

**Found in Translation:
Franco-Irish Translation Relationships in
Nineteenth-Century Ireland**

Michèle Milan, M.A.

Dissertation submitted for the Award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Dublin City University

School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies

Under the supervision of

Professor Michael Cronin

January 2013

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed:

ID N°: 57211339

Date: 13/01/2013

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to record my thanks to my supervisor, Prof. Michael Cronin, for creating such an admirable and congenial project in the first place and for giving me the chance to come on board, as well as for his stimulating guidance and criticism. I am also grateful to the following people: Sharon O'Brien, who originally made me aware of this project, as well as all the encouraging staff at SALIS and CTTS, particularly Eithne O'Connell and Dorothy Kenny, who, back in 2006-2007, advised and helped me access the M.A. course in Translation Studies at DCU. On this note, I owe a special debt to Mary Moloney, at Ennis Welfare office, who, against all odds, kindly helped me get to DCU in the first place back in 2007. I would like to thank those who made the funding of my studies possible, notably the HEA's Programme for Research in Third Level Institutions (PRTLTI) and the team of An Foras Feasa, who also gave me the chance to attend a course at Pisa University. Special thanks to Jonny Hobson at DCU's Graduate Studies Office, who was always so helpful in times of 'crisis'. I am also especially grateful to the following: my very lovely student friends at DCU, whom I cannot name for fear I may forget someone, all my other friends and staff met during this research – at SPD, the NLI, Maynooth –, my friends back in North Clare, England, and elsewhere in the world, whom I have indeed missed so much, and my long-lost friends back in Brittany. A special thanks to my physiotherapist Catherine for her solid advice and her great kindness, to the staff at the NLI, Central Catholic Library (Theresa for her good advice, and the keepers for the cups of tea and biscuits), David and staff at MDI library, and Simon and Helen at the EPB department, TCD.

Oddly enough, I would like to spare a thought for these people who have been the focus of my research, and who, in spirit, have been somewhat present throughout these last few years, eliciting a lot of human emotion, spirituality, sadness, but also great laughter. I am also grateful to the deeper forces in this universe which gave me the chance and the power to pursue and complete this project.

Above all, I cannot even thank enough my parents for their unconditional love and without the support of whom I could have not carried this out. This work is dedicated to them. I also extend my thanks to my six siblings, particularly my two sisters. I apologize to everyone for not having kept in touch as I should have had, and want to ensure them that it is not from a lack of love.

Key to Abbreviations

Abbreviations used throughout the thesis are generally close to standard abbreviations. Several abbreviations have also been created for the purpose of this survey.

Library Catalogues

National Library of Ireland	NLI
Royal Irish Academy	RIA
Central Catholic Library, Dublin	CCL
Marsh's library	ML
Trinity College Dublin	TCD
Mater Dei Institute of Education	MDI
St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra	SPD
NUI Galway	NUIG
NUI Maynooth	NUIM
Queens University, Belfast	QCat
Royal College of Physicians of Ireland	RCPI
University College Cork	UCC
University College Dublin	UCD
University of Limerick	UL
University of Ulster	UU
Carlow County Library	CACL
Clare County Library	CLCL
Cork County Library	COCL
Donegal County Library	DOCL
Dublin City Libraries (mainly Dublin and Local Studies Collection)	DCL
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown County Library	[DLR]
Fingal County Library	FCL
Galway County Library	GCL
Kerry Library	KL
Kildare County Library	KDCL
Kilkenny County Library	KCL

Laois County Library	LACL
Limerick City Library	LICL
Limerick County Library	LCCL
Linen Hall Library	LHL
Longford County Library	LCL
Louth County Library	LOCL
Mayo County Library	MACL
Meath County Library	MCL
Offaly County Library	OCL
Tipperary County Library	TCL
Waterford City Library	WL
Waterford County Library	WCL
Wexford County Library	WECL
Westmeath County Library	WMCL
Wicklow County Library	WICL

Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology	GMIT
-------------------------------------	------

Special Collections and Catalogues:

Pollard Collection (TCD)	PC
Holiday Collection (RIA)	HC
Thomas Moore Collection (RIA)	TMC
Joly Collection (NLI)	JC
DIX Collection (NLI)	DIX
Thomas Connolly's Catalogue	TCC

Bio- and Bibliographical Resources

Dictionary of Irish Biography	DIB
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography	ODNB
D.J. O'Donoghue's <i>Poets of Ireland</i>	<i>PI</i>

The Electronic Irish Records Dataset of the Princess Grace Irish Library (Monaco)

RICORSO (formerly PGIL)

(Online Biographies of translators of Irish Literature, CTTS, DCU) TRASNABIO

Library Ireland	LI
Bibliothèque nationale de France	BNF
The Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue	NSTC

Periodicals and Publishers

<i>Dublin University Magazine</i>	<i>DUM</i>
<i>Freeman's Journal</i>	<i>FJ</i>
<i>Irish Ecclesiastical Record</i>	<i>IER</i>
<i>Irish Monthly</i>	<i>IM</i>
<i>Irish Times</i>	<i>IT</i>
Catholic Truth Society of Ireland	CTSI
<i>Sydney Freeman's Journal</i>	<i>SFJ</i>
<i>Weekly Irish Times</i>	<i>WIT</i>

Unless otherwise stated, all English translations are my own.

Abstract

Various studies of the long-standing relationship between French and Irish cultures have revealed multiple evidence of mutual exchange. Yet, the role played by translation and translators has been largely neglected as a contribution to this relationship and to Hiberno-French cultural developments. This doctoral research on Franco-Irish translation relationships in nineteenth-century Ireland aims at redressing this omission, thereby supporting the idea that translation history is a useful tool for widening and adjusting our perspective on past cultural exchanges. Through the lens of translation, the present study underlines some of the key political and cultural debates in nineteenth-century Ireland, shedding light on the contribution of Ireland's agents of translation to these debates. In addition to conceptual underpinnings drawn from the field of translation studies, and with particular attention paid to historical context, this research aims at showing key aspects of French-Irish cultural interaction in the nineteenth century. In this regard, it is situated at an interdisciplinary crossroads between the fields of translation studies, history and Franco-Irish studies, highlighting the contribution which translation history can make to each of these disciplines.

Chapter 1 presents an outline of research methods and conceptual methodology. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the historical and contextual backgrounds to the Franco-Irish relationship and to translation in nineteenth-century Ireland. Chapters 3 to 6 present the overall findings of this research. Largely based on an investigation of Ireland's translation holdings, as well as surviving materials such as periodicals and catalogues, these chapters map out the translation landscape and offer an analysis of sociohistorical trends in nineteenth-century translation of French writing in Ireland. Chapter 7 introduces a key moment of the Franco-Irish relationship in the nineteenth century. It draws attention to English-language translations by Irish translators from the French of Béranger, a songwriter who indeed emerged as one of the most significant figures. Lastly, an overall conclusion summarizes the main aspects of both analyses, and highlights the achievements of this research.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Methodology	8
1.1 Conceptual Framework.....	8
1.1.1 Translation History, Context and Agency	8
1.1.2 Interconnecting Macro- and Microhistory	12
1.1.3 Working Definitions	13
1.2 Methods	15
1.2.1 General Survey	16
1.2.2 Béranger Survey	18
Chapter Two: History and Contexts	20
2.1 A Historical Overview of the Franco-Irish Relationship in the Nineteenth Century	20
2.1.1 Introduction	20
2.1.2 The Franco-Irish Relationship: a Historical Overview.....	29
2.1.3 Conclusions	43
2.2 Languages, Literacy and Book Trade.....	45
2.2.1 Language	46
2.2.2 Literacy and Access to Books	47
2.2.3 Publishing and Copyright	51
2.2.4 French Language, Translation from French and Translation Copyright	52
2.2.5 Conclusion	53
2.3 A Historical Overview of Translation in Nineteenth-Century Ireland.....	54
2.3.1 Introduction: the Translated Irish	54
2.3.2 Translating into English in Nineteenth-Century Ireland.....	56
2.3.3 Conclusion: Translation and Cultural Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Ireland.....	64
2.4 Chapter Conclusion	71
Chapter Three: A General Survey of Sociohistorical Trends in Translation from French in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Presentation and Religious Trends	73
3.1 Presentation	73
3.1.1 General Considerations.....	73
3.1.2 Views of Translated French Literature Today	74

3.1.3 The Survey.....	75
3.2 Religion.....	79
3.2.1 Introduction	79
3.2.2 Devotional Writings and Spiritual Life.....	80
3.2.3 Sermons and Conferences: French Preachers in Translation.....	85
3.2.4 Apologetics.....	90
3.2.5 Religious History and Questions of the Day	94
3.2.5.1 Church and State: the Power of the Pope, Historical and Apologetic Perspectives.....	94
3.2.5.2 Liberty of the Church: French and Irish Catholic Politics.....	96
3.2.5.3 Histories of the Protestant Church.....	97
3.2.5.4 Lives of Jesus and Mary	97
3.2.5.5 Lives of the Saints	103
3.2.5.6 Religious Biography: An Introduction to Frances Cashel Hoey	108
3.2.6 Dogma in Translation	110
3.2.7 Religious Life	111
3.2.8 Catechisms: The Sadliers and the Christian Brothers for Religious Instruction	116
3.2.9 Conclusion: Religious Translation, or, The Roads to Rome	117
Chapter Four: History and Politics.....	124
4.1 Introduction	124
4.2 A Fascination with Napoleon	125
4.3 French Revolutions and Court Memoirs	128
4.4 Frances Cashel Hoey’s History Translations	130
4.5 Irish History and Irish Affairs.....	131
4.5.1 Irish Histories from the French.....	131
4.5.2 The Irish Question	135
4.6 Thomas Davis and the French Romantic Historians.....	140
4.7 Franco-Irish Socialist Connections	142
4.8 History and Politics in Translation: Conclusion.....	147
Chapter Five: Other Non-fictional Writings.....	149
5.1 Philosophy, Sociology, Economics	149
5.1.1 Introduction	149
5.1.2 A Positivist Connection: John Kells Ingram and Auguste Comte.....	149

5.2 Sciences	151
5.2.1 Mechanics and Geometry	152
5.2.2 Medicines of the Mind	152
5.3 Philology	153
5.3.1 Medieval Texts	153
5.3.2 Celtic Studies	155
5.3.3 Literary Criticism and History	156
5.3.4 Conclusion	157
5.4 Travel.....	159
5.4.1 French Travel Journals: A Diverse Body of Literature	159
5.4.2 Rambles through Ireland.....	160
5.5 Art History	161
5.6 Chapter Conclusion	163
Chapter Six: Literary Writings	164
6.1 Fiction.....	164
6.1.1 Popular Authors and Texts	164
6.1.2 Irish Contributions to Translation of Fiction	166
6.2 Theatre	172
6.2.1 Nineteenth-Century Theatre: A Romantic and Melodramatic Affair	172
6.2.2 Turn of the Century Trends	173
6.3 Children’s Literature	174
6.4 Poetry.....	177
6.4.1 Romantic Poetry.....	178
6.4.2 Religion, Death, Exile, Martyrs, and a Hymn to Women: French Poetry in Nineteenth-Century Translation	181
6.4.3 Francis Mahony’s Cultural Free Trade.....	184
6.4.4 Late-Century Trends: the Irish Renaissance.....	186
6.5 Overall Conclusion to Chapters Three to Six	189
Chapter Seven: Translating Béranger in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: For the People, the Republic and the Nation	197
7.1 Béranger, Poet of the People and Patriotic Songwriter	198
7.2 A Survey of Béranger’s Irish Translators	202

7.3 Translating Béranger in Nineteenth-Century Ireland	216
7.3.1 Patriotism, Napoleon and National Glory	216
7.3.2 Liberty and the Republic	218
7.3.3 The People.....	220
7.3.4 Of Love, Wine, and Mary Stuart.....	221
7.4 Chapter Conclusion	222
7.4.1 Béranger’s Mischief.....	222
7.4.2 Béranger the Precursor	223
7.4.3 The International Appeal of Béranger: A Transnational Patriotic Network	224
7.4.4 Ireland and Béranger.....	225
Chapter Eight: Conclusions	229
8.1 Nineteenth-Century Franco-Irish Translation Relationships: Main Trends and Ideas	229
8.2 Translating from French in the Nineteenth Century: Ireland’s Agents of Translation	235
8.3 Achievements.....	242
8.4 Personal Research Outcomes and Further Research Ideas.....	246
Bibliography and References	249
Other Sources	283
Periodicals	283
Catalogues	286
Biographical Resources (Internet Links)	288
Libraries and Bibliographical Resources (Internet Links)	288
APPENDICES	i

INTRODUCTION

Presentation of the Project

This doctoral project is part of a wider programme of research which aims to increase knowledge, foster critical reflection and develop resources with regards to themes such as ‘Ireland in the world’ and ‘the world in Ireland’. These thematic studies invite us to explore the history and position of Ireland in Europe and in the world from various perspectives, and translation stands as a crucial topic for transcultural history. With the present project, the research programme proposes to explore the impact of writings in other languages on the development of Irish culture. This ‘translation island’ theme is based on the idea that Ireland indeed has a long history of translation, both in the inward and outward directions (O’Neill 1985; Cronin 1996). It recognizes the importance of translation history for understanding earlier societies. Moreover, the focus on translation is based on the premise that translation represents a crucial factor of cultural, political and social change, notably in the formation of national identities and in the emergence of nation-states. Additionally, this project pays homage to the rich and long-standing history of the Franco-Irish relationship, offering an exploration of that history from the perspective of translation.

An exploration of the Franco-Irish relationship not only reveals its own significance but it can broaden our perspective on the relations between Ireland and the world, notably between Ireland and Europe. Cronin (2007: 39) indeed points to the importance for Ireland to recognize and familiarize itself with its own European past and present. A historical and reflective approach to a multicultural past is therefore the wider purpose of this project. Despite its situation on the periphery of Europe, Ireland has never been totally isolated from the rest of the world. There have been strong Irish links with the continent, particularly with France. As stated in the introduction to the National Library of Ireland’s exhibition ‘Strangers to Citizens: the Irish in Europe’, “People, ideas and goods have always moved over and back between Ireland and Europe” (2009: 1). It may therefore be enlightening to look at the ways in which ideas and texts have been negotiated in past contexts of cultural interaction.

The PRTLTI (Programme for Research in Third-Level Institutions) funding for this research was awarded through An Foras Feasa, the Institute for Research in Irish Historical and Cultural Traditions. This project is the result of a partnership between DCU-based CTTS (Centre for Translation and Textual Studies) and SALIS (School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies), and Maynooth-based An Foras Feasa.

The Research: Backgrounds, Claims, Questions¹

Two main concerns form the basis of this research. First and foremost, the purpose is to redress the omission of translation as a channel of influence and of translators as agents of cultural change in Franco-Irish history. Several studies of the Franco-Irish relationship have brought our attention to noteworthy literary and political influences. Yet, translation has been largely neglected as a contribution to this relationship and to Hiberno-French cultural developments. The neglect of translation as a channel of influence is all the more surprising, because translation occurs everywhere, not just in the trade of books, but in other commercial relations, in legal proceedings, in newspapers, with their regular ‘Foreign Intelligence’ columns and translated extracts of political speeches, and in many other instances of cross-cultural interaction. The second argument is that without such a research, the view we have today of past relations between the French and Irish cultures may otherwise appear distorted. This study is indeed concerned with the idea of ‘presentism’² in literary history, and claims that translation history is a useful tool for widening our perspective on past cultural exchanges.

Both concerns point to the dearth of research on Franco-Irish translation relationships. Indeed, the neglect of translation as a channel of cross-cultural exchange and the lack of relevant studies could lead to partial views of past Hiberno-French relations. In particular, a focus today on canonical literature may occult the importance of other types of writings in earlier times. In this respect, in Eagleton’s words, this study “tries to resist the rather canonical bent” (1999: n.pag.) of literary studies in general. Seminal investigations of Ireland’s translation history include Welch (1988), Cronin (1996) and Tymoczko (1999), but, understandably, their main focus is the Irish-English language combination. However,

¹ The main arguments behind this research were also outlined in Milan (2012).

² Presentism is here broadly understood as a tendency to interpret the past in terms of present-day knowledge and values. This thesis does not, however, necessarily take the “anti-presentist” side in the wider debate of “Presentism” versus “Historicism”. On this debate, see for instance Spoerhase (2008).

Cronin's works (1996; 2002; 2007) point to the existence of a significant translation tradition between Ireland and the French-speaking cultures. They suggest a need for closer investigation. France and Haynes's work (2006a) includes substantial and groundbreaking investigations of nineteenth-century translation from French into English. However, aside from mentioning a small number of Irish translators, these studies do not offer any exploration of Hiberno-French translation relationships. Owing to their vast scope of inquiry, the only Irish-based library holdings used for these investigations was that of Trinity College Dublin. Consequently, this vast study overlooks numerous Irish-based texts, translators and other agents of translation which could only be unveiled and discussed through a more focused investigation. It is accordingly necessary to show that translation traditions in Ireland and England are altogether different, even if there have been some strong links. As for the various and enlightening essays produced in the field of Franco-Irish studies³, there has been only slight focus on translation relationships until now, particularly as regards translation in nineteenth-century Ireland. This too results in the neglect of several noteworthy connections and people.

The need for an investigation of Franco-Irish translation relationships in the nineteenth century is therefore beyond question. The 'long' nineteenth century, between the French Revolution, the United Irish rebellion and the Act of Union at its beginning, and the Irish revival and the beginning of World War I at its end, represents a critical period for both French and Irish societies. It is marked by various social, cultural, linguistic and political shifts and upheavals. In the preface to the *Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Walker notes that the cultural world in Ireland between the eighteenth century and the Irish literary renaissance has often and unfairly been described as a "rather barren period" (2011: v). He argues that a history of the book in nineteenth-century Ireland "obliges us to review our opinion of the importance of this period in Irish cultural history" (ibid). In this regard, we claim that a history of translation in Ireland during that period should form a necessary addition to a history of print culture and book trade, and support the idea that this was anything but a 'barren period' from the perspective of translation. Generally-speaking, there were numerous interactions between Ireland and the French-speaking cultures during that century. Yet still only part of that history is known to us today, and as Kleinman's study (2005) shows, the exploration of translation can shed much light on nineteenth-century Franco-Irish history because translation represents an essential means of cultural interaction.

³ See Methodology for a list of works.

The main research question guiding this study is concerned with the cultural and political impact of translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland. In other words, based on various contextual and empirical investigations, the aim is to look at translation and translators in relation with their wider historical contexts. From the perspective of translation, this study underlines some of the key political and cultural debates in nineteenth-century Ireland and the ways in which Ireland's 'agents of translation', principally her translators, editors and publishers, have contributed to these debates. In particular, much focus is given to religious, moral and political motives behind translation, rather than to contemporary theoretical and linguistic approaches to translation. This focus is essentially inspired by the vibrant and frequent expression of such motives in translators' and publishers' introductions to translations, and in contemporary reviews of translations. Indeed much of the French material translated in Ireland or by the Irish living abroad is concerned with religion, history and politics, all often interwoven together, and it frequently reveals underlying concerns with cultural and political identities.

The main contextual, historical, biographical and descriptive investigations that provide a basis for this analysis are the following. Firstly, translation of French writings into English is principally examined against the historical and contextual backgrounds of nineteenth-century Ireland and of the Franco-Irish relationship. Secondly, the study makes use of relevant bio-bibliographical details concerning the people involved in the translation process. Thirdly, the analysis is based on a descriptive and partly quantitative investigation of surviving nineteenth-century materials. These include translations from French held in Ireland's library holdings, as well as translations and relevant information found in various surviving periodicals and catalogues. This survey will help us determine the general translation landscape for translations of French writing in nineteenth-century Ireland.

Based on this translation landscape, and designed to support the overarching research question of the study, three steps are required. Firstly, the purpose is to determine the main areas of interest and trends in publishing and readership of translations from French. In other words, which types of translated texts were made available to the English-reading public in Ireland at the time? Secondly, we need to highlight noteworthy and typical contributions made by Ireland's agents of translation. In other words, which types of texts were they interested in making available to that readership, or which translations were they simply interested in producing and publishing? Thirdly, the purpose is to bring these elements together and analyze the main translation trends in relation to their cultural and historical

backgrounds, with a focus on questions of motivation. Ultimately, by addressing these various questions, the present study will determine the main aspects of Franco-Irish translation relationships in nineteenth-century Ireland.

This project is unprecedented for various reasons. As mentioned before, very few literary and historical studies have given proper consideration to the role played by translation and translators in Hiberno-French relations, which means that the particular ground chosen here has remained unoccupied until now. Accordingly, no one has yet, to this day, surveyed the entirety of Ireland's holdings of translations from French for the nineteenth century. The research presented here therefore explores vast uncharted territories. Moreover, as a result of this dearth of research, various key moments of translation contact have been overlooked. In particular, Pierre-Jean de Béranger, a nineteenth-century French songwriter, emerged as a significant figure in the course of this investigation. Yet, no one has yet ever investigated the translations from Béranger by Irish translators. The British reception of his works was examined by Phelan (2005), but only two Irish connections are mentioned, namely, a book review by Oscar Wilde and translations by William Maginn. The American reception of Béranger has also been looked at, this time by Joyaux (1953).

The particular interest offered by an investigation of the reception of, and translations from, Béranger not only lies in the fact that it represents a decisive moment of translation contact in nineteenth-century Ireland, but it can be correlated in several ways with the general investigation of translation from French. The focus on Béranger therefore adds to our understanding of the more general trends described in this thesis. In other words, there are common themes running through both the overall survey and the Béranger translations, notably questions of nationality and patriotic sentiment, of republican ideals, of a general democratic concern for 'the people', a fascination for Napoleon I, as well as the importance of moral and religious values guiding the choices made in translation.

This study therefore identifies key moments of Franco-Irish translation contact in the nineteenth century, and signals the dangers of 'presentism' in writing the cultural and political history of earlier historical periods. While the field of translation studies has benefited from the import of various social and cultural theories for a better understanding of translation, this research focuses largely on translation as a historical object, and is based on a contextual and descriptive investigation. In other words, although it is necessarily informed by various theories, this project supports the idea that historical studies of translation can

generate knowledge from within. In particular, it claims that translation history can widen our perspective on the past, as translations may reflect various cultural, social and political aspects of a society at a given time. An interdisciplinary field by essence, translation history can in turn bring new perspectives to other disciplines, notably historical, literary and sociocultural studies.

Thesis Structure

Chapter 1 presents an outline of the research methods and conceptual methodology, thereby attempting to develop a rationale for translation history. **Chapter 2** provides an overview of the historical and contextual backgrounds both to the Franco-Irish relationship and to translation in nineteenth-century Ireland. In other words, it presents, in relation to the nineteenth century, historical sketches of both France and Ireland, a history of the Franco-Irish relationship, some key aspects of literacy, book trade and print culture, as well as an overview of the history of translation in Ireland. Both chapters make use of the most relevant literature for this research. Owing to the interdisciplinary nature of this project, selected writings from the fields of translation studies and Franco-Irish studies, as well as relevant works of French and Irish histories have been consulted.

Chapters 3 to 6 present the results and analysis of the overall survey. They map out the translation landscape for translation from French, and investigate overall socio-historical trends in nineteenth-century translation of French writing in Ireland. Chapter 3 presents the survey and looks at religious trends. Chapter 4 focuses on historical and political writings and Chapter 5 investigates other non-fictional translations. Chapter 6 explores ‘literary’ writings, chiefly fictional and poetical literature, and concludes this survey. Owing to the large amount of material, this analysis focuses on the main trends and on noteworthy contributions.

Chapter 7 focuses on translations from Béranger by Irish translators. In other words, it explores the reception and the impact of Béranger in nineteenth-century Ireland through the lens of translation.

Chapter 8 concludes this dissertation by summarizing the key common elements of both analyses. It also underlines one or two sociocultural aspects which have emerged through both surveys regarding Irish translators from French in the nineteenth century. Additionally, the conclusion highlights some typical approaches to translation, particularly for their

pertinence to more general trends. Moreover, the transnational elements of nineteenth-century translation are emphasized. This overall conclusion, then, reflects on the research claims, highlighting the contributions which this research can make to scholarship in the various disciplines involved. Lastly, directions for possible future work are suggested.

CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGY

1.1 Conceptual Framework

1.1.1 Translation History, Context and Agency

The overall methodology for this study consists of a combination of approaches. It is based on the conceptual framework principally underlying works by translation scholars such as Cronin (1996), Tymoczko (1999), Delisle (1999; 2002) and France and Haynes (2006a).

Overall, this research is characterized by a historical and descriptive approach to the study of translation. It is therefore a non-prescriptive investigation of translation. There are four main underlying conceptual underpinnings, and inevitably, some degree of overlap.

Firstly, as stated in our introduction, the conceptual framework relates to the importance of translation history for understanding earlier societies. Historical studies of translation can provide us with an often overlooked perspective on human developments occurring in various areas such as culture, politics, religion or science. Historical research contributes to the body of knowledge of translation studies because, in Powell's words, "it can increase our understanding of how, when and why past events occurred; and it can expand our appreciation of the significance of these events" (1999: 165). In turn, translation research has much to contribute to historical studies, because translation has always been a dynamic factor of cultural, political and social change. In particular, scholars such as Delisle and Woodsworth (1995) Cronin (1996), Tymoczko (1999) and Venuti (2005), have discussed and demonstrated the role played by translation in the formation of national identities and in the emergence of nation-states. Translation history challenges nativist interpretations which only see one 'pebble on the beach', because it demonstrates that, rather than being strictly an internal movement, the nation-forming process also owes to foreign influences (Cronin 2008: 274). Translation history therefore offers a means to investigate translation as a channel of influence in its own right. Accordingly, historical studies of translation can help us prevent overly presentist views of cultural and political history, by enhancing our understanding of past cultural relations and of sociohistorical developments.

A second underlying conceptual underpinning relates to the importance of the human story behind translation. In other words, the conceptual framework of this research underlines issues of agency and the part played by translators in the development of languages, literatures, national identities, sciences or political ideas. As Pym puts it, “to understand why translations happened, we have to look at the people involved” (1998: ix). Attention is therefore paid to the translators’ personal narratives, the sociohistorical context in which they practised translation, as well as the choices they made in translation. Furthermore, the notion of translator agency is expanded here to that of ‘agents of translation’ as proposed by Milton and Bandia (2009: 1). In other words, we are not just looking at translators, but we acknowledge the importance of other actors in the process such as publishers, booksellers or magazines. Agents of translation exert an influence, not just on the choice of which translations are made available to readers and on the process of translation, but consequently, on the reading public’s relation to the source culture as well. In this respect, the sociohistorical dimension of translation is foregrounded, thereby paying due attention to what Simeoni referred to as “the view from the agent” (1995: 445). In turn, public appreciation of textual productions and other sociocultural factors may influence choices made in translation. Accordingly, contemporary reviews of translations may offer some relevance to issues of agency, as they do to questions of reception.

Thirdly, this research is concerned with ideology and postcolonial contexts in translation. Considered in the light of intertextual theories⁴, translations are essentially related to texts and contexts by reflecting, rewriting, resisting or reacting to them. As Hermans puts it, “the citational nature of the term ‘translation’ obliges us to probe its social, cultural and historical dimension if we are to ascertain its force” (1999: 158). Translation is not an isolated event or system, and such a conceptual underpinning is therefore closely related to Even-Zohar’s Polysystem Theory according to which the various cultural, religious and political systems “interact to bring about an ongoing, dynamic process of evolution” (Baker 1997: 176-177). Translations are informed by contexts, moulded by surrounding influences and ideologies, shaped through agency, and in turn they exert an influence on other events and systems. Moreover, this research is concerned with postcolonial contexts in relation to translation. Postcolonial criticism calls attention to power structures, and provides a valuable perspective on translation, no longer seen as a value-free and innocent process (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999: 2). Accordingly, the present analysis pays attention to the sociopolitical circumstances

⁴ See Allen (2001) for a review of intertextual theories.

of Ireland in the nineteenth century, bearing in mind that translation practices in nineteenth-century Ireland may reflect and respond to existing power structures.

Furthermore, translation can be seen as an act of representation (Tymoczko 2005: 1091) and a “cultural political practice” (Venuti 1992: 9). Firstly, as Lambert puts it, “we don’t just import stories, we also import culture, language and values” (cited in Hermans 1999: 124). Through translation, target cultures are brought into contact with imported cultures, ideologies and values. In turn, these imported elements are subjected to processes of agency as described above. Accordingly, then, a process of representation of source cultures and texts takes place in translation. Tymoczko’s model of representation, largely based on metonymic principles, is valuable to historical studies of translation. Here, translation is interpreted as a process of metonymy, that is, a process of selective representation, since “translation stands as one of the most significant means by which one culture represents another” (Tymoczko 1999: 17). The process of representation cannot be ignored in historical studies of translation because

the nature of representation as a frame makes manifest in part, for example, why translation is so powerful an act, why translation is constitutive of reality, and why translation is associated with textual manipulation, as well as the interplay among these properties (Tymoczko 2005: 1091)

Investigating translation can help us identify the ideological forces which underlie texts and which determine the choice of texts and of translation strategies. Such a conceptual frame is crucial to our understanding of the Franco-Irish relationship, because it can help us determine what image of the French culture(s) was projected through translation. It is not only helpful for an analysis of text choice, but as regards paratextual and metatextual elements as well. Indeed, paratextual devices, in other words, elements ‘around the text’ such as prefaces, subtitles and so forth, and metatextual elements, that is, commentary texts such as reviews, contribute to create a certain image of the source culture⁵. Ultimately, the concept of representation allows us to understand better the nature of the impact of translation from French and the personal agency of translators and other players in the process.

Concepts of ideology and representation can be correlated to the notion of ‘political criticism’, a term introduced by Mohanty and which St-Pierre applies to the study of translation:

⁵ See Genette (1982) for an investigation of intertextual elements.

Criticism is political, then, insofar as it does not restrict itself to internal readings of texts but looks at the uses to which texts are put, examining the connections between texts and the societies in which they are produced and consumed. Extending this definition beyond purely literary works to include those in other fields – law, medicine, politics and political theory, the arts and sciences, for example – we can find in the study of translation an area of particular interest for such an approach, inasmuch as translation brings different cultures into contact with each other. Through the transformation of texts originating in another context, translators – by their choices – make evident the discursive nature of texts, the roles such texts are given to play within their own and foreign cultures (1993: 69-70; original emphasis)

Political criticism is therefore relevant here because this investigation of Franco-Irish translation relationships is greatly concerned with “the uses to which texts are put”. In other words, the discursive nature of translations and the motives behind them are considered important for analyzing the historical shaping of the Franco-Irish relationship and for investigating the impact of translation from French on the development of Irish culture.

In addition to the conceptual underpinnings mentioned so far, essays in the field of Franco-Irish studies have provided models of intercultural exchange and study which this research can reflect on and add to. These studies are the following: Rafroidi and Mac Conmara (1974), Maher and Neville (2004a), Maher, O’Brien and Neville (2007), Conroy (2009a), as well as those contained in publications such as *Études Irlandaises*. This is what we refer to as the Franco-Irish motivation. This research is indeed motivated by the importance of showing how this time-honoured relationship between Ireland and the French-speaking regions and cultures “has grown and matured over the centuries” (Maher and Neville 2004b: 18) and of carrying out research into the “neglected area of intellectual relations” between Ireland and France (Lee 2004: 14).

With this overarching conceptual framework, the methodology is generally applied using the key questions suggested by Williams and Chesterman, that is, ‘Who? What? Why? How?’ (2002:16). In other words, this research addresses questions of agency, product, motivation (or causation) and process, and it does so by investigating historical and contextual aspects, using both primary and secondary sources. These key points have equally been underscored by St-Pierre in his reformulation of Foucault’s questions within the context of translation studies. Indeed, according to St-Pierre (1993: 62-68), Foucault’s examination of discourse as an event subject to processes of controls and selections led him to raise a series of questions

in order to assess the sets of rules which govern the production of discourse. For example, Foucault asks, “Which utterances are put into circulation... Which are repressed and censored?” (cited in *ibid*: 65). St-Pierre therefore argues that translation, as a discursive practice, can be assessed in the same way and points out that such a study is as much concerned with what is not translated as it is with what is translated. Questions of target values are therefore crucial. In this regard, this historical study of translation investigates a combination of individual and sociocultural factors. Of the four above-mentioned questions, however, the question of how texts are translated will not be examined in the same detail as other aspects. Indeed, owing to the vast scope of this study, providing detailed textual analyses would not be possible for practical reasons. On the other hand, an exploration of paratextual devices, as mentioned before, will help us shed light on the ways texts are delivered to their readers.

1.1.2 Interconnecting Macro- and Microhistory

The aim here is to conciliate both macro and micro approaches in the same analysis and to highlight interconnectedness. In other words, the interconnections of French and Irish histories are examined both from a general, macrohistorical point of view as well as from a microhistorical perspective whereby the histories of unknown or unacknowledged mediators come into play. Microhistory, which, observes Adamo, involves “recovering the voice of marginal subjects on the grounds of fragmented and apparently minor data” (2006: 93), can contribute knowledge to larger historical narratives. On the other hand, macrohistorical perspectives allow us to situate and understand these subjects within a wider framework.

The purpose is therefore to establish a connection between individual and collective narratives. Key political and cultural themes in the Franco-Irish relationship are brought to the fore, and translation history, with its own perspectives on texts and agents of translation, is a valuable way of looking at the ways in which such themes have cut across cultures and national boundaries. While translation has generally been ignored or dismissed as insignificant in traditional histories, works by Cronin (1996), Tymoczko (1999) and Welch (1988) have established its historical importance in nineteenth-century Ireland. In this light, cultural history does not seem so unconnected from social and political history, and the historical role of previously neglected subjects needs to be discussed. The history of the Franco-Irish relationship in the nineteenth century is marked by particular movements of

ideas. They relate to some of the main political and cultural debates in Ireland at the time, and we particularly need to see how Ireland's agents of translation have contributed to these debates.

1.1.3 Working Definitions

In translation history, there are crucial questions which relate to defining the historical object and the scope of study, resulting in a need for basic working definitions, as recommended by Pym (1998: 55-71). In particular, which products have been considered as translations, what are the source and target cultures, and what is the period under study? Generally, such definitions are conceived in relation to the purpose and scope of our research. In other words, we need to keep in mind that we are looking at Franco-Irish translation relationships, and that we are aiming to determine the impact of translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland.

Translation

Since the present research examines questions of impact from translation, a broad definition of translation seemed a reasonable option. The chosen basic definition is Toury's, "a translation will be any target language text which is presented or regarded as such within the target system itself, on whatever grounds" (cited in Tymoczko 2002: 15). On the basis of this research, there were some minor additions and exclusions. For instance, there are cases where a translation or adaptation is not acknowledged as such. Accordingly, theatre adaptations which are known to have been heavily based on French plays or novels were included in the survey. On the other hand, most cases where the French text was already a translation from another language were excluded, except when a substantial piece of French writing had been added to the original translation. We bear in mind, however, that such translations were helpful indicators of the importance of French as a source language for translation into English.

Source and Target Cultures

Source texts which have been taken into consideration are French-language texts, regardless of the nationality or cultural specificity of the author. For instance, translations of texts written by Belgian, Breton, Occitan, Swiss or even German authors were accounted for as

long as they were originally written in the French language. As it happens, many of these authors had a strong relationship with France, and particularly Paris, which was an important cultural centre in nineteenth-century Europe. Generally, we are speaking of French culture(s), that is, French-speaking cultures, but occasionally, we may simply refer to ‘France’ as the principal French-speaking place and society of Franco-Irish interaction. We should know, however, that even ‘France’ was not always a very definite concept in the nineteenth century, particularly if we consider the changes that occurred around its territorial borders in the north-east regions.

As regards the target culture and the translations which have been taken into consideration, it is important to take into account Ireland’s political, cultural and economic circumstances during that period, its position as a colony within the British Empire and the increasing hegemony of English over the Irish language. In this context, translation from French was overwhelmingly performed into English, and, at least until the Gaelic revival, not into Irish. As described in the chapter on book trade and print culture, the publishing context and the print culture in nineteenth-century Ireland were such that many of the books available to Irish readers were in fact produced and published outside Ireland, mainly in London. In order to obtain a general view of what translated literature from French was available to Irish readers, the survey of Ireland’s libraries therefore had to include all these publications from London and elsewhere which form an important part of the holdings. Yet, the aim of this study is to highlight the specificity of the Franco-Irish translation relationship, indeed to explore the ‘translation island’ theme and, in Bastin’s words (2006: 124), to rehabilitate the local cultural – or transcultural – space independently from colonial visions. In other words, even though the present research takes into consideration all English translations from French which were found in Ireland’s library holdings, the particular input of Ireland’s ‘agents of translation’ in the nineteenth century remains nonetheless our primary focus. With these matters in mind, and as regards translators, writers and publishers, we generally define as ‘Irish’ individuals who were born in Ireland or who lived there.

Nineteenth Century

Generally-speaking, we are looking at the ‘long nineteenth century’, that is, 1789-1914. This is particularly true of the historical and contextual part of this research, the two dates serving as landmarks of French and European history. It is impossible to look at the nineteenth century without mentioning the French Revolution. The survey, however, needed to be

restricted to a slightly shorter period, from 1798 to 1910, which is still very close to the concept of a long nineteenth century. On the one hand, considering that translations from French were numerous, we needed to limit the amount of material to something more manageable in practical ways. On the other hand, this still allows us to see trends occurring at both turns of the century. In particular, by including the first decade of the twentieth century, we ensured that the crucial period of the Irish Literary Revival was covered. Similarly, beginning the collection of data in 1798 means that we were still able to see any changes around the time of the Act of Union. Moreover, not only does 1798 mark another crucial moment of Irish history, but what became known as the ‘Year of the French’ seems a very appropriate starting point indeed.

1.2 Methods

Based on the various conceptual underpinnings discussed in the first part, the methodology is applied, as mentioned before, by addressing the main questions of agency, product, motivation (or causation) and process. Inevitably, there is much overlap between the various aspects. Moreover, due to the scope of this study, the question of process is not the main focus. From time to time, extracts of translations are provided to illustrate specific aspects, but textual analyses could not be provided for all translations. For this reason, the present section includes any discussion of process with that of motivation. This investigation of Franco-Irish translation relationships in nineteenth-century Ireland is largely based on a survey of Ireland’s main library holdings in translation from French (see list of libraries). The survey is inclusive. Firstly, libraries from all around the island were surveyed. Secondly, by including holdings such as Marsh’s Library on the one hand and the Central Catholic Library on the other, we ensured that predominantly Protestant or Catholic library collections were both accounted for. In addition, nineteenth-century periodicals reflecting various political and religious persuasions were investigated, as well as several surviving nineteenth-century booksellers’, publishers’ and libraries’ catalogues. These were the basic materials upon which this entire research was developed. However, since the first part of the survey has a much broader scope than the second, that is, the survey of translations from Béranger, we will now look at both investigations separately.

1.2.1 General Survey

The general survey of Ireland's library holdings in translation from French allows us to set the scene and map out the territory. Based on the results of the survey, an analysis of overall socio-historical trends in nineteenth-century translation of French writing in Ireland was conducted. In order to understand these results, we are looking at various quantitative and qualitative aspects, such as the main areas of interest, popular authors or popular works.

Product

All the translation titles were listed in Excel worksheets, along with any other detail available from the library catalogues. This includes, when available, names of authors, translators, editors and publishers, dates and places of publication, as well as provenance of the items. An investigation of these features helped us draw various conclusions.

Names of authors not only could be informative as to the content and genre of the translated text, they could also be quantified to some extent in order to see which authors were popular. In many cases, a certain amount of research was needed in order to gain relevant bibliographical information. Much of that information was retrieved from either the BNF or *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French* (1995). Names of translators, editors and publishers were useful for questions of agency, discussed in the next section. Dates of publication were generally helpful to situate the product within its sociohistorical context, although this analysis does not include any comprehensive time-line assessment as such. Places of publication, as with names of printers and publishers, proved valuable for determining trends in publication of translations in Ireland. Lastly, provenance of an item, such as the name of the collection it came from or the inscribed name of a previous owner, greatly enhanced this investigation. We were particularly attentive to any evidence of Irish ownership, which is valuable for an assessment of the impact of translations. What this analysis does not provide, however, is a detailed study of *how* these translations were read, rather their impact at general level. While attention was paid to any contemporary accounts of reading experiences made available to us throughout this research, such accounts are, however, generally rare.

Each translation title was then allocated a 'domain', that is, the general field of interest of the translation. Main areas of interest include, for instance, religion, history, fiction or sciences.

Since Excel worksheets offer the possibility of sorting items, we were then able to sort the translations according to their main domain of interest and to conduct a quantitative analysis on the results. This quantitative survey provided us the basis for an investigation of key patterns in translation. In parallel, periodicals and catalogues were investigated for what they could tell us about trends in translation, either by providing supplementary information, or by confirming established patterns.

Agency

When available, names of translators, editors, publishers or printers were recorded and investigated using various biographical resources (See Bibliography and Other Sources). Names of translators, as we would expect, were less frequently available than those of authors or publishers. Moreover, several translators were named but there are no extant biographical records about them. Used mostly for indicative purposes, various online bibliographical and digital resources proved helpful. Two useful ones were archive.org, which provides digitized version of texts, and books.google.com, which not only has digitized versions, but provides links to other bibliographical resources, such as worldcat.com, and to library catalogues. Ultimately, several items were examined at their library locations. Additional information on the translator was sometimes gained this way. For example, there were anonymous translators who disclosed their Irish origins in their introductions, or a note at the end of a preface would occasionally signal the place where it was written. By determining the identity of the various actors in the process, we were able to narrow our focus on Ireland's agents of translation, thereby bringing out trends in translation and publishing which were specific to Ireland.

Motivation/Causation and Process

Based on contextual information drawn from both primary and secondary sources, causes and motivations are suggested in order to explain the observed translation patterns. To do so, the data is examined against the historical and contextual backgrounds described in Chapter 2. Moreover, paratextual and metatextual elements were investigated. Indeed, not only do they help us determine some of the motives behind translations, but as Allen puts it, they “help to direct and control the reception of a text by its readers” (2001: 103). In other words, they are not just informative, but they are also markers of agency and process. These various devices, which include prefaces, dedications, notes and, in religious translation, letters of approbations, play a part in the ways a text is delivered to the target audience. They may even

inform us about the general approach adopted by the translator, such as decisions to abridge or expunge a source text for example. Owing to the focus of this research, the translations which have been investigated for their paratextual elements are generally those which were produced by Irish translators. Accordingly, the occasional extracts of translation aim to illustrate particular motives and their corresponding textual approaches. This general survey mainly shows the global choices made in translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland.

1.2.2 Béranger Survey

The procedure adopted for the survey of translations from Béranger is very similar to the foregoing methodological description. However, we need to point up a few differences. Firstly, the Béranger survey was first born out of the general survey. Indeed, the overall survey signalled that there seemed to be a significant trend in translation of Béranger's works in Ireland. This was then confirmed by an investigation of several Irish contemporary periodicals, including the *Nation*, the *DUM* and the *Cork Examiner*. Moreover, a survey of the Irish Newspaper Archives, an online resource which provides access to some of Ireland's leading newspapers⁶, was conducted using various general keywords, as well as the keyword 'Béranger'. This helped us find some translations, and significantly, it revealed the popularity of the man and of his works in Ireland. Additionally, the *Irish Times* and 19th-Century British Newspaper (GALE) archives were consulted, using the same keyword. There was also a certain amount of general web research, which provided us with several titles of translations published outside Ireland. This was particularly the case of Ferguson's translations in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Moreover, the collected works of originals and translations by various Irish poets were investigated at TCD and the NLI, in order to find if they included any translations of French poems, and particularly from Béranger. Ultimately, the focus is on Irish translators and their renditions of Béranger's poems, and on the reception of Béranger in Ireland.

Product

As a result, we obtained a large number of translations from Béranger produced by Irish translators. Special attention was paid to the most translated songs and to recurring themes. In order to know what these texts were generally about, a minimum of research was needed. Several source texts and translations were looked at in order to assess the main ideas

⁶ See details in List of Periodicals

conveyed, and secondary sources proved helpful as well to this purpose. Some brief extracts are provided in the analysis in order to illustrate the main recurring themes. Attention was equally paid to materials which were not favoured in translation at the time. For this again, access to the original collections of Béranger's songs was useful, as well as drawing information from primary and secondary sources.

