

Translated Drama in Gaelic in Scotland to c.1950¹

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Introduction

In 1893 Catriona NicIleBhàin Ghrannnd / Katherine Whyte Grant outlined her motivation for translating Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) from German into Scottish Gaelic as follows:

I longed to give my Highland countrymen a delightful taste of the good things stored up in the literature of other nations, of people whom we consider as alien and foreign, yet with feelings and sympathies closely akin to our own. We need to have our sympathies extended; we need to get out of the few narrow grooves in which our thoughts are apt to run; to get above ourselves, so that our petty individuality may be merged in the good of the whole.

Grant's expression of the potential of translation would accord well with commentary on translation of drama into Scots. John Corbett notes that, 'If native drama affords the opportunity for the ethos of a community to be represented, positively or negatively, on stage, then translated drama gives an audience the chance to encounter 'otherness''. (2011: 95-96) Of course, literary translation, particularly, in minority language situations, can also act as a form of activism. Maria Tymoczko reminds us that

Translation is not simply a meeting of a self and an other, mediated by a translator. Often it is a way for a heterogeneous culture or nation to define itself, to come to know itself, to come to terms with its own hybridity... Thus, translators have a potentially activist role. (2010: 197-198)

Grant's political agency as a Gaelic translator and her reference to 'feelings and sympathies closely akin to our own', combined with her allusion to the opportunity for community development, will all be explored in further detail below.

This study of published play translations to c. 1950 examines the nature of otherness presented to Gaels and sheds light on the ways in which it was either exploited or suppressed. It does not cover original Gaelic plays from the period, which are dealt with elsewhere in this issue by Susan Ross. Neither does this article engage with drama among Gaelic communities in Canada and other diaspora communities. This exploratory investigation into translations will highlight a number of works deserving of further research and, it is hoped, also allow for a deeper understanding of the kinds of influences brought to bear upon

native Gaelic dramaturgists before 1950. To understand more about Gaelic translations is to understand more about the Gaelic literary system as a whole since Itamar Even-Zohar encourages us to remember that translated literature forms 'an integral system within any literary polysystem'. (2012: 163) This article also draws on and adds to the scholarship on the significance of drama translations in their own cultural contexts, such as the work of Hannah Amit-Kochavi on Hebrew translations of Arabic plays in Israel (2008) and the work of Louise Ladouceur on Canadian translations between French and English (2012). It also adds to the existing scholarship on literature translated into Gaelic. (Meek 2007; Black 2008; McClure 2009; Innes 2014) Play translations form a part of a larger corpus of literature translated into Gaelic at the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. This corpus would include works such as: *The Arabian Nights* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, translated by Iain MacRuairidh; Tolstoy's 'Where Love Is, God Is' and Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, translated by Eòin G. MacFhionghain; and extracts from the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyám, translated by Dòmhnall MacEacharn. (Laing 2006; Dunbar 2016; Kidd 2006c) This wider corpus of translated literature in Gaelic is deserving of further scholarly attention. This article can now be read in conjunction with Corbett's chapter on 'Translated Drama in Scotland' (2011) since it pays scant attention to Gaelic translations.

Research for this article has, for the first time, uncovered a total of twenty-six extant published Gaelic translations from the period. They are listed in an appendix, along with details of the original plays.² A number of the Gaelic translations were published with very little or no bibliographical detail. For instance, *Sìos chun na Mara* (1950) includes the information that it was 'air eadar-theangachadh le Dòmhnall MacGhille Mhoire' ('translated by Dòmhnall MacGhille Mhoire'). However, it does not mention that the author of the original was Stuart Ready, nor does it name the original title, *Down to the Seas*, of the English-language play. During the course of the research for this article it has been possible to access the Gaelic translations and the original plays for 24 out of 26 items in the corpus. In two instances, it was not possible to trace a copy of the play in its original language: *Dòmhnall Dearg* (1950) includes the information that the original play is 'The Five Year Plan', by Kenneth Stewart (Fort William); it appears to have been unpublished. Similarly, the English-language original of *Braid air a' Bhraid* (1935) seems not to have been published.

The appendix to this article acts as a resource capable of facilitating future research and is split into three sections: translations set outwith the Highlands; translations already set in the Highlands in the original play; translations 'domesticated' to a Highland setting. Of the total number, Grant's *Uilleam Tell* (1893) is one of only six set outwith the Highlands of Scotland. A further seven have been domesticated in the Gaelic translations. The remainder, and indeed the highest proportion of the corpus, is largely made up of translations of non-canonical plays with a Highland setting originally written in English or Scots by non-Gaelic speakers. Therefore, despite the notion that translated drama can

provide an encounter with otherness, the output of Gaelic translators during the period before the 1950s is rather more complex in that the alterity in the original plays is often provided by the portrayal of the Highlander and his language and culture. The Gael was already an exotic other in the original play in a large number of the texts under consideration here.

Thus, a large number of the published translations present a Gaelic audience with representations of themselves, written by 'outsiders'. The amateur performance context of competitions helps explain what might, therefore, appear to be a rather unexotic haul of Gaelic translations in terms of international dramatic traditions represented. Certainly, the corpus is somewhat unambitious if compared to play translations into the Irish language from French, Spanish and other languages during the same period. (Ó Siadhail 1993) Many of the translations under discussion in this article were staged at events such as the Scottish Community Drama Association or the Royal National Mòd, the annual event of An Comunn Gàidhealach. This investigation is reliant upon the verbal aspects of these play-translations: comparison of the published Gaelic translation with the published original. It is recognized that an understanding of the dynamics of their performance and the 'stage translation' (Espasa 2013) would undoubtedly provide further invaluable insights. However, to my knowledge, recordings of performances do not survive; as part of future research further use might be made of reviews to garner information on audience reception.

It is clear, also, that a greater number of translations were completed and performed in this period than are included in the appendix to this article but that many were not subsequently published. Reviews and advertisements from contemporaneous newspapers and periodicals provide evidence for the performance of a number of unpublished translations. For instance, the work of Priscilla Scott on women and the Celtic Revival in Scotland, has drawn attention to performances in Edinburgh in 1904, and again in Glasgow in 1907, of a Gaelic translation of Douglas Hyde's *Casadh an tSúgáin* ('The Twisting of the Rope'). (Scott 2013: 125-127) Hyde's Irish-language play is a dramatization of an Irish folktale in which an overbearing wandering poet, Ó hAnnracháin, is outwitted by his tormented hosts. (Dunleavy & Dunleavy 1991: 219) It was performed at Dublin's Gaiety in 1901. It was a huge success and a source of much inspiration for Gaelic Revivalist playwrights in Ireland (O'Leary 1994: 298; Ó Siadhail 1993: 27). Hyde's use of song and dance in the piece would have resonated with Gaelic *cèilidh*-house traditions and clearly those involved in the Scottish translation hoped to capitalize on its success. BBC sources, and issues of the *Radio Times*, highlight further Gaelic translations broadcast as radio plays in our period. For instance, Murchadh MacLeòid's *Ag Iarraidh Mnatha*, a translation of Anton Chekhov's *The Proposal*, was broadcast on April 10 1944 (BBC 1944; MacLeod 1969: 167); Lachlann MacFhionghuin's *An Tunnag Fhiadhaich*, a translation of Henrik Ibsen's *The Wild Duck*, was broadcast on June 6 of 1951 (BBC ALBA). These BBC translations were never published and it seems that the recordings and scripts are no longer extant. However, a number of other archives

