter of 31 May 1884, in which Trudel enclosed a copy of the formal agreement with Kirby, he explained, however, that the pressure of Le May’s work as the Parliamentary Librarian coupled with “the special care” he intended “to give to the translation” meant that it would not be ready for “the 24 June” commencement.<sup>41</sup>

In the months following their agreement, there was various correspondence among Kirby, Le May, and Trudel. On 5 July 1884, for example, Kirby wrote to Trudel that the part of the translation sent to him was “very good, with the exception of those passages that were being toned down.”<sup>42</sup> He would not create a fuss, “but one must not soften [the novel] too much.”<sup>43</sup> On 30 November 1884 Le May reported to Kirby that he had just finished his translation of the novel, which he praised highly for the knowledge that it showed of French Canada and Roman Catholicism. He concluded, “You possess our history and you have become intimately acquainted with our customs. Thank you! In the name of my compatriots. A thousand times—Thank you!”<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> “quelque peu pour faire cette traduction.” See ALS, Pamphile Le May to William Kirby, 2 June 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>39</sup> Agreement between “the *Etendard* newspaper of Montreal” and William Kirby, 26 May 1884, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1648, E-9.

<sup>40</sup> “notre grande fête nationale de la St. Jean Baptiste, le 24 juin.” See ALS, François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel to William Kirby, 16 May 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>41</sup> ALS, François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel to William Kirby, 31 May 1884, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1648, E-9.

<sup>42</sup> “très bonne, à l’exception toujours de ces adoucissemens.” See ALS, William Kirby to François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel, 5 July 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>43</sup> “mais il faudra bien ne pas trop adoucir.” Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> “Vous possédez notre histoire et vous avez penché dans l’intimité de nos usages. Merci! au nom de



During these months Trudel puffed his “feuilleton” in various ways in the *Etendard*. On 1 August 1884 he announced that the translation of “Le Chien D’Or,” this “admirable” novel, was coming along quickly and promised to be a great success. In fact, “the riches of the French language often permit the translator to render in a still more poetic manner the thought of the author.”<sup>45</sup> The work, Trudel concluded, was in every way “the glorification of our ancestors ... an apotheosis of our young country.”<sup>46</sup> Six days later, on 7 August, Trudel notified readers that the serialisation of this “most Moving of Historical Novels”<sup>47</sup> would begin in his newspaper about the twenty-fifth of the month. He also provided practical information. The translation was being printed in the newspaper in a way that would make it available in book form without its having to be set again. Subscribers to the weekly *Etendard* would receive the serial in separate parts. Subscribers to the daily, who had paid for a year in advance, would be entitled to two paperback volumes of “500 pages each.”<sup>48</sup> Those who were not paying in advance would have a chance to get the two volumes at half price if they bought a year’s subscription. On Wednesday 27 August the newspaper announced that this “admirable Canadian work”<sup>49</sup> would begin on Saturday. It particularly recommended the serial even to those who did not usually read novels, including “educated men,”<sup>50</sup> members of the clergy, and all those “who occupy themselves with our national interests.”<sup>51</sup> The notice concluded, “*Would that all French Canadians read therefore ‘Le Chien d’Or!’*”<sup>52</sup> As promised, the first issue of “Le Chien D’Or! Légende Canadienne” appeared on 30 August 1884. It ran in one or two columns on the front page of each of the 138 issues of the *Etendard* from that date until 16 February 1885.

Several weeks later, on 15 October 1884, the newspaper included a letter from Quebec dated 10 October and entitled “Une Oeuvre Nationale.” Its writer, who signed himself “Patriote,” a loaded term in French-Canadian history because of its association with the Lower Canadians who rebelled against the British in 1837 and 1838, stated that he never read novels. He had, however, been convinced by his wife to peruse this “chef-d’œuvre” that rendered such a great homage “to our

mes compatriotes. Mille fois — Merci!” See ALS, Pamphile Le May to William Kirby, 30 November 1884, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>45</sup> “les richesses de la langue française permettent au traducteur de rendre souvent d’une manière plus poétique encore la pensée de l’auteur.” See “Le Chien D’Or. Prochain feuilleton de *L’Etendard*,” *Etendard* (Montreal), 1 August 1884, 2.