Agency

As with the general survey, an investigation of the translators' lives and works was carried out in order to help us understand their relationship with Béranger's works. Special consideration is therefore given to the translators, both individually and as a group. Where possible, their social, cultural and political backgrounds are highlighted. In particular, any available detail concerning their relationship with French culture is underlined.

Motivation and Process

In the light of these translators' lives and works, and the contexts in which they practised translations, motivations behind translations from Béranger were then identified. Only occasionally is a particular textual feature shown in order to give evidence of specific motives. Some amount of translation process and textual agency is thereby taken into account. Again, this is not performed as a general procedure. For example, this approach is taken to underline one translator's use of a particular style, and the ways it confirms the importance of a certain ideology. Additionally, some specific terms are highlighted because they signal recurring themes in the originals, translations and commentaries. They help us determine the particular relationship between these translators and Béranger's poetry. This method is also, to some extent, connected to the concept of representation as discussed in the conceptual methodology.

Choices made in translation, which, in this investigation, are mainly choices of which texts to translate or not to translate, are discussed. Paratextual and metatextual elements are extensively used in this analysis. They provide us with implicit and explicit comments on Béranger and his works. They are very informative of the ways in which Béranger was represented to the Irish public, and of the motives behind translation. Ultimately, this analysis is an attempt to understand the impact of Béranger in nineteenth-century Ireland through translation, and is therefore effectively relevant to our overall analysis of Franco-Irish translation relationships in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY AND CONTEXTS

The present chapter explores the historical and contextual backgrounds to nineteenth-century Franco-Irish translation relationships. Part I begins with historical sketches of Ireland and France for the nineteenth century. It then charts important events that marked the history of French-Irish relations in the nineteenth century, and underlines the salient features of this relationship. Part II provides contextual information in relation to languages, literacy and book trade, in other words, contextual elements which are directly and materially relevant to the production and reception of translations. Finally, Part III is concerned with translation history and examines some key aspects of the history of translation in nineteenth-century Ireland, thereby stressing the importance of translation in Ireland for that period.

2.1 A Historical Overview of the Franco-Irish Relationship in the Nineteenth Century

2.1.1 Introduction

Contents

The nineteenth century was a complex and eventful period for both French and Irish cultures. Both underwent major shifts and upheavals throughout this period. A look at their respective histories is therefore crucial to a better understanding of the Franco-Irish relationship.

Following this introduction, a historical overview of the Franco-Irish relationship is provided. The main recurring features are the military, religious, political and aesthetic aspects of this relationship, with much overlap between them. The impact of each culture upon the other is examined in a separate manner. In other words, the first section looks at the impact of French culture in nineteenth-century Ireland. This includes some narratives of the Irish in France, as travel and migration were important factors of cross-cultural exchange. Accordingly, the

second section investigates the impact of Ireland on French culture. This structure allows us to highlight a critical aspect of the relationship, namely what O'Neill aptly refers to as "the growth in each of national images of the other land" (1985: 9). Such mutual national images are indeed crucial to our understanding of the Franco-Irish relationship. Owing to both the focus of this study and the literature reviewed for this chapter, there is a higher proportion of material relating to the impact of French culture on Irish cultural and political history. Finally, a conclusion will emphasize the predominant features of this historical survey, and address the emerging yet crucial concept of 'the mediators', that is, people, individuals or groups, who construct intercultural bridges.

France in the Nineteenth Century

From a political, social, economic and cultural point of view, French society underwent considerable change in the nineteenth century (Price 1987: ix). Indeed, French history in that period presents a constant series of changes in regime and constitutions, revolutionary upheavals and wars. This series of shifts had begun with the Revolution of 1789. The French Revolution, following the principles of 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité' inspired by eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideas, had abolished absolute monarchy, feudal rights, tithes and an overall oppressive system of taxes which had marked the *ancien régime* (Lough and Lough 1978: 3). The fundamental questions of political legitimacy and popular sovereignty had been raised (ibid: 265). The Catholic Church suffered severely during the Revolution, having lost a great deal of its power and wealth, and from 1789 onwards, French history was marked by an enduring division between the Church's supporters and its anticlerical opponents (Tombs 1996: 15). Republicans often associated Catholicism with counter-revolution and obscurantism, and for Catholics, republicanism often meant godlessness and anti-clericalism (ibid: 134).

The 1790s and early 1800s were marked by revolutionary wars, whereby France had to defend "its frontiers against the attacks of the European Powers who wished to crush the revolutionary fervour before it exported to their territories" (Randell 1991: 3). In this regard, a strong connection developed between French republicanism and nationalism (Tombs 1996: 30). Regarded as a great leader and military commander, Napoleon came to power with a *coup d'état* in 1799, and declared himself Emperor in 1804 (ibid: 5). Though reminiscent of the absolutism that had been abolished by the Revolution, the imperial regime did in fact

consolidate some of the revolutionary achievements, notably through state centralization and a *Code Civil* (Lough and Lough 1978: 1-2). Napoleon I settled the conflict between Church and State through a Concordat with the Vatican in 1801, recognizing on the one hand Catholicism as the religion of the majority of the French population, but on the other hand maintaining state control over the Church (ibid: 6-7). The French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1789-1815), interrupted by the First Bourbon Restoration in 1814, were finally brought to an end in 1815. The period referred to as the 'Hundred Days' thus ended with Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Waterloo. The second restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy followed Napoleon's downfall, with Louis XVIII's accession as King of France (Price 1987: 358). A Romantic cult of Napoleon would subsequently grow up, by which the Empire became viewed as a Golden Age (Tombs 1996: 81).

Lough and Lough (1978: 7; 22) point out that in nineteenth-century France, and particularly in the post-Napoleonic era, the history of the Catholic Church is characterized by a decline of Gallicanism, which favoured independence from Rome, and a development of Ultramontanism, which on the contrary looked to Rome and advocated absolute authority of the Pope. Furthermore, despite a post-1789 erosion of religious authority, the decades between 1830 and 1860 were marked by popular religious revival (Tombs 1996: 241-248) and the growth of the Catholic Church as an institution (ibid: 135). This Catholic revival brought about the building of new churches, schools, seminaries, the reestablishment of religious orders and the foundation of new religious congregations and philanthropic organizations (ibid: 133). Indeed even the early years of the anticlerical Third Republic saw the building of the Sacré Coeur basilica in Paris and the development of mass pilgrimages to Lourdes (ibid: 17).

With a growing liberal opposition to the Bourbon monarchy, tensions eventually led to a major constitutional crisis in 1830 (Price 1987: 359). This led to the abdication of Charles X, then king of France, and Louis Philippe succeeded as 'King of the French' (Tombs 1996: 352-356). In the aftermath of the 1830 Revolution, the liberal parliamentary majority ensured the enlargement of parliamentary responsibility and an extension of the voting rights (Price 1987: 360). The 1830s also marked the beginning of France's colonial empire in Africa (Lough and Lough 1978: 330). The early 1840s saw considerable economic change and growth (Price 1987: 3-4), and overall, the period between 1840 and 1860 witnessed the fastest growth rates in the century (Tombs 1996: 151).

By 1848 though, growing political discontent and an economic crisis led to a Revolution which put an end to the July Monarchy (Price 1987: 360). The February Revolution resulted in the introduction of male universal suffrage and the establishment of the Second Republic. However, in the aftermath of an insurrection in June '48, the Constituent Assembly was anxious to provide a strong government (ibid: 360). Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I, was successfully elected president of the Second Republic (Tombs 1996: 386). Encouraged by the French ultramontane party, Bonaparte restored the Pope's temporal power in 1849 by sending troops against the newly formed Roman Republic (ibid: 387). In addition, liberal Catholics demanded freedom of education and the Loi Falloux was promulgated in 1850, which gave Catholics the right to set up their own schools (ibid: 138). Determined to increase his authority, and supported by the mass of the French population, Bonaparte led a *coup d'état* in 1851 and established France's Second Empire as Napoléon III (Price 1987: 360). The military disaster of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1871, which ended in defeat and with the presence of German troops in France, brought an end to the Empire (ibid: 361). The Third Republic was established and would become the most enduring regime since the French Revolution (Lough and Lough 1978: 17, 333). It was marked by an increased secularization of the state, particularly of the education system.

One of the major events in the 1890s was the Dreyfus Affair, which, notably through Emile Zola's intervention, came to epitomize a deep involvement by France's intellectuals in political matters and public affairs (Tombs 1996: 144). Furthermore, with strong interventions by conservative and anti-Semitic Catholics in the affair, the conflict between Church and Republic intensified (ibid: 462-468). Eventually, the year 1905 saw the disestablishment of the Catholic Church, marking a definitive separation of Church and State in France (Lough and Lough 1978: 334). According to Tombs (1996: 248), the existence of 'two Frances', Catholic and republican, had been a key feature of the post-revolutionary period. During that period, State and Church often struggled for the 'soul of France' (ibid: 142). Under the Third Republic, the State was gradually replacing the Church for moral control of the masses (ibid: 131-132). In this sense, the consolidation of the 'One and Indivisible Republic' by 1880 completed the Revolution that had begun in 1789 (McPhee 1992: 265). This was conspicuously signalled by the adoption of Bastille Day as National Day and the 'Marseillaise' as National Anthem. And despite the very diverse linguistic and cultural landscape of nineteenth-century France (Tombs 1996: 1-2), a unified national, republican culture was thus established, with one single, national language. Assimilation

policies were used, within the country as well as in the overseas colonies (McPhee 1992: 270). “Conscription, education, markets, easier communications, urban values” were decisive factors in the creation of a homogenized national identity, in concordance with the establishment of a centralized nation-state (ibid: 267). The ‘imagined community’ of the French nation can be largely ascribed to the construction of a shared history (Tombs 1996: 1; 302). In schools, children were taught “a mental map which situated them within a French historical, linguistic and geographical entity” (McPhee 1992: 267). As Price puts it,

The ease with which military mobilization occurred in 1914 was evidence of the degree to which, in spite of social divisions, a sense of national community had been created based upon overwhelming acceptance of such values as manhood suffrage and parliamentary democracy, (...) and the moral responsibility to defend la patrie. By these means the era of revolution was brought to an end (1987: 364)

Ireland in the Nineteenth Century

Ireland too underwent major upheavals in the nineteenth century, but its sociohistorical context was extremely different from that of France. Indeed, the situation of Ireland was that of a British colony. By the end of the seventeenth century, through policies of plantations and enforcement of the Penal Laws, Catholics had been dispossessed and excluded from the political life of the country (Corish 1968: 2). While concessions had been made to Catholics in the last decades of the eighteenth century (Kinealy 2008: 133), the vast majority of the people depended upon the Protestant landowners and were legally, politically and economically powerless (MacCaffrey 1910: 103). Some degree of parliamentary independence had been gained in 1782 through the efforts of the Irish Patriots, but growing demands for Catholic Emancipation and full legislative independence remained unsatisfied (Kinealy 2008: 135-138). Late eighteenth-century Ireland had seen the rise of a new radical nationalism which had been shaped by the influence of Enlightenment ideas and of the American and French Revolutions (ibid: 136-138). These revolutions had indeed spread democratic ideas of liberty, equality and toleration (MacCaffrey 1910: 101). As Kinealy (2008: 131) argues, the creation of the Society of United Irishmen in the 1790s and the uprising in 1798 had marked the start of a republican physical force tradition in Ireland, and attempts had been made at taking religion out of politics by presenting an inclusive programme. However, the British government crushed the uprising and a consequence of

these events was the passing of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland in 1800. The political union officially commenced in January 1801. This meant the end of the Irish Parliament, replaced with direct rule from London, as well as more economic integration with Britain (ibid: 141). Although the great majority of the population was Catholic, the Anglican Church was confirmed as Ireland's state church and an unrepresentative Protestant landed elite was governing the country (ibid: 146-147).

However, Catholics were beginning to acquire a voice in the public affairs of the country (MacCaffrey 1910: 98). Daniel O'Connell, a central figure in Irish politics in the first half of the century, established the Catholic Association in 1823 (Kinealy 2009: 23-24). The association aimed at rallying all sections in favour of emancipation, that is, the right for Catholics to sit in parliament, through peaceful, constitutional means. The campaign turned into a mass movement and Catholic emancipation was successfully granted in 1829, followed by further concessions such as the abolition of tithes and the appointment of Catholics to the judiciary (Kinealy 2008: 155-156). O'Connell would henceforth be referred to as 'the Liberator' (Kinealy 2009: 24). Tithes, in particular, had been a major source of grievances and unrest, since they meant that Catholics and non-Anglican Protestants had to pay for the upkeep of the Church of Ireland (Hickey and Doherty 2003: 469). While Catholics were progressively gaining satisfaction, and the Catholic Church was becoming politically and morally stronger, Protestant evangelism was spreading, and proselytism was particularly prominent where and when the population was most vulnerable, such as in the West and during famine times. Rousing religious feeling and exacerbated tensions contributed to increase the divide between Catholics and Protestants (Kinealy 2008: 154-157). Nineteenth-century Ireland was indeed marked by a rise in sectarian conflict.

The 1840s nonetheless saw one notable attempt at inclusiveness in politics, that of the Young Ireland movement, which reawakened the non-sectarian approach of the United Irishmen (ibid: 160-161). They drew inspiration not only from late eighteenth-century radical figures such as Wolfe Tone or Robert Emmet, but also from European Romantic and nationalist movements and ideas (Kinealy 2009: 30). The Young Irelanders were from diverse religious backgrounds and the *Nation*, their nationalist newspaper founded in 1842, helped to spread their influence (Kinealy 2008: 166). More than just providing news and political analyses, the *Nation* aimed at promoting cultural nationalism, by fostering Ireland's culture, history and traditions, and became renowned for its rousing nationalist poetry (Kinealy 2009: 30). The paper was widely read and "it also provided a chance for women to participate in the national

awakening and cultural revival of Ireland” (Kinealy 2008: 166). In 1840 O’Connell resumed agitation for repeal of the Act of Union and founded the Repeal Association (ibid: 158). Initially, the Young Irelanders had rallied around the movement but disagreement arose on various issues and they left the Repeal Association in 1846 (ibid: 160). They formed the Irish Confederation in 1847, the year of O’Connell’s death, and the political initiative of the Repeal movement passed increasingly to the Young Ireland movement (ibid: 166-167). The Famine in the 1840s and the Revolution of 1848 in France would contribute to the radicalization of their movement (Kinealy 2009: 3).

As Kinealy (2008: 161) argues, the Great Famine was a clear sign that the Act of Union had failed. A large portion of Catholics were still poor at the time and “depended on a single crop, potatoes, for survival” (ibid). From 1845 to 1849, potato crops were ravaged by blight, and as other foodstuffs were continuing to leave the country despite calls to restrict exports, the crop failures resulted in widespread death, disease, evictions and mass emigrations (ibid: 162-164). Within the space of six years, notes Kinealy (ibid: 165), Ireland’s population fell by 25%, and the famine years left enduring and painful legacies. The rural poor, mostly Catholics and Irish-speakers, were the most affected. The lack of comprehensive measures resulted in anger towards the British government and Protestant landlords. This anger would translate into radical nationalist feeling (ibid). The French Revolution in February 1848 aroused revolutionary fervour in Ireland as well as throughout Europe, particularly because it had been achieved with little bloodshed. In Ireland, hopes were raised that Repeal could be won in a similar manner (ibid: 167). However, while the Young Ireland movement was radicalizing, the British government used draconian measures to prevent insurgency. The Confederates went ahead with an uprising in the summer of 1848, but they were easily defeated. Following their failed attempt, many were transported to Tasmania or fled the country (ibid: 169-170). Despite the failure of the 1848 rising, the Young Ireland movement “helped to shape the development of Irish nationalism” (ibid), notably through its fusion of cultural and political nationalism (Kinealy 2009: 9; 2008: 170). The Young Ireland’s legacy influenced further developments in Irish cultural nationalism, notably the literary and Gaelic revivals of the late century. Indeed, she observes, “many of the nationalists were also writers and poets, and their contribution to the emergence of cultural nationalism and the Irish Literary Revival was immense” (2009: 11).

The Fenian movement, or I.R.B. (Irish Republican Brotherhood), was founded in Dublin and New York in 1858. Several Fenians came from the Young Ireland movement (Kinealy 2008:

171). Their aim was to gain Irish independence through physical force, and many of them were Catholics, with significant support overseas (ibid: 172). The main Fenian rising occurred in 1867, but the Fenians too were defeated by the British government (ibid: 172-173). However, as Kinealy argues, the movement did have long-term consequences. Not only did their vision inspire subsequent nationalist movements in Ireland, but they had an impact on British politics, as evidenced by William Gladstone's championing of Irish Home rule (ibid). In addition, Gladstone put forward a policy which led to the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in 1869, thereby ending a long-standing grievance (ibid: 156).

The land issue had remained a major source of discord for a great part of the century (ibid: 150). As Kinealy puts it, in nineteenth-century Ireland, "land was largely a Protestant commodity" (ibid: 174) and tenants had very few rights (ibid: 176). Landlords, the largest of whom were also predominantly Anglo-Irish and unionist, were "increasingly regarded as defenders of colonial rule and a barrier to political independence" (ibid: 175). The tenant right movement emerged in the 1850s as a political force demanding reform (ibid: 176). In 1879, the land issue became particularly critical when bad harvests were again followed by evictions of tenants. Michael Davitt, a member of the Fenian movement, established the Land League to campaign for radical land reform (ibid: 177). The movement was strengthened by Charles Stewart Parnell, a leading home rule politician (ibid). The Land League had the particularity of linking constitutional, revolutionary and agrarian elements, which was referred to as the 'New Departure' (Hickey and Doherty 2003: 262). The movement thereupon initiated the Land War, which lasted from 1879 until 1882, and the campaign was successful in securing the 1881 Land Act (Kinealy 2008: 177-181). A milestone for Irish tenants, it marked the beginning of a process of land reform (ibid). After 1882, home rule became the political priority of both Gladstone and Parnell (ibid: 181). Though Parnell died in 1891, the home rule movement continued and the alliance of Gladstone and Parnell "had laid the foundations for a new phase of nationalism that was organised, confident and determined" (ibid: 183).

Furthermore, a different strand of nationalism was rising in the late nineteenth century, which was primarily cultural (ibid: 190). Various scholars have argued that the cultural revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century helped to shape Irish nationalism (ibid; Hutchinson 1987). These were developments in a process that had begun before the nineteenth century, namely the construction of an Irish cultural and national identity (Hutchinson 1987: 50). Cultural nationalism took shape, in particular, through the works of

Irish antiquarians and the scholarly study of Early Irish civilization, the various editions and translations of Gaelic literature by scholars and poets in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, and generally, through popularization of Ireland's cultural and historical heritage as with the Young Ireland movement (see also Part III). Two major revivals were to frame the developments in late nineteenth-century Irish cultural nationalism. The Anglo-Irish literary revival created a new literature in English, inspired by Gaelic Irish material, seeking out Celtic legends and a heroic past, and idealizing the Irish peasantry (Kinealy 2008: 190). The Gaelic revival saw the formation of several non-political organizations which promoted Irish language, culture and traditions, such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), founded in 1884 (ibid: 191). In effect, not only was the GAA, as Kinealy argues, "openly nationalist in its politics" (ibid), but according to Corish, it contributed to the strengthening of the Irish Catholic Church by "stabilising the parish as a social unit" (1985: 233). Founded in 1893, the Gaelic League aimed at reviving the Irish language as living language and, in Douglas Hyde's words, at 'de-anglicizing the Irish people' (Kinealy 2008: 191). Similarly, the Gaelic revival became increasingly politicized as well as increasingly associated with Catholicism (ibid: 192).

Collins (2002: 9; 27) draws our attention to the contribution of Irish Catholic clergymen to the Celtic Revival, and in general, to Ireland's social and cultural history in the second half of the nineteenth century and beyond. Emancipation as well as previous concessions secured in the late eighteenth century had allowed an economically and politically strong Catholic middle-class to emerge (Kinealy 2008: 161; 184). "Concurrent with this was the rise of a strong, centralised, authoritarian Catholic Church" (ibid: 184), and Irish Catholicism was marked by religious renewal in the post-famine era (Corish 1985: 233-234; Larkin 1997: 7). As illustrated through the campaigns for emancipation, for tenant rights, as well as debates on various issues such as education, the clergy had become a new force in Irish politics (MacCaffrey 1910: 194-195). The Church therefore had a growing influence on various aspects of Irish life (Corish 1985: 216; 235). Moreover, "the demand for independence appeared to be moving closer to Catholicism" (Kinealy 2009: 32). Corish (1985: 229) points out that the relation established during the nineteenth century between the Catholic clergy and the 'political nation' was to prove enduring. Ultimately, as various scholars have argued, nineteenth-century developments in cultural, constitutional and Catholic nationalism inspired the minds of political revolutionaries in the first decades of the twentieth century (Collins 2002: 17-21; Kinealy 2009: 17).

2.1.2 The Franco-Irish Relationship: a Historical Overview

Links between what is now known as Ireland and France have developed from the earliest times, but the following overview focuses on nineteenth-century connections. Investigating the long-standing relationship between Ireland and France can at times cast a light on their respective relationships with England. For many of the Irish who went to France in the period between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries it was often the case, as Cronin puts it, of France being ‘not-England’ (2007: 25). And for France, around the same period, England often stood as its traditional battlefield enemy. In addition to various socioeconomic factors, the colonization of Ireland and ensuing religious persecutions of the Catholics therefore played a major part in the history of the Franco-Irish relationship. On the other hand, as we shall now see, the relationship between France and Ireland cannot simply be reduced to their relations to England.

Although space constraints preclude an exhaustive presentation, this chapter hopes to demonstrate that the Franco-Irish relationship cannot be reduced to one type of narrative, but offers a wide and diverse array of stories and themes. Questions of influence, reaction, mutual observation, love or dislike, bring forth numerous connections, parallels and contrasts. Generally, as Conroy puts it,

Political motivation, shared beliefs (religious or otherwise) and mutual self-interest may originally lie behind many alliances and friendships, but over time many small connections and pacts have built a complex of positive attitudes which have become part of the warmest Europe can boast (2009b: xiii)

Similarly, Déon (2007: 8-9) underlines the absence of hostility and a sense of attraction between French and Irish cultures. Yet, ambivalent views have also been recorded on the Franco-Irish subject. As Lee (2004: 13) argues, the purpose is to rely on evidence rather than on stereotype.

The Impact of France on Ireland in the Nineteenth Century

The Irish Colleges

With the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, emphasis had been placed on education, particularly that of the clergy (O’Connor 2009: 258). Yet,

partly due to the Penal Laws in Ireland, many Irish Catholics had to seek education abroad. Irish colleges were founded around Europe, training priests, as well as law and medical students. Until the French Revolution, these colleges played a crucial role in the provision of an educated clergy at home (Giblin 1978: 11; Swords 1989: 16). A number of Irish priests, however, opted to remain in France to undertake pastoral work (Giblin 1978: 20). Many Irish college students also achieved prominence in French universities and court circles, particularly doctors and theologians (Swords 1989: 14-15; 1978: 54). Other students chose a military career and joined the Irish Brigade. The colleges became networking centres as well as intercultural centres, and helped maintain to some extent an Irish-language scholarship (National Library of Ireland 2009: 7). Irish Catholics in France were thus able to maintain their heritage, as well as being exposed to continental influences. The students' distinctive cultural heritage indeed came into contact with European forms of arts and letters. Consequently, "for European fashions and ideas they [the Irish colleges] acted as highways into Ireland" (ibid). Irish students and clergymen returned home with new ideas and an enlarged, multicultural inheritance. In particular, notes Corish (1968: 23; 1985: 109), many Irish clergymen were exposed to post-Tridentine influences, often adapting their learning to Irish circumstances. As MacCaffrey (1910: 103) points out, they came to realize the degradation of Irish Catholics at home by comparing with the splendour of Catholic religion on the Continent. According to Giblin, more than half of the Irish clergy were educated in France in the eighteenth century, and because such a close bond had been created, "Irish eyes and minds were focused on Europe in hope, affection and gratitude" (1971: 64).

The French Revolution resulted both in the suppression of most Irish colleges in France, Flanders and Spain (Giblin 1978: 20), and in the disbandment of the Irish Brigade (Swords 1978: 62). Many Irishmen made their way back home, though, as Swords (1989: 139-140) notes, a number of Irish priests remained in France after the Revolution. They were particularly in demand as tutors, at a time when religious teaching houses had been suppressed.

'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity': the 1790s

By the late eighteenth century and the coming of the French Revolution, the numbers of Irish soldiers, students and clerics in France had thus decreased for various reasons, including a relaxation of the Penal Laws and the possibility for Catholics to enlist in the British army, the closing of the Irish colleges during the revolutionary unrest, and the creation of Maynooth in

1795 (O'Connor 2009: 258-259). The Revolution and the Reign of the Terror were difficult times for anyone linked to the clergy or the aristocracy. Maynooth College not only could remedy the acute need for priests in Ireland, but it was also intended as “a seminary in which Irish priests could be educated safe from the revolutionary ideas of France” (Parkes 1996: 541). On the other hand, with ideas such as those championed by the French Enlightenment and the Revolution, France increasingly became a source of political inspiration for the Irish. The ‘Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité’ motto, the Republican ideals, notably the principle of the sovereignty of the people, found particular resonance with those who were hostile to English rule in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland. Moreover, France was important to Irish radicals for strategic reasons, “because of its interest and potential influence as a neighbouring and rival power to the United Kingdom” (Comerford 1982: 115).

French revolutionary ideas appealed to the United Irishmen, and Wolfe Tone’s affection for France and for her Republican aspirations, as well as his pride to be a French soldier, contrasted with his hatred of England (Pernot-Deschamps 2004: 289). Joannon contends that Tone was “a child of the Age of Enlightenment, which believes in the equality of men and in the merits of education” (1974: 85). Those who were now rebelling against English rule were no longer just Catholics, but also Dissenters. Indeed, the penal legislation had been designed to favour members of the Anglican Church, therefore penalizing both Catholics and Protestant dissenting groups (Kinealy 2008: 120). Kinealy (ibid: 140-141) notes that even the internal organization of the United Irish Society as well as some of the tactics used by insurgents in 1798 were modelled on the French revolutionary experience. Whelan (1993: 276-290) draws our attention to the popularization of French revolutionary airs in 1790s Ireland. Indeed, he notes, the United Irishmen were successful in ‘bringing the Republic to the village’ through the printed word and through popular songs and airs. In particular, he recounts an episode in the year 1795, when soldiers had to be called out in County Cork ‘to prevent the planting of a tree of liberty’, which “was to be accompanied by ‘the playing of the Marseillaise, Réveil le Peuple [sic], Ça ira etc’ by a specially requisitioned group of blind pipers” (ibid: 290).

Revolutionary France was offering assistance to suffering nations and so the United Irishmen thought that she could bring freedom and justice to Ireland (Fehlman 1974: 19). Moreover, Napoleon was threatening English power in Europe and in the Mediterranean. Several meetings were held between delegates of the United Irishmen and the French Directory, notably with Napoleon. Kleinman (2004: 295-310) highlights the often-overlooked

interlingual aspects of these negotiations. Indeed, she points out that linguistic skills and issues of translation were crucial to such decisive moments of communication. Eventually, the negotiations led to several expeditions to Ireland. However, all attempts failed, with disastrous consequences for the Irish, and notably for Tone himself. Although Napoleon I did not provide the full support hoped for by the United Irishmen, he became a significant figure in the Irish psyche. Indeed, Irish ballads of the time are evidence that Napoleon was held as a legendary hero who would bring liberty and equality to Ireland by ridding her of her English enemy (Petiet and Petiet 1974: 109-116).

Nineteenth-century France and post-Union Irish Politics

According to Fehlman, the Roman Catholic Church too played a part in the dissemination of French ideas in nineteenth-century Ireland. Indeed, he argues, priests who had pursued their studies in continental seminaries brought back to Ireland both “a very special brand of Catholicism” and a certain “political maturity” (1974: 22). Moreover, Daniel O’Connell, one of the most influential political leaders in nineteenth-century Ireland, had received part of his education in France, learning, in particular, techniques of eloquence and rhetoric, which served him well in his campaign for Catholic Emancipation (Neville 2004: 245). On the other hand, the reign of the Terror in France made him distrust the French (ibid: 245-246) and this too had an impact on the future advocate of non-violent political action.

Another consequence of the French Revolution of 1789 was the displacement of French Catholic scholars, some of whom came to Maynooth in the 1790s (Collins 2002: 45). According to Collins (ibid: 46), they, along with some of the returning Irish clergymen, imported into Ireland the particular Gallican school of Roman Catholic thought. The spirit of Gallicanism has often been described as a rigorist school of thought, and, in France, it meant a strong attachment to the monarchy. Yet, Collins argues, in the nineteenth-century Irish context, Gallicanism came to reinforce nationalism among the clergy. Larkin agrees in that Maynooth College “came to produce the Irish priest...at once a patriot in politics and a rigorist in his moral theology” (1997: 101-102). Collins (2002: 46) cites the example of Archbishop John MacHale, who became an influential nationalist figure in nineteenth-century Ireland. MacHale supported Catholic Emancipation, Repeal, tenant rights movements, and opposed British schemes for national non-denominational schools and colleges. He had met the liberal Catholic Lamennais, with whom he shared a concern for the poor and a fear of irreligion (ibid: 85-86). Cardinal Cullen, one of the most influential Irish

churchmen in the second half of the nineteenth century, had strong connections with Rome and took upon himself the task of reshaping the Irish church along Roman lines (Kerr 1982: 358). One of his main objectives was to root out any traces of Gallicanism in Ireland, and introduce more Roman devotions (ibid). Kerr observes that at Cullen's death in 1878, the Irish Catholic Church had indeed become "stronger and better organized, if more Roman, than at any previous point in its history" (ibid).

Woods (2009a: 323) establishes a correlation between education in France and Irish radicalization by listing names of Irishmen who, having spent time at the Collège des Irlandais in Paris, later engaged in political activities. A typical example would be Archbishop Thomas William Croke (1823-1902), who went on to defend agrarian agitation back in Ireland. Throughout the nineteenth century and early into the twentieth century, France continued to be a place of refuge for Irish political exiles. Among those was David Bailie Warden (1772-1845), a United Irishman acting as diplomat for the American government (ibid: 326). Moreover, Warden sent translations of scientific interest to the Belfast Literary Society (see Presentation of General Survey). Undoubtedly he must have been attentive to scientific developments in France and was keen to share this knowledge with his compatriots. Later in the nineteenth century, more Irish radicals made their way to France, among them several of the Young Ireland and Fenian movements (Boyce 2005: 128; 152). In some cases, Irish political rebels even took the opportunity to pursue their studies, become newspaper correspondents or participate in underground political and press activities (Woods 2009a: 328). While the American connection with Fenianism is more commonly mentioned in historical narratives of Irish nationalism, the historical perspective of Ireland in the world may thus be broadened by highlighting the French dimension to Irish political history in the nineteenth century.

The events of 1848 merit special mention here as an important episode of the Franco-Irish relationship. French revolutionary ideas and French literature had exerted great impact on the Young Irelanders (Buckley 1982: 99-113). In particular, Thomas Davis was truly inspired by various French poets and historians, notably Augustin Thierry, and was eager to read the French press (ibid). Buckley (ibid: 100) adds that France's place in the *Nation's* pedigree is undisputed. The *Nation*, which often referred to Wolfe Tone, continued his legacy by "spreading the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" (ibid: 103). The 1848 uprising in Ireland had drawn much inspiration from the February Revolution in France. In April 1848, some of the Young Irelanders had even arranged to meet with the French provisional

government, hoping to gain their support (Kinealy 2008: 167). Buckley points out that “the aid and understanding of a great nation made the Irish cause respectable” and Davis had wished “to make the Irish position internationally acceptable” (1982: 100). However, pressure from the British government had already forestalled them, and the French response they received, though encouraging, was lukewarm as far as involvement in British affairs was concerned (Kinealy 2008: 167-168; Comerford 1982: 117). Comerford (1982: 118-119) suggests that the radical political culture in Paris, particularly the element of oath-bound secret societies, had an impact on the Fenians, and that hopes for a French dimension to Irish nationalist militancy remained in the minds of Irish revolutionaries until the Franco-Prussian crisis in 1870.

A Catholic France?

Certainly one of the most significant areas of French influence in nineteenth-century Ireland is related to French Catholic religious orders, particularly the teaching orders. The educational impact was tremendous, but they were also influential in the nursing and reformatory fields. Male teaching orders with close links with France included the Jesuits (see Chapter 3/Religion), the Holy Ghost Fathers (Spiritans), who arrived in 1859, the De La Salle Brothers (1880), and their Irish counterparts, the Christian Brothers, the teaching congregation founded by Edmund Rice in 1802 (see Chapter 3). Several teaching orders conveyed a strong charitable and missionary outlook, such as the Holy Ghost Fathers who aimed at ministering to the poor around the world, perhaps contributing to an enduring Irish missionary tradition. Citing the example of the Christian Brothers schools, Logan argues that in Ireland, “perhaps the most effective expression of Catholic philanthropy, in the long term, was the movement which led to the foundation of congregations of teaching religious, modelled on French counter-reformation prototypes” (1990: 120). Furthermore, it is worth noting the pivotal role played by such schools in the political history of Ireland, notably in the history of Irish republicanism and nationalism. The example of Irish President Éamon De Valera is revealing. Indeed, De Valera had been educated both by the Christian Brothers in Limerick and at the Holy Ghost Fathers’ College at Blackrock, also referred to as ‘the French school’ (Boyce 2004: 56).

The impact of French religious orders of women deserves special mention. Besides the Ursulines, who arrived in Ireland in the 1770s, the main female religious orders which came from France to Ireland in the period include: The Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul

(1855), the Faithful Companions of Jesus (1844), the Sisters of the Good Shepherd (1848), the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge (1853), the Sisters of St. Louis (1859), the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny (1860), the Sisters of the Sacred Heart (1842), the Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary (1870), La Sainte Union des Sacrés Coeurs (1862), the Sisters of Bon Secours (1865), the Marist Sisters (1873), The Little Sisters of the Assumption (1891), the Little Sisters of the Poor (c1860s) and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary. Additionally, the Sisters of Marie Reparatrice, also known as the Reparation nuns, founded in Strasburg (1857) by a Belgian woman, Emilie d'Hooghvorst d'Oultremont, and set up in Limerick in 1884, were a contemplative community (Clear 1987: 110). It is reasonable to assume that this influx of new religious congregations contributed to what Clear (ibid: 36-8) describes as a dramatic increase in the numbers of nuns in nineteenth-century Ireland, particularly in the second half of the century. Their arrival in Ireland coincides with the re-emergence of Catholics into Irish public life. Moreover, the creation of Irish native congregations was often inspired by French traditions (ibid: 102). Most notably, the Irish Sisters of Charity, founded in the 1810s, drew their inspiration from the Daughters of Charity, an early modern French congregation of sisters who worked outside the convent enclosure (ibid). By breaking traditional rules, the Daughters of Charity provided a model for many future congregations. According to Fahey, “by the end of the nineteenth century, the typical nun taught in public schools, visited the sick and the poor in their homes, worked in hospitals and provided other forms of welfare service, all in the cause of Catholic propagation” (1987: 9).

These female congregations were often socially-concerned, turning their attention towards the economically and socially disadvantaged, the poor, the sick, as well as women and children whom they generally perceived as vulnerable and in need of moral and spiritual guidance. However, they also established schools for wealthier Catholic girls, and their influence over the middle and upper classes increased from the 1840s onwards (Clear 1987: 112). Besides elementary tuition, communities such as the Ursulines and the St. Louis Sisters operated what is known as “superior” schools, namely secondary schools. Magray (1998: 81) observes that in 1901, 91 percent of Catholic girls received their education in convent superior schools.

The Ursulines, a female religious teaching order, were the first to come from France to Ireland in the 1770s (O'Connor 2002: 650). Arriving with a planned educational system dating back to seventeenth-century Jesuit boarding-school traditions, they were originally invited to Cork by Nano Nagle, a Corkwoman who had been educated in France. Nagle

subsequently founded the first native Irish order, the Presentation Sisters. The Ursulines' aristocratic emphasis on deportment would remain an essential part of the French convent tradition, and, as O'Connor puts it, "many of the phrases used in the Ursulines Règlements – for example *la bonne tenue* (suitable way of dressing and behaving) and *du bon maintien* (well-bred of acting) – were to become firmly rooted in the convent boarding-schools of Ireland" (ibid: 651). The Catholic boarding-school tradition was a significant area of European, mostly French influence. In nineteenth-century Ireland, only 6 convent boarding-schools were run by Irish religious orders out of a total of 62 (ibid).

According to O'Connor, "While orders such as the Ursulines, Sacred Heart, and the FCJ [Faithful Companions of Jesus] displayed the greatest degree of French influence, most convent boarding schools in Ireland were influenced to some degree by various aspects of French culture and traditions during the nineteenth century" (1987: 38). Convent schools often emphasized the learning of French. The typical curriculum included English, French, Italian, arithmetic, history, use of the globe, astronomy, needlework, music, drawing and dancing (O'Connor 2002: 651). An advertisement by the Sacred Heart of Mary convent in 1875 stresses that 'As French is the language generally spoken in the convent, the pupils will have the advantage of learning to speak it fluently and with the purest accent' (cited in O'Connor 1987: 38). In the St Louis boarding school of Monaghan, prayers were said in French and the senior classes were conducted almost entirely in the French language (ibid).

Furthermore, the emphasis on refinement, deportment, and on the domestic role of women, was common to many girls' convent schools of French origin. In 1880, St Catherine's Convent, Ramsgrange, County Wexford placed the following advertisement: 'This School, conducted by the Sisters of St. Louis of France, possesses many advantages deserving the attention of Parents and Guardians. (...) The deportment and manners of the pupils are scrupulously attended to; no efforts are spared to give the young ladies habits of order and neatness, that they may return to their families not only accomplished but helpful and intelligent in all the duties of woman's sphere' (cited in O'Connor 2002: 662-663). Irish writer Kate O'Brien described the Reverend Mother of Laurel Hill FCJ convent, her old school in Limerick, as 'an almost fanatical instructor in behaviour, or deportment' (cited in Clear 1987: 121). Clear (ibid: 122) notes that convent education for Catholic girls was heavily influenced by Fénelon, a French seventeenth-century educationalist who stressed the need for moral training in girls' education, emphasizing the emulation of the Virgin Mary and of the Saints to form virtue in children. Various historians of education in Ireland (Fahey

1987: 18; O'Connor 1987: 36; Raftery and Harford 2007: 51) argue that the refining influence of convent schools, and the emphasis on the religious, moral and domestic aspects of girls' education, fitted well with the wishes of both the parents and the Catholic hierarchy at the time. Nuns were regarded as models of piety, purity and morality. O'Connor (1987: 37) notes that a great number of French teaching orders of women were introduced into Ireland during Paul Cullen's period of office as archbishop of Dublin (1852-78).

Moreover, much of the reformatory system which was begun in the late 1850s in Ireland, namely convent-run institutions such as orphanages, industrial training schools and reformatories, was modelled on similar systems recently established in Europe and America (Magray 1998: 83). Clear (1987: 106) notes that very often, however, French congregations such as the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge or the Good Shepherd, both founded in seventeenth-century France, were invited to take over asylums already in existence under lay management. The St Louis Sisters ran a reformatory school in Monaghan, the Ulster Reformatory School for Catholic Girls. In this institution, they claimed, 'young offenders' could be 'formed to habits of industry and virtue' (cited in *ibid*: 23). The Good Shepherd arrived in Limerick in 1848 and according to Clear, they "set up a home for ex-prostitutes and unmarried mothers, and later a juvenile reformatory and a hostel for working girls" (1987: 82).

Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that the influence of congregations of French provenance, notably their impact on native Irish convents, was spread through exchanges and contacts between the nuns. Convent schools were also effective sites for educating future postulants. Clear (1987: 90-91) notes that in 1895, over half of the Sisters of Mercy based in Limerick city were past-pupils of Laurel Hill FCJ convent, an exclusive boarding and day school which opened in 1845. As Magray (1998: 60) and Clear (1987: 97; 148) both demonstrate, nuns frequently maintained contact with each other, and sisters making new foundations often visited other convents. From the 1810s onwards, multiple exchanges and visits were arranged between the various native and continental congregations, thereby forming new informal networks of Catholic influence.

Keogh (2009: 156) stresses the impact of French religious educational institutions on many Irish men and women. He notes that in schools run by the Jesuits, the Holy Ghost Fathers, and by their numerous teaching female counterparts, students received "an educational and religious tradition whose origins either lay in France, or were heavily influenced by French

tradition” (ibid: 155). As a result, he argues, the France that took shape in students’ minds was a Catholic France. For a great part of the century, the majority of Irish people saw France as a Catholic power, remarks Comerford (1982: 124). In Ireland, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, generations of boys and girls attended schools run by religious orders with close links to France (Keogh 2009: 152-170). This trend was reinforced around the turn of the twentieth century, when new state policies in France led to the dissolution of numerous male and female congregations, resulting in the dispersal of French religious to other countries in Europe (ibid: 157). Traditionally, these schools would convey a Catholic view of French literature and civilization, with an emphasis on seventeenth- to nineteenth-century French classics (ibid). In this regard, education, language and literature have been powerful channels of influence, and French literature has been available for centuries in Ireland, both in the language and in translation (See also Parts II and III).

On the other hand, the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland was often critical towards the French Revolution because of its treatment of the Church (Kinealy 2008: 137). This feeling grew stronger during the Third Republic, owing to further secularization of French society. In this regard, France was also considered as a source of dangerous, ‘contagious’ influences. From the United Irish movement to Fenianism, the Catholic Church in Ireland often feared republicanism for its Jacobin and anti-religious connotations (Collins 2002: 16). France was increasingly associated with anti-clericalism while “Irish Catholic society was becoming more uniformly orthodox and ultramontane” (Comerford 1982: 124).

Nineteenth-Century Irish Writers on France: Some Mixed Views

The history of the Franco-Irish relationship is filled with stories of Irish writers who spent time in France. Whether or not their visits were directly or indirectly related to the above-mentioned religious or political motives, each of these writers came to, or returned from France with a particular image of French society in their minds. They undoubtedly contributed to French life in their own various ways, and in turn France had an impact upon their lives and thoughts.

Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson) travelled to France and published her *France* in 1817 and its sequel in 1830. Various channels of French influence on her works have been suggested, from the influence of her Huguenot teachers (Brihault 2007: 115) to the impact of Madame de Staël’s and Rousseau’s writings (Ó Gallchoir 2004: 69-82; Brihault 2007: 119). Moreover, while in Paris, Lady Morgan met various personalities from the literary and political circles.

She had a keen interest in post-revolutionary France and looked to political, social, economic and cultural matters that may have been of use to Ireland at the time. For these reasons, Brihault (ibid: 115) suggests that she built bridges between Irish and French cultures. Her writings, imbued with patriotism, are also embedded with French and Hiberno-English elements and according to Leerssen (2010: 1025), her *Wild Irish Girl* (1806) became the prototype of the Irish ‘national novel’.

Other representatives of the ‘national novel’ genre were John Banim and Charles Maturin (ibid). In some of the brothers Banim’s novels, observes Escarbelt (1974: 136), France appears as a historical presence. Among the main aspects which characterize her image in their novels are a sentimental and romantic spirit, with emotions most at play in scenes of death and departure, a reputation for loose morals, which ‘are said to be not so prim in France as in England or Ireland’ (in *The Smuggler*, 1833, cited in ibid: 141), as well as violence in politics, with crimes perpetrated by the revolutionaries, and sons being taken from their parents by a soldier-hungry Napoleon (ibid: 146-149). Such conservative or fearful outlook on post-revolutionary France was not necessarily related to any religious persuasion. John Banim was a Catholic, Charles Maturin an Anglican. Maturin’s writings reflected a more direct and virulent hostility towards France’s predominant political ambitions and religion. As summarized by Fierobe, Maturin thought of France as “a country of regicides and papists” (1974: 120). For him, the French Enlightenment philosophers presented a danger against virtue and faith, and so he held atheism “responsible for the moral decay of his time” (ibid: 124).