and libraries do hold play scripts of unpublished translations. For instance, unpublished Gaelic translations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Measure for Measure* by Iain MacCormaic (1859-1947) have recently been discussed by this author. (Innes 2014) Also, a catalogue held by An Comunn Gàidhealach of their archive of Gaelic playscripts in Stornoway includes further unpublished translations and these are often undated. Thus, the history of translated drama in Gaelic in Scotland is evidently richer and more international than the published corpus of twenty-six, discussed in this essay, would suggest.

The first half of this article will concentrate on a Gaelic translation which represents the otherness of a foreign culture. It will be argued that a number of the translation choices exhibit the political agency of the translator. In the second half of the article we will examine a number of the plays in which the Gael was already the other in the English- or Scots-language original. The translation of such plays offers an opportunity to engage with the encounter between Gaels and playwrights who had endeavored to present them on stage in English or Scots. The second half will also contain some reference to the plays which were 'domesticated': plays in which the original cultural context has been transposed to a Highland setting.

Gaelic encounters with the Other : 'A bhean, am bhroilleach, tha thu a' dùsgadh doinnean de smuaintean nach 'eil tearuinte a ghiulan!' ('*Frau, welchen Sturm gefährlicher Gedanken weckst du mir in der stillen Brust!*')

Katherine Whyte Grant (1845-1928), born in Oban and brought up in Appin, was a prolific Gaelic writer and translator (Scott, 2013, p. 155). She published three plays: *Uilleam Tell* (1893), *Dùsgadh na Fèinne* (1908), *An Sgoil Bheag 's a' Mhaighdean Mhara* (1910); the latter two are children's plays. In the 1870s she had worked in Central Europe as a lady's companion, acquiring proficiency in German.³ *Uilleam Tell* first appeared in serial form on the pages of the *Northern Chronicle* between the beginning of September 1890 and the end of October 1891 (Grant). It was also published in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (Grant 1890-91) before publication as a stand-alone volume in 1893. Thus, the fact that this was published three times in short succession in the 1890s is indicative of its popularity at the time. Indeed, the Gaelic publisher Akerbeltz has in 2016 published a new edition of Grant's translation as part of their *An t-Àrd-ùrlar Beag* series of Gaelic plays. Her translation embraces features of cultural and linguistic difference and she had no fear of leaving some German vocabulary untranslated where she felt this appropriate. She explains in her Gaelic introductory note that she has left words such as *firm* (a stage of glacier) and *gemse* (chamois) untranslated, since no exact Gaelic equivalent exists. This minimal amount of foreign-language vocabulary in the Gaelic play would not allow us to understand Grant as engaging in 'foreignization' or 'exocitization' of the Gaelic text in order to create 'ethnodeviant' space in order

'to register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad'. (Venuti 1995: 15). Nonetheless, her occasional use of German vocabulary for culturally specific concepts does resist an attempt to completely "naturalize" the different culture, to make it conform more to what the reader of the translation is used to'. (Lefevere 2012: 207) The excerpt from Grant's introduction, noted previously, makes clear the aim of making something alien accessible.

Indeed, further evidence of her desire to have foreign cultures communicated to Gaelic audiences would be the choice of the play itself. Schiller had of course also written a play on a Scottish subject, namely *Maria Stuart* (1800). Grant, however, in choosing the Swiss folk-hero over the Scottish queen shows herself to be comfortable with the notion that her audience could suspend their disbelief that characters from Switzerland might speak to them in Gaelic. The translation of *Wilhelm Tell* into Gaelic would fit with contemporaneous tastes for theatrical romance, tragedy and heroism (Corbett 2011: 97) and indeed a search of the Scottish Theatre Archive shows that *William Tell* had been performed in Edinburgh in English as early as 1828 (STA). However, it is also difficult not to view Grant's choice as somewhat radical. It is surely reminiscent of later Scottish translators, such as Bill Findlay and John Byrne, who used translated drama as a 'distorting mirror' to reflect Scottish social problems and political corruption. (Corbett 2011: 100-101) Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* centres around oppression and debates the use of violence to overcome tyranny. Grant's translation uses the Gaelic terminology for local bureaucracy with which Gaelic communities were all too accustomed in the nineteenth century: *maor* ('factor'), *uachdaran* ('landlord'), *bàillidh* ('bailiff'), *croitearan* ('crofters'). This might be compared with Iain MacCormaic's careful selection of this vocabulary a generation or two later in his Gaelic novel with a nineteenth-century setting, *Dùn-Àluinn* (1912), as illustrated by Sheila Kidd. (2006a: 209) In the case of *Uilleam Tell*, the Swiss *Vogt* is not a direct equivalent of the Highland *maor* and Grant could have included it untranslated, as part of the group of inexact correspondences. Tymoczko illustrates how translators engage in 'a metonymic process' which allows them to participate in 'ideological struggles, to be engaged and partisan'. (2010: 198) Thus, Grant's metonymic choices which allow the *Vogt* to become the *maor* allow her to signal the contemporaneous political message for Gaels to be found in *Uilleam Tell*.

The political agency available to Grant as translator is illuminated further by the context of the translation and a number of other translation choices to be seen in *Uilleam Tell*. Grant had undertaken her translation of *Wilhelm Tell* in the 1880s which had seen much social unrest and civil disobedience against Highland landlords and their factors. The Crofters' War of the 1880s brought gunboats to Skye to try and restore order, and also saw the collecting and reporting of the Napier Commission along with continued unrest throughout the decade. Indeed, the concerns of the crofters, presented in English on the pages of Lord Napier's report resonate keenly with a number of key dialogues in

Uilleam Tell. For instance, grievances such as the following, from Angus MacInnes 'grocer and merchant', Peighinn Sobhraig, representing the families of South Cuil, Uig, in Skye notes his own experience of lack of land tenure and proper compensation for improvements when cleared off a particular site at the whim of the landlord and factors. He had been living in Peighinn Sobhraig but 'after having put up two or three houses and two stack-yards, corn-yards, and several other improvements, I lost the croft.'. (Napier Commission Evidence 1884, Vol. 1: 105)