<sup>46</sup> “la glorification de nos ancêtres ... une apotheose de notre jeune patrie.” Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> “Roman Historique des plus Emouvants.” See “Le Chien d’Or,” *Etendard* (Montreal), 7 August 1884, 2.

<sup>48</sup> “500 pages chacun.” Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> “admirable ouvrage canadien.” See “Littérature Canadienne. Le Chien D’Or,” *Etendard* (Montreal), 27 August 1884, 2.

<sup>50</sup> “hommes instruits.” Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> “qui s’occupent de nos intérêts nationaux.” Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> “*Que tous les Canadiens-Français lisent donc ‘Le Chien d’Or!’*” Ibid.

religion and to our nationality.”<sup>53</sup> Now he was recommending it wholeheartedly to his children, his friends, and, most importantly, to those who gloried in the name of “patriote” itself.

Despite this glowing review, in early March 1885, before the novel appeared in volume form, Trudel wrote to Kirby to lament that he had had difficulty persuading the administrators of his newspaper to publish it as a book. The novel had not been a popular serial, and it had been criticised for its morality. He had, therefore, to retouch “certain expressions”<sup>54</sup> to make them more acceptable, particularly to his Roman Catholic readers. For this reason too, Trudel had emphasised in the introduction that he had prepared for *Le Chien D'Or* that Kirby was an “English Protestant.”<sup>55</sup> The additional material, however, was mainly intended to remind readers that “*Le Chien d'Or*” was “a superb homage made to our French-Canadian ancestors.”<sup>56</sup> This message was repeated in “La Légende du Chien D'Or,” an article that preceded the main text, and in notes on the text. Trudel concluded the article by reprinting the prospectus that he had prepared for the novel and that ended by urging “all French Canadians”<sup>57</sup> to read the work.

In its issue of 30 March 1885, the *Etendard* began advertising *Le Chien D'Or / Légende Canadienne* in two “handsome”<sup>58</sup> volumes that cost one dollar for a deluxe set and seventy-five cents “On ordinary paper.”<sup>59</sup> Copies could be purchased at the bookstores or from the *Etendard* office. On 4 April a review of the translation that called it “remarkable for its ease and purity of language” and deemed it worthy of “perusal” appeared in the *Montreal Daily Star*.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps because of the political and religious views of Trudel and the *Etendard*, however, the translation does not seem to have been reviewed in the French-language press. Nevertheless, in May 1885, answering an enquiry from Kirby, Le Moine explained that although he had not seen reviews in “the French papers of Montreal,” what he had “heard” about *Le Chien D'Or* “was favorable.”<sup>61</sup> The next month William Henry Withrow, the Methodist minister, author, and editor who frequently advised Kirby on literary matters, reported to his friend, who was absent from a meeting of the Royal Society of Canada

<sup>53</sup> “à notre religion et à notre nationalité.” See Patriote, “Une Oeuvre Nationale,” *Etendard* (Montreal), 15 October 1884, 2.

<sup>54</sup> “certaines expressions.” See ALS, François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel to William Kirby, 6 March 1885, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>55</sup> “anglais protestant.” Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> “un superbe hommage rendu aux ancêtres des Canadiens-Français.” See Les Editeurs, “Pourquoi *Le Chien D'Or* Traduit en Français,” in William Kirby, *Le Chien D'Or / Légende Canadienne*, translated by L. P. LeMay, 2 vols. (Montreal: Imprimerie De *L'Etendard*, 1884), 1.v.

<sup>57</sup> “tous les Canadiens-Français.” See “La Légende du Chien D'Or,” in *Le Chien D'Or* (1884), 1.6.