A very different Franco-Irish narrative is that of Charles Bonaparte Wyse. Indeed Wyse’s interest lay particularly in Provençal culture. He became a proficient speaker and writer in the Provençal language, and a key figure in the *Félibrige* movement (Ní Chonaill 2004: 313-326). The nineteenth century was a time of language shifts in places like France and Ireland, marked by the increasing hegemony of French and English respectively. Yet the period was equally marked by Romantic and nationalist sentiment, and the flourishing of philological activity (see also Part III). The *Félibrige* movement aimed at supporting endangered regional languages and cultures, most particularly the Provençal language and literature. Ní Chonaill (ibid: 316) remarks that this movement has been described as the first of its kind in Europe. Seemingly, Wyse made no contribution to the defence of the Irish language but correlations have been made between the *Félibrige* movement and the Gaelic League (ibid: 326).

Aesthetic Links

As Rafroidi (1974: 50) points out, France has often provided a language or a milieu to Irish writers and artists. In many cases, France served them as a source of fresh ideas and of new literary and aesthetic connections, thereby offering new possibilities for creative expression. Often, as in the case with Edith Somerville and Martin Ross, links have been established with French realism such as Balzac's novels. Indeed Fehlmann (1974b: 158-162) suggests that Somerville and Ross, who spent time in Paris, managed to grasp the realities of their time in a Balzacian manner. It was both their contact with French writings and their travels away from Ireland that influenced their fictional representations of Ireland.

Similarly, George Moore's immersion in French culture had a profound impact on his life and writings. Pierson (2007: 147-156) notes that Moore's novels can be linked to the works of Flaubert, Huysmans or the Goncourt brothers through their common 'anti-establishment' statements, artistic vocation and Bohemian characteristics. Dabrigeon-Garcier (2004: 55-68) highlights the connection between Moore and French naturalist writers such as Zola.

Applying the scientific methods of observation and experiment to literature, with importance given to 'milieu', to determinism and to the mind's mechanisms, French naturalist novels exerted an impact on Moore, whose aim was to bring naturalism to English-language novels.

Oscar Wilde, who chose to write his *Salomé* in French, seemed to be at a crossroads between cultures and languages. Wilde was greatly attracted to the Symbolist and Decadent aesthetics, to exotic and oriental features, and to the liberal society in France. His inclinations contrasted with his strong dislike of English moral conservatism. Various scholars have established links between Flaubert's and Wilde's writings. In particular, Le Juez (2004: 84-96) underlines that for Wilde, Flaubert's novels presented a departure from moralizing influences, offering instead an advocacy of art, beauty and style. Markey (2007: 133-145) suggests an even wider intertextual web, including similarities between Wilde's work and French nineteenth-century drama, as well as a particular relationship with French fairy tales such as those by Leprince de Beaumont or Countess d'Aulnoy.

The nature of the relationship of Synge with France may appear less obvious. In the first decade of the twentieth century, and in immediate response to the image of Ireland reflected in his plays, Synge was accused by extreme nationalists and moral conservatives of being 'frenchified' (Mortimer 1974: 183). Yet, one of the strongest literary and scholarly connections between Synge and France lies in the Breton and Celticist elements. Indeed, the

comparative methods used by Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville in his lectures on Celtic civilization and languages, which Synge attended, as well as various links established with Breton culture through Anatole le Braz and Pierre Loti's novels, led him to a deep awareness of his Irish identity (Leblanc 1974: 197; Kiberd 2010: 214). This, combined with a comprehensive and critical study of French literature and drama, helped him develop his aesthetic principles and in turn produce influential Irish drama in English. His French and Irish 'journeys' are marked by attention to language and translation, first by his approach to the French language, resulting in translations from French for both study and creative purposes (Leblanc 1974: 195-196), and second, by his enthusiasm for Irish and his use of a distinctive Hiberno-English language in his works (Kiberd 2010: 214-215; Cronin 1996: 140-142). According to Stanley (1974: 167-180), Yeats had a particularly different 'French experience'. Here, the impact of French culture on Yeats's work is rather linked to French symbolic aesthetics in general. Indeed, late nineteenth-century French symbolism, particularly painting, allowed him to forge his own aesthetic views and establish correspondences between various art forms. Stanley notes that French painting, like French literature, offered Yeats "certain analogies with his own creative principles and aims, particularly where myth or symbol expressed a vision of the world beyond...the positivism of the age" (ibid: 179).⁷

Lastly, one cannot investigate nineteenth-century Franco-Irish aesthetic links without at least mentioning the impact French painting had on the various Irish artists who made their way to France in the latter half of the century. Indeed, as Campbell (1984: 12) observes, while many Irish artists had looked to England for their training or their livelihood up until the mid-nineteenth century, an increasing number of artists went to Paris to study. To name but a few, this movement included artists such as Nathaniel Hone 'the younger', in the 1850s, George Joy in the 1860s, Aloysius O'Kelly and Sarah Purser in the 1870s, and Helen Mabel Trevor and Roderic O'Conor in the 1880s. The eighties as well as the turn of the century saw the greatest concentration of Irish artists in Paris (ibid). They did not necessarily limit their French experience to Paris, and often found their way to Brittany, Normandy or the forest of Fontainebleau (ibid: 13). Neither did they limit themselves to one particular strand of French painting, rather drawing their inspiration from several schools such as Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, *Avant-garde* painting, Plein-airism and the Pont-Aven Group (ibid: 53-115). Campbell notes that these individual Irish experiences did not lead to the creation of an 'Irish

⁷ On Yeats' symbolism and international dimension, see also Genet (2009).

School' as such, but he underlines that the instruction they received encouraged in particular "a movement towards Naturalism", with "greater realism in choice of subject and treatment, humble everyday subjects and rural scenes, working people and naturalistic landscapes" (ibid: 115). He adds that those who came back to Ireland often adapted their styles and choices of colours to Irish circumstances (ibid).

In conclusion, for many Irish writers and artists throughout the nineteenth century, France has represented what Conroy refers to as "an intellectual refuge, a place of passage where ideas could be accessed and transmuted" (2009b: xv), and ultimately, a way to find one's true signature.

The Impact of Ireland on France in the Nineteenth Century: some French Views of Ireland

From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, there were several, ultimately failed, attempts by the French to come and assist the Irish against English rule. According to Fehlmann, a combination of motives prompted the French to support the Irish cause. Indeed, he argues, help from the French in the seventeenth century was largely ascribable to the Catholic friendship between James II and Louis XIV on the one hand, and a means to "annoy England" on the other (1974a: 15-17). Revolutionary ideals were certainly at play in the late eighteenth century. Indeed, Kleinman (2009: 177) reminds us of a 1798 landing proclamation distributed by Général Hardy declaring that Ireland was to be free forever. Yet, Fehlmann (1974a: 24) suggests that a French victory against England may have been an even stronger motive for the French Directory and Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon gave some consideration to helping Ireland against England, but he directed his greater efforts toward his campaigns in Egypt. As for Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, he would later call "for an annual commemoration by 'the independent people of Ireland' of Tone's sacrifice" (Kleinman 2009: 183), which suggests that he perceived Ireland as a distinct nation.

Much of the documentation available to us in relation to French views of Ireland is linked to travel and fiction. Travelogues, as evidenced by the following examples, are often as much about the traveller as about the place of visit. Although French travellers to Ireland came from various backgrounds, Catholic writings seem to be forming the greater part of this body of literature. For example, the journals of Montalembert (1830) and Tocqueville (1835)

reveal their views of an Ireland polarized between Ascendancy and Catholics (Rivière and O'Connor 2007: 41-60). Their concerns for, and representations of Ireland were closely related to their wider views on social, political and religious matters such as democracy and Catholicism. Both Roman Catholics, they promoted political and religious liberty as well as social equality, and the situation in Ireland indeed appeared to them as lacking in both freedom and equality. Montalembert was a champion of liberal Catholicism, as were Lamennais and Lacordaire. Having developed an interest in Ireland early in his life, he became concerned with Irish Catholic rights. According to Rivière (2004: 147-161), his visit to Ireland exerted great impact upon his religious and political ideas.

Montalembert was a fervent admirer of Daniel O'Connell, who had a tremendous impact, not only on the liberal Catholics, but on other movements in France. Indeed O'Connell's heroic figure represented this non-violent, patriotic, emancipator model which could be used for various political and religious interests such as republicanism, Catholicism, nationalism, but also control of the masses or even socialist aspirations (Colantonio 2004: 259-273). In turn, with its international aspirations, the French liberal Catholic movement worked towards the dissemination of O'Connell's ideas in Germany, through translation, periodicals, as well as personal contacts with German Catholic intellectuals, leading to the setting-up of a German Catholic association (Grogan 2004: 275-286). Gustave de Beaumont, author of *L'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse* (1839), was another Frenchman who admired O'Connell. For him, O'Connell's Ireland represented the model of a European nation progressively embracing “the democratic spirit’ without violence and without destroying the liberal social order” (Colantonio 2004: 270).

2.1.3 Conclusions

Cultural, Political and Religious Interlinks

The history of the Franco-Irish relationship reveals countless manifestations of cultural and political exchange and influence. Notwithstanding the importance of aesthetic links, religious and political considerations have played a crucial part in the birth and development of this relationship, with at least three major concerns or sets of beliefs: Catholicism, Republicanism and Nationalism. The notion of representation is also crucial to understand this relationship,

because what Ireland and France thought of each other and how they represented each other have been influential factors on cultural, religious and political developments. We should also bear in mind that there have been some mixed and ambivalent views on each side, and in nineteenth-century Ireland, a representation of a liberal France, with ‘loose’ morals, seems to have cohabited with images of France as a Catholic sister or as a revolutionary model. The Franco-Irish relationship was generally very close throughout the nineteenth century, based on the one hand on a common religious tradition, Catholicism, and forged on the other hand by revolutionary ideals, namely democratic, republican and nationalistic aspirations.

Christianity, and particularly Catholicism, as a common heritage, seems to have acted as a cement to this age-old relationship. Whereas Irish monks made an impact in early medieval Europe, later developments in Catholic Ireland were marked by European influences, including French post-Tridentine Catholic thought. The channels of influence have been various, including schools where many Irish Catholics received their education, both in France and in Ireland. In turn, Daniel O’Connell’s campaign for Catholic Emancipation made an impact on the French liberal Catholic movement. Ultimately, the Catholic Church emerged as a central force in Ireland in the course of the nineteenth century (Boyce 2005: 5). Collins argues that for the Irish Catholic hierarchy, “while Republicanism might have started out as an intensely anti-clerical French creed and the church might have started out as intensely anti-republican... republicanism became Hibernicized – and Catholicized; as for Irish Catholicism it became republicanised” (2002: 186).

Republicanism and nationalism have also been crucial aspects of Hiberno-French relations. French revolutionary ideas had a major impact in Ireland, which may be aptly summarized by Tone’s reference to the French Revolution as ‘the *morning-star* of liberty to Ireland’ (‘Candid observer’ 1799: 9, original emphasis). As O’Brien (2007: 273-308) demonstrates, the term ‘Republicanism’ would have different connotations in Ireland and France, but the history of Hiberno-French relations reveals some commonalities and shared ideas. The French Revolution(s) had captured the popular imagination in Ireland, and ideals such as popular sovereignty, liberty and equality were championed in both countries throughout the century. Another critical element was that the mirror held by France to Ireland generally reflected the image of a distinct, respectable nation. Kleinman (2009: 183) points out that for the French in general, Ireland indeed seemed to represent a distinct national entity. This in turn would have contributed to strengthen Ireland’s bond with France. Additionally, national self-confidence was nourished by cultural imports. As illustrated by the literary revival, a new Irish literature

in English was developed using Irish cultural elements as well as drawing from French and other European sources (see Part III). A cultural and national self-confidence was therefore possible with an international outlook. This outlook has been that of modern Irish culture, with various Irish and French writers and artists nourishing their minds with each other's creations.

One chapter would certainly not be enough to deal with so many instances of Hiberno-French contact and crossfertilization. Indeed, not only is the number of examples necessarily limited, but many aspects have not yet been explored in the already evolved and stimulating literature in Franco-Irish studies. For instance, the importance of investigating the role(s) played by the 'mediators' is only beginning to emerge.

The Mediators

The 'mediator' or 'bridge-builder', or again the 'passeur' as Conroy puts it, is a crucial figure in crosscultural interactions: "These are people who, having themselves crossed spatial, temporal, linguistic or cultural boundaries, create paths of access for others" (2009b: xix).

Translators, who are essentially in-between cultures and stimulate interculturality, are therefore crucial mediators. Translation is a vital mediating channel of intercultural communication and exchange. Yet, relatively little attention has been paid to translation as a contributory factor to the Franco-Irish relationship in the nineteenth century, except for contributions such as that by Cronin (2007: 21-39) and Kleinman (2004: 295-310), as well as some brief yet not insignificant references to Synge's translational endeavours (see above). Translation therefore deserves further investigation as a means of exchange and influence between the French and Irish cultures during that period. Investigating the 'mediators' is a way to unveil new moments of cultural exchange, and it would accordingly seem pertinent to examine the particular relationship between Irish translators and French writings at the time.

2.2 Languages, Literacy and Book Trade

The second part of this chapter presents key aspects of language, literacy and book trade in nineteenth-century Ireland. It is by no means an in-depth investigation but rather an attempt to outline a general, contextual background to our history of translation. Languages, literacy

and book trade are directly and materially relevant to the production and reception of translations. One of the main themes, then, is the question of access to printed literature. Although questions of language, literacy and book trade are addressed separately, they are inevitably interdependent. There is no existing, comprehensive survey of all these particular aspects for the entire nineteenth century in Ireland, particularly one which would also address the question of translations. Instead, there are various essays dealing with either one topic, or part of the century, from which the following information was compiled⁸.

2.2.1 Language

Ó Ciosáin describes Ireland in the first half of the century as a bilingual, diglossic society (1997: 6). The regional and social strongholds of Irish were the countryside, particularly in the West, and the lower classes (ibid: 154). The numbers of Irish speakers were the highest in the decade before the Famine due to a significant demographic growth. Fifty percent of the Irish population spoke Irish in 1801, and by 1831 there were more Irish speakers than ever before (Cronin 1996: 106). Thereafter the linguistic situation changed radically, with a rapid and large-scale adoption of English. As Ó Ciosáin puts it, “by the late nineteenth century, Ireland had undergone one of the most rapid and total language shifts in modern European history” (1997: 6). Cronin identifies three main causes for this dramatic change. First, new developments in elementary education acted against the native language. Indeed, the national school system introduced in 1831 “forbade the teaching and speaking of Irish in primary schools funded by the National Board of Education” (1996: 106). Second, the effects of the Great Famine, causing widespread death and massive emigration, were devastating on the poorer, Irish-speaking sections of the population (ibid). Lastly, unlike in Brittany, the Catholic Church in Ireland, with some exceptions, failed to support the native language (ibid). As Cronin (ibid) points out, the Catholic clergy were not so much concerned with language issues as with questions of control of the education system. Moreover, Daniel O’Connell, though a fluent Irish speaker, saw no use in maintaining the Irish language. His standpoint was, in Welch’s words, that of “liberal utilitarianism” (1988: 76). Paradoxically, “the cause of language as irreducible evidence of difference” was not much supported by Irish nationalists, except for the Young Ireland movement in the 1840s (Cronin 1996: 115).

⁸ As this thesis was nearing completion, volumes IV (1800-1890) and V (1891-2000) of *The Irish Book in English* (2011) were published. Taken together, they now constitute one of the most exhaustive investigations of the subject, though no chapter is devoted to foreign literature.

For most of the century, the native language lacked both political allies and economic support until the foundation of the Gaelic League (ibid: 115-116). The majority of Irish speakers had very little access to education in their own language and were compelled to learn English in order to secure economic advancement either at home or for emigration to Anglophone countries (ibid: 115). For these reasons, and except for one brief explosion of Irish-language printed works in Munster in the early century (Ó Ciosáin 1997: 57)⁹, as well as the publication of Irish-language periodicals during the Gaelic revival, print culture in nineteenth-century Ireland is overwhelmingly an English-language culture.

2.2.2 Literacy and Access to Books

As Ó Ciosáin puts it, “the spread of literacy paralleled the spread of English” (1997: 154). There is however no doubt that the main buyers of books in nineteenth-century Ireland were primarily the wealthier classes (ibid: 149). Books were often too expensive for the lower classes (Casteleyn 1984: 34). Yet, the period is marked by the growth of a middle-class readership (Cullen 2011: 275), and by various efforts to give Irish people greater access to the printed word.

Literacy

Investigating popular print culture in Ireland from 1750 to 1850, Ó Ciosáin notes that there was by then “a certain facility in reading” in English (1997: 21). In 1824, forty percent of the children attended primary schools (ibid: 44). By 1841, that is, ten years after the establishment of a national school system, there was a substantial reading public for popular literature (ibid: 36). Literacy levels continued to increase over the course of the century (ibid: 190). Moreover, Ó Ciosáin observes, “printed texts entered and circulated in what was still a predominantly oral culture via those members of the community who were literate” (ibid: 38). Indeed reading aloud, “the classic interface between written and oral” (ibid), was still a frequent practice in the nineteenth century.

⁹ Ó Ciosáin mentions in particular the printing of Irish-language catechisms, observing that “Irish Catholic catechisms are usually translations of French or English texts” (ibid: 24). Such items have not emerged, however, in our survey of nineteenth-century translations from French.

The century saw a general movement for improving literacy levels in Ireland (ibid: 41). There were various moral, religious, political, and socioeconomic reasons for wanting to improve literacy. For instance, notes Ó Ciosáin (ibid: 29), literacy in English could help interact with a state which functioned with English-language documents. Literacy was also advocated as a means to self-improvement and social harmony. In this regard, literacy improvement often meant moral ‘improvement’ (ibid: 41). Ó Ciosáin (ibid: 134; 139-140) notes the importance of societies such as the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, known as the Kildare Place Society, which produced and published many moral and didactic works aimed at juvenile readers, and of the various attempts by proselytizing agencies at promoting moral reform, notably through the reading of the Gospel. On the Catholic side, the Catholic Book Society was set up in 1827 in order to counteract what was referred to as the ‘Protestant crusade’ (ibid: 139-144). According to Casteleyn (1984: 52), there were various confraternities and book societies which helped disseminate Catholic writings. Considerable importance was therefore attached to the printed word on both sides of the religious divide. Ó Ciosáin observes that the vocation of ‘improvement’ would be “taken up more generally by writers and publishers during the nineteenth century” (1997: 150).

Moral objectives were often interlinked with educational and practical motives. Some efforts at improving literacy attempted to eschew sectarian controversy and were usually based on a “belief in the moral benefits of scientific knowledge” (ibid: 145). Aiming at socioeconomic as well as moral progress, these initiatives attempted to address issues such as providing education to the working class (Casteleyn 1984: 151). For instance, the Mechanics’ Institutes were established “to create and foster a desire for learning in scientific and literary fields leading to increased invention and improvement for the operative classes” (ibid: 152). They provided classes, lectures, reading rooms and lending facilities. Although they largely became the domain of those who could afford the fees, mostly the middle-classes (ibid), Casteleyn (ibid: 169) argues that they nonetheless played a significant role in the circulation of books and the provision of information, succeeding in cultivating a taste for reading even amongst the lower classes. Corish (1985: 174) too reckons that urban working classes seem to have made good use of such institutions.

Others saw literacy as a means to political advancement. In the 1790s, the United Irishmen aimed at democratizing political culture and encouraged “a broader base of participation in political activity” (Ó Ciosáin 1997: 133). They disseminated numerous pamphlets, ballads and books in cheap editions (ibid: 136). Whelan (1996: 101) claims that, just as the French

revolutionaries had done, the United Irishmen used the press to foster public opinion. As a result, “the central (and novel) achievement of the United Irishmen was the creation of public opinion as the pivotal political force” (ibid). Later in the century, Young Ireland followed the same approach, and mass literacy was considered essential for large-scale mobilization (Ó Ciosáin 1997: 185). Moreover, close links developed between the Repeal movement, newspapers such as the *Nation*, and temperance societies, which Ó Ciosáin refers to as “the most conspicuous ‘improvers’ of the 1830s and 1840s” (ibid). Indeed, through the reading rooms established by the Temperance and Repeal movements (see also below), “it was hoped to increase patriotism, temperance and virtue” (Casteleyn 1984: 143), therefore conjoining political and moral aims. In the early 1840s, the *Nation*, “imbued with high ideals of nationality” (ibid: 145) was available throughout the country and beyond, and its readership “was estimated to be in excess of a quarter of a million” (ibid). Not only was it available in reading rooms but it was frequently read aloud (ibid; Higgins 2011: 267). From a structural point of view, mass literacy was useful for organizing movements, and from an ideological point of view, it helped create an awareness of a community of interest (Ó Ciosáin 1997: 185).

Access to Books

Booksellers

The question of availability of books is equally important. The various developments described above led to a demand for books. Although the scarcity of bookshops outside the main Irish towns and a shortage of books were common complaints in the first half of the century (Legg 2011: 243-244), there were nonetheless over ninety booksellers in the country according to a directory compiled in 1824 (Casteleyn 1984: 55). A list for Dublin alone in 1846 records twenty-two circulating libraries and eighty-one booksellers and stationers (ibid: 61). Even though urban areas were better served, Ó Ciosáin (1997: 21-23) affirms that to some extent, books, mostly popular and religious, were available to rural areas in cheaper forms and were sold by chapmen or grocers. In her investigation of the printing trade in Georgian Drogheda, Finegan notes that the citizens there “had access to local and foreign titles from urban centres such as Dublin and London” (1996: 40). She stresses the important role played by newspapers in advertising books, observing that both Dublin and London publishers used the local press (ibid: 40-41). Calls for subscriptions were also made through newspapers (ibid: 41).

Libraries and Reading Rooms

Borrowing was another means of accessing publications of the day and Finegan (ibid: 41-42) highlights the role played by circulating libraries at the time, which often were an offshoot of the retail trade. There was no widespread access to libraries as we know it today, but Casteleyn (1984: 38) points to a few initiatives which provided opportunities to borrow books. She mentions in particular the parochial libraries, which were available for the people of the parish and carried mainly, but not exclusively, religious books. There were a significant number of private collections and libraries, usually established by prominent members of the Ascendancy and the Protestant clergy (ibid: 63-69). Diocesan libraries acted as lending libraries. Marsh's Library in Dublin, established by Archbishop Narcissus Marsh, is the oldest 'public' library in Ireland (ibid: 72-75). With the gradual dismantling of the penal laws in the second half of the eighteenth century, Catholics began to establish their own book collections too (ibid: 84). Dr John Murphy (1772-1847), Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, is said to have had the largest private library in Ireland at the time (ibid: 85; Long 2011: 297).

Many private collections have since been transferred to today's main Irish libraries (Casteleyn 1984: 76). Several important collections were bequeathed to the National Library of Ireland, which acted as a large municipal reference library in the late nineteenth century (ibid: 138). The library at Trinity College has been a copyright library since 1801, and it has acquired various private collections (ibid: 120-122). The library at Maynooth College, established in the late eighteenth century, already carried 5,000 books by 1814 (ibid: 124). The Queen's Colleges, established at Belfast, Cork and Galway in the mid-nineteenth century, had their own libraries which attracted various collections to add to their own purchases (ibid: 131-137). The revival of interest in scientific and literary pursuits in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries resulted in a renewed interest in reading, and scholars began to acquire more books (ibid: 89). Casteleyn (ibid: 103) stresses the important role played by learned societies, which often set up their own subscription libraries. She notes (ibid: 104), however, that only a small number of these libraries allowed lady members. By the 1820s, the Royal Irish Academy, founded in 1785, began "to provide a brilliant forum for the learned men of the day" (ibid: 94), and had its own library. It attracted worthy collections from various scholars and famous figures such as the poet Thomas Moore, whose library was presented to the RIA by his widow in 1855 (ibid: 94-95). The movement for establishing public libraries began in the 1850s, but the process proved to be very slow on account of

Ireland's socioeconomic circumstances (ibid: 167). Unlike England, the country was too poor for the establishment of a system of free libraries (ibid: 170; Legg 2011: 259). The first library to open under the Public Libraries Act (1855) was at Dundalk in 1858 (Casteleyn 1984: 176). Over the next decades, more public libraries were established in places around the country, though public libraries acts remained relatively ineffective until the twentieth century (ibid: 176-178).

The importance of reading rooms, in which books, newspapers and magazines were kept, cannot, however, be underestimated (ibid: 56). The Repeal and Temperance movements were instrumental in the establishment of reading rooms (ibid: 141). The Repeal rooms carried Repeal newspapers such the *Nation* or the *Pilot* (ibid: 142). Reading was central to the aims of the Mechanics' Institutes too, as they often provided reading rooms and libraries (ibid: 160). Some of these institutes in fact came under the influence of the Young Ireland and Temperance movements in the 1840s (ibid: 157; 163). Towards the end of the century, their library holdings were handed over to public libraries (ibid: 164). Reading rooms were also founded by the Land League and Gaelic League movements (Legg 2011: 251).

2.2.3 Publishing and Copyright

Irish publishing peaked during the eighteenth century. There was practically no copyright laws and "books printed in England were subject to import duties" (O'Neill 1985: 88). Irish publishers¹⁰ could therefore easily issue their own editions of works published in London. However, the Act of Union affected Irish publishing adversely (ibid). Ó Ciosáin (1997: 56) notes that the most affected was the Dublin printing trade, which had been predominant in Ireland in the eighteenth century. The trade was impacted upon in two major ways. Firstly, the Union ushered in a copyright law into the country, which was the extension of England's Copyright Act of 1711, resulting in the loss of the reprint trade (Casteleyn 1984: 51; Kinane 2002: 23; Ferguson 2011: 9). Secondly, the end of the Irish Parliament meant a decline of administrative printing (Ó Ciosáin 1997: 56).

Throughout the century, booksellers relied primarily on the sale of imports from Great Britain (Kinane 2002: 23; Benson 2011: 40). There was a slow recovery of the Irish publishing trade throughout the 1820s, and Kinane (2002: 24-26) points to key Irish publishers, such as

¹⁰ Note that at the time, the lines of demarcation between printers, publishers and booksellers were often blurred.

William Curry, and periodicals, notably the *Dublin University Magazine*, for their instrumental role in fostering a new cultural confidence. Other publishers who played a crucial part in Irish cultural developments in the nineteenth century included John O'Daly (see Part III), James Duffy, Simms and M'Intyre as well as M.H. Gill and Son. Duffy published several authors of the Young Ireland movement, as well as "a number of highly successful religious books at popular prices" (Casteleyn 1984: 150). Duffy's firm, notes Leerssen (1996: 3), dominated the nationalist and Catholic book trade in the second half of the century. Simms and M'Intyre, based in Belfast, took on the British market and launched their Parlour Novelist and Parlour Library, two successful series of cheap fictions and non-fictions (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 2011: 224). Michael H. Gill and his sons are noted for their contribution to Irish scholarship, their important output of educational and Catholic devotional literature, as well as their involvement in nationalist movements (McIntosh 2011a: 511-519).

Kinane (2002: 29-31) observes that, overall, the book trade enjoyed a period of stability and consolidation in the second half of the century. Technological innovations, a fall in the price of paper and of production costs in general, as well as enhanced transportation and a growth of the retail system are some of the key factors which helped lower the prices of books and newspapers, and increase the availability and accessibility of printed literature (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 2011: 226-229; Logan 2011: 508; Farmar 2011: 220). Generally, Dublin, Belfast, and above all London, dominated much of the book trade in nineteenth-century Ireland. Moreover, for economic as well as other reasons, many Irish writers, and indeed translators, found it necessary to publish in London (Benson 2011: 46).

2.2.4 French Language, Translation from French and Translation

Copyright

Kennedy points out that a "growing intellectual influence of French culture on a more broadly based readership" (2001: 14) had been noticeable since the late seventeenth century, leading to imports as well as frequent reprinting of French works in Ireland, both in the language and in translation (ibid: 119-159). Acquiring the French language was mostly, in Kennedy's words, "an accomplishment of the literate classes" (ibid: 23). Advanced levels were acquired among the upper classes or by those who were educated in France (ibid: 23-35). French began to be taught at post-elementary level from the early eighteenth century

(ibid: 3; see also Chapter 2 on French convent schools), but as France (2006: 230) argues, the average reader was not necessarily proficient enough to read in the language, particularly as regards sizeable or difficult texts. Therefore, he observes, there was a large market for translations from French and “in the nineteenth century even more than in the eighteenth century, French was the principal source language for translation into English” (ibid). Owing to the various developments described above, notably the spread of literacy in English, new market opportunities opened up for the dissemination of English translations in nineteenth-century Ireland. In fact, not everyone among the wealthier classes would read French writings in the language. Kennedy (2001: 60) indeed cites the example of Martha McTier and her brother William Drennan, both involved with the United Irish movement in the late eighteenth century. Whereas William could read French, and recommended Rousseau’s *Confessions* to his sister, Martha could not read in the language, and therefore read French literature in translation.

Bassnett and France (2006: 56) provide us with a notion of copyright practice regarding translation in the nineteenth century. They point out that, despite various copyright acts and agreements, translation was still frequently a grey area. Very often indeed, translations into English were treated the same way as original works in English. In other words, translations were not considered piracy and could easily be produced without permission (ibid). In effect, “copyright for translations had to await the Berne Convention” in 1887, which introduced a “uniform system of international copyright among signatories” (ibid: 56).

2.2.5 Conclusion

Part II has sought to shed some light on the questions of readership and access to printed materials in nineteenth-century Ireland. On the one hand, access to literature was unequal across the social divide, and a shortage of books was a familiar complaint. On the other hand, collective reading, the growth in schooling and in literacy, the establishment of various reading rooms and libraries, as well as a fall in book prices helped increase access to the printed word. Efforts to increase literacy among the Irish population reflected various moral, religious, socioeconomic and political motives, such as the wish to encourage virtue, temperance, skill development and patriotism. The nineteenth century was marked by a massive language change in favour of English, a rise in importation of books, but also by some important local publishing initiatives. As regards translations, the overall absence of an

international copyright agreement meant that they could be freely produced. Whether this had an impact on the actual production of translations remains unexplored. Ultimately, as Ó Ciosáin (1997: 186) points out, socioeconomic factors such as literacy levels do not constitute a complete explanation of change, and textual content, reception and impact of the texts are other matters which equally deserve careful consideration.

2.3 A Historical Overview of Translation in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

2.3.1 Introduction: the Translated Irish

As posited in the chapter on methodology, Ireland's translation activity in the nineteenth century is examined against the colonial backdrop, though, as Cronin (1996) demonstrates, the history of translation in Ireland cannot be restricted to an account of postcolonial issues, nor simply to the Irish-English language pair. Owing to the cultural and sociopolitical pressures exerted on Irish language and culture, translation between Irish and English assumed particular significance in the nineteenth century. In addition, stereotypes and English negative representations of the Irish should be taken into account with regards to translation and the emergence of Irish cultural nationalism (Tymoczko 1999: 19; Deane 1990: 12). Indeed, the necessity of asserting the existence, antiquity and distinction of Irish culture was aggravated by a long history of depreciating stereotypes, namely 'the wild Irish' and the 'stage Irishman' (Tymoczko 1999: 62, 208; Cronin 1996: 94). As argued by Cheyfitz (1991: 11), the process of colonization is a process of translation of a people, culturally, politically and materially, in other words, a process of "othering the land and its people" (Tymoczko 1999: 62). Irish culture, language, names, land and history were all impacted upon by English colonization. In Fanon's words, "colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country... By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it" (cited in Tymoczko 1999: 19). Well before Cheyfitz's time, Thomas Davis himself had eloquently expressed the

fundamental link that exists between conquest and translation when he claimed that to impose another language on a people

is to send their history adrift among the accidents of translation – ‘tis to tear their identity from all places – ‘tis to substitute arbitrary signs for picturesque and suggestive names... – ‘tis to corrupt their very organs and abridge their power of expression’
([1914]: 172)

Moreover, the controversy surrounding eighteenth-century Scottish poet James MacPherson’s Ossianic translations, whereby the authenticity and the representation of the original material were disputed, had a decisive effect on translation and scholarly activities in Ireland (Tymoczko 1999: 131-132; Cronin 1996: 98). Irish poets and scholars indeed felt the need to examine the source material more closely, but with a wish to reappropriate Ossianic literature. As Tymoczko puts it, it “spurred the collection of Celtic materials” (1999: 131), drawing particular attention to early Irish material, and resulting in a surge of translation activity from Irish into English.

In such a context, questions of self-image, of cultural and historical representation and (re)appropriation are of momentous importance. The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the emergence and growth of antiquarian activity commissioned by Anglo-Irish scholars. They were increasingly interested in the scientific and factual aspects of history and culture, as well as in their cultural and political separateness from England (ibid: 93-94; 98). As we are about to see, religious and political motives as well as socioeconomic pressures permeate this history of translation.

In what follows, the history of translation in nineteenth-century Ireland is charted from a chronological point of view, paying special attention to several key translators. This chapter does not discuss translation into Irish. Whereas Irish had been the main target language in previous centuries, Ireland saw an increasing number of English translations appearing in the latter half of the seventeenth century (Cronin 1996: 92). The change in target language was directly connected to a general shift towards the linguistic hegemony of English. As a consequence, “the nineteenth century saw little in the way of translation into Irish” (Welch 1996a: 569). From the 1890s onwards, and as a means to both counteract English influence and develop a literature in Irish, the Gaelic revival saw the emergence of an interest in

French-Irish translations (O’Leary 1994: 79-80). These were published in Irish-language revivalist periodicals, but Ireland would have to wait until the creation of the Irish Free State before witnessing any significant translation output into the native language (Cronin 1996: 153-161)¹¹. Although translation was done from various languages, this investigation principally examines translation from Irish into English as a crucial element in Irish political and cultural history in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the concluding part analyzes and summarizes key aspects of translation from Irish, and is primarily concerned with the profound connection between translation and cultural nationalism.

2.3.2 Translating into English in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

O’Flanagan, Moore and Callanan

One of the first key translators in the period is Tadhg O’Flanagan, whose work spans the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. O’Flanagan, a Catholic, had a “sense of the seriousness of and authority of the Irish from which he translated” (Welch 1988: 52). Similarly to the late eighteenth-century translator Charlotte Brooke in her *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789), O’Flanagan championed “the notion of a glorious pre-Christian Celtic civilisation to counteract English claims of Irish barbarity” (Ní Mhunghaile 2009: 477). Moreover, through his work he sought to refute Macpherson’s Scottish appropriation of Ossianic legends (ibid).

Thomas Moore did not translate from Irish, but Welch (1988: 53-54) points out that Moore’s suggestive poetry, infused with patriotic emotion, made an impact on nineteenth-century Irish poetry and verse translation in English by founding “a recognisably Irish poetic tradition in English” (ibid: 56). Moore’s successful *Anacreon* (1800) was translated from Greek, but translating from Greek was not necessarily apolitical. There are indeed explicit political and moral concerns in his preface, in which he refers to discrimination suffered by him as a Catholic in the eighteenth century (Cronin 1996: 120). Jeremiah J. Callanan, a Catholic and a nationalist, was irresistibly drawn to the Gaelic poetic tradition (Welch 1988: 7). Encouraged by William Maginn (see below), he contributed verse translations from Irish to *Blackwood’s Magazine* (1823). Welch reckons that Callanan’s translations extended Moore’s work, but

¹¹ For further details on translation into Irish in nineteenth-century Ireland, see also Cronin (1996), pp.114-115.

“through more immediate contact with Gaelic poetry he widened and deepened the range of expressive possibility for Irish poets writing in English” (ibid: 69-70). The fact that Callanan hailed from County Cork shows that translation activity in nineteenth-century Ireland was not limited to Dublin or Belfast (ibid: 57). Yet, his expectations of literary success in London typically reflected Ireland’s unfavourable socioeconomic circumstances (ibid: 70).

The 1830s-1840s

The next major event in Ireland’s history of translation was James Hardiman’s *Irish Minstrelsy* (1831). This was a collection of poetic translations from Irish produced by various translators, namely Thomas Furlong, John D’Alton, Edward Lawson, Henry Grattan Curran and William Hamilton Drummond (Welch 1988: 75). The *Irish Minstrelsy* was published at a crucial period of Ireland’s history, namely two years after Catholic Emancipation, at a time when O’Connell was drawing Catholicism and nationalism closer together (ibid: 72). Both Hardiman and Furlong supported O’Connell, and Hardiman made his Irish Catholic nationalism explicit through his writings (ibid: 74-76). A native Irish speaker, he was on the one hand concerned with preserving and faithfully representing the native poetry, but on the other hand, there was a dreamy and polite quality to the translations he commissioned (ibid: 74). One of his aims was indeed to highlight the genuine classical dignity of native Irish poetry, making analogies with Greek and Roman writings (Cronin 1996: 103). Although Hardiman’s collection was characterized by sentimentalizations and bowdlerizations, Welch argues that it was instrumental in the growth of “Irish writing in English with a declared Gaelic mode or intent” (1988: 84).

Angered by Hardiman’s collection, Samuel Ferguson (see also Béranger chapter) contributed review articles to the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1834, in which he not only criticized the translations found in *Irish Minstrelsy*, but provided some of his own versions. Moreover, he had taken issue with Hardiman’s exclusive, Catholic nationalist appropriation of Irish material (ibid: 7). His standpoint was similar to that of Charlotte Brooke before him, namely a unionist and conciliatory approach to relations between Irish and Anglo-Irish and between Ireland and England (ibid). A Northern Protestant who had been deeply influenced by the culture of early nineteenth-century Belfast, “a culture very sympathetic to the Gaelic tradition” (ibid: 133-134), he asserted his right to this Irish inheritance and his ability to interpret it (ibid: 7). Ferguson respected the Gaelic originals as historical facts, which explains his hostility to fanciness and hazy politeness which he often noticed in the works of

other translators (ibid: 92). Cronin (1996: 111) notes that Ferguson's translations, later gathered in book form as *Lays of the Western Gael*, were hugely influential. His translations of Gaelic verse and prose sagas contributed to the construction of an Irish voice in Anglo-Irish literature and to the re-establishment of Irish heroic tales "as cultural points of reference" (Welch 1988: 99).

William Maginn's translation fame rests upon his work from classical languages (see also Béranger chapter). A precocious child, he was still in his teens when he became a classics master at his father's academy in Cork (Latané 2004: 123). He published his 'Homeric Ballads' in 1838 in *Fraser's Magazine*, which he had co-founded, and in book form in 1850. Penned in popular ballad metres, his widely-praised translations show "a willingness to experiment" (Cronin 1996: 121). Cronin (ibid: 121-122) points out that translation as creative experiment was indeed not uncommon in Ireland. Further, even in the case of classical translation, a distinction should be made between Ireland's and England's translation traditions. Classical translators "were part not only of a broader English-language tradition of classical translation but also of an existing tradition in Ireland itself where translation into both Irish and English had been practised for centuries" (ibid: 122).

The work begun by antiquaries and translators in the eighteenth century, remarks Tymoczko, "was in full swing by the 1830s" (1999: 64). Moreover, the period saw a surge of translations from other languages. James Clarence Mangan was a poet who undertook translation from various languages, notably from Irish and German. As an introduction to his translations from Oriental poetry published in the *DUM* in 1840, he raised the issue of representation and transfer of foreign poetry into English. Cronin explains Mangan's approach by referring to the 'dress' metaphor, a frequent theme indeed in nineteenth-century discourse about translation. Translation, Cronin observes, can be compared to 'transvestism', in the sense of "dressing up in the clothes of another" (1996: 112). For Mangan, the foreign dress possibly meant a disguise, a metamorphosis involving concealment rather than revelation (ibid: 113). From 1835 to 1846, Mangan published translations from various German poets under the title 'Anthologia Germanica' in the *DUM*, as well as contributing to various periodicals such as the *Nation* and the *Irish Penny Journal* (O'Neill 1985: 97). The 1830s and 1840s saw a peak of interest in German literature. This interest was particularly fostered by the *DUM*, as it would be by the journal *Kottabos* later in the century (ibid: 87-88). Similarly, the Young Irelanders and the *Nation* paid attention to German literature, particularly philosophy and poetry (ibid: 89). Another key translator of German literature in Ireland was John Anster. He

is most noted for his translation of Goethe's *Faust*, which, O'Neill argues, acted as a catalyst "for a flood of Faust translations in the 1820s and 1830s" (ibid: 90). He therefore played a major role in bringing German literature to British and Irish readers. Lady Wilde, who wrote under the pen-name of Speranza had, according to O'Neill (ibid: 102), a life-long involvement with German literature, contributing several German translations to the *Nation*. She also published *Sidonia the Sorceress* (1849), translated from Meinhold, as well as other translations, particularly from German and French (see General Survey). One of the most fervent revolutionaries among the Young Irelanders (ibid), her contributions fitted well with the *Nation's* programme of bringing continental literature to its readers, thereby fostering "a spirit of liberalism and intolerance of oppression" (ibid: 100). Her work can be situated, as Cronin (2002: 272-274) demonstrates, in a perspective of internationalistic nationalism, through which issues of oppression are seen as universal issues. Significantly indeed, both Speranza and Mangan contributed translations from the German revolutionary poet Georg Herwegh to the *Nation* (O'Neill 1985: 103).

The 1830s saw a flurry of scholarly activity in Ireland, with, among other initiatives, the founding of George Petrie's and Caesar Otway's *Dublin Penny Journal* (1832) and the Ordnance Survey. The Ordnance Survey was a collection of topographical and antiquarian lore, in which the leading Irish scholars John O'Donovan, Petrie and Eugene O'Curry were involved (Welch 1988: 102). Throughout the next two decades, these scholars would prove highly instrumental in the development of translation from Irish and of a new Anglo-Irish literature (ibid). Mangan was in close contact with them. Since he had no knowledge of Irish, they often provided him with literal prose translations on which he based what he referred to as his 'perversions' from the Irish (ibid: 102-105). Significantly, observes Welch, Mangan "took to the great Gaelic laments, to the way in which the Gaelic poets made their country's state their own despair" (ibid). By the mid-1840s, Mangan was contributing patriotic verse and translations to the *Nation*, his productions now reflecting a mood of anger and frustration as Ireland was exposed to inconceivable miseries (ibid: 111).

The socio-cultural and political background of the thirties and forties had equally a direct impact on poet and translator Edward Walsh (ibid: 120). Politically active, Walsh took part in the anti-tithe campaign in the 1830s and contributed to various periodicals, including the *Nation* and the *Dublin Penny Journal* (ibid: 120-121). Welch notes that Walsh was sensitive to Irish verse rhythm and that he "contributed to the development of a taste, ear and enthusiasm for Gaelic verse patterns in English" (ibid: 132). Irish publisher John O'Daly

published *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry* (1844) in affordable penny weekly numbers, for which Walsh provided the verse translations (ibid: 122). These would be published in book form in 1866, and as Welch puts it, they reflected Walsh's political affinity with "passionate Jacobite poetry, hopelessly celebrating the imagined return of the exiled Stuarts" (ibid). Walsh and O'Daly were therefore instrumental in the establishment of Jacobite poetry as a significant and respectable poetic tradition (ibid: 132), and Walsh's translations, frequently reprinted in anthologies, wielded great influence on poets of the literary revival (Doyle 2009a: 735).

The 1850s-1860s

Though much of Standish Hayes O'Grady's work was published later in the century, he had started to produce translations and scholarly works in the 1850s. At that time, O'Grady was in close contact with the leading scholars and antiquarians and, as Mangan had done before, he often worked from their literal translations (Cronin 1996: 138). Cronin (ibid) claims that O'Grady's work greatly influenced Irish literary revival writers such as Yeats and Synge. Furthermore, he opened up an area of Gaelic literature to nineteenth-century readers which had not been emphasized before him in translation, namely the comic and parodic tradition of early Irish literature (Tymoczko 1999: 140). Despite using an assimilative strategy which compromised important features of the native culture, his works were, according to Tymoczko, "a self-proclaimed attempt to promote an allegiance to Irish culture, to promulgate knowledge of Ireland's history and literature, and to challenge the English cultural system" (1999: 181). Referring to the notion of resistant translation, notably in postcolonial contexts, Tymoczko underscores the importance of text choice in translation. The choice of texts about Irish heroes and kings as evidence of past Irish greatness challenged English hegemonic values and undermined the legitimacy of conquest and of the Union (ibid; Cronin 1996: 125).