The first scene of *Wilhelm Tell* has dialogue in which Staufacher tells his wife Gertrud about an interaction he had with the *Vogt* (translated by Grant as *maor*). Staufacher has built a beautiful new house but his tenure of the land is called into question by the spiteful factor as follows:

<p>O cheann a ghoirid, shuidh mi, mar an diugh, Fo'n chraoibhe so, a' beachdachadh le solas Air m' uile obair shnasmhor, choimhlionta, 'Nuair thain' o Chussnacht 'nuas, – an caisteal aige – Am Maor a' marcachd seachad le 'luchd-eich. Sheas e mu choinnimh 'n tighhe so le iognadh, Ach dh' eirich mi gu luath, 'toirt urraim dha Mar a bu choir, 's chaidh mi 'na choinneamh-san A chuir, le 'chumhachd tighearnail, an t-lompair' 'S an tir so thairis oirnn. Co leis an tigh? Le droch-run dh'fharraid e, 's deadh-fhios aig' air. Fhreagair mi, a' gabhail agam fhein gu h-ealamh, Tha'n tigh, le 'r cead, le'm thriath an t-lompaire, Leibhse, am Maor aige, a's leams' mar thuathanach. A's fhreagair esan:- 'S mis' an Tainistear 'Tha riaghladh na duthcha an ait' an lompair Cha'n i mo thoil-sa gu'n dèan</p>	<p>Vor dieser Linde saß ich jüngst wie heut, Das schön vollbrachte freudig überdenkend, Da kam daher von Küßnacht, seiner Burg, Der Vogt mit seinen Reisigen geritten. Vor diesem Hause hielt er wundernd an, Doch ich erhub mich schnell, und unterwürfig Wie sichs gebührt, trat ich dem Herrn entgegen, Der uns des Kaisers richterliche Macht Vorstellt im Lande. Wessen ist dies Haus? Fragt' er bösemeinend, denn er wußt es wohl. Doch schnell besonnen ich entgegn' ihm so: Die Haus, Herr Vogt, ist meines Herrn des Kaisers, Und Eures und mein Lehen – da versetzt er: "Ich bin Regent im Land an Kaisers Statt, und will nicht, daß der Bauer Häuser baue Auf seine eigne Hand, und also frei Hinleb, als ob er Herr wär in dem Lande,</p>
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tuathanach
Aitreabh mar so, air a làimh fhèin, a
thogail,
'S tigh'nn beo gu saor mar uachdaran 's
an tìr,
A's gheibh mi doigh gu grabadh a chur
oirbh.
Air so a radh dha, thar e air a rathad
A' marcachd as an ait gu h-ardanach.
(Grant 1893: 11)

Ich werd mich unterstehn, euch das
zu wehren."
Dies sagend ritt er trutziglich von
dannem.
(Schiller 1967: 14-15)

I sat under this lime tree recently, thinking how satisfactory things all were. When suddenly the Governor, with his troops, rode by from his residence at Kuesnacht. He halted there, before the house, in wonder, but I got up at once, and as I should, in all humility approached the man who is the Emperor's representative here in this country. Then, 'Whose is this house?' he asked maliciously, since he knew quite well. Answering quickly, but discreetly, I replied: 'This house, Lord Governor, is the Emperor's, my lord and yours, and held in fee by me.' 'I am the Viceroy of the Emperor,' he said, 'and do not wish the peasantry to build according to their own devices, and live there just as if they owned the land. I therefore am forbidding it, in your case.' So saying, he rode defiantly away.
(MacDonald 2005: 146)

This kind of dialogue, between factor and tenant, had already been fictionalised by Gaelic writers in the form of *Còmhradh* ('Conversations'); on these see Sheila Kidd's forthcoming work (2016). Kidd has alerted me to the existence of a number of such factor/tenant dialogues in the corpus from the 1870s. A bilingual *còmhradh*, in which the tenants speak in Gaelic and the proprietor and factor speak in English was published in *The Highlander* on the 2nd February 1881. Indeed imagined conversations between tenant and factor would later form a key part of Iain Crichton Smith's work in Gaelic and English, for instance in his Gaelic play *A' Chùirt* ('The Court')(Mac a' Ghobhainn 1966) (MacLeod 2011: 61-62). There are indeed many other examples from *Uilleam Tell* where Gaels might have been reminded of their own situation. For instance, Act 3: Scene 3 contains a discussion of rights over wild game, fowl and fish. In Act 2: Scene 1 Attinghausen implores his grandson Rudenz not to turn his back on the traditions and culture of his own people. Rudenz explains how deeply he is hurt by the mockery of 'der Fremdlinge' ('the foreigners'), translated by Grant as 'coigrich' ('foreigners'.) Yet in that same scene the land of those foreigners 'auf der fremden Erde' is translated by Grant as 'an tìr nan Gall'. 'Gall' is an evocative choice here, rather than the previously used 'coigreach', since while the semantic range of both can mean 'foreigner', Gall more commonly is used for 'Lowlander'. Therefore, for those accessing William Tell in Gaelic the use of Gall encourages a Highland/Lowland reading of the cultural and economic struggle portrayed by Schiller.

Gertrud goes on to incite her husband to wider rebellion against the injustice. This again is strongly reminiscent of the central role of women in the Highland land struggle. Indeed, Eric Richards writes that ‘Highland riots were women’s riots’. (Richards 2007: 71) Stauffacher replies as follows:

An tug thu ceart fa-near a’	Hast du auch wohl bedacht, was du mir
chomhairle a thug thu dhomh?	rätst?
Dhèanadh tu aimhreit gharbh a’s	Die wilde Zwietracht und den Klang der
fuaim airm-chogaidh ’ghairm a	Waffen
stigh do’n ghleann seo. (13)	Rufst du in dieses friedgewohnte Tal.
	(16)

But have you thought what you are asking of me? Discord and clash of arms are what you plan to bring into this peaceful valley (148)

Grant omitted *friedgewohnte* (‘accustomed to peace’) in her translation. We might surmise that in allowing nineteenth-century Gaels to gaze at fourteenth-century Switzerland Grant hoped to provide a sense of perspective for their own struggle against oppression. As shown above, with this translation she wanted to encourage Gaels to widen their knowledge of peoples ‘alien and foreign, yet with feelings and sympathies closely akin to our own’. Perhaps, given Highland history, ‘accustomed to peace’ seemed an uneasy fit as a description of a glen. Certainly, Grant would not be alone in using Gaelic literature on social injustice in other countries as an opportunity to reflect on similar issues at home. Kidd has posited that the Rev. Alasdair MacGregor’s anti-slavery writing in Gaelic in 1849 may have served a similar function. (Kidd 2006b) The use of *Uilleam Tell* to carry a coded message on injustice carried out by Highland landowners would also accord well with similar rhetoric on the position of the Highlands in Grant’s other writings. For instance, her poem ‘Cèilidh Dhùn-Ì’ (‘The Cèilidh of Dùn-Ì’) (Black 1999: 6-9) and the children’s play *Dùsgadh na Fèinne* both contain strong messages on Highland social injustice. It is unclear if Grant’s work was ever staged, although on publication some were clearly cognizant of the potential for its Highland application. One contemporaneous reviewer wrote of the song translations in the play that they are very ‘Highland in theme and sentiment.’. (s.n., June 1893: 144)

Uilleam Tell, as a case-study, confirms that translated plays, as well as original Gaelic plays, can deepen our understanding of Gaelic literary and theatrical endeavours. Attention to the metonymic choices of the translator and consideration of the context of the translation can allow this literature to be viewed as having served a cultural and political function for Gaelic Scotland which to date has been neglected. Otherness is exploited by Grant for its cultural, and perhaps social and political, potential benefit to her target community.