<sup>58</sup> “beaux.” See “Le Chien D'Or,” *Etendard* (Montreal), 30 March 1885, 3.

<sup>59</sup> “Sur papier ordinaire.” Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> “New Books,” *Montreal Daily Star*, 4 April 1885, 3.

<sup>61</sup> ALS, James MacPherson Le Moine to William Kirby, 11 May 1885, The LeMoine Correspondence, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1634, A-1.

in Ottawa, "Much interest was expressed by some of the French members in the translation of the *Chien d'or*."<sup>62</sup> Still, as Trudel wrote to Le Moine on 13 February 1886, the expenses of publishing and translating the novel were not recovered by the newspaper; Le Moine had previously told Kirby that he had been informed that Le May was "to get \$400 to translate it."<sup>63</sup> "Success," thus, had "not crowned this attempt to have such an eminently Canadian book read and appreciated."<sup>64</sup> Despite this, Trudel added, he did not regret the money that was lost, and he would do his best to pay Kirby according to their contract.

Since the *Etendard* edition of *Le Chien D'Or* was not profitable, Kirby apparently received no royalties. Although he obtained the Canadian copyright for the translation in April 1885, he did not manage to get it published in France. The French version, however, did make its way in Quebec. In 1926, twenty years after Kirby's death, a second edition of *Le Chien D'Or* was published there by Librairie Garneau. It had a preface written by Sulte, several "Notes Historiques" that he had also prepared, and a text slightly revised and polished by Le May, who had "lovingly"<sup>65</sup> worked on his translation "in the last years of his life."<sup>66</sup> In his preface Sulte praised the novel highly for, among other reasons, showing that French Canadians had "a collective soul."<sup>67</sup> This new edition received at least two enthusiastic reviews, one by Damase Potvin in the *Terroir* in June 1926, another by Gérard Malchelosse in the *Revue Nationale* in June 1927. Potvin particularly admired the novel because it made French Canadians see that they had "an heroic history."<sup>68</sup>

A reprint of the 1926 edition was issued in 1971 by Éditions Garneau. Briefly noticed in the Montreal *Devoir* on 28 July of that year as "A novel written in the last century by a Quebec Anglophone,"<sup>69</sup> four days earlier it had been advertised for sale in the same newspaper for "\$4.95."<sup>70</sup> "In this book," the announcement proclaimed, "the author makes a colourful evocation of the events that constitute the outline of the history of New France over the course of the first part of the eighteenth

<sup>62</sup> ALS, William Henry Withrow to William Kirby, 8 June 1885, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>63</sup> ALS, James MacPherson Le Moine to William Kirby, 20 February 1885, The LeMoine Correspondence, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1634, A-1.

<sup>64</sup> "le succès n'a pas couronné cette tentative de faire lire & apprécier un livre si éminemment canadien." See ALS, François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel to William Kirby, 13 February 1886, Correspondence with Publishers, William Kirby Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, F-1076, MU1635, A-6.

<sup>65</sup> "amoureuusement." See Les Éditeurs, "Un Mot au Lecteur," in *Le Chien D'Or* (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1926), 1.7.

<sup>66</sup> "dans les dernières années de sa vie." Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> "une âme collective." See Benjamin Sulte, "Préface," in *Le Chien D'Or* (1926), 1.11.

<sup>68</sup> "une héroïque histoire." See Damase Potvin, "A Propos du 'Chien d'or,'" *Terroir* 7 (June 1926): 264.

<sup>69</sup> "Un roman écrit au siècle dernier par un anglophone québécois." See Robert Guy Scully, "Lectures," *Devoir* (Montreal), 28 July 1971, 8.

<sup>70</sup> Advertisement, *Devoir* (Montreal), 24 July 1971, 9.

century.”<sup>71</sup> Another reprint of the 1926 edition was issued in Montreal by Stanké in 1989. It had a preface by Roger Lemelin, the author of *Les Plouffes* (1948), a well-loved work about life in Quebec, who called it a “great novel,”<sup>72</sup> and a “Dossier” of extracts of comments made by various critics on Kirby’s work.