While translation in the forties reflected an active, even political, energy, the work produced in the fifties, comments Welch (1988: 133), was mostly of scholarly quality and denoted careful attention to the facts. Drummond, who had contributed to Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, published his *Ancient Irish Minstrelsy* in 1852. Influenced by the writings of Moore and Macpherson on the one hand, Drummond's translations were on the other hand an explicit reaction to the Ossianic controversy (ibid: 135). The lays he translated were designed to authenticate facts relating to the history of Ireland. In this regard, even in the 1850s,

translation could carry political implications, because, as Cronin (1996: 104) argues, it was central to debates about Irish history and Irish cultural and political identity.

George Sigerson (see also General Survey and further below), a key translator in nineteenth-century Ireland, was a champion of the Irish language. He described English as the language of the ‘prejudiced foreigners’ (cited in Cronin 1996: 117). Sigerson, a Catholic, had been educated in France and in Ireland, and he contributed poems, translations and political essays to various Irish periodicals, including the *Nation* (Lyons 2009: 945). His standpoint was however inclusive, and he generally presented his renderings as a means to fuse with ‘the great Past’ (cited in Cronin 1996: 118). He published his first collection of translations, *The poets and poetry of Munster*, in 1860, his next major production, *Bards of the Gael and Gall*, only appearing in 1897 (Welch 1988: 146).

Cronin (1996: 133) demonstrates that scholarly translation denoted considerable concern for the source text. For instance, John O’Donovan’s complete edition and translation of *The Annals of the Four Masters* (1851) was heavily laden with footnotes. The late nineteenth century would then see an increasing contribution by foreign scholars to Irish studies, such as Windisch, Meyer, Thurneysen, Strachan or d’Arbois de Jubainville (ibid: 134). They brought along a rigorous tradition of continental philology (ibid). Unpolished productions were generally favoured over fine renditions, denoting a cognitive approach rather than an aesthetic one (ibid). In the late century, however, other developments were to take place in literary translation, and, in Cronin’s words, writers in both English and Irish would turn to translation “as the catalyst for renewal and invention” (ibid: 126).

The Irish Cultural Revival

As Cronin reminds us,

The late nineteenth century in Ireland was a period of accelerated political change. The successes of the Land League, the emergence of Parnell, the conversion of Gladstone to Home Rule, and the foundation of the Gaelic Athletic Association, in 1884, were signs of growing political and cultural confidence (1996: 131)

Douglas Hyde’s *Love Songs of Connaught* (1893) was the first major book of translated Irish poetry since Sigerson’s publication in 1860 (Welch 1988: 147). Hyde enrolled in the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in the late 1870s and contributed translations to Yeats’s *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland* and *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*

in the late 1880s (ibid: 148). Cronin notes that Hyde's translations, characterized by his use of a distinctive Hiberno-English, "conveyed energy and difference without descending into parody" (1996: 135).

Yeats looked upon the moment as propitious for the emergence of an intellectual movement and helped to found the Irish Literary Society in London and the National Literary Society in Dublin (1891-1892) (ibid: 149). Brown notes that Yeats's brand of Irish cultural nationalism sought to promote "the ideal of an Irish cultural renaissance" (2009: 1088). Welch (1988: 149) observes that the Parnellite victories in the 1880s had helped the Irish regain some self-respect after the disastrous consequences of the Famine and the failed nationalist rebellions. Yeats and Hyde, however different their approaches may have been, translated this restored self-confidence into literary and cultural movements. In Hyde's case, this self-confidence resulted in his crucial involvement with the Gaelic League and in his often-quoted stance on 'The Necessity for De-Anglicizing Ireland'. With his *Love Songs of Connacht*, he aimed at preserving 'what you then felt to be one of the most valuable heritage of the Irish Race – its Folk Songs' (cited in Welch 1988: 150), thereby foregrounding ideas of race and culture inheritance. Such ideas echoed those advanced by Arnold in his influential *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1866) (ibid: 149). In translation of Irish folktales in particular, and most notably in *Beside the Fire* (1890), Hyde showed great concern for the source text. Yet, unlike scholarly approaches, he thought that the translator should use 'just the kind of language which the narrator would have used had he told or been able to tell the story in English' (cited in ibid: 151). In translation, he therefore favoured a close contact with Gaelic idiom and syntax and with the English speech of Irish country people (ibid: 152). Welch (ibid) observes that the literary revival of the 1890s was deeply influenced by such suggestions of a separate linguistic identity. To Irish writers at the time, Hyde's translations had offered "an alternative to standard literary English" (ibid: 156). For Yeats, who was equally attentive to other contemporary literary movements in Europe, the appeal of Hyde's versions lay in the fact that they were defined by 'life', that is, by living speech, rather than by conscious art (ibid). Hyde's influence on Irish literature, argues Welch, would be felt well beyond the 1890s. By forging a link between Irish and Anglo-Irish literature, he initiated a 'collaboration' which would be found in Lady Gregory's own translating style and which would prove "devastatingly exciting in the hands of Synge" (ibid: 161). Cronin (1996: 138) observes that Hyde's work would also contribute to the emergence of a new literature in modern Irish. Indeed, for figures such as Patrick Pearse, his translations confirmed the greatness of the

native language, thereby stimulating the rediscovery of the language and the creation of a new literature in Irish: “Thus, the two literatures of modern Ireland can be said to emerge from the translation moment in the nineteenth century” (ibid).

Sigerson, like Hyde and others, sought to make the rhythms and formal aspects of his translations echo that of their originals (Welch 1988: 163). He believed that there was a definite classic quality to bardic poetry, which proceeded from a long honourable lineage (ibid). His later translations benefited from studies carried out by various Celtic scholars and philologists in the 1890s (ibid: 163-165). His renditions, argues Welch, “offered Irish poets in English a range of prosodic possibility” (ibid: 169). They would have a lasting influence on Irish poetry in English, notably through the works of Yeats, Synge and Lady Gregory. In this regard, observes Cronin (1996: 120), Sigerson’s work signalled the meeting of tradition and modernity.

Lady Gregory was a central figure of the Irish literary revival. Cronin (ibid: 139) argues that similarly to O’Grady, she was a crucial link between earlier Irish scholars and the emergence of a new literature in English. Her translations of early Irish texts, argues Tymoczko (1999: 127), showed various generic and textual shifts, and have often been criticized for their bowdlerizing effects. Yet they clearly aimed at vindicating the antiquity and nobility of Irish mythology. Her versions became the main literary translations in English of early Irish literature both for her generation and for the readers of the next half century (ibid: 173). Moreover, her translations had a profound influence on Yeats’s work and initiated other versions of the Ulster Cycle (ibid). Her adoption of Anglo-Irish idiom in her productions suggested the distinctiveness and excellence of Irish ways of speaking English, and supported the idea of a literature in that language (ibid: 138; Cronin 1996: 139). Furthermore, she did not confine herself to translation from Irish, and produced several translations from the French of Molière. A founder of the Irish Literary Theatre, Augusta Gregory, notes Cronin, “successfully introduced Molière to Abbey Theatre audiences” in the first years of the twentieth century (1996: 139). Owing to her use of Anglo-Irish dialect, her versions of the plays are referred to as the ‘Kiltartan Molière’. They too bespeak cultural self-confidence. Indeed, as Cronin demonstrates, they imply “that Hiberno-English is a fit vehicle for one of the greatest playwrights of the European literary tradition” (1996: 140).

For Synge, translation and composition became closely related. Aiming to convey the energy and beauty of Hiberno-English speech in the target language, Synge, argues Cronin (ibid:

141), skilfully adopted Anglo-Irish idiom in his translations from Irish, French, Italian, as well as in his original writings. In Synge's hands, Hiberno-English had now extended beyond the pages of translated texts, gracefully entering the realms of literary composition. As Cronin (*ibid*) puts it, the language of the colonizer was in turn colonized by the language of the colonized. Synge's work points to the fundamental formative role of translation and to the future of Irish literature. Not only was translation central to the Irish Revival, argues Cronin (*ibid*: 140), but it became one of the foundation stones of modern Irish literature. Modern Irish writers such as James Joyce or Austin Clarke were "caught between languages and cultures" (*ibid*). The combination of linguistic hybridity and a multicultural, even international, framework, led to the emergence of new canons in Irish literature.

2.3.3 Conclusion: Translation and Cultural Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

In order to examine the close links between translation and nationalism in nineteenth-century Ireland, our understanding of the question may benefit from Leerssen's definition of nationalism: "the desire to organise political unity on the basis of (perceived) ethnic-cultural identity" (1996: 22). In the specific case of Ireland, it often translates as "the vindication of the Irish right to self-determination against English or British domination" (*ibid*). Moreover, Leerssen (2006: 559-578; 1996: 61) argues that cultural nationalism, which is preoccupied with the construction or assertion of a cultural-national identity, is an essential aspect of nationalism, and that cultural-oriented initiatives such as antiquarianism, philology and translation in nineteenth-century Ireland were essential to the development of Irish cultural nationalism.

Orientalism, Celticism, Antiquarianism: Translation as a Rescue from Oblivion

Celticism, Orientalism and antiquarianism tend to look at their object of study as a remote matter, both spatially and temporally (Cronin 1996: 104-105). While such cultural movements gained momentum in the eighteenth century, they also enjoyed a great vogue in the nineteenth century (*ibid*). Accordingly, translation meant recovery. In this perspective, writes Cronin, "the translator like the archaeologist rescues records from oblivion" (*ibid*: 105). Romantic ideas of decay and oblivion would indeed provide powerful leitmotifs to nineteenth-century translation prefaces (*ibid*: 107). Scholarly societies which were dedicated

to the study of Irish language and culture in the nineteenth century often attempted to eschew politics (ibid: 132). Rather than preserving the living language, which may have suggested nationalist motives, they were mostly salvaging ancient texts (ibid). However, their apolitical motives would prove ineffective since their translations and studies were to inspire ideas of a separate Irish cultural identity. As Cronin puts it, “The act of Irish-English translation remained inescapably political” (ibid: 133).

Romantic Nationalism

Romanticism offers one similar viewpoint to antiquarianism in that it brings out images of remoteness, loss and oblivion (ibid: 107). Such perspectives have shaped views of the Irish language as remote and lost which would endure well beyond the nineteenth century (ibid). On the other hand, Romanticism foregrounded ideas of national language and character. Leerssen (1996: 21) points out that in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment writers such as Montesquieu or Voltaire had already paid attention to such notions. German philosophers from both Enlightenment and Romantic traditions, most notably Herder or Fichte, developed concepts of the nation as a unique, ethnic entity, and Leerssen (ibid: 22) observes that such national essentialism became prevalent in the nineteenth century. In the wake of the French Revolution and Napoleon’s imperial expansion, many nationalities in Europe were concerned with identity construction (ibid: 225; Lloyd 1987: 60). Questions of language were particularly crucial to nationalist romantic ideologies, because Romantics believed that “what is distinctive in a nation’s heritage is its language, a *sine qua non* of nationhood” (Tymoczko 1999: 136).

Language, Translation and Nationality

The Romantic perspective challenges the enterprise of translation because it entails that a national language contains untranslatable features (Tymoczko 1999: 136). Moreover, if there are specificities in a language which are untranslatable and represent, in Lloyd’s words, “the unique spirit of any culture or national language” (1987: 105), a certain perspective of translation, culture and nationality emerges. The irreducibility of language which calls into question the notion of equivalence and translatability entails that cultures, and by extension, nations which stem from these cultures, can equally be seen as irreducible (Cronin 1996: 124).

In this regard, Cronin (*ibid*) notes, there were mainly two different approaches to translation in Ireland. On the one hand, as illustrated by translators such as Ferguson, translation acts as a bridge between languages and cultures, promoting mutual understanding. Here, the possibility of equivalence and translatability is posited (*ibid*). The other approach, particularly prominent towards the end of the century, highlighted the radical difference between languages and cultures. Such perspective was influenced by views at the time, such as that of Alexander Von Humboldt, that disparities between languages were deeply correlated to different world-views and that these radical differences could constitute the basis of legitimate claims to nationhood (*ibid*). Tymoczko (1999: 137-138) argues that the use of Hiberno-English idioms in Hyde's translations and in Irish literature in English reified a challenge to English colonialism and cultural hegemony. In this perspective, such texts can be seen as redressing Irish grievances, because their use of Anglo-Irish idioms, which had been mocked by the dominant culture, suggests the primacy of Irish culture (*ibid*: 145). Conversely, the claim to 'translatability' could lead to a view of translation as a denial of difference and nationality, therefore a colonizing act.

However, Tymoczko (*ibid*: 139) and Cronin (1996: 124) stress that translation dichotomies such as fidelity/fluency were not strictly connected to political allegiances. In translation from Irish, claiming cultural and political separateness did not necessarily entail processes of exoticization and opaque translation, and at times, nationalists favoured understanding and acceptability as regards the source text and culture. A prime motive behind translation from Irish throughout the nineteenth century was to uphold the antiquity and past greatness of Ireland. This is how such translation enterprises could seriously invalidate the legitimacy of English conquest and challenge the Union (Cronin 1996: 125). With the Irish literary revival, the transfer from Irish into English would allow differences to survive in the host language and Cronin argues that "it was the translator, then, who would lay the cultural basis for this new nationhood" (*ibid*).

Translation and Cultural Nationalism

Welch notes that one effect of the Act of Union was "an increased attentiveness, in Ireland, to marks of nationality, to the question of language, and to the differences between the English and Irish temperaments" (1988: 5). In translation, such attentiveness initiated a variety of approaches and images. This final section presents some of the key features of Irish self-imagination through translation in the nineteenth century, and their relevance to the

development of Irish cultural nationalism. For Hutchinson, cultural nationalism is distinct from political nationalism in that it aims at “the moral regeneration of the national community” (1987: 9). Its nation-building strategies are based on the use, or construction, of historical memory, invoking the past in a progressive way. Cultural nationalism is therefore a modernizing movement which uses ‘myth-making’ strategies (ibid: 9; 14).

The Reappropriation of History and the ‘Golden Primordial Gaeldom’

In response to imperial nations which present themselves as universal models and consign their colonies to a provincial position, “insurgent nationalisms attempt to create a version of history for themselves in which their intrinsic essence has always manifested itself” (Deane 1990: 9). In this sense, nationalist consciousness-raising involves a sense of cultural rootedness in a national past. In the nineteenth century, the need was felt to (re-)assess and even construct Ireland’s history, both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view (Leerssen 1996: 4). In other words, a historical assessment would enable the Irish to situate their country in relation to others, as well as in relation to its own cultural and historical development (ibid). In scholarly translation, for instance, “the nationalist programme required simply that scholars and philologists unearth and document the nation’s past” (Tymoczko 1999: 136). The development of an Irish historiography would shed light on this national past which had often been misinterpreted and which was mainly available through the medium of Irish-language sources (Leerssen 1996: 69). The role played by scholars who collected, copied and translated Irish materials is therefore significant (ibid: 107).

The fragment of Irish history which antiquarians nurtured and which nationalists fostered as their chosen representation of Irish national identity was, in Leerssen’s words, the ‘golden primordial Gaeldom’ (ibid: 143). In other words, they felt that the most unadulterated and genuine form of Gaelic culture was “that of the past, before the contamination of the English presence in Ireland” (ibid: 49). Ancient Ireland was constantly evoked, through history writing, translation and fiction. The various works produced by nineteenth-century antiquarians and translators therefore helped to prepare “the stock of images on which cultural nationalism like that of Davis and Pearse could draw” (ibid: 61).

Furthermore, as suggested before, aspects of Irish self-imagination in the nineteenth century became closely, and increasingly, connected to a Catholic Ireland. In translation, the focus on Jacobite poetry, for example, in Hardiman’s and Walsh’s works, helped review Irish history from an anti-English and Catholic standpoint (Leerssen 1996: 178-179). With the help of

translation, such emphasis extended a tradition of popular resistance to contemporary times. Catholic churchmen, as Collins (2002: 27-28) points out, became increasingly involved with cultural nationalism after the Famine, notably in the Gaelic revival movement, in popular literature in English and in Irish historiography. Images of the Golden Age, “and its violent overthrow by external enemies, was a theme to which churchmen returned time and again” (ibid: 30). By emphasizing such historical outlook defined by Gaelic stock and Catholic faith, “the Roman Catholic Church took upon itself the role of ‘keepers of Ireland’s historical identity”” (ibid: 29).

Faithfulness to Historical Fact and ‘Sentiment’

Not entirely unconnected with the preceding paragraphs is Ferguson’s attention to the historical fact in translation, as it too aims at re-assessing Irish history and identity. In particular, Ferguson was concerned with ‘sentiment’, the ‘one imprescriptible property of the common blood of all Irishmen’ (cited in Cronin 1996: 109). This, Cronin (ibid) notes, is a notion which had been entertained at various times, through the eighteenth-century Celtic Revival as well as in Arnold’s Celticist discourse. In translation, then, Ferguson seeks to be faithful to this ‘sentiment’ and to the fact, rather than adapting the text to the conventions of ‘polite literature’ (ibid). Furthermore, the very existence and content of Ferguson’s ‘Hardiman articles’ attest the importance attached to translation in nineteenth-century Ireland (ibid: 108). The irony with regard to Ferguson’s unionist perspective is that by emphasizing difference, his work contributed to the shaping of Irish nationalism (ibid: 111).

The Celtic Fringes and the Idyllic Image of Peasantry

Based on Leerssen’s reflections on Irish self-imagination, we may suggest that Ireland, as imagined through nineteenth-century translation from Irish, often took on a ‘chronotopic’ dimension. A chronotope, explains Leerssen, “is the conjoined imagination of spatial and temporal patterns in the literary imagination” (1996: 7). Here, not only did the Irish self-image take on a historical dimension through translation, but it also acquired a spatial dimension through association with the remote and idyllic notions of Gaelic peasantry. ‘Authentic Ireland’ was stereotypically represented by the Celtic, westernmost fringes (ibid: 10-11; 188). This, as Tymoczko (1999: 288) points out, may partly be explained by the fact that cultural life in Irish was increasingly restricted to the peasantry. Tymoczko (ibid: 91) notes that the rural Celtic folk, as keeper of traditions and of a noble heritage, were a source of fascination to the Romantics. They provided, in Alain van Cruyten’s words, ‘next-door

exoticism' (cited in *ibid*: 91). In translation then, such emphasis on the country folk in Irish self-imagination could be found in Sigerson's praise of the 'Celtic peasant's heart' (cited in Cronin 1996: 117), or in Yeats's collection of *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (1888). As Welch puts it, Hyde's use of the English speech of Irish country people drew "Yeats and Lady Gregory into closer and more informed contact with the folk life and literature of Connacht" (1988: 160). Gregory relied heavily on Irish folktales and ballads for her plots (Tymoczko 1999: 135). At the same time, argues Leerssen (1996: 163), such emphasis on the unspoiled folk had a de-historicizing impact on the image of the Irish peasantry, by creating a myth of a timeless peasantry.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Irish self-imagination had given increasing emphasis and exclusivity to Ireland's Gaelic roots, and the resulting Gaelic-oriented cultural and historical self-image became "central to the Irish drive for self-determination" (*ibid*: 4). As Leerssen points out, "both reflexes, the antiquarian and the idyllic, ... became an important feeding ground for the imaginative iconography and outlook of Irish nationalism" (*ibid*: 11). Cultural nationalism in nineteenth-century Ireland was therefore characterized by 'auto-exoticism', which supposes a search for one's own identity in the exotic and remote aspects of experience and underscoring one's own distinctness (*ibid*: 225). Accordingly, the use of paratext in translation, frequent in scholarly versions, is a procedure of auto-exoticism. Indeed, explanatory notes and glosses which aim to palliate the strangeness of a text at the same time emphasize that strangeness and point to the cultural distance between the source text and the receiving audience (*ibid*: 205).

Acceptability and Dignity

As historical continuity and historical remembrancing were important aspects of nineteenth-century national awareness (Leerssen 1996: 6), the translated text could be seen as a monument of commemoration to past greatness. Tymoczko (1999: 173-174) observes that translators such as O'Grady and Lady Gregory adopted various strategies to make their versions acceptable to the receiving English-speaking culture. O'Grady adopted an assimilationist strategy, explaining Irish cultural concepts and making his versions acceptable to the target audience. Lady Gregory, who on the one hand used glorifying and heroic images of the fighting Irish that fitted well with a nationalist discourse, adopted on the other hand strategies of bowdlerization to suit a Victorian reading. In particular, sexual aspects were

suppressed (ibid: 180). Gregory's versions therefore conformed to "the valorization of the peasant by Irish nationalists and the stress on moral purity at the time" (ibid).

Similar concerns for sexual morality resulting in exclusion of material have been noticed in other nineteenth-century translations, such as those compiled in Hardiman's collection (Cronin 1996: 111). Nineteenth-century translators and editors of Irish texts sought above all to foreground the antiquity and nobility of Irish culture (ibid: 208). For cultural and political nationalists alike, it was important that the nation take pride in its heritage, but dominant moral values impacted on perspectives of acceptability and self-esteem. Translation, notes Cronin, was often driven by pedagogic or moral motives, and he cites the example of Charles Gavan Duffy, one of the founders of the *Nation* and a Catholic. Gavan Duffy became particularly suspicious of French popular literature which he feared could act as poison on the minds of young people with its 'impure and atheistical' outlook (cited in ibid: 146). In contrast, Duffy foregrounded the sanative influence of translations from Irish, which he was keen to make available. As Cronin puts it, translation was therefore "accorded considerable power and influence, notably in corrupting or improving the minds of the young" (ibid). Further on in the twentieth century, Catholic nationalists would continue to foster rural and puritanical values in order to differentiate Ireland from Protestant, industrial and 'immoral' Britain (Hutchinson 1987: 310).

Contradictions within Irish cultural nationalism ultimately emerge through an investigation of Ireland's translation history. Nineteenth-century Irish periodicals which contained translations not only promoted these translations "but also the process of translation itself" (Cronin 1996: 116). Nationalist papers such as the *Nation* presented "yet another incentive for Irish speakers to translate themselves into the English language" (ibid). Cronin (ibid: 116-117) indeed observes that most nationalist and republican movements at the time appeared to have accepted English language assimilation as inevitable. Newspapers that were sympathetic to cultural nationalism were in fact "powerful agents of Anglicisation" (ibid: 137). Yet, by that time, the need to reach a popular audience was strongly related to the extent of the linguistic shift in Ireland (ibid). As Tymoczko (1999: 221; 284) argues, there are economic, ideological, cultural and poetic constraints to take into account, particularly when translations have been produced in a postcolonial context. Such constraints can partly explain the various shifts and choices in translation as examined in this section, procedures which Tymoczko

refers to as metonymies¹², these “partial representations constructed by translators in response to social exigencies” (ibid: 284). These procedures were crucial to the cultural nationalist agenda of translation in nineteenth-century Ireland.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has sought to provide a historical and contextual backdrop to our investigation of translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland. French and Irish societies underwent major changes and upheavals during that period. The impact of the French Revolution(s), of the Act of Union and of other key social, cultural and political factors cannot be underestimated when we investigate both the history of translation in Ireland and the history of the Franco-Irish relationship. A consideration of the historical relationship between French and Irish cultures reveals numerous points of contact, with a web of military, religious, political and aesthetic links. In particular, Catholicism, republicanism and nationalism emerge as important, though not exclusive, themes of Hiberno-French developments in the period under study. They were also crucial in the formation of mutual images.

Closely related to these themes is that of cultural nationalism, the development of which is critical to our understanding of nineteenth-century Ireland. Leerssen (1996: 1) stresses how important it is to consider the development of Irish national consciousness in the climate of European Romanticism and nationalism and of the constitutional union with imperial Britain. Translation played a decisive role in the shaping of cultural nationalism. Translation, argues Cronin, “cannot be ignored in an analysis of the founding moment of Irish modernity” (1996: 131). In particular, the study of translation from Irish highlights issues of language and cultural self-confidence which were crucial to this process of identity definition. Irish translators, as well as writers, attempted to reclaim and reconstruct Ireland’s culture and history. Irish cultural nationalism was a move towards decolonization (Tymoczko 1999: 288-289).

Rescuing Ireland from ‘decay’, from provincialism and literary stagnation, rescuing the native language from extinction and Irish-language texts from oblivion were important

¹² See Methodology chapter

aspects of Irish cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century (Leerssen 1996: 195). For this reason, processes of revival or rebirth which began in the late nineteenth century, and continued in the twentieth century, owed much to translation. According to Leerssen (*ibid*), this sense of national rebirth kindled through cultural nationalism deeply influenced political separatism in Ireland. As he puts it, “the nineteenth century, between the Union and the Great War, between the risings of Tone and Pearse, sees the birth, growth and spread of modern Irish nationalism” (*ibid*: 3-4). The viewpoint that Ireland deserved political autonomy was largely based on an awareness of Ireland’s cultural distinctiveness and individuality.

Translation from other languages should not be overlooked in considering the development of Irish cultural nationalism, and of Irish culture in general. Translations from modern, and even classical, languages have contributed to Irish literary developments and helped construct a dignified representation of Irish culture. O’Neill’s investigation of translation from German and Cronin’s studies of Lady Wilde’s and Lady Gregory’s translations of continental writings have shown that translation from European languages should not be neglected as other means of creating national consciousness. Parallel to a rise in literacy and to changes in publishing and bookselling activities, the century saw an increased availability of translations to a growing English-reading public in Ireland. In particular, French was a major source language for translation into English. In order to shed more light on both the history of translation in nineteenth-century Ireland and the history of the Franco-Irish relationship, we now need to investigate the specific landscape of nineteenth-century translations from French.

CHAPTER THREE: A GENERAL SURVEY OF SOCIOHISTORICAL TRENDS IN TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND: PRESENTATION AND RELIGIOUS TRENDS

Chapters Three to Six explore the main sociohistorical trends in nineteenth-century translation of French writing in Ireland. The purpose is threefold. Firstly, we need to define the general body of translations from French available to Irish readers in the nineteenth century. For this purpose, the translated material has been quantified. The translation landscape is here mapped out as a means to determine the main areas of interest and trends in publishing and readership of translations from French. Secondly, in order to define more accurately the specificity of the translation relationship between the French and Irish cultures, these chapters highlight noteworthy and typical contributions made by Ireland's agents of translation. Thirdly, the purpose is to analyze these translation trends and clusters in relation to their sociohistorical backgrounds, thereby examining the role played by translation within a wider set of historical and sociocultural developments.

The first section of the present chapter provides a general introduction to the survey. The chapter then explores one of the most prominent areas of the translation landscape, that is, translations of religious texts.

3.1 Presentation

3.1.1 General Considerations

In their broad history of literary translation in English, France and Haynes note that after 1790, with an expanding readership in English, an increasing number of translations and a wider choice of sources, the status of translation itself was changing, principally from luxury to necessity (2006b: xiii). However, this investigation will show that, in nineteenth-century

Ireland, the notion of mere necessity to provide for an English-reading audience is not enough to explain translation trends. Indeed, it soon becomes clear that the provision of translations in English was closely linked to the idea of accomplishing political, religious, educative or moral missions. We are therefore proceeding from the notion of commercial necessity to a wider concept of cultural and political undertaking.

As we have seen in our history of the Franco-Irish relationship, France, and the various French-speaking cultures on the continent, had long been a focus of, and a channel for, Irish religious, intellectual and political engagement with Europe. This is reflected in the general translation landscape of nineteenth-century Ireland, with French-language texts forming the most prominent source of translation from modern languages. Moreover, the importance of French writings was confirmed by the presence of several translations where a French text had served as intermediary between other languages and English.

3.1.2 Views of Translated French Literature Today

Before presenting the findings for this survey, it may be useful to consider the view we generally have of nineteenth-century French writing, and our correlated perception of nineteenth-century translation from French. When we think about translation of nineteenth-century French literature, which authors or which genres do we generally think of first? Looking at today's anthologies or encyclopaedias of nineteenth-century French writing in English translation, as well as the various essays produced in the fields of literary and Franco-Irish studies for instance, we may believe that the main areas of interest would have been poetry and novels, with prominent names such as Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Hugo, Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal first coming to mind. In other words, the focus is generally on literary translation, in its narrowest sense, and particularly on what would be considered today as canonical literature. As an example, Classe's *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English* (2000), otherwise valuable for pointing to the importance of translation, contains no entry for Béranger, who, as we shall see later, was very popular in nineteenth-century translation. On the other hand, there are entries devoted to Rimbaud, Baudelaire and Flaubert, who are amongst the most frequently discussed nineteenth-century authors today. Such focus, though understandable for many reasons, may have shaped our view of translation of nineteenth-century French writing in a certain way. Yet, this investigation of nineteenth-century materials has unveiled quite a different picture.

3.1.3 The Survey

Preliminary Quantitative Considerations

Before looking at the results of the survey, we need to acknowledge that, due to its fundamentally historical nature, a quantification of translated material in the nineteenth century can only be approximate. However, with a total of over 3,000 items recorded across Ireland's main library holdings, this survey offers a fair representation of the translation landscape in the period. This figure includes duplicates, in other words, it includes both the various editions of one particular translation in each library, as well as duplicate items across all holdings. The reason for this is based on the premise that several copies and editions of a work would indicate a certain popularity. It is more difficult however to determine the number of actual translations, firstly because the scope of this study does not allow for an in-depth examination of the texts, and secondly, because details provided in library catalogues are not always sufficient for such an assessment. This is also partly due to the anonymity of many translators. From a general perspective, the number of translations is estimated at about 2,200.

Main Areas of Interest in Translation from French

Figure 1 presents the main areas of interest in nineteenth-century translation of French writing. Note that, for the purpose of this research, it was necessary to determine key domains, or categories, according to which the breakdown was to be given. These domains were chosen insofar as they could underline general patterns. There are necessarily some overlaps which are not shown in this chart, for example between history and religion, or between children's literature and fiction. As a result, the area of Children's Literature may in fact be larger than it appears here. The following analyses will help redress the shortcomings of categorization.

**Translation Holdings:
3,173 Titles (Including Duplicates)
1798-1910**

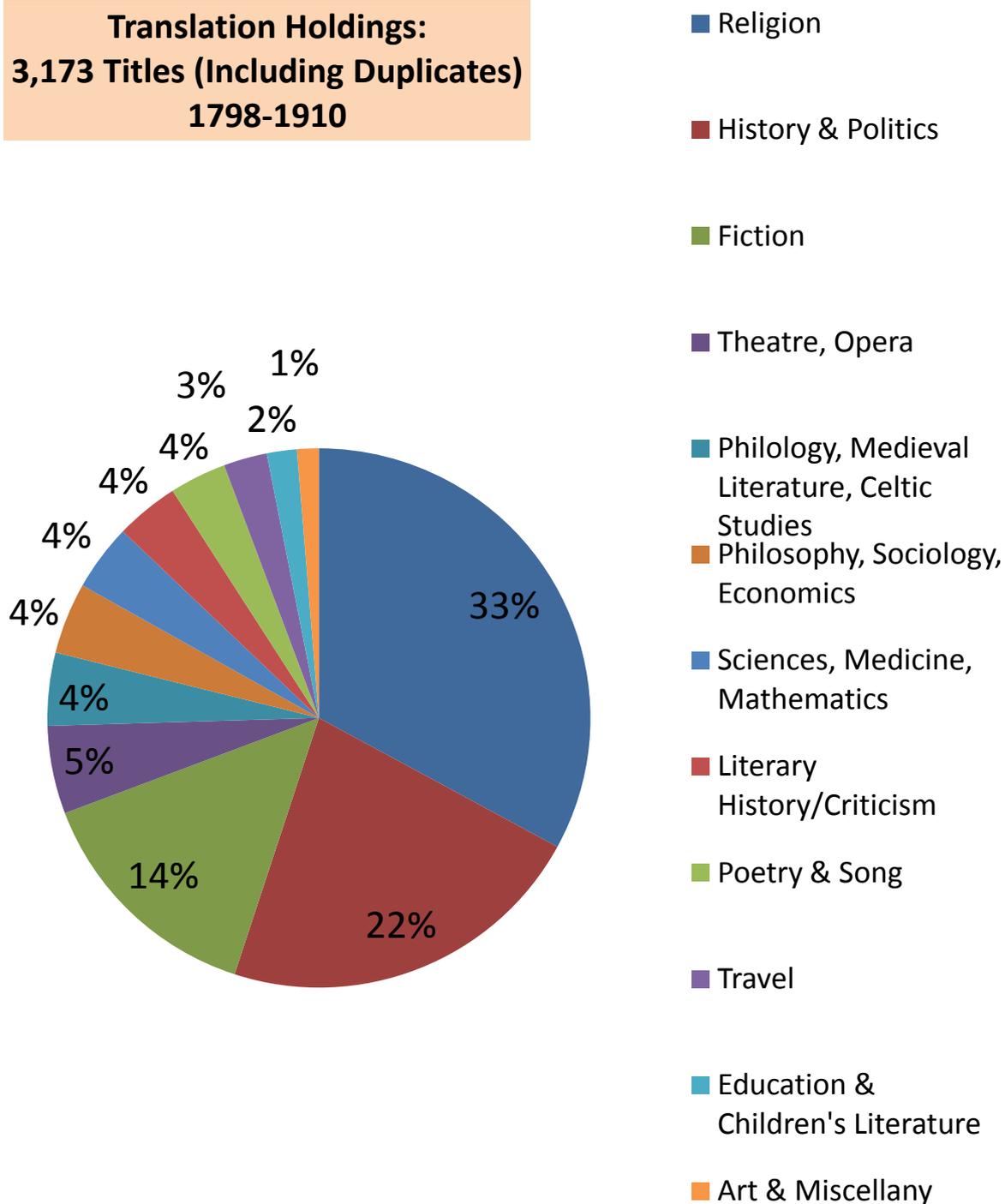


Figure 1. Translations from French in nineteenth-century Ireland: Main areas of interests (Chart)

DOMAIN	%
RELIGION	33.1
HISTORY & POLITICS	22.2
FICTION	14.3
THEATRE, OPERA	5.3
PHILOSOPHY, SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS	4.4
SCIENCES, MEDICINE, MATHEMATICS	4
PHILOLOGY, MEDIEVAL LITERATURE, CELTIC STUDIES	3.8
LITERARY HISTORY/CRITICISM	3.8
POETRY & SONG	3.4
TRAVEL	2.6
EDUCATION & CHILDREN'S LITERATURE	1.8
ART & MISCELLANY	1.3

Figure 2. Translations from French in nineteenth-century Ireland: Main areas of interests (Table)

The chart clearly shows that, although fictional literature does make up a significant portion of the translated works, it is however well outmatched by non-fictional literature from a quantitative point of view. Non-fiction, however, rarely seems to come first to our minds when we think about nineteenth-century translation of French writing. Furthermore, by

looking at the chart, there is no doubt that non-fictional works related to religion, history and politics constitute the main areas of interest. These categories represent more than half of the entire corpus of translations. In fact, a closer look at fictional literature has revealed that much of the translated fiction belongs to the historical and religious genres. And as we explore the results in more detail, we will find that history, politics and religion are equally paramount to other areas of translation. Furthermore, we will learn that in the field of poetry, those authors who were most prominent in translation do not seem to match the vision we have today of nineteenth-century French poetry.

Having mapped out the general make-up of Ireland's holdings in translation from French, we need to approach these various areas of interest in more detail, starting with the most prominent categories. As mentioned in the methodology, this investigation of Ireland's translation holdings is complemented by other sources, such as nineteenth-century booksellers' and library catalogues. In addition, the place given to translation in periodicals and the part played by the press is taken into account.

Aside from thematic overlaps, several noteworthy figures amongst authors, translators, publishers and other agents of translation appear in various categories. There are indeed authors and translators who have used various genres of texts and written or translated on many subjects. One important aspect, particularly in the first decades of the century, which emerged through this investigation, is the absence of a strict separation between the 'literary' and the 'non-literary' as we may experience it today. A perfect illustration of this is provided by the *Select Papers of the Belfast Literary Society* of the year 1808. Here, we have a letter by D. B. Warden on scientific topics, and his translation of Gay Lussac's aerostatic voyage, a chapter on the 'New, or French Method of Bleaching', another on the influence of political revolutions on the progress of religion and learning, and a piece on 'the Advantages of Classical Education'. This was the mixed collection of papers produced by an Irish 'literary' society in 1808, with several instances throughout the papers illustrating the important role given to translation and to cross-cultural sharing of knowledge.

Owing to their prominence, the first two categories – religion and history/politics – provide the largest studies. The next categories have been regrouped into two other chapters, Chapter Five dealing with all other non-fictional writings, such as travel or sciences, and Chapter Six exploring 'literary' texts. The last section of Chapter Six investigates poetic translations, thereby providing us with a transition to the chapter on Béranger. As much as possible,

location and dates of translations mentioned throughout these chapters are provided. However, it should be remembered that dates of translations found in the libraries are not necessarily their first dates of publication. Lastly, titles of translations are generally provided as given in the catalogues. In other words, we follow their use of lower- or uppercase, which, however, may not always reflect the original style.

Given the sheer volume of material, the space constraints and the focus of the present study, various aspects will not be discussed. The following thematic chapters provide general summaries. They point to the most typical examples and to some of the most significant Irish contributions. As much as possible, subtrends which cannot be given separate treatment will nonetheless be mentioned. Appendix A1 can be consulted for a list of Irish translators/editors and the titles of their works.

3.2 Religion

3.2.1 Introduction

The texts which have been recorded here as religious vary greatly. Many of them are concerned with devotion, spiritual life, religious history and biography, including hagiography, and others belong to the fields of theology or apologetics. Some texts pertain to several of these categories too. One of the main characteristics of the overall body of translated religious literature is that it is predominantly in the Roman Catholic vein. Besides the demographic factor, and the development of Irish and French Catholicism in the nineteenth century, another reason we may suggest is the emphasis in the Reformed Churches on Biblical texts over other types of works. Occasionally, however, a source text written by a Catholic writer may have been translated, published or read with a non-Catholic intent, and vice versa. We should stress that this category encompasses a great number and variety of texts, people and beliefs. Trends in religious translation which are not discussed in this chapter include, for instance, the Catholic Modernist network to which Dublin-born George Tyrrell contributed in no small measure, and religious polemics, notably the various critiques and defences of Jesuitism.

Since the *Dublin Review* and the *Irish Monthly* both appear in this investigation, it may be useful to introduce these two journals here. They were two important Catholic publications, which published, and particularly reviewed, many translations from French. The *Dublin Review* was a London-based quarterly journal founded by Daniel O'Connell, the English Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman and Irish journalist Michael Joseph Quin. The *Irish Monthly*, published by Gill, and whose original title was *Catholic Ireland*, was founded in 1873 by Matthew Russell (1834-1912), an Irish Jesuit priest and writer of devotional verse. The Russells were staunch Catholics. Matthew's uncle, Charles William Russell, was president of St Patrick's College, Maynooth, and a co-editor of the *Dublin Review*. Kelly observes that Matthew Russell's "first editorial announced that it was 'devoted to the service of the Faith and the Fatherland after which it is named', and that it would be Catholic and national in tone" (2004: 323). In effect, the *Irish Monthly* nonetheless opened its pages to a wide and diverse body of literature, and its review section regularly included translations of French Catholic writing.

3.2.2 Devotional Writings and Spiritual Life

Catholic devotional literature and texts concerned with Christian spiritual life undoubtedly form the largest part of the corpus of religious translations. Two of the most common types of Catholic devotional literature are texts related to Jesus and the Sacred Heart on the one hand and Marian literature on the other, that is, literature characterized by a special veneration for the Virgin Mary.

Devotion to Jesus and Mary

In the first half of the nineteenth century, translations of Father Grou's devotional literature were produced, printed and published in Ireland. Abbé Grou (1731-1803) was a member of the Society of Jesus (SJ). *The School of Christ* (NLI, CCL, TCD) was translated by 'Clinton, Alexander', aka Alexander Mackenzie (1730, Scotland-1800, Ireland), S.J., and three Irish printers and publishers made copies of *The School of Christ* available in the nineteenth century: Hugh Fitzpatrick, C. M. Warren and Richard Grace and son. Fitzpatrick (d. 1818), printer and bookseller, was actively involved in the cause and development of Irish Catholicism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He published documents for the Catholic Committee and his "premises in Capel Street were the venue for many catholic

meetings” (Woods 2009b: 961). Moreover, he became the official printer and bookseller for the national seminary at Maynooth when it was established (1795) and was particularly active in Irish-language scholarship. As a Jesuit, Grou experienced difficulties in late eighteenth-century France. Indeed, the anti-clerical spirit of the Enlightenment age resulted in the Jesuits being expelled from various locations around the world (O'Connor 1998: 277). Yet, the Jesuits persevered in publishing their writings. O'Connor (ibid) observes that since the re-establishment of their order in 1814, they have been at the fore of the Catholic Church's initiatives. One of the particularities of the Jesuits, an order founded in 1534 in Paris by Ignatius Loyola, St Francis Xavier and others, is their special vow of obedience to the pope. “Active in Ireland from 1542”, O'Connor writes, “the first native Irish Jesuits were effective agents of the papacy and Tridentine reforms” (ibid). O'Connor (ibid) stresses their religious and intellectual influence in Ireland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Later English-language editions of Grou's works found in Ireland's library holdings show that his writings were still popular a hundred years on.

The *IER*, organ of the Catholic bishops, was founded in 1864 by Archbishop and Cardinal Paul Cullen. One of its aims was to instruct the clergy, as part of Cullen's “efforts at bringing the Catholic Church in Ireland more into line with Roman practice” (Hickey and Doherty 2003: 224). In its review pages we find various titles of translations from French, including many devotional books such as the anonymous *Little Month of May*, translated from the French by “Miss Ella MacMahon” (*IER*, V.vii, 1886). In the calendar year of Catholic publications, books for May usually indicate literature devoted to the Blessed Virgin. There is strong evidence of the impact of such literature. Indeed, in 1894, an article relating the story of a parochial library is revealing. The author, ‘C’, describes the month of May as a time when every work relating to the Blessed Virgin ‘is carried to the homes of the people. – The *Month of Mary* [NLI, MDI, CCL, TCD]; the *Life of the Blessed Virgin* [see further below]; the *Lily of Israel* [CCL, NLI], &c., all are in demand’ (1894: 66). It is significant that the three titles cited here are precisely translations of French works.

A very typical translation in this category is Rev. Joseph Joy Dean's *Devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (TCD, NLI, CCL, MDI, NUIM) translated from the French of an anonymous author. Leading Catholic publisher James Duffy (see Historical Chapter) is only one of the various publishers who distributed this translation. Father Joy Dean (c.1752-1836), parish priest of Blanchardstown, Dublin, was born outside Belfast. He was related to United Irishman Henry Joy McCracken, and although his grandfather Francis Joy, founder of the

Belfast News Letter, was Presbyterian, his mother had converted to Catholicism (Cronin 2002: 189). Dean was eager to provide his parish with a Catholic educational establishment and his publication of the *Devotions to the Sacred Heart* shows his active involvement in the dissemination of Catholic devotional literature too. An additional example of typical devout literature is *The pious communicant; or, Devotions to Jesus Christ in the most holy sacrament of the altar* (TCD, UCD), translated from Robert Morel (1653-1731), a Benedictine (BNF), and printed in Dublin. The librarian's notes show that the TCD item had several Irish owners, the last ones being the Franciscan Friars at Killiney. The 1812 edition, the fourth one, was dedicated by the anonymous editor to Dr. Francis Moylan, Catholic bishop of Cork. Moylan (1735-1815) had been educated, trained and ordained in France (Nolan 2004: 607-608). According to Nolan, it was during this time "that Moylan developed an animosity towards Voltaire, Rousseau, and the principles of the Enlightenment" (ibid: 608). Upon his return to Cork, Moylan resolved "to bring the diocese into line with Roman practice" (ibid). Catholic devotion and education were central to his enterprise. He encouraged the establishment of the Ursulines by Nano Nagle in Cork in the 1770s, as well as her foundation of the Presentation Sisters, and in 1811, he brought Edmund Rice's Christian Brothers to Cork (ibid).