Gaelic encounters with the Gael as the other and Gaelic domestication: ‘To see ourselves as others see us’

We now turn to look at examples of plays already set in the Highlands in the Scots- or English-language originals and will also include brief mention of a number of plays where the setting is domesticated. Plays already set in the Highlands comprise half of the total corpus of published Gaelic play translations from the period before 1950. As will be shown here they give rise to the curious situation in which the Highlander is already the other. The majority of these were translations of one-act plays, published on behalf of An Comunn Gàidhealach and suitable for community amateur competitions and at Mòds and the Scottish Community Drama Association. A Highland setting may in fact have been mandatory in some of these drama competitions. Certainly, An Comunn's play-writing competitions for at least part of the period under review mandated subjects such as 'comedy representing Highland life'. (MacLeod 1969: 189) The sheer amount of Gaelic community drama activity in the early twentieth century must go some way to explaining the need to translate suitable one-act material from English or Scots. Michelle Macleod notes that 'there is a report of a drama festival held in North Uist in 1933, which attracted five teams from that island alone'. (Macleod 2011: 59) Indeed, the amateur-status and the impact of competition are both significant factors when considering the corpus of Gaelic drama, original and translated, in this period. (Macleod and Watson 2007: 280-81)

However, Derick Thomson also viewed the rise in translation as a symptom of the pressure brought to bear upon Gaelic literary and performance culture by English. He wrote

The external, but pervasive, culture creates norms which the minority one feels cannot be ignored, but must be encompassed, and translation is one of the uneasy compromises. In such ways we may explain the vogue, for example, of translation of plays in the 20th century. (Thomson 1986: 10)

Thomson's summary obscures the potential benefits for Gaelic dramatic practice of interactions with plays in other languages: new theatrical techniques and trends can be experienced on the Gaelic stage in translation and potentially have a positive impact on future Gaelic theatrical practice. For instance, see the article by Michelle Macleod on existentialism and the Absurd in this issue. Yet, Even-Zohar reflects on the processes which gives rise to translated texts heralding innovation for any literary system and confirms that it can lead to a 'relation of dependency'. (2012: 163-164) Indeed, the 'uneasy compromises' inherent in translating Scottish drama of the period, from English or Scots, are often manifest. These compromises will be discussed below and would include having to deal with stereotypical romanticised representations of Highland people and translations which had to contend with original plays that made much use of interactions between Highland and Lowland linguistic traditions.

A good number of the plays translated are from writers associated with the Scottish National Players during the 1920s and 30s. For instance, three plays by John Brandane (1869-1947) were translated: *Is leam fhìn an gleann* (1935) [*The Glen is Mine* (1925)], *Ruairidh Roimh-Ainmichte* (1937) [*Rory Aforesaid* (1926)], *An Tigh-Osda* (1950) [*The Change-House* (1921)]. One play by George Reston Malloch (1875-1953) *The Grenadier* (1930) was translated in 1950 as *Am Bàta Luath*. Two plays by John Alexander Ferguson were also tackled: *Caimbeulach na Cille Móire* (1950?) [*Campbell of Kilmhor* (1924)] and *Am Bodach Ròcais* (1951) [*The Scarecrow* (1922)].

Karen Marshalsay noted that the version of Scottish identity most often represented by the Players was rooted 'in the Highlands and in the past'. (Marshalsay 1992: 113) Other commentators have pointed to the stereotypical noble and kind-hearted but ultimately uncorrupted and child-like portrayal of Highlanders in many of the plays performed by the Players in the 1920s and 1930s. (Scullion 2002: 104; Brown 2013: 141-43; Hutchison 1998: 224-26) Of course, a Highland setting or subject matter is not automatically somehow instantly romantic or backwards. As noted by David Hutchison not all of these Highland-set plays rely equally heavily on tartantry and romanticism. (1998: 214)

It is, however, undeniable that many of the plays are full of clichés, and Gaels undertaking translations of Scottish Celtic Revival plays of the early twentieth century were often faced with notes from authors containing all sorts of stereotypical statements on Highlanders. John Alexander Ferguson's introductory note to *The Scarecrow* reads:

This play uses several of the old superstitious beliefs and practices which survived in the remote Highlands much later than elsewhere. These beliefs and practices lived on not only because of the remoteness but also because they had a firm hold on a sensitive and highly imaginative people. The policeman was not a favourite figure in the Highlands. (Ferguson 1922: 5)

Gérard Genette's work on paratexts reminds us of the importance of introductory notes and prefaces. We might note here that Ferguson's note, aimed at those involved in the play's production, constitutes a 'choice of a public' by presuming that reader and presumably ultimately the audience won't themselves be Highland. (Genette 1997: 212) It also acts as a 'contract of fiction' since it asserts that the fictitious play has a background in a wider historical reality. (Genette 1997: 215) It is intriguing that Ferguson felt the need to ensure that future staggers of the play would have this explanatory note. It is perhaps natural that the Gaelic translator, Lachlan MacFhionghuin, would omit any sort of preface involving introductory notes on the Highlands in a text aimed at Gaelic speakers. The stereotypical reductive tone of Ferguson's note may have also acted as further justification for MacFhionghuin not to translate it.

Yet despite some facile portrayals in early twentieth-century plays with Highland settings in English/Scots, some do reflect genuine interaction with, and knowledge of, Gaelic culture, albeit often combined with a thick dose of Romanticism. A number of the playwrights were resident in Highland areas, and thus it is too simplistic to portray all as outsiders looking in. Indeed at least one of the playwrights was from a Gaelic family background. Sergeant M. S. Macphail was the author of the *The Eagle's Claw*, translated by Dòmhnall MacThòmais into Gaelic and published under the title *Spuir na h-Iolair* in 1950. Macphail's sons Ian and Malcolm have kindly provided me with the original unpublished English-language play and inform me that their father was brought up in Glasgow by Gaelic-speaking parents from the Isle of Lewis (personal communication).