But what was the French translation of *Le Chien d’or / The Golden Dog*? Firstly, it was shorter than the 1877 English edition. The former contains about 208,000 words; the latter, about 260,000. One reason for this abbreviation was Le May’s “very free” rendering of Kirby’s story, in which he had “followed the same principles” he had applied to his translation of *Evangeline*. For this poem, he explained, he had not pretended to make “an entirely literal translation”;<sup>73</sup> rather, while retaining the ideas, he had added and subtracted words and passages. Another reason was most likely the need to hurry his work in order to meet even Trudel’s revised timetable for publishing the serial.

A third reason was the publisher’s desire to delete material that might disturb his conservative, ultramontane, Roman Catholic readers for moral or religious reasons. This impulse can be seen in the changes made to the text before the translation appeared in volume form. In Chapter 33, “On with the Dance,” for example, Madame de Grandmaison and her friend Madame Couillard discuss the behaviour of Angelique des Meloises at the Intendant’s ball. Madame Couillard recounts an anecdote about the beauty who, while a pupil of the Ursulines, “once vexed the entire convent, by challenging them all, pupils, nuns and postulantes to match the perfect symmetry of her foot and leg.”<sup>74</sup> Le May translated this passage as “One day in the convent she made everyone—the students, the novices, the reverend mothers—blush with indignation. She wished to bet that she had the most beautiful foot and the most beautiful leg.”<sup>75</sup> Although the translation as it appeared in the newspaper strengthened the dismay felt in the convent at the coquette’s actions, the passage was further altered in its volume form by the omission of “and the most beautiful leg,” deemed too risqué no doubt because of the possible sexual connotations of a woman showing her legs.<sup>76</sup>

The most shortened chapter is Chapter 53, “The Market Place on St. Martin’s Day,” where the entire section about Padre Monti was cut. Part of it was replaced with a correction in the form of a note to Kirby’s comment that the “Vatican ... thundered” at the Jesuits prior to their being driven out of France and other countries

<sup>71</sup> “Dans ce livre l’auteur fait une évocation colorée des événements qui constituent la trame de l’histoire de la Nouvelle-France au cours de la première partie du XVIIIe siècle.” Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> “grand roman.” See Roger Lemelin, “Préface: Roger Lemelin Relit *Le Chien D’Or*,” in *Le Chien d’Or* (Montreal: Stanké, 1989), 1.9.

<sup>73</sup> “une traduction tout à fait littérale.” See Hayne, “*The Golden Dog* and *Le Chien d’or*.”

<sup>74</sup> *The Chien D’Or* (1877), 343.

<sup>75</sup> “Au couvent, un jour, elle fit rougir d’indignation tout le monde: les élèves, les novices, les mères. Elle voulait parier qu’elle avait le plus beau pied et la plus belle jambe.” See “Le Chien D’Or!” *Etendard* (Montreal), 3 December 1884, 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Le Chien D’Or* (1884), 1.443.

in Europe.<sup>77</sup> The note, attached to Le May's "the Holy See ... thundered,"<sup>78</sup> explained, "This is an error. The Holy See did not condemn the Jesuits. Because of the implacable hatred let loose against the Company of Jesus, it thought its duty was to pronounce the dissolution of the order, as a general of an army sometimes frees his best troops."<sup>79</sup>