We may be able to identify some of the driving forces behind this important production of religious literature devoted to Jesus and Mary, who, above all, were presented as perfect models to emulate. Devotional texts were therefore aimed at the edification and 'perfection' of their Christian readers. As we shall see later, there was also a strong vogue for histories of the lives of Jesus and Mary. Traced back to the Middle Ages, and strengthened by St John Eudes and St Margaret Mary Alacoque¹³ in the seventeenth century (Moell 1967: 819), devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to the Blessed Virgin Mary seem to have gained added strength in nineteenth-century Ireland and France. This is particularly evidenced by several contemporary developments in the Roman Catholic Church. In 1856, the Feast of the Sacred Heart was officially established by Pope Pius IX in the Roman Catholic liturgical calendar (Lawless 2010: 95). Both Ireland and France were solemnly consecrated to the Sacred Heart in 1873. The foundation stone of the Basilica of the Sacred Heart in Paris was laid on June 16 1875. Lourdes, where Marian apparitions were reported by Bernadette Soubirous in 1858, became almost instantly one of the most visited sites of pilgrimage, attracting among others a great number of Irish Catholics (ibid: 93). Marian veneration in

¹³ Note that names of Saints are often translated. Saint Jean Eudes was the French founder of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary and Sainte Marguerite Marie Alacoque was a French Visitandine.

Lourdes was approved by Pope Pius IX too. In fact, Pius IX is particularly known for his efforts towards the dogmatization of the Immaculate Conception, which was officially declared a Roman Catholic dogma in 1854 (ibid: 92). Within this context then, devotional literature consecrated to the Sacred Heart and to the Blessed Virgin seems to have belonged to, as well as supported, a significant transnational Catholic trend. Translations from French certainly make up a remarkable part of that literature in nineteenth-century Ireland.

Spiritual Life

Overall, there are numerous works of piety intending to guide Christians in their spiritual lives. Among these, one of the most popular in nineteenth-century Ireland was *Spiritual consolation, or, A treatise on interior peace, translated..., by the Authoress of the "Ursuline manual"* (CCL, HC/RIA, DIX/NLI, TCD), whose author was a Capuchin from the Occitan region of south-western France, Ambroise de Lombez (1708-1778). We have here a good example of the crucial role played by Catholic teaching and monastic orders in the dissemination of ascetical works, the author being a Franciscan friar and the translator an Ursuline nun. The 'Authoress of the *Ursuline manual*' was probably Mother Mary Borgia McCarthy of the Ursuline convent at Cork (Sturgeon 2009: 1109). The translation from Lombez was issued in 1835 and 1840 by Richard Coyne in Dublin. Coyne was printer and bookseller to the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth, thus taking over from Hugh Fitzpatrick, as well as publisher to the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland.

The Spirit of St. Francis de Sales through Clara Mulholland

In translation of spiritual literature, the figure of St Francis de Sales, i.e. Savoy-born Saint François de Sales (1567-1622), is prominent. He was bishop-prince of Geneva and founded the Order of the Visitandines with Saint Jane Frances de Chantal (BNF). Translations of de Sales' works which can be found in most Irish library holdings and which were published and printed in Ireland include *An introduction to the devout life* (NLI, TCD, MDI, DCL), published by Gill, Duffy and others. Many of the translators behind these titles have not been identified.

Poetry and religion seem to combine in *The mystical flora of St. Francis de Sales: or, The Christian life under the emblem of plants* (1877, NLI, CCL, DCL), a work by Joseph Tissot (1840-1894), a Salesian missionary and poet (BNF). This was a translation by Clara Mulholland, published by M. H. Gill and Son in Dublin. Henry Joseph Gill, who took over

the firm after his father's death, and an occasional translator himself, "turned the firm into the premier Catholic publishing house in Ireland" (Woods 2009c: 86). This would correspond to the time of publication of *The mystical flora*.

We do not have much information about Clara, nor any preface by her, but we can almost be certain that she was Belfast-born Clara Mulholland (?-1934), sister of the better-known novelist Rosa Mulholland. Clara was educated at convents in England and Belgium and wrote several novels as well as stories for children (Brown 1919: 220). Brown notes that in Clara Mulholland's writings, "even when there is nothing directly about religion, they breathe an atmosphere of Catholicism" (ibid). Some of her novels contain an Irish theme, and triumphant Catholicism appears as a recurring theme in her stories.

St Francis de Sales used many images and metaphors drawn from the natural world, particularly from the vocabulary of plants. The introduction to *The mystical flora* was written by George Conroy. Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, George Michael Conroy (1831-1878) was close to Paul Cullen (Woods 2009d: 781). He was professor of dogmatic theology at All Hallows and Holy Cross Colleges, Dublin, and joint editor of the *IER* (ibid). In the preface, little is said about the translation itself, but Conroy, readily taking to the plant metaphor, introduces the compilation as a skilfully-designed bouquet of flowers, which 'have been so arranged that they form a perfect treatise on the devout life' (1877: vi).

Fénelon and Bossuet

Two very familiar names in Ireland's library holdings are those of seventeenth-century French writers Fénelon and Bossuet, who had both attained classic status by the nineteenth century. Both Catholic theologians, educationalists and preachers, they were sought after for their various religious writings. Bossuet, Bishop of Condom, later of Meaux, was tutor to the Dauphin and a Gallican (Bayley 1995a: 107-108). Bossuet's pupil, Fénelon, became Archbishop of Cambrai and tutor to the King's grandson. He supported the idea of an independent Church and his much celebrated *Télémaque* was believed to be a critique of Louis XIV's regime (Bayley 1995b: 307).

The RIA contains several of Bossuet's works, including *Practical instructions on the obligation and manner of keeping Lent* (c.1827, also at UCD), printed by William Battersby, 'Catholic Bookseller'. Woods remarks that Battersby's firm flourished "in the 1830s, 1840s,

and 1850s, a period of rapidly growing Catholic consciousness in Ireland” (2009e: 374). Specialized in Catholic literature and concerned with Catholic catechetical instruction, he spearheaded the formation of the Catholic Book Society (1827). He also authored several works on ecclesiastical history and supported O’Connell and the campaign for Repeal (ibid). Amongst Fénelon’s spiritual writings, the most popular were the various versions of his *Spiritual Letters* (CCL, MDI, NUIG, TCD), but none seems to have been either translated or published in Ireland. His *Directions for a holy life, and the attaining Christian perfection* (1839, 1850, NLI), however, was issued in Dublin by the Tract Association of Members of the Society of Friends, otherwise known as the Quakers. This presents evidence that Fénelon’s writings served a wider community of Christians.

3.2.3 Sermons and Conferences: French Preachers in Translation

Sermons and conferences are a means of providing spiritual guidance, to defend religion or promote dogmatic principles. Aside from renowned orators Bossuet and Fénelon, Ireland’s translation holdings generally bear testimony, not only to a long French preaching tradition, with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century figures such as Bourdaloue or Massillon and nineteenth-century orators such as Lacordaire, Dupanloup, Landriot or Ravignan, but also to a long Irish tradition of translating such literature. Indeed, Cronin (1996: 81-83) observes that before English became the main target language for translation in Ireland, there was a significant tradition of translating French religious literature into Irish. In the eighteenth century, before the relaxation of the Penal laws, Catholic priests returning from the Continent would translate religious works from foreign languages into Irish to provide pious literature for their parishioners (ibid: 81). For instance, Sean Ó Conaire translated sermons by Claude Joli, Bourdaloue and Massillon into Irish (ibid: 83). In the long nineteenth century, the same sermons were still translated, but this time into English.

Powerful eloquence and rhetoric seem to form the main reason why Bossuet and the seventeenth-century Jesuit priest Bourdaloue became such well-known preaching figures. In nineteenth-century Ireland, the popularity of Bourdaloue’s sermons was still tremendous and translation helped their dissemination throughout the entire period. Indeed in 1896, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* provided a list of 'A Hundred Good Books for Young Priests'¹⁴ which included a translation from Bourdaloue, *Sermons for Sundays and Festivals*. This was a new

¹⁴ *IER*, Vol.xvii (June), 1896, pp.529-534

edition of Anthony Carroll's translation, *Sermons and moral discourses on the important duties of Christianity* (NLI, MDI, CCL). Carroll (1722–1794) was an Irish-born Jesuit priest, who had been educated and ordained in Liège but served in England for most of his life (Cooper 2004: 292-293). Interestingly, Dublin-born William Gahan (1732–1804) composed a very similar work of sermons in 1799. Gahan was the translator of Bourdaloue's *Spiritual Retreat* (NLI, CCL, NUIM, TCD). He too had been educated and ordained on the Continent. He became an Augustinian friar and returned to Dublin in 1761 (Keogh 2009a: 4). Keogh (ibid) observes that Gahan played an active role in the renewal of religious life and Catholic education after the relaxation of the penal laws. Moreover, Gahan was an accomplished and influential preacher and spiritual writer (ibid). Besides St Augustine, he drew from the writings of St Francis de Sales, Massillon and Bourdaloue, while denouncing Enlightenment writers such as Rousseau, Voltaire and Paine on the other hand (ibid: 4-5).

Holding up the 'Faithful Mirror' of Irish Catholicism: Mahony's Nationalist Translation of Abbé MacCarthy's Sermons

In 1848, Duffy published *Sermons of the Abbé Mac Carthy, S.J...the celebrated Irish preacher in France*, 'translated from the French, with a notice of his life and character by C. Mahony' (NLI, TCD, CCL; 1868, MDI). Nicolas Tuite de MacCarthy, also known in France as Abbé de Lé vignac, was born in 1769 in Dublin and died in 1833 in France. Through his life and writings, MacCarthy epitomizes significant aspects of the history of the Franco-Irish relationship. He was taken to Toulouse by his parents at the age of four (Alger 2004: 116). The MacCarthys, originally from Tipperary, had already forged a relationship with France since Nicolas's grandfather had taken refuge there from the Penal laws and his father had been naturalized French and ennobled by Louis XVI as Count MacCarthy (ibid). After his ordination in 1814, Abbé MacCarthy soon became a renowned preacher. Having experienced the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1830, his sermons are, according to Alger, "characterized by moral rigorism and fervent denunciation of rationalism and revolution" (ibid: 117). The identity of his translator is uncertain. There is, however, no doubt that Mahony was an Irish Catholic, based on his introduction to the sermons, in which he states his motives:

...associated as he [Mac Carthy] has been with this country by ties of birth, of early education, of relationship with many of its distinguished members, and descent from an ancient and honoured dynasty, who sustained so many sacrifices for religion, this

imperfect memorial must possess an especial interest for every IRISH CATHOLIC (1848: i; original emphasis)

Throughout his introduction, Mahony's Catholic nationalist standpoint becomes more and more obvious. His aim is to make Irishmen cherish the memory of neglected yet worthy countrymen, to

hold up the faithful mirror of their virtues and achievements, and thus to convince even the most sceptical, that there are many Irishmen now forgotten and unknown, who possess far more exalted titles to public regard than the foreign tyrants whose names should here at least be execrated, instead of being honoured and applauded as they are (ibid: ii)

Indeed, Mahony thinks that 'much has been already done to effect this desirable end, in a political point of view...but a great deal more remains to be done, in illustrating the religious biography of this country' (ibid). Catholicism is what Mahony champions overall, and the translator's introduction increasingly resembles a sermon against 'the infidel principles which were so ruinously prevalent in France' when MacCarthy preached his sermons (ibid: v), 'the sleepy dulness [sic] of the Anglican establishment' (ibid: vi), 'the bleak and desolate region of Calvinism' (ibid), 'the short-lived *fungi* of Presbyterianism, Trinitarianism, Methodism, or the other endless varieties of decayed vegetation which sprout in rank luxuriance amid that fetid waste' (ibid), and, just simply, 'the ruinous abyss of impiety and atheism' (ibid). Mahony believes Ireland to be profoundly Catholic but fears that infidelity 'is now stealthily advancing to invade our own [land]' (ibid), therefore inviting his readers 'to tear every vestige of it from the heart of our country with a vigorous hand' (ibid: vii).

On the translation itself, Mahony has made some particular choices and believes that MacCarthy's relationship with the French monarchs is somewhat inconvenient and should not be part of this translation enterprise:

Each discourse is retained in its full integrity, the only retrenchment being, where complimentary allusions to the king and some other members of the "royal family" of France have been incidentally introduced in the original (ibid: xi; my emphasis)

Mahony's wish to expunge traces of 'the adoration of all that relates to royalty' (ibid) may be a reaction to the Irish political context or the expression of an anti-Gallican spirit. As regards

the quality of the translation, Mahony is apologetic, which is common to many nineteenth-century translators. Ultimately,

The public must prefer to receive it, with all its imperfections, rather than that it should longer remain a blank in the CATHOLIC LITERATURE OF IRELAND (ibid: xii; original emphasis)

Nineteenth-Century Preachers in Translation: ‘J.P.L’, the Franco-Irish Mediator *par excellence*

Rare is the Irish library that does not carry at least one translation from the French of Lacordaire, a Dominican preacher. His *Conferences*, originally delivered in Toulouse and at Notre-Dame in Paris, were very popular. They were mostly translated by an English Dominican named Henry Langdon. Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861) was renowned for his pulpit eloquence. He was one of the main figures of French liberal Catholicism, along with Montalembert, Lamennais, and the group of Catholic thinkers associated with the journal *L’Avenir*. In 1831, famine relief funds were sent by the editors of *L’Avenir* to Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin (Dublin Diocesan Archives 1982: 31-4). Sermons and other actions on behalf of the Irish poor were indeed not uncommon in France. When news broke of severe shortages around 1860, sermons and collections were organized in France. Two such sermons were translated into English, and they bear testimony to a key moment in the Franco-Irish relationship.

The *Sermon preached by Mgr. the Bishop of Orleans on behalf of the poor Catholics of Ireland: in the Church of St. Roch, Paris, on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1861* (TCD, NLI, NUIG, LICL) was translated from Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878) soon after its publication in French in 1861. This was a ‘sole authorized translation’, published at Dublin by John Fowler, publisher of the *IER*. A year later, Fowler issued another sermon on behalf of the Irish poor, this time Swiss-born Gaspard Mermillod’s *Sermon on behalf of the distressed Irish* (NLI). Again, the translation was brought out immediately after original publication. It was ‘translated with permission by John P. Leonard’. No translator was named for the sermon by Dupanloup, but we may safely suggest that Leonard was directly involved in the process, as well as Patrick Lavelle (1825-1886), a Catholic priest and Irish nationalist, who probably wrote the introduction signed ‘P.L’. A footnote to the introduction states that ‘the translators

have been assisted in their hurried work by some kind and able friends' (1861: 7). Additionally, a 'Life of Mgr Dupanloup' was 'translated and abridged by "J.P.L."' from the French of Léon Saint-Albe, and prefixed to the translated sermon. Another translation of the same sermon was found in Ireland's holdings (1861, MDI, NUIM). It was signed by Rev. William Henry Anderdon (see Appendix), and it was dedicated to Patrick Lavelle. Lavelle was parish priest of Partry, where food shortages were acute, and all profits of that publication were to be devoted to the victims in Partry and other parishes.

The story of John P. Leonard, aka 'J.P.L.', merits special attention. It is that of an indefatigable ambassador for Ireland and an energetic Franco-Irish mediator who made full use of translation as a connecting factor. It is a narrative which concerns both politics and religion, and is therefore also relevant to our chapter on politics and history. Born at Spike Island, County Cork, in 1814, Leonard was placed as a student at a college in France in 1829 (Cn 1904: 167). He returned to Ireland after a year, but came back to Paris in 1834, remaining there until his death in 1889. Leonard came from a strong Catholic background. His uncles, Brothers Joseph and John Leonard, played a crucial part in the founding of the Christian Brothers Schools at Cork. Although Leonard studied medicine, he mainly worked as a teacher of English and as a foreign correspondent. He was also in the French National Guard for some time. He did, however, make use of his medical skills to attend the wounded during the Franco-Prussian war. 'Cn' points out that Leonard met and became friends with "many people of the highest rank and position in French society" (ibid: 167-168). Amongst his closest friends were President Marshal MacMahon and his wife the Duchess of Magenta, as well as Bishop Dupanloup. In Irish politics, as 'Cn' puts it, Leonard "was hand and glove with nearly all the leaders of '48" (ibid: 168). Amongst these were Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Francis Meagher and William Smith O'Brien. Leonard was Paris correspondent for the *Nation*.

The aforementioned sermons were largely initiated by Leonard. In turn, funds were raised in Ireland during the Franco-Prussian War and sent to Leonard to provide relief to the French soldiers (Cn 1904: 168). He was awarded the Legion of Honour for his services during the war. Moreover, he actively promoted Irish industries in France, notably at the annual Paris Exhibition. Julienne (2000: 53-54) points out that one of John P. Leonard's aims was to bring closer the French and Irish clergy. Translation was one of the principal means to achieve this. Whenever Bishop Dupanloup would receive letters from Ireland, and vice versa, Leonard provided translations. By the mid-1870s, there was even talk of compiling all such

translations in one volume, but that project does not seem to have materialized (ibid: 54). In Paris, Leonard arranged the meeting between Dupanloup and three Irish prelates, Mgrs Gilligan, Keane and Moriarty. In Dublin, for the 1875 O'Connell Centenary, he read a speech by Dupanloup, undoubtedly translated into English, to an enthusiastic audience (ibid: 56). Leonard also produced, anonymously, a translation from Dupanloup entitled *A study of freemasonry* (TCD, UCD). It was published in London in 1875 and reissued in New York by D&J Sadlier in 1876.

Even though Dupanloup and Mermillod claim that their sermons are not advancing any political or religious cause, it seems that their words did nonetheless carry strong political and religious messages. Mermillod, in particular, sums up their common hopes for a transnational Catholic movement, to which John P. Leonard contributed in no small measure: 'The time is come when Catholics should understand the necessity of bringing to light the sufferings and tortures of Catholic nations!' (1862: vii).

To conclude, nineteenth-century translations of sermons and conferences bear witness to a transnational movement of Catholic thought. French pulpit eloquence led to several translation enterprises in Ireland. As in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the purpose of nineteenth-century sermons, in the original language as well as in translation, was to disseminate various ideas and principles. In particular, liberal Catholics often championed freedom of education and religious liberty through their sermons.

3.2.4 Apologetics

As suggested in the previous section, sermons and conferences have undoubtedly been a means to defend religion, or a particular religion. Moreover, religious histories, dogmatic texts and catechisms, for instance, were used to argue in favour or against certain religious beliefs. In this section, the focus is on works which are generally referred to as apologetics, that is, texts which vindicate religion or a particular religious faith in a general manner. Christian apologetics were not a novelty in the nineteenth century, and indeed translations from seventeenth-century French apologists such as Bossuet and Blaise Pascal can be found in Ireland's holdings. Yet, apologetics certainly take on a particular resonance during this period in both French and Irish cultures if we examine them against their religious and political backgrounds. With the circulation of Enlightenment and anti-clerical ideas closely

associated with the French Revolution on the one hand, and the various religious and political developments such as the relaxation of the Penal laws, Catholic Emancipation and denominational turbulence on the other, nineteenth-century Ireland may indeed have been a fitting arena for debates on religion and a fertile ground for translation of apologetics in any Christian faith. Two of the most popular texts of French-language Christian apology, one originally published by François-Xavier de Feller in 1777, and the second by François-René de Chateaubriand in 1802, were found to have been both translated by Irish Catholic translators. Both translations were not just intended as Christian apologetics, but more precisely to make a case for Catholicism.

Mulcaile's Successful Translation of Feller's Apology

Feller (1735-1802) was a Belgian-born Jesuit who wrote in the French language and died in Ratisbon, Germany. His *Catéchisme philosophique* was in great part a reaction against the eighteenth-century Enlightenment *philosophes* and against atheism in general. It was translated as *The philosophical catechism, or, A collection of observations fit to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (TCD, NLI, CCL, NUIM, DCL) by the Rev. J. P. Mulcaile. The translation was published and printed by Hugh Fitzpatrick in 1800. According to Oliver (1838: 240), Kilkenny-born James Philip Mulcaile (1726/1727?-1801) was moved to France at the age of nine, where he was educated and became a member of the Society of Jesus. He returned to Ireland in 1763, was appointed to the parish of St Michan's, Dublin, and was one of the benefactors of the Presentation Convent on George's Hill, Dublin, which was founded in 1794. The school was originally the idea of a Dublin woman, Teresa Mulally. Run by the Presentation Sisters, the school provided education to poor Catholic girls of the area and we might even speculate that Mulcaile's translation must have been available at the convent, where he died in 1801.

As Oliver (*ibid*) notes, the subscriber list for Mulcaile's translation was quite remarkable, amounting to nearly 600 copies. The list includes numerous members of the Irish clergy, as well as booksellers around the country and the Dublin Literary Society. The translation would still appear in later catalogues, such as the *1811-12 Catalogue of Gilbert and Hodges*. Some of the clergymen listed as subscribers ordered several copies. Hence, twelve copies were subscribed for by John Thomas Troy (1739-1823), Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Troy had been trained and ordained at Rome and one of his main priorities was to reform the Irish

church on Roman lines (Keogh 2009b: 502). Keogh (ibid: 502-503) argues that Troy's influence on the development of the modern Irish church was indeed tremendous. Mulcaile's translation had been a successful enterprise. In *Tales of Irish Life* (1824), Michael James Whitty reports that Irish Catholics in the early decades of the century were found to be 'sturdy defenders of their creed' and that "'De Feller's Philosophical Catechism," translated into English, was in every man's hand in the village' (1824: 112)¹⁵.

O'Donnell's Translation of Chateaubriand's Apology

There is hardly a library or a bookseller's catalogue in nineteenth-century Ireland that does not contain a translation from the French of François-René de Chateaubriand. In fact, through a general keyword search carried out in the online Irish Newspaper Archives, Chateaubriand (1768-1848) emerged as one of the most popular French authors. He was born at St Malo in Brittany, of an old Breton noble and Catholic family. Having experienced the French Revolution, exile and war on the side of the émigré princes, Chateaubriand began to develop his own thoughts about history, politics and religion and published *Le Génie du Christianisme* in 1802. The publication coincided with what Bowman refers to as "Napoleon's efforts to restore Catholicism" (1995: 157). *Le Génie du Christianisme* is probably one of the most well-known and influential works of French Christian apologetics in the nineteenth century. It truly belongs to the Age of Romanticism, with its emphasis on emotion, nature, nostalgia, imagination and Gothic art, and the text has been celebrated for its fervour and eloquence. In this manner, it is very different from de Feller's work, which was based on a very straightforward and traditional format of a 'Questions and Answers' catechism. For Chateaubriand, "Christianity satisfies the imagination and the emotions, inspires beautiful works of art, contributes to civilization and progress" (ibid). Bowman remarks that "the aesthetic, positivistic aspect of his apologetics – Christianity is true because it is good and beautiful – was to have widespread influence" (ibid).

Three translations of the *Génie* were published in the nineteenth century. The translation which seems to appear more often in Ireland's holdings was made by an American Catholic priest, Charles Ignatius White, and is entitled *The Genius of Christianity; or, the Spirit and Beauty of the Christian Religion* (CCL, NUIG, MDI, NUIM). It was published in 1856 at

¹⁵ Whitty was an Irish journalist, newspaper editor and proprietor, and according to Courtney, he "was an ardent advocate for Catholic emancipation" (2004a: 778).

Baltimore by John Murphy, an Irish-American Catholic publisher. The earliest translation we know of was produced by the prolific English Protestant translator and writer Frederic Shoberl in 1813 and it was entitled *The Beauties of Christianity* (UCC).

Another translation was published about 1854, therefore after Shoberl's and before White's, and seems to have borne the same title as the latter's, that is, *The Genius of Christianity; or the Spirit and Beauties of the Christian Religion* (CCL). Dempsey (1928: 110-111) notes that White, whose work may have been the most complete rendering of the original, had closely consulted the two previous translations before producing his own. The 1854 version was translated by 'Rev. E. O'Donnell' and advertised several times in Irish newspapers, by both Thomas Richardson and James Duffy. There is no extant biography for O'Donnell, but Dempsey (1928: 109) informs us that he was serving in France, at the Assumption College, Clichy. In 1854, a review of Duffy's edition in the *Nation* foregrounds the translator's Irishness:

It is with sincere gratification we introduce an Irish Catholic Priest as the translator of Viscount Chateaubriand's celebrated work into the English language. The "Genie du Christianisme" has long been recognized as one of the most powerful among the influences which checked the progress of atheism and infidelity in Europe after the French Revolution; and perhaps a nobler literary tribute has never been dedicated to the Catholic Church. In a merely literary point of view any translation of such a work might be hailed as a valuable boon; but the execution of the task by a Catholic clergyman, and a cultivated scholar, leaves nothing further to be desired (1854: 843)¹⁶

Not only does the announcement carry a sense of pride that the translator is Irish, but there is as much 'gratification' from the fact that he is a Catholic priest. Indeed for the reviewer, it is the translator's Catholic affiliation that guarantees the quality of his work, which is enhanced by O'Donnell's 'cultivated scholarship'. Moreover, by giving prominence to Catholicism, the review ensures that the work advertised here is not understood as being merely about Christianity in general.

The religious bias is a cause for complaint in Dempsey's critical study on the *Génie du Christianisme* and its English versions:

the Génie was subjected to the wil effect of religions [sic] prejudice in the hands of the translators. Mutilated by the protestant in his efforts to render it less offensive to his

¹⁶ 'Books Received' (1854), *Nation*, Sep 9, p.843

coreligionists, it was weakened by the catholic by fatuous remarks and additions in the interests of pious propaganda (1928: 109)

Dempsey (ibid: 109-110) remarks that O'Donnell's version had an educational purpose and was 'compiled for use in Catholic schools'. She adds that in terms of fidelity, O'Donnell's translation did not fare any better than that provided by Shoberl: "it is an abridged edition, in which only about one half of the "Génie" is given and the contents are entirely rearranged" (ibid: 110). For instance, where Chateaubriand writes 'N'espérons que dans le ciel, et nous ne craignons plus l'exil: il y a dans la religion toute une patrie'¹⁷, O'Donnell translates: 'religion is worth treasures of gold and silver in time of distress and persecution!' (cited in Dempsey 1928: 110). We can clearly sense from this fragment that O'Donnell reshapes the French original according to both his pedagogical aims and his own sensibility. The idea of persecution seems to be given particular prominence in the translation. The sociohistorical background of Irish Catholics, notably the memory of Penal times, may have been a strong motive in the translator's mind. Dempsey believes that Eugene O'Donnell has "given us something which however edifying, is certainly not Chateaubriand" (1928: 110). In this case, if O'Donnell has not given us Chateaubriand, perhaps may we suggest that Chateaubriand gave us O'Donnell?

3.2.5 Religious History and Questions of the Day

This section comprises both works discussing questions of the day and writings on religious history and biography. Historical approaches are often used to influence contemporary debates on key religious questions. This is particularly relevant to burning issues such as those relating to the infallibility of the Church and to the pope's temporal power.

3.2.5.1 Church and State: the Power of the Pope, Historical and Apologetic Perspectives

The relation between Church and State was a persistent, burning issue in nineteenth-century France. In Ireland, brought under the rule of the English Crown, and with the Anglican Church as the Established Church for a great part of the century, the issue was complex. Debates on the infallibility of the Church and on papal power were not necessarily new, but they became particularly crucial during our period under study. This is, for example, illustrated by titles such as *The Martyrs of Castelfidardo* (CCL, NLI, PC/TCD) from the

¹⁷ [Let us place all our hopes in heaven, and we no longer shall fear exile: religion holds an entire motherland for us]

French of ‘A. de Ségur’, first published by Gill and Son in the early 1880s. It relates the story of those who fought and died to defend the Papal States in 1860. The work was translated by ‘a member of the Presentation Convent, Lixnaw, Co. Kerry’.

The Irish Catholic Church’s drive towards Ultramontanism is reflected in Ireland’s translation trends. Gallicanism and Ultramontanism, questions of divine-right monarchy and papal temporal power, as well as issues of religious freedom in general were all highly relevant matters to both Irish and French societies. Among the most typical translations in this section is *The power of the pope during the Middle Ages* (1853, MDI, CCL, NUIG, NUIM), written by ‘M. Gosselin, director in the seminary of St Sulpice, Paris’, and translated ‘by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth’. Here, Gosselin’s and Kelly’s aim is to establish the legitimacy of papal temporal sovereignty using factual truth, thereby arguing against accusations of abuse of power by the popes in the Middle Ages. By translating Gosselin’s work, Matthew Kelly contributed to English-language literature on ecclesiastical history and to the debate on papal power, framing this debate in historical terms and carrying it to a wider audience.

Another example is *The Pope considered in his relations with the Church, temporal sovereignties, separated churches and the cause of civilisation* (CCL), a translation by Aeneas McDonell Dawson, a Scottish Catholic clergyman. It is taken from the French of one of the most well-known Catholic apologists and ultramontanists of the century. The author, Comte Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821), was born in Savoy, then in the Kingdom of Sardinia. His native region had been invaded by the French revolutionary armies in 1792, and for many years he was an émigré at the Russian court. Joseph de Maistre was, according to Crossley (1995: 486), the most influential theorist of the French Counter-Enlightenment and the Counter-Revolution. He saw the French Revolution as a satanic insurrection against God and the Church and the resulting suffering as a way of expiation (Dulles 1971: 174). De Maistre’s *Du Pape* (1819) has been described as an anti-Gallican apology for papal spiritual sovereignty and infallibility (ibid). Its English translation, however, was only published thirty years later, in 1850. Along with Matthew Kelly’s translation from Gosselin, it was advertised several times in the *Nation* by the Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Company in 1859. Moreover, passages from de Maistre’s *Du Pape* were often quoted, in translated form, in the *Nation*’s pages or in *Freeman’s Journal*. Quinn notes that de Maistre’s influential work “helped to attract adherents to the ultramontane cause and his conservative ideas” (1994: 881).

3.2.5.2 Liberty of the Church: French and Irish Catholic Politics

Religious freedom is a crucial topic in the nineteenth century. In 1846, Battersby published *Pastoral instruction of His Eminence Cardinal De Bonald, on the liberty of the church*, ‘translated by the Very Rev. James Maher, of Carlow’ (HC/RIA, TCD, UCD, NUIM, DCL). Born in the Occitan region of the Rouergue, Louis-Jacques-Maurice de Bonald (1787-1870) championed the temporal power of the Holy See and “contributed a large share towards destroying all remnants of Gallicanism” (Sollier 1907). Moreover, “He always took great interest in social questions, and never was more eloquent than when appealing for help in behalf of misery” (ibid). De Bonald was one of the French prelates who, in 1847, sent pleas to their parishioners to send relief to Ireland. The liberty of the Church and religious education were other subjects close to his heart (ibid). He was also one of the first bishops to welcome the Revolution of 1848.

The translator of the *Pastoral instruction* had much in common with Cardinal de Bonald. Reverend James Maher (1793-1874), from Donore in County Carlow, came from what McCartney refers to as “the Catholic clerical aristocracy of Kildare and Leighlin – the Mahers, Morans and the Cullens” (1988: 47). He was uncle to Cardinal Archbishops Paul Cullen and Patrick Francis Moran. He was particularly close to Paul Cullen and to James Doyle, the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin commonly referred to as ‘J. K. L.’. Both figures are known for their influential role in the renewal and reform of diocesan life, religious practice and in Irish Catholic politics. The chapel library was a vital component of Doyle's catechetical programme, and the works of writers such as Bossuet, Francis de Sales, and William Gahan had to be included in the library according to an established ‘norm of hundred books’ (McGrath 2009: 446). Finding a biography for Cullen or Doyle is easy, but if we want to know about James Maher, there is no extant national biography for him. Yet, the role played by Father Maher in Irish history should not be neglected. According to McCartney (1988: 48), Maher took active part in the anti-tithe agitation, along with Doyle and Daniel O’Connell. Following an election victory in the 1830s, Maher proclaimed that ‘the key to the House of Commons is now in the hands of the people, which key had too long lain in the breeches pocket of the aristocrats’ (cited in ibid). While serving as parish priest of Carlow-Craigie during the Great Famine, Maher made every effort to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and echoed the words of Irish nationalist John Mitchel in his condemnation of government policy in Ireland (ibid). Moreover, in the fifties, he was a member of the

Committee for the establishment of a Catholic University in Ireland. In this regard, James Maher's prominent role in the cause of Catholics and the poor and for Catholic education, as well as his democratic stance, seems to echo Cardinal de Bonald's activities in France. It is therefore no surprise that Maher translated de Bonald's *Instruction pastorale...sur la liberté de l'Eglise* (1846), which had been published by the French committee for the liberty of religion.

3.2.5.3 Histories of the Protestant Church

There was also great interest in the history of Protestantism, with special attention paid to the Reformation. Written, and generally translated, from the Protestant standpoint, Merle d'Aubigné's *Histoire de la Réformation du XVI^e siècle* (1835-1847) was a popular text in translation. As seen in Ireland's library catalogues (NLI, TCD, QCat, UCC, UCD, UU, ML), at least six translators contributed to the various multi-volume editions of the *History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century*. One of them was Irish translator Walter Keating Kelly. On the title page of his translation, which is that of the first volume of Merle d'Aubigné's work, the translator is referred to as 'Walter Keating Kelly, Esq., B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin' (NLI). It is very probable that Kelly (1806-1873) lived in England for a great part of his life (Houghton 1972: 969). He contributed articles on French culture and history to the *Foreign Quarterly Review* and was its editor sometime in the 1840s (ibid). From a glance at his various works, there is no doubt that Kelly was a polymath and a polyglot. Philology, Latin Classics, History and Religious History are only four of his various interests. It is all the more regrettable that there is no biography of him this day extant. Kelly translated several important works from French, Spanish and German. A Protestant minister and historian from Switzerland, Merle d'Aubigné (1794-1872) describes his work as a history for all Christians, and not just for Protestants. "Not the history of a party", he writes, but "that of one of the greatest revolutions that have affected mankind" (1842: 1). He distinguishes *revolution* from *revolt* and defines it as 'something new unfolding itself (*revolver*) from out the bosom of humanity' (ibid).

3.2.5.4 Lives of Jesus and Mary

The various lives of Jesus and Mary published in the nineteenth century are closely related to Mariological and Christological studies and devotions, which we have already marked out as

prominent in nineteenth-century translation. In the present category are also included the histories of the devotion to Mary as well as the controversial debate on the divinity of Christ.

Mary

When it comes to mariological texts dealing specifically with the history of Mary and of the devotion to her, two authors stand out for their prominence in translation, Mathieu Orsini (1802-1875) and Édouard Barthe (1802-1885). Their works can be sometimes found compiled together. There are three known versions of Orsini's work, *La Vierge, histoire de la mère de Dieu...* (1837), one by 'F.C. Husenbeth', a Catholic clergyman from England (ODNB), another by 'Rev. Patrick Power', and a third one by 'Mrs. J. Sadlier'. Frederick C. Husenbeth's translation must have been very successful because several editions of it were found in various libraries, including a Dublin imprint (Gill) in 1886, but our focus is on Power and Sadlier, Orsini's and Barthe's Irish translators.

Dual Agency in Translation: The Sadlier Enterprise

The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, with the history of the devotion to her... (NLI, UU) was translated from the French of Orsini by Mary Anne Sadlier, generally referred to as 'Mrs. J. Sadlier'. The two copies found through the survey were published in 1867 and 1870 by D. & J. Sadlier. Mary Anne Sadlier, née Madden (1820-1903), is mostly known as an author of Catholic and patriotic novels, but she also wrote various religious tracts and translated prolifically from the French. She was born in County Cavan but having lost both her parents by the age of 24, she moved to Canada where she met and married James Sadlier (Welch 1996b: 506). James was co-owner with his brother Denis of a leading New York Catholic publishing house, D. & J. Sadlier. They too had emigrated from Ireland. As we know, this was a time of severe poverty in Ireland, with few economic prospects. Though almost forgotten today, particularly in Ireland, Mary Anne was, according to Fanning (1990: 114), the most influential writer of the Famine generation in America, and her works, both originals and translations, were indeed available in Ireland too. Fanning observes that her writings are characterized by Catholic moral conservatism and by "an unshakeable identification of Ireland and Catholicism" (ibid: 117) which is rooted in the Ireland of 'saints and scholars'. Mary Anne's translations from French are mainly works of Catholic instruction, devotion and biography as well as several Catholic tales. Most of her original fictions are either patriotic historical romances or Irish-American immigrant stories in which she confronts "her characters with attacks and temptations from Protestant and secular

powers” (Welch 1996b: 506). A typically good outcome in her fictional works would be a character’s conversion to Catholicism. Moreover, Welch notes that “several of her novels are merely frame-stories for the recitation of tradition, legend, and song” (ibid).

Tradition is one important aspect of Orsini’s work on the Blessed Virgin and of Mary Anne Sadlier’s approach to the topic. Indeed not only the traditions of the East are invoked but also what she refers to as the ‘universal devotion’ to Mary (1872: iii). The translation of Orsini’s work stresses its link with Rome by bearing the marks of Papal authority. Not only does it include the benediction by Pope Gregory XVI in Latin but it includes a translation of the ‘Letters Apostolic’ written in 1854 by Pope Pius IX on the ‘Dogmatic Definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God’. The translation went through numerous editions, which often included a text translated in 1854 by Sadlier from the French of Barthe. Barthe’s *Meditations on the Litany of the Blessed Virgin* (NLI), originally published as a separate work, is particularly aimed at promoting devotion to the Blessed Virgin.

Missions and Translations: Patrick Power

A few years prior to Sadlier’s translation from Orsini, an Irish clergyman, Rev. Patrick Power, had been the first to bring out an English version. *The life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God...* (MDI, CCL) was published by James Duffy, with several editions between 1850 and 1885. We can see from various handwritten inscriptions and stamps that the copies found at MDI were owned locally. One copy was a Christmas gift in 1884 and bears the stamp of the Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, in Dublin. This was a seminary founded by Paul Cullen in 1859.

In Reverend Power’s ‘Advertisement’, we get a fleeting glimpse of the life of this obscure religious translator who, unlike Sadlier or Husenbeth, does not feature in any biographical resource: ‘More time than an occasional hour snatched from the arduous duties of an Irish Mission, would be required to do justice to a work which...now enjoys a high European reputation’ (1850: v). Four years later, Power published the sequel to Orsini’s work, *The history of the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary* (CCL). He announces that his translation of the ‘Life’ had enjoyed an extensive circulation both in Ireland and in America. Similarly to Sadlier, Power aims at exciting ‘admiration and love for the Holy Virgin’ (1854: viii). He too underlines that the work covers various traditions around the world, but he regrets that Orsini

omitted Ireland. Indeed he complains that ‘a dark veil is flung over the churches and monasteries of Ireland, [and] not a word of the old holy wells of Ireland!’ (ibid: x).

The translator then explains that Orsini’s omission is regrettable because not only Ireland’s ecclesiastical history but her place-names too bear close links with the Blessed Virgin:

This country has been pre-eminently distinguished for its devotion to the Blessed Virgin; that numerous churches have been raised under her invocation, the name Kilmurry, or Cill Muire – Mary’s church – applied to many localities, in almost every county in Ireland, is a clear proof (ibid)

Patrick Power believes that this neglect is not particular to Orsini and that it is mere proof ‘of the utter disregard in which everything connected with this country is held by foreign writers’ (ibid: x-xi). He then claims that Ireland is yet probably the best example for practices and legends associated with the devotion to Mary, and points out that the Irish language is deeply connected with that devotion. Hence, ‘so deeply fixed in the Irish heart is love for Mary, that the ordinary salutation given by all who speak the vernacular tongue, is *Dia’s Muire duit* – God and Mary save you – or be with you’ (ibid: xi). To conclude, Power calls for a literature that would show this strong connection between Ireland and the Mother of God:

Now that our country is placed under the patronage of Mary, is it not time that something should be done to rescue from oblivion the sweet remembrances of her. There are many learned and pious ecclesiastics, members of the “Celtic Society” and of the “Celtic Union”; would a work of that nature be too exclusive for either Society to take up? (ibid: xi-xii)

Power therefore believes that such literature should be produced by writers with both an ecclesiastical background and an interest in Celtic studies. Patrick Power’s introduction is signed ‘Carrick-on-Suir, *Easter Monday*, April 17, 1854’. His translation work, as well as Sadlier’s, had considerable relevance to current concerns, since the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was officially declared a dogma of the Roman Catholic faith in 1854. Marian translations from French were still coming through later in the century, but from about 1869 onwards, they were mostly to do with the history of Lourdes. In particular, Irish libraries which are closely linked to the Catholic Church, notably CCL, MDI and MIC, carry texts such as Henri Lasserre’s *Our Lady of Lourdes* (1869), which received the apostolic benediction of Pope Pius IX.

The Divinity of Jesus: a Nineteenth-Century Controversy

The Historical Jesus

Lives of Jesus were equally popular with Irish translators in the nineteenth century. In particular, *The history of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, from the Jesuit priest François de Ligny (1709-1789), appeared in two different versions. The first translation (NLI, CCL, MDI) came from the pen of an Irishman, Brian Arthur Molloy, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, in 1846. It was dedicated ‘To his Grace the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin’. The second one (1869, QCat) was published by Mary Anne Sadlier in 1853. This time, she noted in the preface that the second part of De Ligny’s work was missing from the first translation, and therefore redressed this omission in her version.

The late nineteenth-century body of translations related to religious history is dominated by Breton writer Ernest Renan (1823-1892). His works were issued by several London publishers, and Renan’s most talked-about work was undoubtedly his *Life of Jesus* (UCC, QCat, UU, TCD, MDI). There may have been more than one translation of this text, but we only know the name of the translator of a late edition (1897), William George Hutchison, of whom little else is known. Renan was a philologist and a historian, particularly drawn to Hebrew studies and to the history of Christianity. He studied for the priesthood but began to have religious doubts as a result of his scientific enquiries (Kelly 1995: 682). Although he retained a deep fascination for religion, he left the Catholic Church in 1845 (ibid). Renan was appointed professor of Hebrew at the Collège de France in 1861, but as Kelly notes, “he was suspended after casting doubt on the divinity of Christ in his inaugural lecture” (ibid). Despite, or perhaps due to, its controversial aspect, Renan’s *Life of Jesus* was very popular, and the fact that we can find several copies in Ireland denotes at least a keen contemporary interest in the debate.

Naturally, it would have been surprising if no defence of the divinity of Christ had been found in translation, and such material did indeed appear in the late century, mostly under the pen of Henri Didon (1840-1900), a Dominican, and Charles-Émile Freppel (1827-1891), Bishop of Angers. Both preachers and both defending the divinity of Christ and the infallibility of the Catholic Church, their respective works were recommended to the readers of the *IER* (1896). *Belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ* (1894, MDI, TCD, CCL, NUIM), was a particularly popular translation from the French of Didon.

Louisa Corkran, the Shadowy Translator-Friend of Pressensé

Another contributor to the debate about the historical Jesus was Edmond de Pressensé (1824-1892), a Protestant pastor and theologian (BNF). Pressensé strongly opposed Renan's romantic descriptions of Jesus and defended the notion of divinity of Christ. He wrote numerous works on Church history, many of which were translated by a certain Annie Harwood Holmden. These can be found at TCD. Irish-born Louisa (or Louise) Corkran was however the elusive translator of *The religions before Christ, being an introduction to the history of the first three centuries of the Church* (1862) and of *The Critical School and Jesus Christ, a reply to M. Renan's Life of Jesus* (1865). On the title pages, she is known as 'L. Corkran', and she has not left any preface. Pressensé refers to her in his own prefatory remarks as 'a friend' who provided the 'careful translation' of *The religions before Christ* (1862: 1). Yet, a glance through the pages of the *Dublin University Magazine* would be sufficient enough to show that Louisa Corkran must have been a prolific translator from French. In fact, the entire Corkran family were dedicated cross-cultural mediators, acting as ambassadors of French culture in the English-speaking world.