It should also be noted that there are a number of translations within the corpus outlined here which are in fact closer to collaboration. For instance, *Braid air a' Bhraid* (1935) is the work of Dr Somhairle Bartlett, the local doctor in Barra and Anna Niclain/Annie Johnston ('Annag Aonghais Chaluim'), a teacher on the island who is renowned for her contribution to studies of Gaelic folklore. Another play, *Deirdire* (1944), was published with facing page English and Gaelic versions. It uses as a source, the folklore-based Alexander Carmichael (ed.), *Deirdire and the Lay of the Children of Uisne* (1914). The production of the play appears, once again, to evidence much collaborative work between Gordon Bottomley and a husband a wife team, Dàibhidh Urchadan/ David Urquhart and Catriona Fionnghal Urchadan/ Catherine F. Urquhart. Catriona was originally from Liurbost in the Isle of Lewis and had won An Comunn's *Crùn na Bàrdachd* ('The Bardic Crown') in 1934. (Black 1999: 821; MacFhionghuin 1953: 96)

In examining the original plays it also becomes clear that some of the playwrights in this group were keen students of Gaelic literature and folklore. Bessie J. B. MacArthur (1889-1983), would be an example of the latter. MacArthur was born in Berwickshire and educated in Edinburgh (McMillan and Byrne, 2003, 283-84). Her literary output is not solely concerned with the Highlands. However her poem 'The Call of the Isles' is testament to her great passion for, but also whimsical Romantized views of, the area and Gaelic culture:

O! some folk dream of Italy and skies of sapphire blue,
And some they rave of Samarkand and cities of Peru;
But I would have the islands that lie dreaming in the West,
For din of the Atlantic surf is beating in my breast. (MacArthur 1934: 229)

She had close associations with Hugh MacDiarmid, William Soutar and Helen Cruickshank. (Bold 1984: 457) Indeed, something of the zeal for all things Highland and Gaelic among the set can be gleaned from a letter MacDiarmid wrote to MacArthur in 1937, in which he writes of a trip to the Western Isles and the Rough Bounds as, 'a perfect revelation to me – and has meant a kind of redirection of myself to Scotland'. (Bold 1984: 459) MacArthur's radio play *The*

Clan of Lochlann was broadcast by the Players in 1927. It has been described as 'a strange tale'. (Rubio 2000: 163) It is in fact based on a very common Gaelic folktale, often associated with the MacCodrum family and Uist. It is an international migratory legend, known in Scotland as 'the seal wife'. (Bruford and MacDonald 2003: 365-67; 477) In MacArthur's play the seal woman and the husband who keeps her trapped on land by hiding her pelt are joined by the man's mother. It is the mother-in-law who reunites the seal woman with her skin, adding some familial tension to the piece.

In common with a number of other Scottish plays of the period, MacArthur makes use of an exaggerated Hebridean or Highland English which seeks to portray Gaelic idiom. (Hutchison 1977: 51; Brown 2013: 143-144) There is some evidence to suggest that these varieties of English are themselves changing and perhaps aligning more closely to Scottish Standard English as language shift from Gaelic to English gathers pace. (Shuken 1984: 153) Therefore, Gaelic-influenced Hebridean/Highland English would have been a more commonly heard part of Scotland's linguistic mix in the early twentieth century than it is today. Of course, dramatic portrayals of those varieties of English have a wider literary context in the early twentieth century. Compton Mackenzie's use of Hebridean English and code-switching between Gaelic and English in *Whisky Galore* (1947) have been studied by David Cram (1981). Neil Munro had done something somewhat similar with the Para Handy series a few decades earlier. Moray Watson notes that Aonghas MacDhonnchaidh also played with dialects of English within the context of his Gaelic novel *An t-Ogha Mór* (1913). (2011: 52-53)

Highland English is integral to MacArthur's *The Clan of Lochlann*:

Iain: We had the rough weather in the Minch to-day.

Catriona: I'm thinking you had. Here is a dry jacket to you, and be taking off your boots. And had you the luck of the fishing?

Iain: I had not, Mother. Not often I will have the luck of the fishing in these days!

Catriona: Sure and that is true! And if it is little luck you will have at the fishing, it is less you will have at anything else.

Iain: Och! it is yourself is the cheery one to come home to!

In modern Scottish theatre criticism the use of Highland English combined with Gaelic interjections from this period has not been well received. (Hutchison 1977: 51; Brown 2013: 144) In a different set of cultural and political circumstances this sort of linguistic project, although debated, has been lauded by some as 'modernist'. For instance, there has been much scholarly attention devoted to J. M. Synge's use of English to represent the Irish language and indeed some argue for favourable reception of the initiative. Barry McCrea writes 'Synge's project is ultimately modernist and not Romantic... his is an English haunted by a knowledge of and longing for Irish... It is this elaborate inauthenticity that makes

Synge's work so modernist in inclination'. (2014: 67) Ian Brown writes of the Scottish examples that while they evidence a desire to create space for Scottish identities that include Gaelic, the practice can also act to represent a 'regressive and sentimental view of what Scottish life and character are'. (Brown 2013: 143-44) The staging of the absent language culture, be it modernism or romantic exoticism, is an essential element of these plays which becomes lost during the translation into Gaelic. If portraying the Gaelic 'other' is the key curiosity of many of these original plays then as soon as they are translated into Gaelic other features of the play must try to sustain the audience's interest.

Furthermore, when an 'other', namely the specific regional or cultural identity was stripped from the original play, it could on occasion lead to Gaelic translations which sent mixed messages about setting and the culture being portrayed. This is particularly true of the Gaelic translations of the plays by John Oswald Francis set in Welsh-speaking Wales. Indeed, it seems to have been something of a common issue for the Gaelic translations which attempted to domesticate plays to a Highland setting. Francis' dramatic output has recently been favourably re-evaluated by Alyce Von Rothkirch who argues that his plays often challenge the prevailing dominant stereotypes of Welsh people (2014). *The Poacher* was first performed in 1914 at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth for the Reunion of Old Students. In 1915 it was performed at the Coliseum, London by the 'Hopkins Family of Welsh Players'. (Marriott 1928: 233) A translation into Welsh, *Y Potsier*, appeared in print in c.1920 (Hughes). An Comunn pulished a Gaelic translation, *Am Poidsear*, in 1951. *Birds of a Feather*, was first performed in 1923 at the London School of Economics by the Welsh Society of the University of London. (Boas 1935: 238) A Welsh translation, *Adar o'r Unlliw*, was published in 1928 ([Morgan]) An Comunn's Gaelic translation, *Breac à Linne*, is undated but c.1950. Both original plays make much use of the Welsh language for exclamations, terms of endearment and so on. The disappearance of these is not particularly problematic. Although the directions of *Am Poidsear* retain the setting as 'air an tuath anns a' Chuimrigh' ('in the countryside in Wales') all the Welsh place-names, personal names, and speech are excised so that *Dicky Bach Dwl* becomes *Rob Beag Dùbhghlas*, '*Marged fach*' becomes '*a Mhairead, eudail*'. The play then operates largely within Gaelic cultural parameters, if the setting instructions are ignored. *Breac à Linne* is somewhat less successful in its Gaelification. The setting has become 'taobh an rathaid mhòir' ('beside the road') rather than the original 'a roadside in rural Wales'. Yet, the cultural markers are somewhat confusing, perhaps due to editorial problems rather than problems of translation itself. 'The Bishop of Mid-Wales' is first of all translated as 'Easbuig Chill Easdail' ('Bishop of Cill Easdail') but later translated as 'Àrd-Easbuig na Cuimrich' ('Archbishop of Wales')⁴; the local town, Pontewyn, is first translated as 'Eilean Tioram' but later appears as 'Ponton'.