Still another reason for the shortening derived not so much from Le May following Trudel's desire for a morally upright and religiously pure text as from his own beliefs as a French Canadian with anti-English and republican tendencies. Thus, in many passages of his translation he deleted Kirby's allusions to English literature; he downplayed his references to royalty, even when they referred to the French monarchy; and he revised statements by Kirby that gave as much prominence to the church as to the state. In "Confidences," Chapter 4 of *The Chien D'Or*, for example, Angelique des Meloises and Amelie de Repentigny discuss Pierre Philibert, whom the former compares to "the knight errant Fortunatus," a character in, among other works, Thomas Dekker's comedy *Old Fortunatus* (1600). In the same conversation Angelique, defending the Intendant Bigot, asserts that "the *Honnêtes gens*" oppose him because he "makes every one, high and low, do their *devoir* to Church and State." Amelie, replying to Angelique's praise of Bigot, reminds her that he "lost the Province" of Acadia "for the king."<sup>80</sup> In Le May's translation the reference to Fortunatus was omitted; Bigot forced "all citizens, whatever their rank, to carry out their duties to the State"<sup>81</sup> only; and he had merely "lost the Province"<sup>82</sup> of Acadia.

While the English and more general European literary and historical contexts of Kirby's text were diminished, the French-Canadian subject matter was frequently expanded. In Chapter 2, "The Walls of Quebec," for example, Kirby's references to the Recollet fathers, their Easter eggs, and their dog that he had taken from his copy of Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé's *Mémoires* (1866) were made specific in Le May's translation through the addition in notes of the relevant passages from Aubert de Gaspé's text. In the revised 1926 edition, Le May's version of *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog* was further grounded in French-Canadian history by Sulte's preface and his "Appendice: Notes Historiques." These notes in particular, on such subjects as the places of origin of the French in Canada, provided a good deal of information on French-Canadian culture. Commenting on Kirby's description of "the quays and magazines" of Quebec, where "the ships of Bordeaux, St. Malo and

<sup>77</sup> *The Chien D'Or* (1877), 596.

<sup>78</sup> "le Saint Siège ... foudroya." See *Le Chien D'Or* (1884), 2.226.

<sup>79</sup> "C'est une erreur. Le St.-Si[è]ge ne condamna pas les Jésuites. Il crut devoir, à cause des haines implacables déchaînées contre la Compagnie de Jésus, prononcer la dissolution de l'ordre, comme un général d'armée licencia quelquefois ses meilleures troupes." Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> *The Chien D'Or* (1877), 28–29.

<sup>81</sup> "tous les citoyens, grands et petits, à s'acquitter de leurs devoirs envers l'Etat." See *Le Chien D'Or* (1884), 1.45–47.

<sup>82</sup> "perdu la Province." Ibid.

Havre” were unloading their goods from France,<sup>83</sup> a passage in the first chapter of the novel that Le May had translated almost literally, Sulte explained that the French Canadians came from Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, and Saintonge rather than from Brittany.

The differences between Kirby’s novel and Le May’s translation are particularly evident in Chapter 59, its last chapter. Entitled in the English version “‘The Mills of God Grind Slowly’,” a line from Longfellow’s translation of the German aphorism “Retribution,”<sup>84</sup> Le May rendered it as “The Justice of God May Be Slow, For It is Sure.”<sup>85</sup> Both the English and the French versions begin with a description of Amelie’s funeral and continue with a report of what became of the principal characters. The one dramatic scene is set in 1777, when Canada is defending itself against the rebels in the Thirteen Colonies. Kirby’s narrative is continuous, however, whereas Le May’s is presented in 20 numbered sections, presumably for the ease of readers of the *Etendard* columns. Chapter 59 is twelve pages, or about 4,500 words in English. It is eleven pages in French, but the type size is bigger in the *Etendard* version and the French chapter has only about 3,000 words. Some of the changes are due to the fact of translation itself, some to Le May’s making the chapter more correct in the various ways requested by Trudel. In the opening paragraph, for example, Le May added material about the Roman Catholic ceremony for the burial of the dead and Pierre’s reactions to it as “he uttered a sob that mounted towards the sky along with the supplications of the virgins and the melodies of the organ.”<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, Le May’s account of Pierre Philibert’s death at the battle of Minden in 1759 is considerably shortened. Kirby described Pierre’s last moments “sweetened by the thought that his beloved Amélie was waiting for him on the other side of the dark river, to welcome him with the bridal kiss, promised on the banks of the lake of Tilly. He met her joyfully in that land where love is real, and where its promises are never broken!”<sup>87</sup> Le May wrote simply that Pierre “came at last to fall as a hero on the battlefield of Minden”<sup>88</sup> and, thus, excluded Kirby’s classical allusion, his omission of purgatory, and his suggestion of marital—and sexual—fulfilment in heaven.