One of the all-too rare biographical descriptions found about the Corkran family is that of John Frazer, Louisa's husband, in O'Donoghue's *Poets of Ireland*. According to O'Donoghue, John (1807?-1884) was born in Dublin, died in London, but spent a great part of his life in Paris, working as correspondent for several English newspapers such as the *Times* and the *Morning Herald* (1970: 80). He was also a poet and a playwright. O'Donoghue makes no mention of Louisa, but he notes that their daughters Alice and Henriette were well-known, "the first as a story-writer, the second as an artist" (ibid). Yet, biographies of Alice and Henriette are still scarce. Henriette wrote *Celebrities and I*, a description of the fashionable and literary circles of the time, among which she grew up. Indeed, John and Louisa seem to have known many famous writers and artists, in France and England as well as in Ireland. Their names appear here and there in others' biographies, journals, correspondence, but no critical work has yet been devoted to them in their own right. They must have been close friends with the Wilde family, and Oscar mentions them a few times in his correspondence. Both John and Louisa contributed extensively to the *DUM*, and most of their contributions were directly related to French culture. Louisa's contributions, most of them in the mid-1870s, include translations of juvenile fictional works from the French of Swiss-born Élise de Pressensé, Edmond's wife, and from the novelist George Sand. Of Louisa's origins, we only know, thanks to the announcement of her marriage to John in the

Freeman's Journal, that she was the daughter of T. Walsh(e), Esq, of Old Dominick-street, Dublin¹⁸. They were married at St. Mary's Church, then Church of Ireland. One may wonder if, despite having been surrounded by famous literary figures, the very fact that the Corkran family was situated at such a crossroads between cultures resulted in their being overlooked by literary historians and critics. For this reason, our aim here was to bring out into the light Louisa Corkran, née Walshe, Pressensé's shadowy translator-friend, for her contribution to the Franco-Irish relationship.

3.2.5.5 Lives of the Saints

The corpus of nineteenth-century translations from French is abundant in saints' lives. Many of the texts are from contemporary authors, with a strong and active participation by contemporary Irish translators and publishers too. Overall, histories of the saints did not just aim at celebrating their subjects and at providing an account of their lives and good deeds. Indeed, saints' lives were often used as edifying stories, by presenting a model for the readers to emulate.

Among the numerous translations of saints' lives, there were several biographies of the Jesuit saints, particularly Francis Xavier and Jean-François Régis, as well as hagiographical works relating to Dominican and Franciscan figures. The Irish Carmelites played an important role in religious translation. For instance, Rev. Andrew Elias Farrington, O.C.C., translated *Life of Blessed Frances d'Amboise, Duchess of Brittany and Carmelite Nun* (CCL), published by Duffy in 1875. The Irish Carmelites have maintained an enduring tradition of translation from French. Indeed, one of the best-known eighteenth-century translations from French into Irish, that of *La Trompette du Ciel* (1755)¹⁹, was the work of Tadhg O'Connell, a member of that Order (O'Dwyer 1988: 15). In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, notes O'Dwyer, "quite a number of the priests were engaged in the apostolate of the pen but they were producing mainly translations" (1988: 280).

Mary Hackett: Montalembert's 'Faithful' Translator

London-born Charles Forbes de Montalembert (1810-1870) may be better known as a major figure of French liberal Catholicism than for his deep interest in early Church history and hagiography. However, this aspect of his literary output becomes very significant when we look at the translations of his writings in nineteenth-century Ireland. In particular, from 1861

¹⁸ 'Marriages' (1839), *Freeman's Journal*, July 2, p.2

¹⁹ A work by Antoine Yvan (1576-1653) concerned with propagation of the Catholic faith and with salvation.

to 1905, there were many editions and advertisements of *The monks of the West: from St. Benedict to St. Bernard* (MDI, CCL, TCD, GMIT, UL, MIC, NUIG, NUIM, UCC, UCD, QCat, COCL/LICL). The interest shown by the Irish public in this work can be expected since several of the monks and saints of the West were of Irish origin. *The monks of the West* is listed in the *IER*'s 'Hundred Good Books'. The translator is seemingly anonymous, but a review in the *IER* indicates that the translator is a Protestant. The reviewer, 'J.F.H.', speaks highly of Montalembert and his work, but he is critical of the way the translator has rendered "les dissidences Celtiques" into "Celtic Heresy" in a passage relating the story of St Colman (1896: 87). The 1896 edition had an introduction by English Cardinal Francis Aidan Gasquet, and the reviewer is surprised that the Catholic clergyman did not rectify the problem. He argues that one can easily conceive 'how the Protestant translator fell into this mistake' (ibid) and explains why so much importance is attached here to this translation:

The fair fame of the Church of Ireland may not concern Dr. Gasquet as much as it does Irish Catholics; but a man of his erudition and knowledge of human affairs will not find it difficult to realize how jealous of their reputation Irish Catholics are in this respect (ibid)

This is a clear admission that the ways in which Irish Catholics are represented in literature, particularly in historical works, is considered of major importance. This includes representations generated through translation.

Montalembert's study of a thirteenth-century saint from Hungary attracted the interest of an Irish translator. Indeed, *Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Duchess of Thuringia* (NLI, CCL, NUIG) was translated by a certain Mary Hackett, 'late a pupil of the Ursulines, St Mary's Convent, Waterford'. The translation was given an assessment in the *Dublin Review* in 1849. The reviewer's religious standpoint is unmistakable as regards the task of the translator: 'If the translator fail in faith, his work will seem to be an imperfect version of the original, no matter what amount of talent, or of knowledge, may be brought to its accomplishment' (1849: 527-528)²⁰. But Mary Hackett seems to have fulfilled this task, and the glowing review is telling:

Miss Hackett has brought to her task the true, firm, unshrinking, and unabashed faith, of an Irish Catholic – a faith which sets at equal defiance the sneer of infidelity and the

²⁰ 'Notice of Books' (1849), *DR*, 26 (June), pp. 527-528

scorn of heresy – that is prepared alike to defy them in this day, as in the days that are passed away, it defied the sword and the torch of the persecutor (ibid: 528)

The translator's religious persuasion is therefore foregrounded as a decisive element in the translation process, and the *Dublin Review* promotes Hackett's work with a Catholic nationalist perspective of Ireland's religious and political history. Hackett herself foregrounds her religious politics by dedicating her translation 'To the count de Montalembert, the illustrious champion of religion and liberty throughout the world', on 'behalf of the Irish People'.

The Dublin publisher of this translation was James Duffy, who advertised it several times in the *Nation*, notably in February 1853 as part of his 'Valuable Catholic Publications Adapted for the Holy Season of Lent'. The Sadliers then took Hackett's translation to an American readership, from about 1854 onwards. They gave it a 'D&J Sadlier' imprint and Mary Anne took on the editing task. There were two other translations of Montalembert's *Elizabeth*, but for most of the nineteenth century, Mary Hackett's version was the most common. There is a handwritten dedication on the copy held at the NLI. It is barely legible today but we can hazard a guess that the book was given to a Mary Elizabeth Archbold by someone named O'Brien, in the hope that the dedicatee would 'imitate the great St Elizabeth'.

Vincentian Traditions in Ireland through Translation

In a similar manner to St Francis of Assisi, St. Vincent of Paul (1580-1660) was greatly admired as someone who had diligently worked for the poor, hence the foundation of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul by Frédéric Ozanam and his friends in France in 1833. The society is now one of the most prominent Catholic charitable organisations around the world, and is well established in Ireland. It may be less widely known that St Vincent de Paul was himself the founder of two religious orders, the Vincentian Congregation of the Mission (Murphy 1984: 153), and the Daughters of Charity. In Ireland, a branch of the Vincentian Congregation was created in the 1830s (ibid). The Daughters of Charity first came to Ireland in 1855 but a similar order, the Irish Sisters of Charity, was founded in 1815 by Mary Aikenhead. The Vincentian Congregation aimed largely at giving parish missions. In seventeenth-century France, such parish missions were essentially a means to implement Tridentine reforms (Murphy 1984: 153-155). According to Murphy, a similar role was played in the mid-nineteenth century by the Irish Vincentian parish mission, which was also "the anti-proselytising instrument *par excellence*" (ibid: 155). A translation from the French of

Cardinal Jean-Sifrein Maury, *Panegyric on Saint Vincent of Paul, pronounced.. March 4, 1785* (NLI, RIA, NUIM), bears testimony to the interest shown in the saint in nineteenth-century Ireland. This anonymous translation was printed in 1847 by J. Browne, Dublin, and has a four-page dedication to ‘Mrs. Mary Aikenhead (in Religion - Sister Augustine) Superioress of the Sisters of Charity’. Mary [Frances] Aikenhead (1787-1858) was also the founder of St Vincent's Hospital in Dublin. She converted from Protestantism to Catholicism at a young age, and according to O’Leary, she was “determined that if the Daughters of Charity, whose work among the poor in France she admired, were to open a convent in Ireland, she would join them” (2009: 57). Upon the request of Daniel Murray, then co-adjutor bishop of Dublin, the congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity was set up in Dublin, and its members were vowed to the service of the poor (ibid).

De La Salle, the Christian Brothers, and Mary Banim

Many texts dealing with the history of the Irish Christian Brothers stress that they should not be confused with the Brothers of the Christian Schools, founded by Jean-Baptiste de La Salle in the late seventeenth century. Indeed they were two distinct organisations, one originating in Ireland, the other in France. They were not however completely unrelated, and not only did they share a similar name, but they pursued similar objectives as well. These objectives were, in the main, to provide instruction for poor children, and despite the use of the more general term ‘Christian’, that teaching was mostly based on Catholic principles. Coldrey (2001a: 11) argues that the French Brothers of the Christian Schools were one of the main influences on the Irish Christian Brothers. Keogh’s study (2008: 112-3; 114-5; 209) indeed offers ample evidence of multiple contacts between the two congregations. Moreover, translation provides us with further evidence that strong links existed between them.

The Christian Brothers Network

The life of the Ven. J. B. de La Salle, founder of the Christian schools, ‘with an historical sketch of the institute to the present time, translated from the French of père Garreau, S.J., and also an account of the rise and progress of the society in Ireland, by the Christian Brothers’ (TCD, NLI, NUIM, MIC, UCD) appeared in Dublin in 1843. By presenting the life of de La Salle, the translators, “the Christian Brothers”, (1843: 9) aim to pay homage to the work and spirit of the saint. They stress that their own congregation in Ireland is ‘entirely independent in government’ but connected with the French Institute ‘by the ties of mutual charity’ (ibid). Moreover, they hope that this translation will have an edifying effect upon

their readers and awaken charitable sentiments. They reckon that this may indeed be possible at a time which they feel is showing signs of a general ‘religious impulse’ (ibid: 10).

In Chapter XVII, the translators go further in bringing Garreau’s text home by including a historical account of Edmund Rice’s Christian schools in Ireland. They report that at the beginning, the rules adopted by the Irish Christian Brothers were those of the Presentation nuns. However, not entirely satisfied with these rules, the Christian Brothers then adopted those of the De La Salle Christian Brothers (1843: 220-221). Reverend Daniel Murray played a part in this process by bringing back home the rules and constitutions of the French Institute together with an Apostolic Brief. These were adopted by the Christian Brothers and, although the authors do not mention translation at this point, the official documents must have been given an English version at some stage during the proceedings. In 1817, they recall, the Irish Brothers ‘came to the resolution of embracing the mode of government specified in the French Brief, and extracted from it such articles as were suited to the circumstances of this country’ (ibid: 220). Another important matter for the Irish Brothers was to follow the example of de La Salle’s institute in obtaining papal recognition. This came about in 1820, through the intercession of Rev. Dr. Murray, Rev. Dr. Troy, and other prelates (ibid).

The Dublin-based publisher of this translation, William Powell, seems to have specialized in Catholic writings, including textbooks produced by the Christian Brothers. Another publisher/bookseller of the Brothers’ writings was Gerald Bellew. Among the works regularly advertised by Bellew and Powell in the Brothers’ class books were other Lasallian translations such as *Christian Politeness, principally from the French of Ven. de la Salle*. According to Coldrey (2001b: 8), *Christian Politeness* (NLI, PC/TCD) was translated by the Christian Brothers at the North Monastery in Cork. It was based on de La Salle’s popular *Règles de la bienséance et de la civilité chrétienne*, and appears to have been a staple of Christian Brothers’ education (see further below). Translation was therefore an essential means for disseminating Lasallian thought, as well as creating a transnational link between communities of Christian Brothers.

Mary, the lesser-known of the Banims

The Banim brothers, John and Michael, are relatively well-known Irish novelists of the first half of the nineteenth century. Michael’s daughter, Mary (?-1939), does not, however, share their fame. Little has come to light about her, one reason being perhaps that she did not publish much. According to Welch, her *Here and there through Ireland* (1891) “is a

markedly nationalistic account of a journey through post-Famine Ireland which, though pervaded by a sense of cultural loss, takes pride in the emerging Ireland of the day” (1996c: 30). Part of this pride may have been related to the shaping of Irish Catholicism at the time, to which she later contributed in her own way. Indeed, what has not yet been told about Mary Banim is the fact that she translated a life of de La Salle, *The newest saint: St. John Baptist de la Salle founder of the Christian Schools* (NLI), immediately after his canonization in 1900.

The author of this work is unknown, and the translation was published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland. The publishers state their aims very clearly on the front page of the book by reproducing an extract of a speech given by its President, John Healy, Archbishop of Tuam and historian. As well as providing cheap literature for the instruction and edification of the general reader, the Society intends to use such literature as an antidote against ‘immorality’. There is a sentiment of warfare and an urge to overcome an enemy in Healy’s speech:

It is well known that various printing presses in Great Britain daily pour out a flood of infidel and immoral publications, some of which overflows to this country. We have a confident hope that the Society’s publications will remove the temptation of having recourse to such filthy garbage, will create a taste for a pure and wholesome literature, and will also serve as an antidote against the poison of dangerous or immoral writings
(c.1900: n. pag.)

At the end of the book, the Society adds that it aims at circulating ‘pure, wholesome literature, National and Catholic’. One of the most striking elements is in fact the physical aspect of Mary Banim’s translation, a little green penny book which, even though it is not treating an Irish subject, is nonetheless very richly decorated with Irish interlaced patterns. Through the mediation of the Christian Brothers, Mary Banim and of various Catholic publishers, Saint Jean Baptiste de La Salle and his ideas had therefore been truly assimilated into Irish Catholicism.

3.2.5.6 Religious Biography: An Introduction to Frances Cashel Hoey

Along with saints’ lives, religious biographies form a considerable portion of translations from French, embracing a wide variety of subjects. One Irish translator deserves special mention here. Dublin-born Frances Sarah Cashel Hoey, née Johnston (1830-1908), is one of

the most prolific and eclectic nineteenth-century translators, not just amongst Irish translators, but judging from the overall corpus of translations from French too. She wrote several novels, yet aside from entries in the main biographical resources, she remains largely unknown to this day. Apart from Edwards's short study of her life and work (1982), the significance of her translation and journalistic output has been largely neglected. We know that she has translated over thirty five monographs, either on her own or in collaboration, many of them with someone named John Lillie. Her output ranges across various genres and topics, and although religion is not the most prominent part of her work, it nevertheless forms a significant aspect of her life. Born in a Protestant family, she was distantly related to Irish writer George Bernard Shaw. She first married at the age of sixteen, becoming a widow nine years later, and remarried in 1857 to John Cashel Hoey, a Young Irelander and editor of the *Nation* (Clarke 2009: 735). It was probably at this stage that she converted to Catholicism, her husband's religion. She began her career by contributing to the *Nation* and *Freeman's Journal* (ibid). She was therefore very close to Irish nationalist circles and one of her fondest memories was her being introduced to Daniel O'Connell before his death in 1847 (Edwards 1982: 2). Edwards adds that "members of her own family had been active in the uprising of 1798" (ibid). Frances and John Cashel Hoey moved to England and contributed to several journals there, including the *Dublin Review*. Yet, despite all her literary and journalistic productions, Frances experienced financial difficulties for a great part of her life (ibid: 25-31). According to Edwards (ibid: 21), it is primarily in her private correspondence that Hoey's Catholic and nationalist sympathies become evident. Edwards observes that although religion is not always a major aspect of her fictional work, she "certainly wished to propagate her faith" (ibid: 19). She was particularly active in Catholic charities as well as in more secular causes such as the Society for Sick Children (ibid). Her boundless generosity may in fact have been one of the main reasons behind her relative poverty (ibid: 28). Her religious output consists mainly of two works. They are both connected to the Society of Nazareth, a congregation founded in the early nineteenth century. *The Life of Madame de la Rochefoucauld, Duchesse de Doudeauville, Foundress of the Society of Nazareth* (GMIT, CCL) is an anonymous work which 'Mrs. Cashel Hoey', as she is referred to on the title page, translated and published in London in 1878. It is published with charitable intention towards the Orphanage of Nazareth and the translation is inscribed 'to the beloved Memory of Charlotte Murray Stewart, Child of Mary of Nazareth'. Charlotte, who had just passed away in 1878, was Frances's elder daughter from her first marriage.

3.2.6 Dogma in Translation

Translation was a means to propagate and defend dogmatic concepts. The Christian dogmas of the Eucharist and of Purgatory were particularly prominent in nineteenth-century translation of French religious writing. The idea of Purgatory also has a particular resonance in Ireland with regards to legends, traditions and literary creations. In the Roman Catholic doctrine, Purgatory is generally defined as “a state or place in which the souls of those who have died in a state of grace are believed to undergo a limited amount of suffering to expiate their venial sins” (*Collins English Dictionary* 2006a: 1316). There are several translations from French in Ireland’s library holdings which are directly related to the dogma and the tradition of Purgatory. Authors and translators of such texts usually stress their conformity to Tridentine decrees on Purgatory. This is the case, for example, of the anonymous *On Purgatory, By a Father of the Society of Jesus* (NLI). Published in 1873 by James Duffy, the translation has the *Nihil Obstat* of Edmundus O’Reilly, S.J., and the *Imprimatur* of Paulus Card. Cullen.

Mary Anne Sadlier compiled a collection of original and translated writings entitled *Purgatory: Doctrinal, Historical and Poetical*. This was a very inclusive work in terms of translation and religion. It comprises older texts taken from St François de Sales or Étienne Binet (1569-1639) as well as contemporary writings from de Maistre and Chateaubriand. The mix is highly eclectic in content and form, drawing from popular traditions and literary creations as well as from religious devotions and doctrines. Moreover, not only does Sadlier look at various cultures around the world, using extracts taken from St Catherine of Genoa, Suarez or Cardinal Wiseman for example, but she also resorts to a variety of non-Catholic writers. We may therefore argue that with her *Purgatory*, Sadlier aimed at transcending national and cultural borders, acting as a mediator between various cultures while promoting her Catholic faith and her belief in Purgatory.

Indulgences are correlated to the doctrine of Purgatory, in their ideas of penance and expiation, as well as in their use towards the departed souls. In the Roman Catholic Church, an indulgence is “a remission of the temporal punishment for sin after its guilt has been forgiven” (*Collins English Dictionary* 2006b: 803). One translation stands out in relation to this theme, entitled *The Christian instructed in the nature and use of indulgences* (NLI, CCL, MDI, NUIM) from Antonin Maurel, S.J. (1803-1874). An ‘approved translation of the fourteenth French edition by the Rev. Patrick Costello, C.C., Ballinasloe’, it was published

and reissued several times by McGlashan and Gill from the mid-1870s to the 1890s. Costello and Maurel worked together on at least two translations. In the second edition of this work, Costello notes the impact which his translation has already begun to have amongst the Irish clergy. Indeed, he observes,

In more instances than one they have issued orders for as many as one hundred copies, to circulate amongst their respective flocks, and thus stimulate the Faithful to have recourse to the precious Treasury of the Church (1877a: iii-iv)

Costello's translation has not only received its *Nihil obstat* and *Imprimatur*, it boasts an incredible number of letters of approbation from clergymen around the country, including high prelates such as Archbishop MacHale and Cardinal Cullen. In short, these letters congratulate the missionary priest for his work of 'zeal and piety' and for the service they believe he has rendered to religion in Ireland by providing a valuable addition to their ecclesiastical libraries (1877: v-xiv). They acknowledge Costello's contribution to the spread of religious literature in the country and underscore the opportunity of his work, since the Jubilee of 1875 had stated a need for careful instruction on Indulgences (ibid). In fact the 1890 edition was 'revised and enlarged according to the latest decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites', denoting absolute conformity to the Roman See's decisions.

3.2.7 Religious Life

The majority of translators of religious literature in the nineteenth century were members of clerical, monastic or teaching orders. It comes therefore as no surprise that a significant portion of the translated works in this domain is related to religious life. Moreover, this area of religious literature shows active participation by Irish translators.

Translation: a Path to Perfection in Religious Life

Various Translations for the Professed

From what follows, translation from French was undoubtedly a means to build an English-language literature for the religious. Here, the corpus of translated texts is not only predominantly Irish-based in production, but it reveals an overwhelmingly female-occupied industry. Indeed, many of the translators encountered in this section are members of female

religious communities. There were some fully anonymous individuals, such as the translator of *The path of perfection in religious life: a work intended for persons consecrated to God*, by l'Abbé Leguay, 'vicar-general of Perpignan, director of several religious communities' (MDI, CCL). The work was published by Duffy in 1862 and the translator reveals in her preface that she is an Irish *religieuse*. She is concerned that 'The religieuses of Ireland' do not have sufficient leisure to study 'the voluminous treatises that have been written on the subject of religious perfection' (1862: vii). She metaphorically presents translation as a way to free a text, to bring it out of some dark recess, and even to bestow life upon it:

Most of these productions, too, locked up as they are in a foreign tongue, are inaccessible to the greater number of those who, in our country, embrace this state of life. Nor has much been done until recently to place these works within the reach of the many by the medium of translation. (...) the "Mystic of God," of Sister Mary of Jesus of Agreda, is still entombed in its Spanish original, or has been but partially revived the other day in a garbled French version (ibid)

"No translation" therefore means death from this perspective. The translator is deeply aware of the necessity of translation and of the impact it can have on a literary system:

The translator deems, accordingly, that in giving an English version of this work to the light, she is conferring a boon upon those who, like herself, have embraced the holy state of religion. It may also lead to the republication amongst us of works of a still higher and more ascetical character (ibid: viii)

Conferences for Ecclesiastical Students and Religious (1878, NLI) was translated from the French of Louis Tronson (1622-1700) by Sister M.F. Clare. Mary Francis Clare is the name in religion of Margaret Anne Cusack (1829-1899), also known as 'the Nun of Kenmare'. Born in Dublin of Protestant parents, Cusack converted to Catholicism in 1858 and soon after entered the religious community of the Poor Clares (Maume 2009a: 1131-1132). She published numerous works of Irish history, religious biography and religious life. One of Cusack's writings on religious life, *The Spouse of Christ*, was published in 1878, same year as her translation from Tronson. Her keen interest in biography, hagiography, ecclesiastical history as well as in Irish history in general is typical of various Irish Catholic translators. Moreover, Cusack produced her own *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (1880), and she published *The 'Irish Lourdes': the apparition of the Blessed Virgin at Knock, Co. Mayo*

(1880) (ibid: 1134). Her works therefore truly belong to a particular era of Irish and French Catholicism. In fact, Sister M.F. Clare had a strong connection with French Catholicism, particularly with the ultramontane journalist Louis Veuillot (ibid: 1133).

The Ursulines were actively involved in this area of translation. For example, *Meditations on the duties of religious especially those devoted to the instruction of youth* (MDI, NLI) was translated by ‘a member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo’ and published in 1901 by Gill and Son. With its original produced by the ‘Superioress of the Ursulines of Montargis’, we have here an example of translation which is at once cross-cultural yet within the same religious congregation. Deserving to be included here too is the *Manual of the Children of Mary, for the use of the orphan asylum and the schools of the Daughters of Charity* (NUIM, NLI), an anonymous work translated from the French ‘by the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary’. Published by Duffy in the 1860s, it was reissued many times since in Dublin as well as in America. Additionally, the contribution by the Sisters of Mercy to religious translation is outstanding.

The Sisters of Mercy

Originally intended as a lay charitable institution, the House of Mercy at Baggot Street, Dublin, which was founded in 1828 by Catherine McAuley (1778-1841), soon became a religious congregation (Clear 2002: 523). Like the Sisters of Charity, the Mercy sisters were not an enclosed congregation and were therefore very active in the Irish community, particularly among poor and vulnerable women (ibid). Several branches were subsequently created around the country as well as abroad. *A Series of Exhortations on the Nature and Duties of the Religious Life* (CCL) was translated by ‘a member of the Order of Mercy, Cork’ and published in 1843 by Belfast- and London-based Simms and McIntyre. In *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Sister Mary Teresa Austin Carroll (1881: 240), also a Sister of Mercy, notes that Sister Mary Vincent Deasy (18??-1878) was the translator of this work. Sister Mary Vincent was of ‘a highly cultured family’ in County Cork and she was a founding member of the Convent of Mercy in Cork in 1837 (Sullivan 2004: 85n). According to Carroll, ‘the elegant French of Monsieur Asselin’ is rendered by Deasy into a ‘clear, concise, and vigorous English’, and that ‘the work owes some of its chaste beauty’ to Mother McAuley’s ‘careful revision’ (1881: 240). She adds that Mother McAuley

gave much encouragement to the literary tastes of her children, and the amount of translating, transcribing, and composing done by the earlier members was something

marvellous when viewed in connection with their other labours. In this way much of the spiritual reading of the first houses was supplied (ibid: 241)

Here again, the important role played by translation in the development of a spiritual literature in English in the nineteenth century is highlighted:

There were few spiritual books in English fifty years ago, and if they had not been supplemented by translations the Sisters who could read only one language would have had but little variety of spiritual reading for the instruction and recreation of their minds (ibid)

The Sisters of Mercy therefore played an active part in a growing cross-cultural network of religious and literary exchanges. Deasy was also the translator of *The Perfect Religious* (1845, NLI) by Michel-Ange Marin (1697-1767). This translation was published and sold at the depository of St Mary's Asylum in Dublin, and the profits of the sales were donated to that institution, then situated in the Drumcondra area.

Sister Mary Teresa Austin Carroll thus knew well about the importance of translation in the life of the religious community in nineteenth-century Ireland. This was not simply based on hindsight, as she herself was actively involved in the production of translations, including a *History of Blessed Margaret Mary* (1867) by Charles Daniel, S. J. (1818-1893), and at least two works from Jean-Baptiste de Saint Jure, S.J. (1588-1657). She was born Margaret Anna Carroll in 1835 in County Tipperary. She received the habit of the Sisters of Mercy in 1854 and from 1856 onwards, she was assigned to various convents in North America, where she died in 1909 (Lunney 2009: 373-374). Lunney (ibid) notes that Carroll was a prolific writer, editor and translator. Her original writings included several historical works and dramas, with particular focus on the Stuart and Tudor queens such as "Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots". Her literary and charitable contributions earned her special recognition in New Orleans, Louisiana (ibid: 374).

For Religion and Order: the Irish Abbé

The number of texts addressed to, and produced by, clergymen should not, however, be underestimated. A typical example would be *Ecclesiastical conferences...of Massillon bishop of Clermont, on the principal duties of the clergy* (1825, NLI, CCL, NUIG, NUIM), 'printed for the translator and published by R. Milliken, and R. Coyne' in Dublin, and by Longman in

London. The translator, Rev. Christopher H. Boylan of Royal College, Maynooth, dedicated his work 'to the Right Rev. John MacHale' and refers to his translation as his 'first public effort in the cause of religion' (1825: iii). His translation was included in the *IER's* 'Hundred Good Books for Young Priests' (1896).

Special mention should be given to *The Pastoral instructions of his Lordship, Stephen-Antony de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, elected Archbishop of Vienne, Peer of France* (NLI, HC/RIA, TCD, DCL), translated from the French by Abbé Cummins, 'priest of the Religious Congregation of the Most Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary' and printed at Kilkenny in 1822. Cummins, who hailed from Kilkenny, resided in France for a great part of his life, and was Professor of Theology in the Seminary of the Congregation, which was located on Rue de Picpus, Paris²¹. As shown by various bookplates and inscriptions, Cummins's translation from Provençal-born Etienne-Antoine Boulogne (1747-1825) was undoubtedly read in Ireland. A second-hand copy of this translation which was advertised by Joseph Tully in the *Nation* in December 1866 bore the bookplate of Rev. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam and President of the CTSI. Interestingly, "bad books" ('les mauvais livres') was one of the main themes of Boulogne's pastoral instructions, which were particularly directed against the Enlightenment literature of Voltaire and Rousseau.

Felix Cummins dedicated his translation to the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. His idea of Ireland is clearly that of a Catholic country: 'To whom could it belong to offer Ireland's tribute of applause, if not to your lordships, the natural organs, the faithful guardians of her Religion, her Sacred Letters and nobler interests?' (1822: vi). For Cummins then, the Irish Catholic hierarchy are the natural guardians of Ireland's national-cultural identity deemed essentially Catholic.

Cummins speaks to an Irish readership but he notes that his source author wishes to consolidate in Great Britain 'the true principles of Religion and social order' (ibid). The royalist Abbé regards this cause as a transnational issue, which 'is now become general, and the Princes of the Church and those of the State are equally interested in its success' (ibid). Written in France during the period of Restoration, these words expose an underlying reaction to the French Revolution: 'Never did the Spirit of irreligion more powerfully combine, than in our days, with the spirit of rebellion, and licentiousness, against the Altar,

²¹ See <http://www.ssecpicpus.com/news.aspx?c=3&ln=en&id=856> [accessed 8 June 2011]), and *Finns Leinster Journal*, Vol.lxi, Dec 1, 1827, p.3.

the Throne, and Society' (ibid: vi-vii). Similarly to other translators in this section, Cummins's purpose is intensely religious, and the importance he attaches to translation is remarkable because he believes in its power to bring change.

3.2.8 Catechisms: The Sadliers and the Christian Brothers for Religious Instruction

The area of catechesis, taken here quite broadly as religious instruction, somewhat overlaps with that of education. Indeed, several titles in this category were intended to provide youth with religious guidance and instruction. Moreover, as we have seen before, some catechisms had other purposes too, such as de Feller's apologetic work. French catechisms were popular in translation, particularly those written by Nicolas Fontaine (1625-1709), Claude Fleury (1640-1723) and Jean-Joseph Gaume (1802-1879). Many of these show various Irish imprints as well as evidence of Irish ownership (See Appendix A).

Publishers D&J Sadlier were effective disseminators of catechisms. The Sadlier family was greatly concerned with religious instruction, in particular that of the young. As for the Christian Brothers, and the Brothers of the Christian Schools, we know their fundamental interest in religious education. There were many points of contact between the Sadliers and the Brothers of the Christian Schools, which were in great part owed to translation. Indeed, Mary Anne Sadlier translated one of their works, entitled *Catholic anecdotes: or, the catechism in examples* (NLI, MDI, PC/TCD). Interestingly, the title was advertised in the *Nation* on April 10, 1869, in a long list of 'National Publications', between "M'Gee's History of Ireland" and "Poems of James Clarence Mangan".

Mary Anne Sadlier was particularly familiar with de La Salle's writings. She translated his *Devoirs du chrétien envers Dieu*, edited by two French Brothers of the Christian Schools, Mathieu Bransiet and Louis Constantin, as *Duty of a Christian towards God* (1850). The Christian Brothers issued their own 'considerably enlarged' version too, as *A treatise on the duties of a Christian towards God* (6th edition, 1876, MDI). Some editions included a translation of another work by de La Salle, *Règles de la bienséance et de la civilité chrétienne*. This was translated as *Rules of Christian Politeness* by Sadlier, and as *Christian Politeness* by the Christian Brothers, both also issued as stand-alone monographs. Gill issued several editions of *Christian Politeness* in Ireland.

A critical aspect of translation in the religious domain lies in the fact that it is often concomitant of original composition, or ‘compilation’, to the point sometimes of blurring the frontiers between these various activities. The example of the Irish Christian Brothers’ successful *Christian Politeness* is compelling. The title originally began as a translation of de La Salle’s work, which was to become increasingly adapted to target circumstances. The third edition in 1857 acknowledges de La Salle as the source author on the title page, as well as a number of omissions and additions. By 1875, with the seventh edition, de La Salle is not on the title page anymore but the Brothers acknowledge their indebtedness to his work in their preface. By the seventeenth edition, the Lasallian idea of “*Christian politeness*” had been fully appropriated, remodelled and fused together with elements from other sources. This was the Irish Brothers’ own text, *Christian politeness and counsels for youth*, without any mention of sources or influences. Ultimately, this led to the production in the twentieth century of their *Courtesy for Boys and Girls*, creating a clear demarcation from the original title and showing the Irish Christian Brothers’ capacity to use translation for developing their own educational tradition.

3.2.9 Conclusion: Religious Translation, or, The Roads to Rome

In the field of religious literature, translation served as a means to disseminate devotional writings as well as a platform for crucial debates in nineteenth-century Ireland. This included dogmatic controversies as well as discussions on the historical Jesus, papal infallibility and Church-State relations. Besides informative and scholarly concerns, religious histories, notably early Church histories, were often a way of putting forward valid arguments in contemporary debates. Several works were also used and discussed as a means to build Irish cultural self-confidence, promoting a positive image and a better understanding of Ireland.

We firstly need to acknowledge the diversity of translated texts, and the variety of religious interests and opinions within the Irish community. This is important because it would be easy to overlook minor strands due to the overwhelming predominance of certain religious preferences. Yet it is impossible too, within a limited space, to show the extent of such a diverse body of literature. Indeed above all, we aim to highlight the key movements of thought and translation practice, in the light of major sociohistorical developments in the nineteenth century and beyond. From the perspective of translation in Ireland, particularly in

the second half of the century, prevailing trends point to the strengthening of Irish Catholicism, and to the importance of the Catholic ultramontane vein.

Additionally, liberal Catholics occupied a prominent place in the body of translated literature and in the Franco-Irish relationship in general. They produced a vast and heterogeneous body of literature, the translations of which include Montalembert's *The Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary* or Lacordaire's *Conferences*. The contribution of such texts to Ireland's religious literature is meaningful. In particular, emphasis on the lives of the saints can be correlated with a keen Irish interest in devotions to the saints and in hagiography in general. It can be viewed too as a means to increase piety and enhance spiritual life. Religious biographies and lives of the saints serve a similar purpose as devotional and spiritual literature in this regard. Translation is used as a means to salvation and perfection. From the point of view of socio-historical trends in nineteenth-century translation, both liberal Catholics such as Dupanloup and Ultramontanes such as de Maistre emphasize their attachment to Rome. This made them particularly interesting to the Catholic clergy in Ireland. Another aspect which drew the attention of the Irish Catholic public was the emphasis by several French Catholic writers on the notions of religious liberty and Catholic education. A fitting example of this strong affinity was found in the person of Rev. James Maher, who translated from de Bonald and was involved in Catholic politics.

In the areas of devotional and dogmatic literatures, we can safely suggest that the most effectual trends in translation from French were those which promoted devotions and dogmatic statements that were, above all, in direct line with Roman practices. It is significant that these translations were not merely imported, but they were indeed the most published and translated texts in Ireland. The reception of such writings was favoured by a changing society and a growing Catholic Church, but they in turn contributed to the growth and strengthening of Irish Catholicism. In this respect, while the role played by Irish prelates such as Cardinal Cullen is undeniable, we need to acknowledge that there were many other actors in the process, including publishers and translators. Indeed, the trends in religious translation show that from the 1840s onwards, a religious impulse was being felt, and there was an increase in translation and publication of Catholic works in the second half of the century in Ireland. Moreover, we have noted that several influential prelates such as Cullen were in fact involved in some way in the process of translation.

Several aspects of this Catholic literature translated from French points to its affiliation with Rome. Firstly, this includes the numerous approbations received, by both originals and translations, from the highest possible authorities, sometimes indeed directly from Rome. Secondly, the link with the Holy See is carefully nurtured by the promotion of dogmas and devotions along strict Roman lines. On the devotional side, there was an increasingly lively interest in Marian and Sacred Heart devotions throughout the nineteenth century. For a great part of the century, French-language literature was the main source for translation of this type of devotional writing. This is particularly conspicuous when we browse through the pages of various Irish journals, by looking at their book reviews as well as the numerous booksellers' advertisements. Many of these devotional texts were engagingly translated and published in Ireland. As the century went on, a native body of religious literature began to grow in parallel. This transnational Catholic trend of devotional literature and practice forms an important aspect of the Franco-Irish relationship in the nineteenth century. The widespread and growing enthusiasm for Catholic devotions in nineteenth-century Ireland is aptly illustrated by Lawless's description of J.J. Lalor's premises in Dublin in the 1880s-1890s. Lalor, observes Lawless, was "the most successful retailer of mass-produced religious items" (2010: 91). At his premises, he sold religious books which were often translated from French, along with prayer books, lithographed cards of saints, rosaries, medals and statues (ibid). It is a clear indication of the popularity of translations from Catholic devotional French writing in the period. They, in fact, constituted a familiar feature of the overall landscape of nineteenth-century Irish Catholic culture.

Another major feature of religious translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland is the prominent role played by religious and teaching orders, both male and female. A great number of translators in this chapter were either members of the Irish clergy, Catholic or other, or members of monastic orders. Moreover, many of the Catholic clergymen who produced translations from French had close links with either or both the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers, particularly through education and training. We have noticed too the predominance of Jesuit writers among the source French-language authors. One general characteristic of such religious traditions was their obedience to the Pope, the Jesuits being particularly known for their ultramontane loyalty to Rome. French Jesuits not only produced copious quantities of texts, but they exerted considerable influence through their teaching. In Ireland too, Jesuitism was a dominant religious inclination and played a powerful role in Catholic education. There were also several members of other congregations and teaching

orders, as well as sodality members. Among these we should mention, on both the source and target sides, the Vincentians, Carmelites, Redemptorists, Sulpicians, Benedictines, Franciscans and Dominicans, and of course, the Christian Brothers and the La Salle Brothers. The Irish Christian Brothers went on to become a powerful force in Irish Catholic education and in the development of the Irish nationalist ethos. We should also note the important role played by Maynooth College, as many of our translators either studied and/or taught there, such as Matthew Kelly and Christopher Boylan.

All these religious people, clergymen, brothers and nuns, represented an important part of the target audience too. Evidence is given by their libraries and private collections, by the translations' subscription lists, and by the *IER*'s notices of books. In turn, these people had a huge impact on Irish society, as most of them were in daily contact with the Irish community, through education in particular, but also through parish work, missions, hospitals and charitable activities.

Moreover, we would be right to wonder about the short-term and long-term influences of French Catholic literature upon the original compositions by Irish clergymen and religious, as mentioned above in the section on catechetical works. There was indeed a growing body of Catholic literature formed by both translations from French and native writings. In turn, in the case of Mary Francis Cusack for example, there was some translation occurring in the opposite direction too, which underlines the importance of translation as a transnational network builder. In addition, translators and publishers based outside Ireland, particularly in England, Scotland and in North America, played a crucial role too. There was a lively trade in books between these various locations, and religious orders often maintained cross-national contact. Irish migrants in Britain and America contributed to the spread and strengthening of that network. This includes influential translators, writers and publishers such as the Sadlier family.

Amongst female religious orders, the Ursulines and Sisters of Mercy played an immense role in nineteenth-century production of translations in Ireland. Female religious were often anonymous or near-anonymous on the title-page. In other words, they often signed their works as members of their groups and not as distinctive individuals. This, however, is not exclusive to female religious, and we have seen similar patterns with the Christian Brothers or the Redemptorists. In the case of the Christian Brothers, translations were presented above all as a group enterprise. In addition, there were a great number of texts translated from the

French by *the* ‘Catholic Priest’, a translator nearly as prolific as ‘anon’. On the other hand, anonymity or near-anonymity of the religious translator is not true in every case, as with Margaret Cusack for example.

A brief look at consecrated life may help us shed some light on near-anonymity as a pattern in religious translation. We know that most nuns and monks had to take the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Hence, forgoing private ownership, giving up the right to an exclusive human relationship and putting aside personal preferences for the sake of the common good, may have enticed religious to opt for the kind of anonymity we have witnessed in religious translation. Their interdependence within a community and their religious selflessness meant that they were inclined to write and translate strictly as members of that community because that is exactly what they aspired to be, rather than sign as the individuals they were before making their profession. This can be correlated with the change of names which often occur when entering an order. It is therefore not necessarily a question of concealment, mask or prudence as it may be in other areas of translation such as politics or fiction.

Yet, this survey of socio-historical trends in translation has revealed that these members of religious communities, anonymous or not, were a driving force in translation and beyond. In particular, we need to acknowledge the role played by female religious in nineteenth-century Ireland, because, as Magray (1998: vii-viii) argues, they may have been presented as products of the Catholic cultural revolution in Ireland rather than as agents in that process. For Magray (*ibid*: vii), on the contrary, women’s religious orders were at the centre of the creation of a devout Catholic culture in nineteenth-century Ireland. Again, this was not an isolated endeavour, and their role has to be seen within a network of various activities, people and institutions: “Together with reform-minded friends and relatives – among them priests, bishops, and laypeople alike – they developed a new form of women’s religious activism that proved to be a very effective method of bringing post-Tridentine Catholicism to Ireland” (*ibid*). They too were therefore instrumental in strengthening the link between Ireland and Roman Catholicism. Because women religious in nineteenth-century Ireland became so numerous and organized, they succeeded in reaching out into Irish society in various ways. As Clear points out, “with their schools, hospitals, workhouses, sick-visiting and many other projects female religious were, without doubt, the most effective arm of the Catholic church in nineteenth-century Ireland” (2002: 517). Translation and other literary endeavours should be included as one of the means by which female religious helped bring post-Tridentine

Catholicism to Ireland, and it is often found in translators' prefatory remarks that translation into English was a way of widening the readership of Roman Catholic writings. As the work done by women religious needed to be placed within the wider religious and cultural changes occurring in Irish society, so did translation need to be situated within this same context.

The crucial changes brought about by women's religious orders and by the Irish Catholic clergy in the nineteenth century can therefore be seen as a late Catholic Reformation, or, to use Murphy's words (1984), the 'Irish counter-reformation'. Murphy points out that parish missions in nineteenth-century Ireland echoed Counter-Reformation parish missions in seventeenth-century France. He notes that there were "times when circumstances made people more amenable to missions. The early seventeenth century was such a time in France; the mid-nineteenth century such a time in Ireland" (1984: 155). This can be said, not only of parish missions, but of the Irish Catholic cultural revolution in general. Translations of French writings contributed to this reform, by bringing devotion, doctrine, apologetics and religious history to Irish Catholic readers. This is particularly evident in the number of translations from seventeenth-century French Counter-Reformation writers. Yet, the output from contemporary French writers increased as the century went on, and the devotional and doctrinal energy was invigorated by imports of contemporary writings too. The words and aspirations of figures such as Chateaubriand, Dupanloup and Lacordaire, who were often concerned with consolidating religious thought, practice and education in France, would find echoes in the enthusiastic revival of Catholicism in Ireland.

In his contribution to the *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Haynes (2006: 443; 446) mentions the quantitative importance of Christian texts in English translation in the nineteenth century, and particularly translations of devotional writings. However, there is no real focus given towards this key trend in nineteenth-century translation, and instead, most of the book's section on religious literature provides ample information on Bible translation and religious translations from Latin. Some of the patterns highlighted by Haynes (ibid: 443-450) are indeed relevant to Ireland, but we can now see the importance of a close investigation of Ireland's translation trends in highlighting and analyzing its particularly strong tradition of translation from French religious literature.

Lastly, it is worth noting that some of the religious links unveiled here can be traced in the most canonical elements of Irish literature. In his youth, James Joyce was for a time prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Belvedere College, a school run by the Jesuits.

James Aloysius Cullen (1841–1921), Jesuit priest and temperance reformer, educated both by the Christian Brothers and the Jesuits, was appointed a spiritual father to the students at Belvedere College in the 1880s (Ferriter 2009: 1068). Davison observes that the book kept by Cullen “on his desk at all times, and on which he may have drawn for his sermons, was the *Instruction of Youth in Christian Piety* [NLI, CCL, MDI], by Rev. Charles Gobinet, D.D.” (1998: 46). Davison adds that Cullen used to cite passages of the book to his students and he may even have “offered the book to his more astute students, a group that would certainly include James Joyce” (ibid: 47). Consequently, he suggests, the translation from Gobinet and its emphasis on the Old Testament may have contributed, through Cullen’s influence, to Joyce’s admiration for the Jews.