Similar mixed messages can be seen in *An t-Airgiod-Cinn* (1950), the Gaelic translation of Lady Gregory's *The Rising of the Moon* (1907). At the

beginning of the play, when we first meet the policemen and sergeant, we hear the following of the escaped political prisoner, 'There isn't another man in Ireland would have broken gaol the way he did.' In Gaelic this setting remains as Ireland, 'Cha robh aon fhear eile an Eirinn a gheibheadh as mar a fhuair esan.' Yet the names of Irish towns and cities in the original have, in somewhat disorientating fashion, become Scottish: Cork has become Grianaig ('Greenock') and other specific Irish places are given generic Gaelic place-names. The songs in the original, associated with revolutionary Irish movements, (Regan 2004: 487) are absent in the Gaelic translation. For instance, in the original, following a verse of Granuaile, the sergeant complains, 'Stop that; that's no song to be singing in these times.' In Gaelic, in place of the specific verse, directions are given that the actor is 'A' seinn òrain gaoil' ('Singing a love song'). Thus, the inappropriate nature of the song heralded by 'chan e so am' ('in these times') becomes puzzling. Thus, the political struggle in question becomes harder to discern and leaves the ending statement of a future 'an uair a dh'ìslichear na h-uachdaran 'sa dh'àrdaichear na h-ìochdarain' ('when the small rise up and the big fall down') rather enigmatic. Thus, in this example otherness is suppressed by the translation and the original political commentary and use of the play becomes unrecognizable or lost entirely.

The playfulness inherent in representing other languages spoken in Britain and Ireland is lost in many of the Gaelic translations. Evan John's *Stranger's Gold* (1936) uses the linguistic differences between Elspeth, the Highland crofter's mother, and Maggie, her Lowland daughter-in-law:

Maggie: I dinna ken what else there is that'll keep him here in the glen.
 Elspeth: Maybe there's a wheen of things that you "dinna ken". There's more than one way we might be staying in the glen. I had a dream last night and there was gold in it, fine English gold.
 Maggie: A dream? I micht hae kent it. What good is the like o' that against evictions and Acts o' Parliament? Your heids are a' fu' of dreams and muskets and the ane's nae mair use than the tither before the wickedness o' your ain chiefs. Ye'll never learn sense till ye wake up in the morning and find yersel's in America!

In the translation, *Òr-Choigreach* (1950), this becomes:

Mairead: Chan eil dòigh eile air fuireach 's a' Ghleann.
 Ealasaid: Faodaidh tusa bhith saoilinn sin. Tha dòigh no dhà air am faodamaid fuireach. Chunnaic mi aisling a raoir, 's bha òr innte, òr breagha buidhe Shasuinn.
 Mairead: Aisling! Nach fhaodadh fhios a bhith agam. Chan 'eil sin ach faoineis an taice ri Achd Pàrlamaid agus bàirlingeadh. Tha ur ceann làn de bhruadaran is de mhusgaidean gun aon dhiubh gu feum an aghaidh olc nan uachdaran. Cha tuig sibh ciall gu bràth gus am faic sibh Cladach Ameriga.

The mimickry of the Lowland daughter-in-law's Scots is elided by the Gaelic translation. Also, the exasperation over the Highland mother-in-law's dream and tirade against 'your heads' and 'your ain chiefs' is clearly meant to be an address to *you Highlanders*. In the Gaelic translation of this section the castigation has moved away from this to 'ur ceann' ('your head') and 'olc nan uachdaran' ('the evil of the landlords'). Thus, rather than the Highland people's own chiefs being implicated we get the somewhat more distant 'landlords'. This is of course reminiscent of the ideologically-driven metonymic process discussed in the first half of this article. The blame for economic hardship is laid at the feet of Highland chiefs in the original Scots but the Gaelic 'landlords' can shift that blame. The removal of the clear distinction between Lowland and Highland in-laws, in speech and references, is not necessarily misguided. However, it is noteworthy that nothing is put in its place in *Òr-Choigreach*. The Gaelic of the Lowland woman is not manipulated to underline her difference in some way or to mark her as a learner of Gaelic, as Michelle Macleod's work (2014) has taught us to recognize in other Gaelic plays; neither is use made of diverse Gaelic dialects, a technique used by MacCormaic in *Dùn-Àluinn*. (1912: 209)

A similar case would be the translation of Robert McLellan's *The Cailleach* (1946). The Scots-language play is set in the Isle of Arran in 1652 and contains a sequence where the Kerr family are visited by Mary MacKillop, Mary's dialogue is in Scots but more marked by Gaelic vocabulary than the others. An altercation between the daughter of the house and the visitor leads to a discussion between mother and daughter on their own mixed Highland and Lowland heritage:

Flora: She was aa richt till ye sterit to flyte. Ye caaed her an auld Hielan beldam.

Janet: I couldna thole her glower.

Flora: We're like to pey for it nou then. Janet, I fear for yer faither. She saw a lamb in the breckans, she said, aside a deid tup.

Janet (*starting to stir the pot without replacing it on the fire*). Hielan havers.

Flora: It ill becomes ye to talk like a queyn frae the Lallans, whan yer're hauf Hielan yersell. Dinna forget that I'm a MacMillan, and I tell ye we wha hae the Hielan bluid see deeper than yer Kerrs and Kelsos.

The Gaelic translation is as follows:

Fionnghal: Bha i math gu leòir gus an do thòisich thus oirre. Chuir thu oirre nach robh innte ach seann bhan-bhuidse Ghàidhealach.

Seònaid: Cha b' urrainn dhomh as a' choltas a bha 'na sùilean.

Fionnghal: Tha e coltach gum bi daor an ceannach again air a nis. Tha eagal orm gun tàinig rud-eigin ri t'athair, a Sheònaid. Thubhairt i gum fac i uan 's an rainich, ri taobh reithe mhairbh.