In addition to these transformations in this chapter, there are others of a political nature. These particularly cluster about the “council of war ... in the great chamber of the Castle of St. Louis, under a wonderful change of circumstances!”—that is, an “English governor, Sir Guy Carleton,” presiding “over a mixed assemblage of

<sup>83</sup> *The Chien D'Or* (1877), 5.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 667.

<sup>85</sup> “La Justice De Dieu Peut Être Lente, Car Elle Est Certaine.” See *Le Chien D'Or* (1884), 2.284.

<sup>86</sup> “il jeta un sanglot qui monta vers le ciel avec les supplications des vierges et les mélodies de l’orgue.” *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *The Chien D'Or* (1877), 669.

<sup>88</sup> “vint enfin tomber en héros sur le champ de bataille de Minden.” See *Le Chien D'Or* (1884), 2.285.

English and Canadian officers.”<sup>89</sup> This is the scene in Kirby’s novel that in a sense is the culmination of his national vision of Canada as a bilingual and bicultural country united under a British monarch. Kirby lingered lovingly over this meeting. He stressed throughout his narration how, despite their continued remembrance of their past as citizens of, and fighters for, a French colony, the French Canadians had become “loyal and faithful subjects of England,” and how, thus, they “turned a deaf ear to the appeals of Congress and to the proclamations of Washington, inciting them to revolt.”<sup>90</sup> And he praised specifically the role of the clergy, who fought even unto death “the invasion of Arnold and Montgomery,” and that of the “officers and leaders of the Canadians,” who “now donned the English uniform, and led their countrymen in the defence of Quebec, with the same valor and with better success than when opposing Wolfe and Murray.”<sup>91</sup> Le May did not delete all these details, but he shortened them considerably. Kirby’s remarks about George Washington and, therefore, his reminder of the need to keep Canada free from the United States, as well as his statement about the Canadian officers and leaders wearing English uniforms, are omitted, for example.

Most importantly, Le May added the following three paragraphs about the suffering of French Canadians under English rule and their continued fight for freedom:

But the loyal Canadian had not emptied his chalice of bitternesses and his unwavering devotion was to remain without reward. The brazen looters of the old regime were succeeded by the proud petty tyrants of the conquering race, and the province was treated as a conquered country.

On the one hand, the authority armed with sticks; on the other, a population that was docile almost to the point of servility.

The fight was long. The colony had heroes; heroes of the peace and of the constitutional combats. It also had the blood of the martyrs. Now, the blood of the martyrs makes liberty grow.<sup>92</sup>

In these paragraphs Le May evoked a vision of French-Canadian nationalism that challenged the Canadian national vision of Kirby’s *Le Chien d’or / The Golden Dog*. In the last paragraph in particular, when he wrote of martyrs, Le May may well have been thinking not only of a Jesuit martyr like Gabriel Lalemant, “killed by the

<sup>89</sup> *The Chien D’Or* (1877), 671.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 672.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 673.

<sup>92</sup> “Mais le loyal Canadien n’avait pas vidé le calice des amertumes et son dévouement inaltérable devait rester sans récompense. Aux pillards éhontés de l’ancien régime, succédèrent les orgueilleux tyranneaux de la race conquérante, et la province fut traitée en pays conquis. D’un côté, l’autorité armée de verges; de l’autre, une population soumise presque jusqu’au servilisme. La lutte fut longue. La colonie eut des héros; les héros de la paix et des combats constitutionnels. Elle eut aussi le sang des martyrs. Or, le sang des martyrs fait germer la liberté.” See *Le Chien D’Or* (1884), 2.289.