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORY AND POLITICS

4.1 Introduction

History and politics form a very significant area of interest, and overlap greatly with religion. Indeed, as we saw in the preceding chapter, history and religion can be closely linked, and many studies of the history of the Church, for example, could well be classified in either of these sections. History is very pervasive, as is religion. Furthermore, the sociopolitical circumstances of both French and Irish cultures in the nineteenth century meant that religion was often a topic of politics. Church-State relations and religious liberties were discussed by clergymen and politicians alike. Additionally, the bringing of history and politics together in one section calls for an explanation. The main argument for this is that immense overlap between the two areas of study. Overall, we are dealing here with many texts of political and military history. There are two additional reasons. Firstly, many French-language historians happened to be politicians too. We could experience great difficulty in trying to draw a line between history and politics in their writings. Additionally, translations of texts relating to Irish history and society often carried political weight. Secondly, what we may categorize as history today, simply because it is not contemporary to us, may have been more appropriately referred to as politics at the time. The following analysis therefore highlights both the historiographic and the political elements of this vast corpus of translations.

Many translated authors and texts will be necessarily overlooked. For instance, the Roman question will not be addressed. Nor will we discuss the many general histories, though we should just mention a few texts and names which, indeed, were very popular in translation. These are Rollin's *Ancient History* (GMIT, CCL, NUIM, NUIG, NLI, RIA), a best-seller of the early 1800s which was advertised in many booksellers' catalogues, various editions of Guizot's *General history of civilization in Europe, from the fall of the Roman empire to the French revolution* (TCD, QCat, UCC, ML, UCD, NLI, NUIG), and Sismondi's works, including *History of the fall of the Roman empire* (1834, RIA, UCC, ML, NLI).

4.2 *A Fascination with Napoleon*

General Considerations

A high percentage of historical and political items in Ireland's translation holdings are concerned with Bonaparte, his family and his campaigns. They comprise memoirs, biographies, political histories, and a myriad of military accounts. Added to these are some courtly memoirs of the Empress Josephine as well as texts relating to Napoleon's brothers, Joseph, Louis and Lucien Bonaparte, and to Napoleon III. The body of Napoleonic literature is home to a diverse range of writers. They are, for a great part, Napoleon's Generals, Counts and Barons, as well as two or three female authors. The corpus of texts shows a high proportion of London publications, with several texts produced by English translators, as well as many anonymous translations. There are some Irish contributions, among which the following deserve special mention.

Irish Contributions to Napoleonic Literature

Three Dublin Imprints

Dublin printer John Stockdale, a United Irishman, reprinted several translations such as *Buonaparte and Berthier's details of the expedition into Syria and Egypt* (1799, NLI). An intriguing Dublin imprint is *The siege of Dantzic, in 1813* (1815, NLI), from the French of Louis-Antoine-François de Marchangy and printed and sold by P. Blenkinsop, a Catholic publisher. It was 'Translated from the original by a gentleman of this city'. This text presents a vindication of the French army and of French national honour. On the other hand, the year 1803 saw the publication at Dublin of a pamphlet which was unfavourable to Napoleon. Penned by Tinseau d'Amondans, a French royalist, *A vindication of the French emigrants, against the defamatory proclamation circulated under the name of An amnesty, 26th April, 1802, by Napoleon Buonaparte* (NLI, TCD, HC/RIA, UCD, ML, QCat) was translated by 'E.S.L.', printed by John Exshaw, Grafton Street. Exshaw (DIB) was a printer, bookseller, stationer, law enforcement officer and a politician with loyalist sympathies.

O'Meara: Napoleon's Surgeon and Translator

The most famous translator of Napoleon's memoirs was Irishman Barry Edward O'Meara (1786?-1836). While serving in the British army, O'Meara was appointed as Napoleon's personal physician in St Helena (Murphy 2009b: 691). O'Meara's *Napoleon in exile: or a voice from St Helena* (1822) and *Memoirs of the military and political life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (1822, NLI) contain several translated letters and documents. The words used on the latter's title page are significant of the growing Napoleonic cult. Indeed, Bonaparte's military career is described as 'splendid and unexampled'. Moreover, O'Meara's *Historical memoirs of Napoleon: Book IX, 1815* claims to be 'translated from the original ms' (1820, NLI). In the preface, O'Meara admits that he could not but have sympathized with Napoleon's sufferings (1820: v). Above all, he stresses the authenticity of the original manuscripts and is deeply aware that the translation will provide invaluable historical material (ibid: iii-iv).

Official Documents: the Concordat

Along with various collective documents from the army of Bonaparte, important official papers such as Napoleon's Civil Code and the Concordat received particular attention in Ireland. There was mainly one anonymous translation of the 1801 Concordat, entitled the *Concordat between His Holiness Pope Pius VII and Bonaparte, chief consul to the French Republic: together with the speeches in full of Portalis, Simeon, Lucien Bonaparte, Jaucourt, and Bassaget...* (NLI, NUIM, HC/RIA, DCL). Of the several items held in the libraries, the most common imprint is that of Hugh Fitzpatrick in Dublin. Furthermore, the copy held at DCL not only bears the bookplate of Dubliner Richard Robert Madden, a well-known historian of the United Irishmen (DIB), but it came from a series of pamphlets collected by Irish barrister and political activist Denys Scully (1773–1830). The librarian's note indicates that there were many annotations in pen by Scully, 'marking several passages on the proper spheres for temporal and spiritual authority'. This is compelling evidence of Scully's active interest in the Concordat. Born in County Tipperary, he was a champion of Catholic Emancipation who favoured constitutional politics over radical approaches. Hill (2009: 816) argues that Scully, overshadowed by O'Connell's ascendancy, made nonetheless a significant contribution to the Catholic cause. Church-State relations were one of his main concerns, and he was opposed to the idea of government veto on the appointment of bishops. It is therefore

no surprise that Scully paid particular attention to the Concordat between the First Consul and Rome.

Conclusion: the Napoleonic Myth in Ireland

In nineteenth-century Ireland, most particularly in the first half of the century, a fascination with Napoleon generated, and was nurtured by, a vast import of French writings through translation. Feelings towards Napoleon, England's nemesis, were overall of a very mixed sort. On one side, he was seen as a saviour, the liberator of nations who had emerged as the most illustrious military figure of the French revolutionary wars. We know for example that the United Irishmen, including Robert Emmet in the early 1800s, had hoped to obtain support from Bonaparte. Additionally, some may have seen him as someone who, after the Revolution, had re-established peace with the Catholic Church. Others, however, saw him as a despot and a political and military enemy. Scully, above mentioned, was opposed to any siding with the French during the Napoleonic wars (Hill 2009: 815). Generally-speaking, loyalty to the English Crown or fear of imperialism resulted in viewing Napoleon as a powerful enemy. Moreover, Napoleonic writings in translation served to build a literature of military science and history in English. Whatever motives may be assigned for the various translations, they undoubtedly bear testimony to the popularity of such a controversial and engrossing subject.

Napoleon and his family therefore caught the interest of the Irish public. It may even have been risky, at the beginning of the century, to be involved with such translations. Indeed, Kinane reproduces a report by Sir Eyre Coote stating that in 1804, 'A printer of Galway, by name Connolly, has been committed to gaol, for selling the life of Bonaparte' (cited in Kinane 1996: 63). There was great interest taken in Napoleonic official and personal documents. In particular, the Napoleonic myth was helped by O'Meara's contributions, and his writings and translations were very successful indeed. After Napoleon's downfall and death, this central historical figure became a mythological figure. As Bartlett (2009) observes, the Napoleonic myth in Ireland took the form of ballads, legends, stories as well as plays. As with a true mythical hero, there were even rumours that he had not died, or that he had come back from the dead, and there were 'sightings' of him in the West of Ireland (ibid). Any possibility of unveiling new 'Hiberno-Napoleonic' links was explored. In legends and songs, Napoleon had become this messianic figure of a liberator, even though he had not

fulfilled Irish hopes of a deliverance from English rule. This is aptly illustrated by the native corpus of Napoleonic ballads. Among these songs which were circulated in broadsheet form around the country, some have come down to us such as ‘The Green Linnet’ or ‘The Bonny Bunch of Roses’ (Petiet and Petiet 1974: 109). The cult of glory which had emerged from Napoleon’s victories during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars was nurtured by imported Napoleonic literature and native folklore. As Petiet and Petiet remark, he had “become the embodiment of the ideals of Liberty and Equality of 1789” (ibid: 110). In him, Irish dreams and aspirations became crystallized in the post-1798 period, when the Irish people felt most helpless. Napoleon emerged as a significant and controversial subject in nineteenth-century translation. Hailed as a liberator on the one hand, and as the embodiment of tyranny on the other, the fascination with Napoleon was related to a range of political, military, religious and legal concerns.

4.3 French Revolutions and Court Memoirs

Courtly memoirs are often closely related to histories of the French revolution(s). Because 1789 saw the overthrow of the French monarchy, many memoirs of the French court often served as narratives of the Revolution too. After the Napoleonic literature, these texts form the second most important part of the historical section from a quantitative point of view. Several of these were memoirs proper, and there were many biographies as well. At TCD for example, there are about fifteen translations from the French of Baron Imbert de Saint-Amand (1834-1900), a historian of the French court, from the Ancien regime to the Second Empire. In addition, the historiography of the Revolutions, from 1789 to 1848, was abundant, with a focus on the French Revolution *per se*. Some of the major French-language historians and literary figures of the period contributed to that literature, from Chateaubriand to Lamartine, Mignet and Thiers. There were also many lesser-known writers. Though not numerous, there are some noteworthy contributions by Irish translators and printers in relation to this literature, providing again a variety of standpoints.

Among these, the writings most unfavourable to the Revolution comprise Barruel’s *Memoirs, illustrating the Antichristian conspiracy* (NUIM, HC/RIA, NLI, ML, TCD, DCL), *The life of C.G. Lamoignon Malesherbes* (NLI, TCD), and John Wilson Croker’s *Royal memoirs on the French revolution* (NLI). The translator of Barruel’s work was Hon. Robert Clifford, of an English Catholic family which had strong ties with royalist France and with the Irish Brigade.

His translation was issued in London in 1798 and immediately reprinted the same year in Dublin by William Watson and Son. Augustin Barruel (1741-1820) was a Jesuit priest who had fled to England in 1792. For Barruel, the Revolution resulted from a conspiracy by freemasons and Enlightenment *philosophes*. Cormack points out that Barruel's "conspiracy thesis had tremendous influence on those hostile to the revolution" (1998: 74). Subsequently, Clifford applied Barruel's conspiracy theory of the Revolution to societies such as the United Irishmen in *Application of Barruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism, to the secret societies of Ireland and Great Britain* (1798), whereby he likened the United Irishmen to the Jacobins and the Free-Masons, suspecting an international anti-Christian conspiracy.

Galway-born John Wilson Croker's compilation gave a different insight into the French Revolution. His *Royal memoirs* (1823, NLI) comprise texts from the duchesse d'Angoulême and Louis XVIII. Croker (1780–1857), a politician and a writer who was known for his acerbic literary reviews in the *Quarterly*, had a deep fascination with the French Revolution. He carried out extensive research on the subject and collected valuable documents during his visits to France (Thomas 2004: 275-276). Thomas (ibid: 275) notes that Croker's view of the Revolution had been influenced by Edmund Burke's writings, and he saw it as a dangerous source of social chaos. In his preface to the *Memoirs*, however, Croker confines his remarks to the historical interest of such material. He presents himself as a faithful translator of historical documents, conferring a sense of seriousness and integrity upon his work.

The life of C.G. Lamoignon Malesherbes (NLI, TCD) a translation by the Rev. Edward Mangin (1772-1852), was published in 1804 and 1814 in London, Edinburgh and Bath. Malesherbes (1721-1794) was a statesman and lawyer during the ancien regime who took the defense of Louis XVI during the Revolution and was guillotined in 1794. Dublin-born Mangin is our only known example of a nineteenth-century translator with Huguenot origins, which he had from both his parents. Ordained in the Irish church in the 1790s, Mangin served in the County Clare Diocese of Killaloe, lived in Dublin and France, but spent the greater part of his life at Bath (Courtney 2004b: 413). In the light of his Huguenot background, Mangin may have felt certain sympathy for Malesherbes who worked toward the reinstatement of civil rights to non-Catholics in France (Aston 2000: 77). Mangin is full of praise for Malesherbes and his aim as a translator is above all moral. He hopes that his translation, intended for those who cannot read the original, will help readers 'feel their minds enlarged, and their hearts improved, by contemplating the life of a wise and honest man' (1804: 1). In this regard, his approach is similar to that of writing and translating religious biography.

Histories of the Revolution, such as Thiers's *History of the French Revolution* (QCat, NUIG, MIC, UCC, UCD, TCC), were widely circulated in translation. From the outset, 1789 inspired philosophers and historians. Writers such as Volney and Chateaubriand had looked at the subject from a more general and philosophical standpoint. Volney's *Les Ruines* (1791) was translated as *The ruins: or, Meditation on the revolutions of empires* (NLI, TCD). Rigby (1995: 844) notes that Volney's work, an atheistic and pre-Romantic view of revolutions as signs of progress, made a great impact on Romantic writers as well as on republican thinking. Chateaubriand's *Historical, political, and moral essay on revolutions, ancient and modern* (1815, NLI, RIA) provided a more pessimistic outlook, as his main fear was that revolutions could signal the end of Christianity (Bowman 1995: 157).

There were few contributions by Irish translators to the historiography of the French Revolution. For this reason, Lady Wilde (see Historical Chapter) deserves special mention. Through Simms and M'Intyre, she published anonymously her *Pictures of the First French Revolution* (1850, QCat) from Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins*, without any preface or notes. Dublin-born Jane Francesca Wilde, née Elgee (1821?-1896), produced several translations from Lamartine, which includes *The Wanderer and his Home* (1851). Wilde's close relationship with the Young Ireland movement and her poetic fervour may explain her affinity with Lamartine's writings. Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), a poet, politician, statesman, historian and writer on many subjects, is particularly remembered as a political leader of the Revolution of 1848. His *Histoire des Girondins* was published in 1847, and is therefore closely associated with the revolutionary movement of 1848, which in turn, had an impact on the Young Ireland movement. Moreover, Lady Wilde may have been drawn to a particular section of Lamartine's work which focuses on the story of 'Madame Roland', a well-known female Girondist figure of the French Revolution, who died on the guillotine in 1793. Speranza's translation, however, may have suffered competition from another version, *History of the Girondists; or, Personal memoirs of the patriots of the French revolution* (UCC, CCL, MDI, NUIG, NUIM, GMIT, QCat, UU), published two years before, by a certain H. T. Ryde.

4.4 Frances Cashel Hoey's History Translations

Closely connected to the previous sections, special mention needs to be made of Frances Cashel Hoey's contributions to historical literature, chiefly biographies, memoirs and letters.

She translated and co-translated at least ten historical works from French. A great majority of these writings examine the political history of France from the French Revolution to the dissolution of the First Empire. Two of her collaborative works with John Lillie explore the life and letters of Madame de Rémusat, who was Lady-in-Waiting to the Empress Josephine. *Camille Desmoulins and his wife* (1876, TCD) presents ‘Passages from the history of the Dantonists, founded upon new and hitherto unpublished documents, translated from the French of Jules Claretie by Mrs. Cashel Hoey’. Both Camille Desmoulins and his wife Lucile were executed during the Terror in 1794. Claretie (1840-1913) completed his work after the Franco-Prussian War. He believes that such national troubles ‘are the hours of “examination of conscience” for peoples’ (1876: vii). Hoey, we suggest, may have taken interest in Claretie’s outlook which is republican, patriotic, and both retrospective and prospective in nature: ‘The right moment has come at which to show the world how Republics perish, in order that it may learn how Republics may be founded’ (ibid). His aim is to make his readers love ‘those great things which rise above the men – Liberty and Country’ (ibid: x).

4.5 Irish History and Irish Affairs

From what follows, it appears that translation from French also helped build a historiography of Ireland, and was used as a means to signal certain issues in contemporary Irish society.

4.5.1 Irish Histories from the French

Jacobitism in Translation

MacGeoghegan’s History of Ireland

Jacobite history had been one of the key historical links between France and Ireland, and we know that there was a strong interest in Jacobite poetry in the nineteenth century, notably with Walsh and O’Daly’s *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry* (1844). Another sympathetic tribute to Jacobitism was Patrick O’Kelly’s translation of Abbé James MacGeoghegan’s *Histoire de l’Irlande ancienne et moderne* (1758-1763, BNF). *The history of Ireland, ancient and modern: Taken from the most authentic records, and dedicated to the Irish Brigade*²² was first published ‘for the author of the translation’, by T. O’Flanagan in Dublin in 1831-32. The

²² Found in eighteen libraries, see Appendix.

translator was described as ‘late professor of languages in the city of Versailles’. New editions were then issued in 1844 by Duffy and in 1868 by D&J Sadlier in New York.

Irish-born MacGeoghegan (1702, Uisneach, Co. Westmeath-1763, Paris) was sent to France at an early age for his education and remained there for a great part of his life (Geoghegan 1991: 37). A Catholic priest, he became chaplain to the Irish Brigade, to whom he dedicated his *Histoire*. His work is overtly Jacobite in sympathy and imbued with Irish patriotic spirit. It describes early Christian Ireland as the Golden Age of Irish history and displays “great pride in the achievements of Ireland” (ibid: 52-53). The author’s pro-Stuart nostalgia draws on a direct analogy with the fate of the Ancient Israelites and “the biblical lament of the exile” (ibid: 53).

Geoghegan (1991: 44) suggests several sources of influence on the Abbé’s writings, including Bossuet and Fénelon on the French side, for their attachment to both Catholicism and Royalism. Fénelon, in particular, had been close to James II and the Jacobites in France. Moreover, MacGeoghegan drew upon several Irish histories, such as Geoffrey Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (ibid: 45). Geoghegan (1991: 54) argues that nineteenth-century nationalism in Ireland has deep roots in monarchical conservatism such as that which infuses MacGeoghegan’s writings.

While the publication of this translation would have been difficult in Ireland in MacGeoghegan’s day, Patrick O’Kelly could now enjoy a more favourable context to the production of an English version. O’Kelly indeed hopes that the post-Emancipation context can be a more propitious time for providing the English-reading public with what he believes to be an ‘impartial’, truthful history of Ireland, ‘which has made known to France and the Continent the wrongs and the sufferings of Ireland’ (1844: iii). He argues that other histories which have been circulated provided ‘fiction’ and ‘calumnies’ rather than fact, and believes that a reliable history of Ireland can exert real political impact:

It is only by a knowledge of our country, that Englishmen can know how to estimate its worth, and until a full and accurate knowledge of all its circumstances are attained, can the country expect justice to be done to it (ibid: iii)

O’Kelly ends his preface with an appeal to his countrymen’s patriotism, asking them for support and patronage. This he certainly obtained, at least from the mid-1840s onwards, beginning with Duffy’s new edition, advertised in the *Nation* as “MacGeoghegan’s National

History of Ireland”. Furthermore, as Geoghegan puts it, “The Young Irishman John Mitchel paid the ultimate compliment of entitling his own history... ‘A Continuation of the History of the Abbé MacGeoghegan’” (1991: 55). The two histories, that is, O’Kelly’s translation and Mitchel’s work, were joined together for publication, going through ten American editions between 1868 and 1903 (ibid). Through O’Kelly’s translation, its promotion by Duffy, and its merging with Mitchel’s history, “MacGeoghegan’s work thus achieved the status of a classic of Irish nationalism” (Geoghegan 1991: 55).

Mary Stuart

As a member of the House of Stuart in the sixteenth century, Mary, Queen of Scots, may have drawn Jacobite sympathies in the nineteenth century. She was a Catholic of Stuart, French and Tudor lineage (Goodare 2004: 77-78). She was married to the French Dauphin and received a great part of her education in France, where she resided for several years. She returned to Scotland after the death of her husband. She had a claim on the English crown, but she was later arrested and beheaded upon Queen Elizabeth’s request (ibid: 90). Her challenging the English crown and her Catholicism may also explain the interest taken in Mary Stuart in nineteenth-century Ireland. Evidence of this trend emerges from this survey of translations. There were editions of her correspondence as well as several works of history, including Lamartine’s *Mary Stuart*, translated by ‘J.M.H.’ (NLI, CCL).

J.P. Leonard’s Irish Heroes in Translation

Closely related to the above section is a translation by John P. Leonard, *Historical notes on the services of the Irish officers in the French Army* (CCL, UCD, UCC, TCD, DCL), from the French of Count General Arthur Dillon, a member of the Irish legion in France. This was a speech addressed by Dillon to the French National Assembly in 1792. Dillon (1750, England -1794, Paris) was suspended from the army during the Revolution, and, suspected of conspiracy with the Dantonists, he was sent to the guillotine along with Lucile Desmoulins and others. Dillon’s grandfather, of the same name, had been a Jacobite general in the French army. The main purpose of Count Dillon’s speech, and of its translation by Leonard, was to vindicate the honour and loyalty of Irish soldiers in the French service. Leonard took on the task of translating this document whose original had been left to him by Commandant O’Brien, the last survivor of the Irish legion in France (Leonard c1888: iii).

Leonard's nationalist sympathies were particularly at play when he chose to translate Louise d'Haussonville's *Robert Emmet* (NLI, RIA). Emmet was a leading figure of the 1803 Rising by the United Irishmen. Following the failure of that rebellion, he had been tried and executed. Like most of Leonard's works, this translation was produced soon after the original publication in 1858. It was the 'Sole Authorised Translation' of d'Haussonville's work, done 'with permission of the Authoress' and with 'strictly reserved Copy Right'. The translator is sensible that he has not been able to convey the 'beauty of the original', but he believes that his translation is justified because 'Such homage paid to patriotism and genius, coming from the very highest and purest source, must be read with interest and pleasure by every Irishman possessing a spark of nationality' (1858: vi). The translator thus prompts Irish readers to recognize Emmet as a national hero.

The translation was published at Belfast by Denis Holland, at the *Ulsterman* office, and sold by all agents of the *Irishman* in Dublin and around the country. Holland was a journalist from Cork and a follower of the Temperance, Young Ireland, Gaelic revival and Tenant League movements (Maume 2009b: 751-753). He founded both the *Ulsterman* and the *Irishman*, and Maume notes that the latter, relocated in Dublin in 1859, became "the principal platform for supporters of the nascent Irish Republican Brotherhood" (ibid: 753). Holland found necessary to add a prefatory 'Word from the Publisher' to Leonard's translation, to explain why he took on the publication of this 'tribute of French genius to Irish patriotism and truth' (1858: vii). He did so because 'no one else would' and points out that

In England, publishers refused the work, lest this French eulogy of a young Irish martyr-patriot should injure the "Cordial alliance". In Dublin, those whose trade is printing and publishing feared the risk, with the petty trader's timidity – some, too, would not offend "the Castle" (ibid)

Therefore, he concludes, 'in this emergency, I (though neither printer nor publisher) undertook the risk, that so good a book might not be lost to the Irish public' (ibid). The contribution by a publisher to the dissemination of French writing in Ireland is therefore momentous in this case, because the publication of this translation posed a political risk. Urged by strong political motives, both the translator and the publisher were highly committed to its publication.

4.5.2 The Irish Question

This category comprises mainly translations of contemporary French writings which are concerned with Irish affairs. Some of them are quite well-known in historical fields. Yet, their translators and editors have generally been overlooked.

G. de Beaumont and W. Cooke Taylor

One of the most well-known French studies of Ireland in the nineteenth century is Gustave de Beaumont's *Ireland: social, political, and religious* (1839, NLI, QCat, NUIM, UCD, DOCL/DCL/LICL/TCL/CLCL), translated and edited by William Cooke Taylor (1800–1849). De Beaumont, following in the footsteps of de Tocqueville and Montalembert, had visited Ireland, and in this respect, his work can be, and has been looked at as a travel representation of Ireland. De Beaumont was particularly interested in history and social and political sciences, an interest shared by his Irish editor/translator (Mathew 2004: 1000). Born in County Cork and a TCD graduate, Taylor was a historian and a journalist, a member of the Anti-Corn Law League and supporter of a system of National Education in Ireland. His notes to de Beaumont's historical introduction show that he does not always agree with the author, but he claims that the main purpose and interest of this work is to provide an outsider's standpoint, indeed that of 'an enlightened statesman, whose views are obviously beyond all suspicion of being warped by prejudice or passion' (1839: iv).

Translations of J. de Lasteyrie's Studies of Ireland

In comparison to de Beaumont, Jules de Lasteyrie is not as well known in Ireland. This may be partly due to the fact that his Irish studies were originally published, not in book form, but as articles in the magazine the *Revue Des Deux Mondes*. Yet, his observations of Irish political and socioeconomic context in the post-famine era were conveyed in two translations in the 1860s. Seemingly, their respective translators provided two different standpoints to the Irish question. The first one is entitled *A Few observations upon Ireland* (1861, HC/RIA, UCD) and its translators are only known as 'C.E.H.N.' and 'F.H.N.'. They dedicated their translation to the Duke of Leinster, who at the time would have been Augustus Fitzgerald, grand master of the Irish freemasons (DIB). The general direction taken by this translation from Marquis de Lasteyrie is an acknowledgment of socioeconomic issues in Ireland but with a unionist outlook.

In contrast, the second translation, brought out in 1868 and entitled *French thoughts on Irish evils* (UCC, NLI, UU), was approached from a patriotic standpoint. The original article was published around 1863-1864 and it was translated with notes by 'A Son of the Soil'. The translator believes that certain facts have been overlooked. Hence, the author's view that 'Ireland is free...as free as England', a phrase which he had already used in the previous article, leads to the first annotation by the translator. Indeed, the latter argues that

if freedom means a paramount voice in their own affairs; if it means that the well-expressed will of the majority is the guide of action to the legislature, as usually happens in England, then it cannot be averred that the Irish are as free as the English (1868: 33)

He also stresses that land and power remain a Protestant privilege. The 'Son of the Soil', who embellished the title page of his translation from French with Irish proverbs in the native language, is identified as Sir J. Shiel [i.e. Sheil] in the NSTC. This cannot be clearly ascertained, but it is not impossible. Indeed, Sir Justin Sheil (1803–1871), from County Kilkenny, was the younger brother of Richard Lalor Sheil, a prominent politician and Emancipation campaigner.

Professor Leonard “Bewildered on Irish Affairs”

In a published volume of John Devoy's correspondence, a brief undated letter sent by Leonard to Devoy in New York comes under the heading 'Professor Leonard “Bewildered on Irish Affairs”'. Devoy (1842-1928), a Fenian who had spent some time in France, was amongst the many nationalists who knew Leonard personally. In this letter, Leonard notifies Devoy of a translation he has done of a book chapter, and that he has enclosed it, hoping that Devoy would publish it. He asks Devoy not to identify the translator, not even his initials. 'You may say translated from the French by DRANOEL the anagram of my name, if you like' (1948: 130), he proposes. He then adds: 'I am bewildered to-day on Irish affairs, but not less faithful to the country which had my first love and will have my last' (ibid). Leonard is deeply concerned with the current state of Irish affairs and believes that his translation should serve as an eye-opener (ibid).

The title of this translation remains to be identified, but we know of at least two translations by Leonard on Irish affairs. The first one is *The Irish question*, translated from the French, and possibly even co-written, by 'J.P.L.', a 'simultaneous publication in Paris and Dublin'

(1860, NLI). Three years later, Leonard produced an anonymous translation of Cardinal Perraud's *Études sur l'Irlande contemporaine*, to which was prefixed an introduction by Leonard's friend, Mgr Dupanloup. As de Beaumont did before, Perraud looked at social, religious and political issues of contemporary Ireland. This 'sole authorized' translation went through a few editions, with some variations in the title. The main title is *Ireland in 1862*²³ but the edition in 1864 is presented as *Ireland under English rule* (NLI, QCat, DCL/KL/LOCL/MCL/WCL). As the original title would literally read "Studies of Contemporary Ireland", the title therefore went from a neutral position to a form which, in translation, emphasizes the nature of the political relationship between Ireland and England. Both editions were issued by James Duffy. In 1871, an advert in the *Nation* announced that the translation had been 'carefully revised and annotated by the late J.E. Pigot, Esq.'. The general political standpoint of the editor was close to that of the translator, since John Edward Pigot (1822-1871), M.R.I.A., was a Young Irelander (DIB).

Interestingly, in a letter addressed to Leonard in 1862, William Smith O'Brien (1803-1864), leader of the Irish Confederation in the late 1840s, offered to help with the translation of Perraud's work. In this letter, published in the *Nation*, O'Brien (1862: 752) communicates his high opinion of Perraud's treatise which he had read in French. He believes it to be the best exposition of the current state of affairs in Ireland. Expecting Cardinal Perraud's work to be essentially written from a Catholic standpoint, O'Brien, a Protestant, however thinks that this may be a valuable aspect. Indeed, he argues that

the reader is thus enabled to understand the feelings which affect a great majority of the Irish nation who are Roman Catholics, with regards to the events of our past history, and with regard to the laws and institutions which are still subsisting in Ireland (ibid)

In the letter, O'Brien does not explicitly present Leonard as the translator, rather only as Perraud's friend, perhaps as a manner of respecting Leonard's desire for anonymity as a translator. O'Brien only mentions that he is aware 'that arrangements are in progress for an early publication of a translation of this work' (ibid). He tells Leonard that he noted 'a few trifling inaccuracies' in the original and 'in case a translation be in progress' (ibid), he would be happy to help correct them. O'Brien's letter is interesting because it shows, above all, how much consideration was paid to that very process of translating a work which highlighted crucial sociopolitical issues in Ireland.

²³ Found in ten libraries, see Appendix.

The Irish Question according to Paul-Dubois and Tom Kettle

Lastly, a contribution by Dublin-born Tom Kettle to the circulation in English of French observations of Ireland sums up the main patterns so far described in this section.

*Contemporary Ireland*²⁴ from the French of Louis Paul-Dubois (1868-1939), was published in 1908, a year after the French original was brought out. Kettle, who wrote an introduction to the translation, refers to himself as the editor. He was, however, closely involved in the process because he records his indebtedness to J.M. Hone and G.F.H. Berkeley for their help with this work. Echoing several translators and editors of French writings about Ireland, he begins his introduction stating that ‘It is the French that have come closest to the secret of Ireland’ (1908: v). He then summarizes some of that tradition described in this section: ‘De Beaumont, that great pupil of de Tocqueville, in 1839, Cardinal Perraud in 1869 [sic], painted our national life with the authoritative brush of masters’ (ibid). He refers to ‘an unbroken line’ of studies, as well as contemporary French novels containing Irish themes. He pays homage to the long-standing Franco-Irish relationship: ‘In exchange for the swords of the Wild Geese, France sent us back priests, or at least the learning that turned Irish boys into priests’ (ibid). Born in County Dublin, Thomas Michael (‘Tom’) Kettle (1880-1916) had been educated by the Christian Brothers and the Jesuits successively (Pašeta 2004: 459). In his introduction, Kettle refers to 1798, with Hoche and Humbert, and to France and Ireland’s sharing of a ‘common hatred’ until ‘a very little while ago’ (1908: v). He believes that ‘France and Ireland have been made to understand each other’ (ibid).

On the subject of Paul-Dubois’s study, Kettle warns that not every Irish reader will agree with the author’s conclusions. But the Irish editor is clear about his own appraisal of it, and more than once he stresses that Paul-Dubois’s verdict is ‘clearly and definitely for Ireland and against England’ (ibid: vi-vii). Kettle points out that the French author’s ‘voice is raised for the Gaelic League, and against linguistic imperialism; for the ploughed field, and against the grazing ranch; for Home Rule and against the Act of Union’ (ibid: vii). Tom Kettle was a nationalist M.P. He founded the journal the *Nationist*, in which, according to Lowry, “he promised that a home rule administration would uphold women's rights, industrial self-sufficiency, and Gaelic League control of Irish education” (2009: 165).

Tom Kettle then raises *the* question: ‘What then, is the Irish Question as seen by this sociologist, so inspired and so equipped? It is “an extreme case of social pathology”, an

²⁴ Found in seventeen libraries, See Appendix A.

instance of the phenomenon called arrested development' (1908: vii). History, he argues, provides a key to understanding that situation: 'It is to history that one naturally turns for proof and illustrations of this thesis' (ibid). He therefore recalls the numerous invasions throughout Irish history and described the Irish as

a people plunged in an unimaginable chaos of races, religions, ideas, appetites, and provincialisms; brayed in the mortar without emerging as a consolidated whole; tenacious of the national idea, but unable to bring it to triumph...how could such a people find leisure to grow up, or such a civilisation realise its full potentialities of development and discipline? (ibid: vii)

Kettle, after Paul-Dubois, sends a hopeful message, because they both believe that Ireland is capable 'not only of preserving an ancient people but of creating a new civilisation' (ibid: viii). He thus sums up much of the spirit of the Irish Renaissance at the turn of the century, and believes that political autonomy is the solution towards the creation of this new Ireland (ibid: ix).

Hence, from Leonard to Kettle, the expression of concerns about the "Irish question" through translation becomes more and more articulate. Circumstances are changing too, and we know that Kettle translated this text less than a decade before the 1916 Rising. They certainly belong to the same tradition, however, of looking outward to bring in solutions to Irish problems. Moreover, both Leonard and Kettle embody some of the most poignant aspects of the Franco-Irish relationship and their narratives belong to both French and Irish histories. During World War I, Kettle joined the Royal Dublin Fusiliers and died on the French front in 1916. According to Pašeta, Tom Kettle had "prophesised that the Easter rebels of 1916 would be remembered as heroes while Irishmen serving in the British army would be deemed traitors" (2004: 460). The nature of Kettle's perspective was a blend of Irish nationalism, Catholicism and outward-looking Europeanism:

he was a devout if liberal catholic, imbued by his Jesuit schooling with a cosmopolitan admiration for European civilisation which had been reinforced by his European travels, and in particular had been outraged by the German destruction of the ancient university library of Louvain (Lowry 2009:166)

4.6 Thomas Davis and the French Romantic Historians

In an analysis of nineteenth-century French historiography, Salmon points to an increased interest in history in the aftermath of the French Revolution:

A desire to explain the cataclysm, a need to relate new social and political forms to the past, and a nostalgia for much that had disappeared, produced an unquenchable appetite for historical works, as well as for historical novels and dramas (1998: 332)

French Romantic historiography took shape around the 1830s, and Salmon argues that “in history the rationalism of the Enlightenment was replaced by an attempt to make the past come alive by the re-creation of atmosphere and local color” (ibid).

The key figures of French Romantic historiography are Augustin Thierry, Prosper de Barante, Jules Michelet and Edgar Quinet. Several English editions of Michelet’s writings were found across Ireland’s holdings. Michelet, who had come under the influence of philosophers of history such as the Italian Giambattista Vico (Salmon 1998: 332), believed that “Revolution was the incarnation of justice” (Roney 1998: 615) and his perspective became increasingly radical, republican and democratic (ibid). He was also very patriotic, as evident in *The People* (TCD), translated by Charles Cocks. *The People*, in which Michelet defended the growth of national cultures, was advertised several times in the *Nation* in 1846. Although his ideas, in particular his attacks on Jesuitism, were not well accepted in Catholic circles, he was generally admired for his romantic style and empathetic approach, and his conception of history as “a resurrection” (ibid).

All these characteristics may explain why Young Irelander journalist and poet Thomas Davis was very fond of Michelet’s writings. Thomas Osborne Davis (1814-1845), born in County Cork of a Protestant family, and of mixed English, Welsh and Gaelic origins, “understood nationality as a union of the whole people of Ireland” (Molony 2009: 83). He was a member of the College Historical Society at TCD. Brown observes that Davis emulated Michelet, and argues that images of the pre-conquest Gaels which became “stock figures in the future Irish literary movement, came ultimately through Davis out of Michelet’s medieval pageantry” (1972: 46). In addition, Michelet took an internationalistic approach. He looked to Poland, and particularly to Mickiewicz, Poland’s most renowned poet and nationalist revolutionary in the nineteenth century. This internationalistic outlook may have appealed to Davis too. Indeed, Eagleton points out that Davis “urged solidarity with other colonized peoples” (1995:

91). Moreover, the fact that he looked to European thinkers, particularly German and French, means that his thought was essentially permeated with cosmopolitan influences.

Several scholars believe that the most outstanding French influence on Davis was that of Augustin Thierry (1795-1856). Davis indeed called him ‘the greatest of French historians’ (cited in Buckley 1982: 109). Davis, who advocated the production of Irish national histories, the creation of ‘a true story of Ireland’, complained that Ireland had ‘as yet produced no Thierry’ (cited in *ibid*: 110). He admired the French historian’s talent for bringing the past to life, recreating atmosphere and local colour, and referred to him as ‘the master of historical painting’ (cited in *ibid*). Thierry resorted to medieval sources and advocated the use of original spellings. He had begun his career working as secretary for Saint-Simon (1760–1825), the early utopian socialist thinker. Rather than narrating the lives of kings and of ruling classes, he looked at ordinary people and struggling classes. As Salmon puts it, “he was more concerned with the conquered than the conquerors” (1998: 332).

Thierry’s most well-known work was his *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, of which we know two translations. The most common was *History of the conquest of England by the Normans: its causes, and its consequences, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and on the continent* (COL, NUIG, CCL, NUIG), first published in 1847, and translated by William Hazlitt, a prolific English translator. However, a lesser-known translation had been published earlier, entitled *History of the conquest of England by the Normans; with its causes, and consequences to the present time* (c1840, RIA). Its first edition had been brought out soon after original publication, *circa* 1825. There is good reason to believe that the translator, Charles Claude Hamilton (d.1846?), was Irish. Indeed, this was probably the same Charles Claude Hamilton who authored an *Essay on the Art of Flying* (1841) and is described as ‘formerly of Crebilly, County of Antrim, author of *Leigh’s Road-Book of Ireland*, and several works on history, geography and education’. There is however no extant biography for Hamilton, bar a brief mention in Donoghue’s *Poets of Ireland*. Looking at his travel-book, we sense that Hamilton was proud of his country and its traditions, and he even provided a glossary of Irish terms. Perhaps this love of Ireland had been stimulated by his contact with Thierry’s writings, as it did for Thomas Davis. Firstly, in an historical essay on the national spirit of the Irish, Thierry celebrated Ireland’s resistance to England, and argued that Moore’s *Irish Melodies* preserved that national spirit. Brown argues that “in Thierry the full splendour of Irish nationalism was revealed to him [Davis], not by analogy with France as in Michelet, but in its explicit Irish setting” (1972: 46). Secondly,

White notes that when Thierry recounted the story of the Saxon resistance to the Norman invasion, he celebrated “the ‘outlaws’ of society and the ‘rebels’ against foreign oppressors, in order to provide models of domestic (as opposed to imperialistic) heroism for the oppressed people of his own time” (1989: 637). Such an approach would have indeed befitted the nationalist perspective of Davis and the Young Irelanders. Lastly, another aspect of Thierry’s approach which may have influenced Davis was his deep, hard-working commitment to history writing. As Buckley puts it, they both shared an “acceptance of the practice of history as a sacred ‘duty’” (1982: 112).

4.7 Franco-Irish Socialist Connections

Although socialist connections may not seem obvious when we think about Franco-Irish history, a survey of nineteenth-century translation in Ireland has unveiled a few noteworthy links. Overall, there was a general Irish interest in the development of socialist theories and politics abroad. In the last decades of the century, French-language analyses of socialism were translated in Ireland, and there were several articles and books discussing the compatibility of socialism with religion.

A Franco-Irish Socialist-Feminist Connection

Socialist ideas, however, were not exclusive to the late nineteenth century. They had evolved from earlier theories, which in France, came mainly through the writings and activities of Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Fourier (1772-1837) and, later, Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Blanqui, Flora Tristan and others. There were no book-length translations of Saint-Simon and Fourier in Ireland, but several secondary sources have given due attention to a strong connection between these two leading utopian socialists, on the French side, and Anna Doyle Wheeler, William Thompson and Hugh Doherty on the Irish side. However, the network of ideas and activities generated through these links developed in great part outside Ireland. Indeed England and France seem to have been the main centres of interaction.

Of Hugh Doherty, unfortunately, we know very little. He is generally referred to as an Irish Fourierist and he seems to have been based in Hampstead, England. There, he wrote a long introduction to John Reynell Morell’s translation from Fourier, *The passions of the human*

soul (1851). In his quest for social harmony, Charles Fourier advocated the creation of phalansteries, communities where work would be organized according to people's interests (Rowbotham 1977: 41). Rowbotham (ibid: 41-42) points out that Hugh Doherty, editor of the *London Phalanx*, popularized Fourier's theories in England. She also notes that both William Thompson and Anna Doyle Wheeler came under the influence of Fourier as well as that of Saint-Simon.

Anna Wheeler, née Doyle (1785-1848), was from County Tipperary. According to Dooley, she was self-taught in French, philosophy, geography, and politics (2009a: 872). She was married at the age of fifteen and taking away her two daughters, she left her unhappy marriage, and Ireland, in 1812. She had read extensively works by French Enlightenment and radical philosophers, as well as Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the rights of women* (1792). Her daughter Rosina gives a clear testimony about Anna's favourite pastime:

My mother would be stretched on one sofa, deep in the perusal of some French or German philosophical work that had reached her translated via London and unfortunately deeply imbued with the pernicious fallacies of the French revolution, which had then more or less seated their trace through Europe... (cited in Dooley 1996: 59)

Anna then joined the socialist circles of Henri de Saint-Simon in Normandy, in the mid 1810s. She was in London in the early 1820s, where she formed close relationships with liberal thinkers and social reformers such as the utilitarian Jeremy Bentham, the Welsh co-operative leader Robert Owen, "and William Thompson, the Irish political economist, feminist, and critic of capitalism" (Dooley 2004: 426). In Paris, she met Fourier in 1823 and devoted herself to disseminating Fourier's and Saint-Simon's ideas among London Owenites (ibid), including James Mill, a leading Scottish political economist of the period. Mill subsequently translated *New Christianity* (1834) from Saint-Simon. Anna became the main mediator between socialist thinkers in France and England, and translation was an important means by which she maintained these liaisons across the Channel.

William Thompson (1775-1833) hailed from Cork and aimed at establishing a system of cooperative communities (Dooley 2009b: 335-337). He too communicated with Fourier in the 1820s. He worked closely with Jeremy Bentham in England, and was responsible for the creation of cooperative trading fund associations, as well as various forums of debate and decision-making, throughout Ireland, Scotland, and England (ibid: 337). Together with Anna

Wheeler, they developed and applied the various socialist ideas to which they were exposed to conditions facing women at the time. Their feminist ideology was partly drawn from the Saint-Simonist and the Fourierist liberal attitudes to women and marriage. The Saint-Simonists, in particular, supported female emancipation and the right to divorce (Rowbotham 1977: 42). Wheeler and Thompson became fervent advocates of socialist feminist reforms and wrote together the *Appeal of one half the human race* (1825).

Both Wheeler and Thompson produced translations, but these were mostly journal articles as well as translated letters²⁵. Anna translated from Saint-Simon, Fourier, as well as from lesser-known socialist and feminist writers. William Thompson is said to have translated from Fourier his 'Political Economy made Easy, a Sketch Exhibiting the Various Errors of our Present Political Arrangements, presented to the London Cooperative Society by the translator' (1828).

Lamennais's Irish Translators

The reason why Lamennais merits special mention at this point may not be obvious. Félicité Robert de Lamennais (or La Mennais) was born at Saint-Malo in Brittany in 1782 and died at Paris in 1854. Although he exerted great influence during his time, the corpus of religious translations fails to reflect this impact. One of his most influential works, *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion* (1817) was translated, but it took nearly eighty years for this to happen. *Essay on indifference in matters of religion* (TCD, NUIM), translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley was indeed published in 1895. A supporter of religious freedom, Lamennais is mostly known for his ultramontane standpoint and his role as a pioneer of liberal Catholicism. The intransigent and increasingly radical nature of his views may have hindered translation of his writings at the time. His works attracted the hostility of the French government and clergy and were ultimately condemned by the Holy See (Boudens 1967: 348-349). As regards the views expressed by Lamennais and *L'Avenir*, one of the Holy See's arguments was that "their doctrines on civil and political liberty tended of their nature to foment a spirit of revolt" (ibid). As we shall see now, it is in fact Lamennais's most radical and most political work, following his departure from the Church, which led to more immediate translation endeavours.

²⁵ See Dooley (1996), particularly pp. 205, 384 and 397.