Seònaid: (*aig a' mhaide-choire is a' phoit air an làr*). Còrr de a baothalachd Ghàidhealach.

Fionnghal: Is olc a thig e dhuit-sa bhith bruidhinn mar phitheid Ghallda agus thu fhéin Gàidhealach air an dàrna taobh. Biodh cuimhne agad gur ann de Chloinn Ic Mhaoilein mise, agus tha mise ag ràdh riut gu bheil againne anns a bheil fuil nan Gàidheal sealladh diomhair nach 'eil aig na Goill.

Here we see castigation of the daughter for talking 'like a queyn frae the Lallans' for having used 'Hielan havers' to refer to Highland traditions of second sight and premonition. However, the notion that all characters are not meant to be Highland and Gaelic-speaking comes as something of a shock in the Gaelic translation since the marking of Mary's speech as different (use of Gaelic vocabulary). One wonders what audiences might have made of the sudden accusation that Seònaid is speaking like a 'pitheid Ghallda' ('Lowland prattler') during a staging of *A' Chailleach*. Thus, plays hoping to reflect something of the linguistic plurality of Britain and Ireland, itself potentially a political statement, do not retain this in the Gaelic translations.

One might logically question why so much of the corpus of Gaelic translation is therefore made up of plays with often problematic representations of Highland people. Perhaps, as Thomson noted, they ultimately act as testament of the struggle to navigate Gaelic identities in the face of the majority culture. By this reasoning the subaltern has accepted the majority discourse about his own people and culture and translated it into his own language. Of course, post-colonial readings of Scottish Gaelic culture must proceed with caution due to the 'ambiguity of the Scottish case'. (Stroh 2011: 339) Part of the ambiguity here would recognise that involvement in Gaelic theatre at all during this period, or indeed any period, may to at least some extent itself be resistance against the cultural hegemony of English. Indeed, Michael Cronin writes of the ambiguous role of translation in minority language situations: that it can be 'both predator and deliverer, enemy and friend'. (1998: 148) We should also remember that, as previously noted, many of these translations were undertaken due to a desire for plays representing Highland life, for use by community amateur groups at competitions. Therefore, they may have been recognized as a quick fix and not expected to make a lasting statement about Gaelic identity. Yet, be this as it may, the danger inherent in the translation of the stereotypical tartanry plays is the creation of an 'aesthetic ghetto' in which the content of the play becomes immaterial and the only concern is to have the language itself on stage: language as 'mere decoration or ornament'. (Cronin 1998: 150) At the same time, in establishing a view of Gaelic dramatic output during this period, Ross, in this volume, reminds us that some Gaelic playwrights (not translating from other languages) did present a more realistic picture of Highland life.

We might also note that many of the original plays later translated into Gaelic were very successful and known internationally. The English-language plays chosen often appear in edited collections of short plays published in America and in London. Indeed, many were also translated into Irish and Welsh,

as well as having Gaelic translations. For instance, John Alexander Ferguson's *Campbell of Kilmhor* of 1914 was translated first into Irish, *Caimbéal na Coille Móire* (1920), then into Welsh, *Campbell o Kilmohr* (1948), and then last into Scottish Gaelic around 1950. It was also made into a film for television in 1939 (*Radio Times*, 1939, 16). Before John Brandane's *Rory Aforesaid* (1926), appeared in Gaelic in 1937 as *Ruairidh Roimh-Ainmichte* (1937), it had also already appeared in Irish as *Ruaidhrí Réamhráidhte* (1931). Therefore, representations of Scottish Gaels, usually in some sort of historical setting were clearly popular across Great Britain and Ireland in the period under review and perhaps it was inevitable that they would eventually go on to be translated into Gaelic. It is intriguing, also, to consider that Highlanders and Highland history were represented on stage in Welsh and in Irish but that these portrayals were mediated through English-language culture. We see something of a pattern, with a number of the plays in the corpus described in this article: Scottish Gaelic play translations tended to follow those of Welsh and/or Irish. For instance, Synge's *Riders to the Sea* (1904): in Welsh as *Marchogion y Môr* (1939), in Irish as *Chun na Farraige Síos* (1945), in Gaelic as *Muinntir a' Chuain* (1950). It is also noteworthy that the Gaelic translations indicate that after plays set in the Highlands, plays originally set in Wales or Ireland feature heavily. This raises further questions about what was seen as desirable or possible for the Gaelic stage. It seems that when tasked with finding plays to translate which might resonate with Highland life the output of (or concerning) the Celtic-language speaking neighbour nations was seen as appropriate. Thus, the networks and shared play-texts of Irish, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic, as mediated through English may bear further attention to allow us to learn more about the literary ecosystem at work across the multi-lingual communities of Britain and Ireland.

In conclusion, this article has explored the exploitation and suppression of otherness in published Gaelic play translations before 1950. The appendix provides a new resource for research into the history and development of Gaelic drama. Katherine Whyte Grant, it has been argued, provides evidence that Gaelic translation could be used as a tool to covertly comment on Highland social problems. The translations undertaken by An Comunn Gàidhealach presented their own context-driven particular challenges. Repurposing popular one-act plays which might, once in Gaelic, portray Highland life or otherwise be acceptable for An Comunn's drama competitions often meant dealing with stereotypes of Highlanders. We have seen that the translator of *Stranger's Gold*, subtly ironed out some of the patronising tone between Lowland and Highland characters. The Gaelic translators also relied on a variety of strategies to deal with plays that had originally aimed to stage linguistic and cultural plurality in one way or another. It was noted that Gaelic translators were often forced to make uneasy compromises; this would be due to the fact that their own people were often the other in the plays chosen, lessening opportunities for Gaelic audiences to encounter other otherness. The published translations of plays into Scottish Gaelic before 1950 are testament to the flourishing of Gaelic drama and also Gaelic-language activism during the period. They also provide evidence for the

ways in which Gaels were presented with, and engaged in, questions of the self and the other onstage during decades in which the language was under intense pressure.