Iroquois," allies of the British, in 1649,<sup>93</sup> but also of those Lower Canadians who fought on the side of the rebels in 1837 and 1838, some of whom were hanged and others of whom were sent into exile in Australia. In the last sentence, furthermore, when he switched to the present tense, it is entirely possible that he was reminding people of Louis Riel, the "Métis spokesman," who remains "one of the most controversial figures in Canadian history."

In 1868–70 Riel had led the fight in the Red River Settlement on behalf of the Métis who were protesting the organisation of the new province of Manitoba by "Canadians." One of these was Thomas Scott, "an Irishman and fervent Orangeman" who was executed on the orders of Riel in early March 1870.<sup>94</sup> This deed, which caused an outcry in Ontario, was defended in Quebec by, among others, Pamphile Le May, who wrote a "fiery poem"<sup>95</sup> addressed "To Those Who Demand the Head of Riel." Published in the *Canadien*, a Quebec newspaper, on 11 April 1870, it accused those who sympathised with "the infamous Scott"<sup>96</sup> of being "the insatiable tiger / who wishes to reign through terror."<sup>97</sup> According to Fréchette, this "glorification of Riel caused an uproar, arousing terrible outbursts of anger. It was thought for a while that Riel and his poet were going to be hanged with the same rope."<sup>98</sup> By 1884–85 Le May was keeping himself "aloof from political life."<sup>99</sup> Still, he could not have failed to know that, as he was completing his translation in the fall of 1884 and as its concluding parts were being published in the *Etendard* in the early winter of 1885, Riel had returned to the Northwest Territories and was becoming the leader of the movement that would result in the Northwest Rebellion in the spring and his hanging the following November.

Each of the successive printings of the translation of Kirby's *Le Chien d'or / The Golden Dog* represents a stage in its transmission that grounds it more firmly in the history, literature, and dominant religion of French Canada/Quebec. The differences between the French translation and the first version of Kirby's novel published in English, however, reveal shifts in Canadian politics in the late nineteenth century. The Confederation of 1867 and the subsequent nation-building of the new constitutional monarchy were motivated by values similar to those of Kirby. *The Chien D'Or* as it was published in 1877, in fact, articulated this vision of a bilingual and bicultural Canada. Almost from the beginning, however, tensions between English-speaking Protestants and French-speaking Roman Catholics created

<sup>93</sup> Léon Pouliot, "Lalemant, Gabriel," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1: 1000–1700 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 412–13.

<sup>94</sup> Lewis H. Thomas, "Riel, Louis," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11: 1881–1890, 736–52.

<sup>95</sup> Maurice Pellerin, "Le May, Pamphile," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14: 1911–1920, 644–46.

<sup>96</sup> "l'infâme Scott." See Pamphile Le May, "A Ceux Qui Demandent La Tête De Riel," *Canadien* (Quebec), 11 April 1870, 2.

<sup>97</sup> "le tigre insatiable / Qui veut régner par la terreur." *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Pellerin, "Le May, Pamphile."

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*



problems. While these differences were mostly held in check in the early years of Confederation—the execution of Thomas Scott in 1870 was an exception—they opened again in 1885 with the Northwest Rebellion and Riel’s hanging. Although Le May completed his translation in late 1884, in many ways it reflected these growing tensions. It still contained, of course, elements of what Kirby envisaged as the new Canada. But it mainly identified Canada as a French-Canadian nation. It emphasised as well the Roman Catholic character of French Canada and the centrality of the Roman Catholic Church in the young country’s future. At the same time, however, Le May’s liberal tendencies worked to diminish the translation’s image of the Church as the ultimate power and to exalt instead the sentiments, often profoundly anti-English, that Louis Riel came to embody for many French Canadians. Over one hundred and twenty years and many changes later, these tensions within Quebec and between Quebec and the rest of the country still play strategic roles in the history, language, literature, politics, and religion of the now multicultural Canadian nation.

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