A Preliminary Checklist of Published Translated Drama in Gaelic to c.1950

Translations set outwith the Highlands

1. K.W.G. (=GRANT, KATHERINE WHYTE), trans. 1893. **Uilleam Tell**. Inverness/Oban: Northern Chronicle Office/Hugh MacDonald. [SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH, 1804. *Wilhelm Tell*. Tübingen: Cotta.]
2. MACGILLEMHOIRE, U. M., trans. 1911. **Iulius Caesar: Dàn-Cluiche Shacspeair**. Dùn-Èidean: Iain Grannd. [SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM, 1623. *Comedies, Histories & Tragedies*. London: Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount.]
3. BOTTOMLEY, GORDON, URQUHART, CATHERINE F., & URQUART, DAVID, 1944. **Deirdre: The Barra Story in a Play**. Inverness: The Northern Chronicle Office.
4. MACILL'EATHAIN, AILEAN, trans. 1950. **Muinntir a' Chuain**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [SYNGE, J. M. *Riders to the Sea* in SADDLEMYER, ANN, ed. 1995. *The Playboy of the Western World and Other Plays*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.]
5. MAC GILLE MHOIRE, DOMHNALL, trans. 1950. **Sios chun na Mara**. Stirling: An Comunn Gàidhealach. [READY, STUART. *Down to the Seas*, appears in MARRIOTT, J. W., ed. 1948. *The Best One-Act Plays of 1946-47*. London: George G. Harrap.]
6. MAC GILLE MHOIRE, DOMHNALL, trans. 1951. **Am Poidsear**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [FRANCIS, J. O., *The Poacher*, appears in MARRIOTT, J.W. ed., 1928. *One-Act Plays of To-Day*. Fourth Series. London: George G. Harrap.]

Translations set in the Highlands in the original source

7. MACDHÒMHNUILL, DOMHNALL, trans. 1934(?). **Clann Rìgh Lochlainn**. Glascho: Alasdair Mac Labhrainn. [Translation of MACARTHUR, BESSIE J. B., 1928. *The Clan of Lochlann and Silis: Two Celtic Plays*. Edinburgh: W. M. Urquhart & Son.]
8. MACPHEARSAIN, T. S., trans. 1935. **'S leam fhìn an gleann**. Glaschu: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Translation of BRANDANE, JOHN, 1925. *The Glen is Mine: A Highland Comedy*. London: Constable.]
9. NIC IAIN, ANNA, trans. 1935. **Braid air a' Bhraid**. Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren. Translation of an unpublished English-language play by Dr Somhairle Bartlett.
10. MACMHAOILEIN, AONGHAS, trans. 1937. **Ruairidh Roimh-Ainmichte**. Glascho: Alasdair MacLabhrainn. [Translation of BRANDANE, JOHN,

- Rory Aforesaid*. See MARRIOT, J. W., ed. 1926. *One-Act Plays of Today: Third Series*. London: Harrap.]
11. [UNNAMED TRANSLATOR], [1950]. **A' Chailleach**. [Glasgow: n.p.]. [MCCLELLAN, ROBERT, *The Cailleach* (1946) in DONATI, C., ed. 2013. *Robert McLellan: Playing Scotland's Story*. Edinburgh: Luath Press.]
 12. MACFHIONGHUIN, LACHLANN, trans. 1950. **Am Bàta-Luath**. Stirling: An Comunn Gàidhealach. [MALLOCH, GEORGE RESTON, 1930. *The Grenadier*. Stirling: Observer Press.]
 13. MACFHIONGHUIN, LACHLANN, trans. [1950]. **Òr Choigreach**. Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson. [JOHN, EVAN, [1936]. *Strangers' Gold*. Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson.]
 14. MACTHOMAIS, DOMHNALL, trans., 1950. **Spuir na h-Iolair**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gàidhealach. [MACPHAIL, M. S., [1947], 'The Eagle's Claw', unpublished.]
 15. [Unknown translator], 1950. **Dòmhnall Dearg**. Stirling: An Comunn Gàidhealach. The translation includes the information that the original play is 'The Five Year Plan', by Kenneth Stewart (Fort William). I have been unable to trace any further information about the original, presumably unpublished, play or its author.
 16. MACDHOMHNAILL, DOMHNALL, trans. [1950?]. **Caimbeulach na Cille Móire**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [FERGUSON, J. A. *Campbell of Kilmhor*, appears in MARRIOTT, J. W., 1924. *One-Act Plays of To-Day*. London: George & Harrap.]
 17. MACDHOMHNAILL, DOMHNALL, trans. 1950. **An Tigh-Osda**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [BRANDANE, JOHN, 1921. *The Change-House*. London: Gowans & Gray.]
 18. MACFHIONGHUIN, LACHLANN, trans. 1951. **Am Bodach Ròcais**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [FERGUSON, J. A., 1922. *The Scarecrow*. London: Gowans & Gray.]
 19. MACDHOMHNAILL, DOMHNALL, trans. 1951. **Gaothan ri'n Reic**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [MILTON, J. COLEMAN, [??]. *Winds for Sale*. Glasgow: A. & J. Donaldson.]

Translations domesticated (i.e. location changed to Scottish Highlands)

20. MACDHOMHNAILL, FIONNLACH I., trans. 1942(?). **An t-Suirghe Fhadalach**. Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson. [WRIGHT, GORDON D., [1937]. *Love Lingers On: A Scots Comedy*. Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson.]

21. WALKER, IAIN, trans. [1950?]. **Suirghe a' Mhuilleir**. Glaschu: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [COCKER, W.D., 1942. *The Miller's Wooing*. London: Samuel French. This was first published in Scots: COCKER, W. D., 1925. *The Woin' O'T*. London: Gowans & Gray. The Gaelic version was translated from the English version, not the original Scots.]
22. MACFHIONGHUIN, IAIN, trans., [1950?]. **An Snàithnean Sgàrlaid**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [BELL, J. J., 1924. *Thread O' Scarlet*, appears in MARRIOTT, J. W., ed. 1924. *One-Act Plays of To-Day*. Boston: Small, Maynard.]
23. MACFHIONGHUIN, LACHLANN, trans. 1950. **An t-Airgiod-Cinn**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [Lady Gregory, *The Rising of the Moon*, first published in *Samhain* (1904).]
24. MACTHOMAS, SEUMAS, trans. [1950?]. **An Seann Tarbh**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [GILBERT, BERNARD, *The Old Bull* in HAMPDEN, JOHN, ed. 1926. *Nine Modern Plays*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons.]
25. MACMHATHAIN, IAIN, trans., [1950]. **An Tàcharan**. [Glasgow: n.p.]. [MCLELLAN, ROBERT, *The Changeling* (1934) in DONATI, COLIN ed. 2013. *Robert McLellan: Playing Scotland's Story*. Edinburgh: Luath Press.]
26. MAC GILL-EATHAIN, AILEAN, trans., [1950?]. **Breac a Linne**. Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach. [FRANCIS, J. O., *Birds of a Feather*, appears in BOAS, GUY. ed. 1935. *Short Modern Plays*. London: MacMillan.]

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² References for each individual translation and the original source are not repeated in the bibliography.

³ My thanks to Priscilla Scott for kindly alerting me to the evidence for Grant's time in Central Europe.

⁴ The genitive of a' Chuimrigh ('Wales') given here as 'na Cuimrich' is uncommon but examples can be found. For instance, the Prince of Wales is given as 'Prionnsa na Cuimrich' in Forbes, J., 1848. *The Principles of Gaelic Grammar*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, p. 242.