It may only be hypothetical, but there has been a suggestion that Anna Doyle Wheeler was the first translator of Lamennais's *Paroles d'un croyant* (1833). Latham (2004: 130-132) remarks that an anonymous translation had been quickly published, in 1834, by the radical London publisher B.D. Cousins. The title page bears the following words: *The words of a believer: and having thus spoken, he was eternally damned by the Pope of Rome, for having uttered them* (HC/RIA). Latham argues that Wheeler, with her various connections, has the best claim to be the translator. He refers to her as the "medium of cross-channel radical communication" (ibid: 131). He notes that Cousins was the publisher of Owen's translation from Saint-Simon. In the *Crisis*, the Owenite journal in which Anna published translations, *Words of a believer* was advertised before and after publication, as being translated by 'a Lady' (ibid). She was known for her suspicions about religion, but Lamennais's work was condemned by the Pope and it was celebrated for its political and social message. Lamennais, notes Latham, sent messages of justice, liberty and equality, "applying the Biblical promise of freedom from oppression to contemporary politics" (ibid). Latham observes that this work was feared for its influence, which even the *Times* in England believed to be 'baneful', indeed a challenge to 'all powers and privileges, and all social order' (cited in ibid: 131-2). In his examination of the cosmopolitan society in 1830s Paris, Billington demonstrates that Lamennais's vision of a social Christianity and of the people "as the suffering servant of God with a messianic destiny" (2009: 185), suited many revolutionaries of the time. Such fascination with Lamennais across denominations may help us understand the reception of his words amongst Irish radicals.

Besides the anonymous translation mentioned above, there were several other published English translations of *Paroles*, as well as an unpublished one. The latter was a part-translation which was found in John Blake Dillon's papers at TCD. The fact that Dillon (1814–1866) was a Young Irelander, a founder of the *Nation* and a liberal Catholic (Ó Cathaoir 2009: 303) may explain his affinity with Lamennais. Another *Words of a Believer* was advertised as 'just published' and translated by 'I.G.A.' in the *Freeman's Journal* on January 9, 1835. We have not been able to locate this item. However, we know of a translation published in 1834 in Paris, with a different pseudonym. *The Words of a believer ...*, 'by the author of "Erin's island" (BNF) is signed 'Garrad Dierlagh'. Needless to say that the translator is Irish, and a brief examination of *Erin's island*, a verse piece which draws an analogy between Irish and Greek splendours, gave us some understanding of the translator's standpoint. 'Garrad Dierlagh' seems to be a resident in France, and in the appendix, a contrast

is established between ‘equality and abundance’ in France, where ‘liberty has spread her blessings here among every class’ since the Revolution (1834: 28) and ‘scenes of wretchedness...all through Ireland’, where ‘Pomp and Pauperism, the traveller will only meet on the roads’ (ibid: 29). ‘Garrad Dierlagh’ believes that the French peasant, ‘before the reign of liberty, was as wretched as the Irishman is to-day (ibid: 28), and that ‘Independence would do as much for Ireland, its soil is richer than that of France’ (ibid). Here again, someone who has heard and translated Lamennais’s words believes that “the people” have to unite ‘in the common cause’ (ibid: 37).

‘Bronterre’ O’Brien: Translation, Socialism and Chartism

Our final Franco-Irish socialist translation connection comes under the name of James ‘Bronterre’ O’Brien (1804-1864). O’Brien hailed from the county of Longford. Baptised in the Catholic faith, he was however educated by the Edgeworths in Edgeworthstown, and graduated at TCD (D’Arcy 2009: 44). He moved to London in 1830, where, according to D’Arcy (ibid), he soon became involved in radical politics and radical journalism. On the subject of Ireland, he advocated the repeal of the Union (ibid: 44-45). He joined another Irish radical journalist, Fergus O’Connor at the *Northern Star* newspaper, and thenceforth became one of the most prominent figures of Chartism, a key radical movement in England at the time (ibid: 45). He served a prison sentence on a charge of sedition and conspiracy. According to Taylor (2004: 364), ‘Bronterre’ read extensively on the French Revolution, which led to his production of a eulogistic *Life of Robespierre* in 1838 and he wrote on Napoleon Bonaparte too. He published a translation from the French of Philippe Buonarroti (1761, Italy-1837, Paris), *History of Babeuf’s conspiracy for equality* (1836). Taylor notes that “by this time O’Brien’s own opinions were insurrectionary and socialistic” (ibid). Babeuf (1760-1797) was a French revolutionary who had died under the guillotine, and Buonarroti was a survivor of their joint conspiracy (D’Arcy 2009: 45). Babeuf and Buonarroti were early advocates of a socialist, egalitarian society. According to Billington (2009: 484), Buonarroti developed their ideas towards a broader transnational and inclusive movement. D’Arcy argues that Bronterre O’Brien was remarkable among his leading contemporaries because “he linked his ideas to those generated during the most socially radical stages of the French revolution, and specifically with the radical egalitarianism of Gracchus Babeuf” (2009: 45). In translating Buonarroti’s story, “he found ideas similar to his own, particularly on

nationalisation of the land” (ibid). Both D’Arcy and Taylor observe that Bronterre O’Brien anticipated late nineteenth-century socialist movements in Britain, and deplore the fact that “Posterity has treated him unkindly” (Taylor 2004: 365).

4.8 History and Politics in Translation: Conclusion

Translation of French historical and political writings was a key pattern of the overall translation landscape in nineteenth-century Ireland. There was considerable interest in French history, with the French revolutions and Napoleon Bonaparte as favourite themes. Memoirs and biographies were very popular genres, with particular interest in stories of the French court. There were on the one hand histories which were sympathetic to the French aristocracy, and on the other hand, various studies which presented the French Revolution as essential to human progress. The Young Irelanders, in particular, had strong affinities with Republican ideals. Sympathetic views of the French Catholic monarchy were welcome among those who feared radical movements that reminded them of the Jacobins. Such views were also suited to a Jacobite outlook, because of that deep connection between the Jacobites and the French Catholic monarchy. On the other hand, we have seen in the case of MacGeoghegan’s history or in the case of J.P. Leonard’s connections that there existed Jacobite sympathies and affiliations among Irish nationalist and revolutionary circles.

As regards the question of Irish production of translations, a key area was that which encompassed Irish history and Irish affairs. In this area, contributions by Ireland’s agents of translation are significant. They mainly had a two-fold purpose. Firstly, they emphasized the importance to bring in from outside “impartial” views about Ireland. Writings such as de Beaumont’s work were important because they provided overall analyses of Ireland, taking into account the country’s socioeconomic, religious and political circumstances. For translators like Leonard or Kettle, such texts were a means to signal real problems in Irish society under the Union. Translation was necessary to convey these observations to the English-reading public. Secondly, French writings on Ireland, partly owing to that special affinity between the two cultures, offered an opportunity to honour particular moments and figures of Irish history. This is especially true of any accounts honouring the name of the Irish brigade. Furthermore, translation of French writings concerned with Irish history contributed to developing the notion of Ireland as a stand-alone national entity.

Accordingly, the import of French historical writings through translation may have contributed to the development of a native historiography. Translation could be correlated to an increased historical awareness in nineteenth-century Ireland. As we have seen in the historical chapter, the nation-building program of Irish cultural nationalism was largely based on the use and construction of historical memory. This was a key aspect of Thomas Davis and the *Nation*'s outlook. We know from our investigation that the connection between the Young Irelanders and Romantic French historians was strong. Echoing the Romantic vein of Thierry's and Michelet's narratives and their stress on "the people", and on the struggling "peoples", Davis "saw Irish history as a series of heroic but unavailing struggles against oppression" (Dunne 1988: 78).

Generally, the 1830s appear to have been a crucial milestone for history and politics. They were marked by a Romantic movement in historiography and in sociopolitical ideas, by translations from Thierry and from Lamennais, as well as translations by the Irish Chartist and socialist 'Bronterre' O'Brien. As Billington puts it, this was a time when the 'myth of "the people"' became firmly established: "Romantic nationalism was everywhere hailed as the cause of "the People"' (2009: 160). Billington (ibid: 205) notes that Lamennais, with his school of Catholic social reform, was an important figure of that sociohistorical movement. The romantic movement was both nationalistic and internationalistic in perspective. Indeed, we have seen that in Ireland, Thomas Davis and the Young Irelanders drew from various European sources. Moreover, there was a strong link with Lamennais which, until now, has been much overlooked. We now know that there were several translation connections between Lamennais, the early French Christian socialist from Brittany, and Ireland.

Furthermore, this investigation has unveiled various Franco-Irish and international socialist connections which have been much overlooked until now. There was a tradition of socialist ideology in Ireland, though a majority of its exponents were based outside Ireland for a great part of their lives. Translation of French writings underlines that tradition as well as a history of struggle for the land in Ireland. A Franco-Irish socialist-feminist connection was also unveiled through this survey. Translation, in conclusion, was a means to express and share ideals of freedom of expression, education, equality and co-operation.

CHAPTER FIVE: OTHER NON-FICTIONAL WRITINGS

5.1 Philosophy, Sociology, Economics

5.1.1 Introduction

Few contemporary French-language philosophers were found in translation. There were some translations, or new editions of old translations, from the French classics, principally Blaise Pascal, but not as many as we might have expected. They were mostly reintroduced in English towards the close of the century. In particular, it seems that translations from Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire and Rousseau, which were numerous in the eighteenth-century, stopped being published for decades until the end of the nineteenth century. This is not to say that older publications were not read, but it is nonetheless a clear sign that there was no interest in producing new translations or in publishing new editions for a nineteenth-century readership. This comes as no surprise if we consider the prevalent religious and moral discourse against such literature in the nineteenth century. The most significant figure in this category was Auguste Comte, though we should note that translations of his works were rare in the more religious library holdings such as CCL or MDI. This section does not discuss translations related to socioeconomics as such, but as we shall see now, Comte's philosophy was in effect regarded as relevant to political economy.

5.1.2 A Positivist Connection: John Kells Ingram and Auguste Comte

Positivism is a system of thought which originated with the ideas of Auguste Comte (1798-1857). Its widespread and lasting impact can be evaluated today from the various definitions of positivism that can be found in any specialized dictionary such as dictionaries of philosophy, social sciences, linguistics or psychology. Positivism, a term coined by Comte, is a philosophical system which concerned itself with observable, or 'positive', facts rather than value judgments, as the basis of knowledge and research (Honderich 1995: 705). Comte, who had served as secretary to the social reformer Saint-Simon, hoped that knowledge thus

acquired would help improve human society. He is said to have coined the term ‘sociology’ as well (ibid). His doctrine was somewhat akin to nineteenth-century naturalistic and evolutionary theories (ibid). Comte founded his Religion of Humanity, which, to put it simply, substituted humanity for God.

There are fifteen translations from Comte at TCD, all by various translators. They include translations by Richard Congreve and by Frederic Harrison, two of Comte’s main English disciples. The multi-volume *System of positive polity* (QCat, TCD) was a collective project in which five translators took part, among whom was Henry Dix Hutton, TCD, author of *Comte, the man and the founder* (1891). Comte found another enthusiastic follower in the person of John Kells Ingram (1823-1907), MRIA, who was the translator of *Passages from the letters of Auguste Comte selected and translated* (1901, TCD, RIA, UCC) and *Human nature and morals according to Auguste Comte* (1901, TCD).

Born in County Donegal, Ingram is mainly known in Ireland for his patriotic poem ‘The Memory of the Dead’ (‘Who fears to speak of ‘Ninety-Eight?’), a tribute to the men of 1798 published in the *Nation* in 1843 (Barrett 1998: 5). An outstanding scholar, Ingram held numerous important positions at TCD and took active part in the College Historical Society (‘the Hist’), which counted among its members Young Irelanders Thomas Davis, John O’Hagan, Charles G. Duffy, John E. Pigot and John B. Dillon, as well as Robert Emmet and Wolfe Tone as past members (ibid: 7). According to Barrett (ibid: 11), Ingram spoke in 1905 in favour of Home Rule and hoped for a cordial understanding between the two Irish traditions of unionism and nationalism.

Ingram became a follower of Auguste Comte in 1851 and visited him in 1855. Barrett points out that the influence of Comte on Ingram’s economic and social thinking was considerable. Indeed, he observes, “the influence of Comte made Ingram critical of prevailing trends in economics” (ibid: 19). He advocated the integration of sociology into the branch of economics, which was an idea based on Comte (ibid: 20). He warned economists against relying too much on abstraction and on *a priori* deductive methods, and advocated a historical and contextual approach to economics (ibid). He was a founding member of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland in 1847, which, he stressed, was not established for ‘dilettante statistics’ but for ‘the spirit of earnest inquiry’ and in response to urgent social problems (cited in ibid: 19). At the time, the Famine was undoubtedly the country’s most pressing issue. Moreover, Ingram had great faith in education and scholarship

as ways to improve the welfare of humanity and he supported the admission of women to higher education (ibid: 15). He expressed his positivist beliefs in *Outlines of the History of Religion* in 1900, and in various other works. His *History of political economy* (1888) was itself very successful and was translated into several languages.

Apart from their positivist beliefs, there were some noteworthy commonalities among Comte's translators. Firstly, most of them, including Ingram, were of Protestant background, which suggests that Positivism was better received among Protestants than among Catholics. What is more, the majority of Comte's English translators had some connection with Ireland, either owing to their origins, such as Frederic Harrison or Edward Spencer Beesly (ODNB), or, more interestingly, because of their political views. Indeed, like Ingram, most of them were anti-imperialist and pro-Irish home rule (Peatling 1998: 205-206). Their position was directly influenced by the fact that Comte championed the disaggregation of empires, advocating a mix of autonomy and interdependence through the Church of Humanity (ibid). According to Peatling, positivists feared not speak of '98 because "The Ireland of 1798, purified and positivised, was the real object of positivists' patriotic pride" (ibid: 214). In this respect, positivists in the nineteenth century were not simply encouraging a new epistemological approach or a new 'eccentric' religion, but they strongly promoted social and political change, with Ireland as a common subject of concern. Positivists had also translation in common as a chosen means to disseminate Comte's ideas. As Peatling (ibid: 208) suggests, we may argue that even though the Irish positivists only formed a very small community, they nonetheless made a significant contribution to positivism, notably through translation²⁶. Peatling (ibid: 220) argues that Ingram, historically neglected by all factions, may in fact have been ahead of his day, particularly with regard to his social and political thought and to his European and cosmopolitan outlook.

5.2 Sciences

Throughout the century, Irish scientists showed a genuine interest in French scientific writings, particularly in the medical field. Other areas of inquiry included natural philosophy,

²⁶ This Irish community included also Henry Dix Hutton, mentioned above, and George Johnston Allman (DIB), a mathematician heavily influenced by Comte.

natural sciences, chemistry, and ‘mechanics’, this area of knowledge which seems to overlap between the fields of mathematics and astronomy. From the 1840s onwards, studies became increasingly specialized, with a significant contribution by Irish translators to mathematics, medicine, neurology and psychology. Scientific translators in nineteenth-century Ireland perpetuated an age-old tradition which, in the same manner as for religious texts, was marked by language shift, that is, from translation into Irish to translation into English.

5.2.1 Mechanics and Geometry

One of the main contributors to the fields of mathematics, mechanics and astronomy was Rev. Henry Hickman Harte (1790-1848), M.R.I.A, a Fellow of Trinity College who translated several works from French authors. This included *The System of the World* (NLI, UCC, RIA, TCC), from Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749-1827). According to Reynell, Limerick-born Harte “left his mark on science” (2004: 600) by acquainting English readers with texts from French leading scientists. *Two geometrical memoirs on the general properties of cones of the second degree and on the spherical conics* (RIA) was a work by Michel Chasles (1793-1880) translated by the Rev. Charles Graves (1812-1899), M.R.I.A., fellow and tutor of TCD. His translation was published in 1841 at the University Press Dublin, for Grant and Bolton. In this area of translation, the majority of Irish scientific translators were Church of Ireland clergymen and fellows of Trinity College, and, most mathematical translations were produced in the 1820s-1840s. Trinity College, the only university in Ireland until 1850, was then closely linked to Anglican interests, which may explain the prominence of Church of Ireland scientists.

5.2.2 Medicines of the Mind

There were several translations from French in the domain of medical sciences. For example, an area to which Irish translators have significantly contributed is that which relates to the human mind, namely psychology and psychiatry. Frances Cashel Hoey collaborated with an American scientist, Stacy B. Collins, to translate *Medicine and the Mind* (1900, NUIG, TCD) from Maurice de Fleury. She also translated *The Criminal Mind* (1901, NUIG, TCD) from de Fleury. In the domain of psychiatry, one of the most influential figures in the nineteenth century was the French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893). His lectures at the

Paris hospital La Salpêtrière were renowned and attended by leading intellectuals and scientists, including Freud. His *Lectures on the diseases of the nervous system: delivered at la Salpêtrière* (TCD) were translated by George Sigerson (1836–1925), who is rather known in Ireland for his poetry and translations from Irish (see Historical chapter). Yet, Sigerson's scientific contributions on neurology may well deserve consideration too. A physician, he received part of his education in France. He also translated 'Lecture on certain phenomena of hysteria major' from Charcot, which he published in the *British Medical Journal* in 1878, and produced original works as well in relation to hysteria and hystero-epilepsy.

5.3 Philology

Included in this section are texts which relate to philology taken in a broad sense, that is, a branch of knowledge which deals with the historical, linguistic and critical aspects of literature as well as that which more specifically deals with the history of, and relationships between, languages. On the basis of the survey results, this section comprises mainly translations of medieval literature and texts relating to Celtic studies. Additionally, our section on general literary criticism being rather small and containing close links with philological translation, it has been deemed reasonable to include it here as a sub-section.

5.3.1 Medieval Texts

The dominant trend within the philological disciplines in nineteenth-century translation from French is undoubtedly the vogue for medieval literature, most of the texts being originally written in Old French or Anglo-Norman French. Many of these translations, mainly old French romances and chronicles, were produced by London-based medievalist societies. There was a particularly keen interest in Froissart's *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the adjoining countries...* (NUIG, QCat, NUIM, ML, MDI), which was translated by Thomas Johnes (ODNB), of Welsh-English origins. Such texts suited a taste for old literature and for medieval settings, and they presented a means to engage in historical inquiry. Most translations of French medieval texts were produced in the late nineteenth century and the

early years of the twentieth century. It was indeed in the closing decades of the century that two Old-French *chansons* attracted the interest of two Irish scholars.

The *Chanson de Roland*, an epic poem written around the turn of the twelfth century, attracted considerable attention amongst European philologists from the late 1830s onwards (O'Hagan 1883: 21-22). It is a celebration of the idealized and mythical figure of Charlemagne and of the legendary deeds of a Christian hero, Roland. John O'Hagan (1822-1890), a Newry-born judge and Young Irelander who contributed patriotic poems to the *Nation*, offered a verse translation based on the oldest surviving manuscript held at the Bodleian Library. His version, *The Song of Roland* (1883, NLI, CCL, GMIT, LOCL), seems to have been the most popular English translation in the nineteenth century. In a 42-page introduction to his translation, O'Hagan provides ample information concerning the history of the text and its various editions. He approaches the subject as a philologist, discussing the origin and growth of this *chanson de geste*, as well as the history of its translations in Europe. He argues that there is much legendary lore about Charlemagne outside France, including in Ireland. Indeed, he points out, *The Book of Lismore* contains 'a Narrative of the Conquests of Charles the Great', which even provides Celtic derivations of Roland's and Charles's names (ibid: 34). O'Hagan is particularly interested in the fact that, unlike histories, the epic poem grew out of oral literature. In other words, it owes its origin to the 'imagination of the "unlettered people"' (ibid: 3). His main purpose in publishing this translation is to make known to the English reading public a poem which holds 'a high place among the masterpieces of human genius' (ibid: 45).

The next translation was of great interest to Irish studies and came from the pen of Dublin-born Goddard Henry Orpen (1852-1932), a lawyer and historian who wrote *Ireland under the Normans* (1911-1920). *The song of Dermot and the Earl: an Old French poem*²⁷ was Orpen's English edition of an Anglo-Norman poem on the Norman conquest of Ireland, of which he provided a literal translation. In a scholarly manner, his translation is supplemented with an apparatus of notes, a map, a glossary, indexes and detailed historical notes, underscoring the historical and philological interest of this poem.

Both O'Hagan and Orpen made good use of contemporary French scholarly editions produced by Francisque Michel, a philologist and medievalist scholar, thereby taking part in a wider transnational network of medieval philology. They chose to make available to the

²⁷ Held in twelve libraries, see Appendix.

English-reading public texts which presented a historical and philological interest, particularly for the purpose of Irish studies. Additionally, we should mention a translation of an Anglo-Norman text which presented real value for nineteenth-century Irish historical studies, that is, *A Statute of the fortieth year of King Edward III...*²⁸, printed in 1843 for the Irish Archaeological Society. This was one of the Statutes of Kilkenny, and it was translated by James Hardiman, who is better known for his translations from Irish (see Historical chapter). Two of the copies found at the RIA were formerly owned by Robert J. Graves and Thomas Moore, which shows the extent to which Hardiman's translation had been welcomed among nineteenth-century Irish scholars.

5.3.2 Celtic Studies

The relevance of Celtic studies to the history of the Franco-Irish relationship has been touched on in the chapter on historical contexts, notably in relation to Synge and the Irish revival. This section draws our attention to translations which have contributed to the development of this field of learning and to the vogue for Celtic themes in nineteenth-century Ireland.

The poetry of the Celtic races and other studies (NLI, MDI, RIA, UU, UCC, UCD, MIC, TCD, COCL) from the French of Renan was one of the most popular Celticist studies. Renan's seminal essay is a comparative study of Celtic literatures, mythologies and other characteristics of the Celtic peoples. The translation, by Renan's main English translator, William G. Hutchison, was published in 1896, and according to Brown (2010: 57), it exerted some influence on Yeats. Indeed, Brown points out that Yeats read Renan's work in translation, quoting from Hutchison's version in his own essay 'The Celtic Element in Literature' in 1898. Moreover, Brown (*ibid*) suggests that Renan's presentation of stone as the natural symbol of the Celtic peoples may have influenced some of Yeats's own poetical writings.

Breton and Celtic studies translated from French provided fresh material to scholars and artists in Ireland, and most of the translations in this category were published around the turn of the century, coinciding with the period of the Celtic Revival. Accordingly, the year 1903

²⁸ In ten libraries, see Appendix.

saw the publication in Dublin of *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*²⁹, translated from the French of Henry d'Arbois de Jubainville, whose lectures were attended by both Synge and d'Arbois's translator, Derry-born Celticist Richard Irvine Best (1872-1959). Woods (2009f: 508) notes that these lectures fired Best's enthusiasm for Old and Middle Irish. A prominent figure in Dublin's literary and scholarly circles, he wrote prolifically on Celtic philology, particularly on Irish-language material.

A brief mention should be made of Patrick Kennedy, whose contributions to the *DUM* in the 1860s anticipated the Celticist and philologist translations of the turn of the century. Born in County Wexford, Kennedy (1801-1873) contributed articles on mainstream and folk French literature to the *DUM*, notably essays on Breton history and culture in which he would often include translated extracts. For example, his 'Glimpses of Brittany'³⁰, which contains extracts translated from the French of Émile Souvestre, establishes several linguistic and cultural correlations between Brittany and Ireland.

5.3.3 Literary Criticism and History

The majority of texts which were recorded in this category are memoirs and biographies, most of them written by or about contemporary authors. For example, Lamartine's *Memoirs of My Youth* (NLI, CCL, UCC, LHL) was published in 1849 by Simms and M'Intyre as part of their "Parlour Library of Instruction". This again shows the importance of biographies and memoirs as a popular genre across various domains of literature, from history and religion to literary history. Outside the biographical genre, one translation of literary criticism deserves special mention, for it was often advertised in Irish booksellers' catalogues. Germaine de Staël's *Germany* (1813, NLI) featured, for example, in the *Catalogue of the Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge* (1851). With this work, de Staël, already mentioned for her novel *Corinne*, is said to have been instrumental in popularizing German literature and philosophy across Europe. De Staël's salon in Coppet, Switzerland, became an important intellectual centre of nineteenth-century Europe, and included writers such as Sismondi, whose *Historical view of the literature of the south of Europe* (NUIG, RIA, UCC, ML, MDI), translated by Thomas Roscoe (ODNB), was itself a popular study.

²⁹ Found in nine libraries, see Appendix.

³⁰ *DUM*, Vol. LXI, Mar 1863, pp. 286-301

Coinciding with England's alliance with Germany against Napoleon, the publication of *Germany* in 1813 sparked off interest in German culture among the English-reading public (O'Neill 1985: 89). O'Neill suggests that de Staël's work, which itself contained translated extracts, contributed to the popularization of German thought in Ireland, which Irish translators would in turn help disseminate in the 1830s. De Staël championed cross-cultural literary exchange and the use of translation to stimulate the growth of national literatures. Moreover, Wood points out that with her critical essays and her openness to European literatures, Germaine de Staël was a "precursor of the modern comparative study of cultures" (1995: 777), which makes her work all the more relevant to this section on philology.

Lastly, Irish novelist Hannah Lynch (1862, Dublin-1904, Paris) contributed to the medieval interest by translating two works on European medieval literature and history, notably *Mediaeval French literature* (CCL, MDI, DLR, UCC), from the French of Gaston Paris. Hannah Lynch was born into a nationalist and cultivated family and took an active part in the Ladies Land League in the 1880s (Binckes 2004: 876). She spent much of her life in France.

5.3.4 Conclusion

As Leerssen's (2006: 567-569) analysis of cultural nationalism demonstrates, philological endeavours can be explained by a need to understand and cultivate culture as part of a cultural nationalist agenda. In this respect, philology can be a means to construct the historical and cultural identity of a nation. Leerssen contends that this 'cultivation of culture' is the underlying concern of cultural nationalism and romantic historicism in nineteenth-century Europe. The relevance to Irish cultural nationalism of translations from Old French and researches in Breton culture may not seem obvious, but we need only look at the above examples to understand a possible link. Above all, several of these philological translations provide a link with Irish culture or history. This is true of Orpen's and Hardiman's translations from Anglo-Norman texts, and even O'Hagan underlines a connection between the *Song of Roland* and the *Book of Lismore*. Their translations help build a literature in English which is relevant and specific to Ireland. Additionally, by translating Anglo-Norman texts which are directly relevant to Ireland, Orpen and Hardiman have shown that the French language forms a significant element of Ireland's sociocultural and political history. They point to the hybridized milieu in which texts were produced at a certain period of Irish history. In the Celtic field, we have seen how Kennedy underlined correlations between the

Breton and Irish languages and cultures. Therefore, besides Best's translation, which is directly relevant to Ireland, attention is generally drawn towards Irish culture, with a focus on language and folk-lore. Moreover, the emphasis on the 'Celticity' of Ireland can be used by Irish nationalists as a tool to foster Ireland's distinctiveness from England, by distinguishing the 'Celtic blood' from that of the Anglo-Saxon.

While pointing to national and cultural specificities on the one hand, medievalist and Celticist translations establish bridges between cultures on the other. Medievalist translations reveal historical and cultural links between France and Ireland using Anglo-Norman literature, and O'Hagan underlines a connection between the folk imaginations of Ireland and France. He even speaks of the 'unlettered people' as a transnational entity in itself. As for Celticist translations, they contribute to the notion of a Celtic people, and by establishing links between the Celtic fringes of Europe, they may be a sign of a growing Pan-Celtic enthusiasm. Moreover, translations of French writings on literary history and criticism present commonalities with translations of medieval and Celticist texts. De Staël's work was a bridge-building effort by essence, an attempt at establishing intercultural links, and translations of her writings helped disseminate her ideas. As for Hannah Lynch's translations, they show a deep interest in the late nineteenth century for European medieval history and literature, a vogue which was noticeable in various fields of knowledge.

The nineteenth-century network of European philologists, which, as Leerssen (ibid: 565-568) points out, included influential scholars such as the Grimm brothers in Germany, covered a wide spectrum of cultures and languages besides the Celtic traditions. Special mention should be made of another Franco-Irish philological link, this time related to the Philhellenist vogue in nineteenth-century Europe. French philologist and translator Claude Fauriel (1772-1843) pursued varied interests including Provençal, Italian and German languages and cultures, and he produced works of history as well. He wrote an essay on Ireland and the Gauls, as well as a Breton-Irish dictionary³¹. He was particularly known across Europe for his translations of Modern Greek songs, and a version of his French edition appeared in English in 1825. *The songs of Greece*, 'from the Romaic text, edited by M.C. Fauriel, with additions', was a translation into English verse by Charles Brinsley Sheridan (1796-1843). Born in Dublin, Charles does not share the fame of his father, Irish playwright and patriot Richard Brinsley Sheridan. They both, however, used translation to convey cultural and political messages. We

³¹ These were unpublished papers. Both manuscripts can be found at the Institut de France, Paris (see sources.nli.ie).

know from his writings that Charles B. Sheridan was a fervent Philhellenist. Nineteenth-century Philhellenism, particularly in the 1820s-1830s, was different from mere Classicism. Indeed, that period was marked by Greece's struggle for independence from Turkish rule, and Fauriel's and Sheridan's translations from the vernacular language of modern Greece were precisely published in the 1820s. Moreover, Sheridan wrote *Thoughts on the Greek Revolution* (1822), publicly supporting the Greek cause. His translations, inspired by Fauriel's work, were therefore typical of a wider transnational philological enterprise in nineteenth-century Europe. Indeed, Leerssen (ibid: 566; 2002: 170-187) demonstrates that cultural nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe was precisely international in nature. Though Sheridan's versions were not strictly translations from French, they were indebted to Fauriel's initiative. In this respect, they illustrate the extent to which, to use Leerssen's words, the 'cultivation of culture' in nineteenth-century Europe was pursued "in an intellectual and ideological climate of mutual contact and inspiration" (2006: 566).

5.4 Travel

5.4.1 French Travel Journals: A Diverse Body of Literature

Firstly, we should acknowledge that travel representations often overlap with other topics. These include sciences and antiquities as in Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland's popular travel accounts in South America, Irish affairs, or even political and military themes as in the various narratives of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign. Another trend in translation of French travel writing was a fascination with the East and the Middle East. This survey of translations from French reveals a particularly religious dimension to Orientalism in nineteenth-century Ireland. Some of the most popular travel narratives in this area were those written by Lamartine and Chateaubriand. Their respective travels to Biblical sites in the Holy Land were often advertised by booksellers in Ireland's newspapers. Walter Keating Kelly makes several references to Lamartine and Chateaubriand's writings in his own *Syria and the Holy Land, their scenery and their people...* (NLI), which contains passages translated from Lamartine. Such translations were popular in Ireland because they provided exotic settings and antiquities, as well as offering descriptions of 'the cradle of Christianity'. *Thomas Connolly's Catalogue of Second-Hand Books* (1868) contains several works relating to

history, antiquities and travel, including several translations. His books were purchased from the libraries of the late John O'Donovan, John Anster (see historical chapter) and John Windele, the Cork antiquary. In other words, Connolly's catalogue offers concrete proof that translations from French were read by influential Irish scholars in the nineteenth century.

The places and events depicted in the translated travelogues were otherwise very diverse, from La Pérouse's voyage round the world, shipwreck stories, to Catholic missions in the Far East and Abbé Barthélemy's philhellenist *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece* (NLI, RIA). Although Lady Wilde's *The Glacier Land*, a translation of Alexandre Dumas's *Impressions de Voyage*, was not found in the library holdings, it nonetheless deserves some mention. It was published in 1852 by Simms and M'Intyre and the translator was acknowledged as 'Mrs. W.R. Wilde', with a list of her other translations. This was one of Dumas's first travel journals, a narrative of his experiences in Switzerland, and the title chosen by Lady Wilde is highly evocative of the places described.

5.4.2 Rambles through Ireland

Naturally, as mentioned before, there were several French-speaking writers who recounted their visits to Ireland. One of the most well-known travel journals translated from the French is that of Jacques-Louis de Latocnaye (1767-1823), an aristocrat from Nantes and an émigré during the French Revolution. It was first translated 'by an Irishman' as *Rambles through Ireland; by a French emigrant* (NLI, HC/RIA, TCD, TCC, KL/WMCL) and published in Cork in 1798. Anticipating de Beaumont and de Lasteyrie's translators, this 'Irishman' underscores the impartiality of the author in his preface (1798: iii-iv). Furthermore, he praises the fact that de Latocnaye did not confine his researches to towns and cities: 'He visited the remotest and wildest parts of the country, where the national character may be supposed to have been least modified by an intercourse with strangers' (ibid: iv). The translator's idea of Irish nationality is therefore closely associated with Ireland's rural folk. He also advances a sociopolitical argument, as travellers and politicians alike 'must learn to value the class of men who labour for the other orders of society, and repay the havock of luxury and war' (ibid: iii).

The next major translation of a French travel journal was an Irish collaborative enterprise. *The Tour of the French traveller M. de la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644* (1837, NLI,

HC/RIA, UCC, NUIG, LHL, DCL, QCat), was ‘edited by T. Crofton Croker, with notes, and illustrative extracts, contributed by James Roche, Francis Mahony and Thomas Wright’. Except for Wright, an English antiquary and medievalist, all contributors were from Cork, including Thomas Crofton Croker. Croker had a great interest in Irish antiquities, particularly folk legends and ballads. One of his best-known works is his *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825). Both Roche and Mahony could speak French fluently, having both received their education in France (see Poetry section for Mahony). Roche (1770-1853) was a member of various learned and philanthropic societies in Cork. The translation from de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz invokes a crucial time in Irish history, namely that of the Irish Confederate Wars. The notes added by the contributors to the text are numerous and mostly of a historical nature, with many references to various works of Irish history. The aims of this translation seem multifold. A travel journal on the one hand, the text holds a cultural, political and historical interest on the other. Croker is keen to stress that the author is ‘above the suspicion of Irish partizanship’ (1837: v), and that two of his associates are Roman Catholics (ibid: vii), both Croker and Wright being Protestants. Hence, in a period of political and denominational tensions, Croker claims that this translation conforms to the idea that ‘any work respecting Ireland should be free from party spirit and religious rancour’ (ibid: vii).

5.5 Art History

The ‘Art and Miscellany’ category comprises translations of works dealing with art, crafts and music. Particular mention should be made of translations dealing with art history and criticism. Women translators and writers played a central part in this area of scholarship (see Appendix). Above all, there are two main threads in translation of French-language works on art history in nineteenth-century Ireland: medieval art or architecture, and Christian art, with a good deal of overlap between these topics.

Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc’s contemporary studies on architecture were popular with translators in the last quarter of the century. In particular, *Military Architecture* (TCD) was translated by Martin MacDermott, a Dublin-born poet and architect who lived in England for the greater part of his life (See Béranger Chapter). His translation was first published as *Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages* in 1860, and ran into its third edition in 1907.

In the preface to his translation, MacDermott notes the departure from purely antiquarian or Romantic concerns: ‘The remains of our ancient castles will no longer be considered merely as picturesque ruins, but as objects of careful study’ (1860: v). Arguing that such investigations are crucial to a general understanding of history, he underscores the medieval interest of the work, particularly its exploration of Anglo-Norman architecture (ibid: v-vi).

Continuing with the medievalist impulse, there were several studies of early Christian iconography around the 1840s and 1850s, notably *The poetry of Christian Art* (1854, MDI, CCL) from the French of a Breton-born Catholic art historian, Alexis-François Rio (1797-1874). Ellen J. Millington’s translation from Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, *Christian iconography, or, The history of Christian art in the Middle Ages* (TCD, NUIG), was begun in the mid-century too. But by the time it was published, in 1886, Didron (1806-1867) had long since passed away, leaving behind some unfinished work which included many illustrations awaiting investigation. In a prefatory note, the publishers inform that in order to carry on Didron’s work, they called in the aid of Dublin-born Margaret Stokes, who carried on the treatise ‘on the lines that were originally laid done for it’ (1886: iv). In fact, not only did Margaret Stokes conclude one of the book’s section on the basis of Didron’s papers, but the publishers also appended ‘“Byzantine Guide to Painting”, translated into French from a Greek manuscript by Dr. Paul Durand, and from French into English by Margaret Stokes’. Millington and Stokes’s translation work therefore became a continuation of the French author’s work, that is, not just survivance through language transfer but a process of expansion in its translational after-life.

Margaret M’Nair Stokes (1832-1900) came from a prominent family of scholars. She devoted her life to Irish archaeology and antiquities, with particular interest in Celtic art. Boyle argues that Stokes, who “played a central role in explicating and rehabilitating Ireland’s artistic past” (2010: 78), portrayed medieval Irish art “as being outward-looking, and participating in a shared European literary and artistic heritage” (ibid: 79). It can be argued that her editorial and translation work in relation to Didron studies must have played a part in the development of her ideas and work. Moreover, Boyle (ibid: 78-80) contends that Stokes’s studies contributed greatly to the Celtic Revival and that she helped create a distinctly Irish and modern artistic identity. Hence, Boyle argues that “the ‘rediscovery’ of the medieval Irish past should be viewed in terms of a wider European neo-medievalist aesthetic” (ibid: 79), and that Stokes, who combined both a patriotic and a cosmopolitan outlook, “was part of a small, interconnected group of scholars – Catholic and Protestant – who collectively uncovered a

medieval Irish past that was outward-looking, receptive to foreign influences, engaging with and contributing to European culture” (ibid: 82). To conclude, we should emphasize the role played by female art historians and translators in these areas of historical investigation and scholarship despite the fact that access to higher education was still generally denied to women. They were often from a Protestant background, and had been in close contact with French culture. Well travelled and with sound knowledge of French, and of French scholarly practices, their contribution to art history in English is significant.

5.6 Chapter Conclusion

Although less prominent than religious and historical texts from a numerical point of view, translations of other ‘non-literary’ items in nineteenth-century Ireland should not, however, be regarded as insignificant. Irish translators contributed to scholarship in a number of fields which include scientific branches, such as mathematical and medical sciences, as well as literary and art history, travel writings and philological studies. In travel and philology, texts relevant to Ireland commanded the special attention of translators and scholars, but there was also much interest in continental cultures and literatures, and in medieval studies in general. Moreover, there are religious, historical and political themes in this chapter which indicate some overlap with other spheres of translation. In particular, a patriotic vein seems to run through several areas of translation, as illustrated here by Margaret Stokes and John Kells Ingram.

In contrast with translation of religious texts, a considerable proportion of Irish translators in these various knowledge fields came from a Protestant background, with a prominence of TCD scholars. Above all, this chapter shows that there were vital cosmopolitan influences in nineteenth-century Ireland, and that transnational cultural and scientific networks were constructed through international links and translation. Examples such as that of Sigerson’s translation from Charcot also demonstrate that Irish researchers engaged critically with current scientific and academic theories and practices.

CHAPTER SIX: LITERARY WRITINGS

6.1 Fiction

As shown in the general presentation of this survey, translated fictional works appear less numerous than expected. The conclusion to this section will attempt to provide some explanation for this phenomenon. Fiction nevertheless remains a significant category, and a list of some of the most popular titles in nineteenth-century Ireland is first provided, followed by a brief survey of Irish contributions to translation of fiction. Due to an immense overlap with children's literature, several fictional works will be dealt with in that section. In turn, some of the material discussed in the present section is relevant to children's literature.

The early century saw a relatively important production of fictional works which were either new translations or reprints from eighteenth-century works. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, many of these reprints were still facilitated by the lack of copyright. Hence, the 1800s generally saw a larger output of fictional translations, which then decreased, only to pick up again in the 1840s. A final peak in fictional production would follow later, towards the close of the century. The second half of the century saw increased contributions by Irish translators.

6.1.1 Popular Authors and Texts

Several literary figures from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were still popular. For instance, one of the best-sellers was *The adventures of Gil Blas of Santillana* (NUIG, TCD, UCC, GCL) from the French of Alain-René Le Sage (1668-1747). A Breton by birth, Lesage was educated by the Jesuits. He drew much of his inspiration from Spanish literature and his *Gil Blas* enjoyed lasting success. It was available in several translations, some of which were still issued in the 1900s. Amongst more contemporary writings, most of Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis's fictional works could be found in translation. A great number of these translations dated from the 1780s. 'Madame De Genlis' (1746-1830), as she was often referred to, was an educationalist, novelist and memoir-writer. Many of her works belong to the field of education and children's literature. Popular contemporaries of Genlis include Madame Cottin (1770-1807) and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814). Sophie Cottin, née Ristaud, had one

best-seller in translation, *Elizabeth; or, the exiles of Siberia: a tale founded on truth* (NLI, PC/TCD, UCC, MDI, DCL/WL). This successful story was first published in 1806. In order to give us a better idea of its popularity in Ireland, we should know that the NLI carries seven Irish imprints of this work dating from 1809 to 1834. *Elizabeth* was an edifying story which combined sentimentalism, the exoticism of Siberia, and an illustration of Christian fortitude. Moreover, the qualification of the tale as being ‘founded on truth’ adds a fashionable historical note. The Kildare Place Society (See chapter on Literacy) claimed sales of 65,000 copies between 1817 and 1824 (Benson 2011: 33), and according to Coldrey (2001b: 33), there is evidence that the translation was used in the Christian Brothers’ schools in the 1830s. Translations of *Elizabeth* were often reprinted alongside those of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s most sought-after works, notably *Paul and Virginia* (PC/TCD, NLI, UCC, MDI). This exotic romance enjoyed lasting success throughout the century.

Another two key writers in the early century were Madame de Staël, née Germaine Necker (1766-1817) and Chateaubriand. Germaine de Staël’s most popular fictional work was *Corinne, or, Italy* (NLI, UCC, TCD), of which about three different translations were found in Ireland’s holdings. The translation held at TCD (1807) is by a Dennis Lawler, who may have been an Irish playwright (see Appendix). Lastly, Chateaubriand’s fictional works, such as *The Last of Abencerrages* (NLI, TCD) or *The martyrs* (CCL, NUIM, UCD), were Chateaubriand’s way of applying the “Genius of Christianity” to fictional and poetical narratives. Moreover, they transported readers to the strongly exotic, romanticized or antique settings of North America or Greece. Most of these translations, which constituted the fictional landscape of, at least, the early part of the century, were disseminated by Ireland’s circulating libraries. The main ones were Gerrard Tyrrell and Jackson’s Circulating Libraries from Dublin and John Hodgson’s Circulating Library from Belfast.

The next peak of fictional production came around the mid-1840s, which, sadly, also corresponds to the onset of the Great Famine. Fictional literature was a growing industry in 1830s and 1840s France, notably through the increased use of periodicals in which novels were published in serials, or *romans-feuilletons* (Mollier and Cachin 2007: 304; Lyons 2008: 46). Many of these were subsequently issued in book form. However, on the basis of evidence provided by the present survey, only few of the *feuilleton* writers became really prominent in translation in nineteenth-century Ireland. The most popular was Alexandre Dumas [père] (1802-1870), to such an extent that he is alluded to in James Joyce’s *Portrait of the artist as a young man*. Indeed, writing about young Stephen Dedalus’s favourite pastime,

Joyce recounts: ‘His evenings were his own; and he pored over a ragged translation of *The Count of Monte Cristo*’ (2005: 70). *The Count of Monte Cristo* (NLI, TCD, UCC), a story of the Napoleonic era, indeed became one of the most popular French romances of all times. Dumas was particularly prolific and his productions are generally categorized as historical romances. TCD holds over forty translations from Dumas and UCC over twenty items. In the mid-1840s, the dissemination of Dumas’s novels was chiefly due to the efforts of Simms and M’Intyre’s flourishing company, based in Belfast and London. The firm published several of Dumas’s romances in The Parlour novelist series. In the same series, they also brought out translations from Eugène Sue (1804-1857) and George Sand (1804-1876), two of the most well-known novelists of mid-nineteenth century France. However, they do not seem to have been as successful as Dumas in Ireland.

The last peak of translations of fictional literature comes around the closing decades of the century. Only then does translation begin to reflect the variety of French novelistic writings. Yet, even then, translations from well-known novelists such as Balzac, Hugo or Zola do not seem to have been widely circulated nor advertised. Considering their renown, the translation patterns do not match their reputation. Moreover, this type of novels were generally translated, published and acquired outside Ireland. Most of the Zola and Balzac novels found in nineteenth-century translation at the NLI came from Irish playwright Sean O’Casey’s impressive private library. It is significant in itself that such writings were read by someone such as O’Casey (1880-1964), who not only must have purchased these books in England, where he lived, but who is also known for his innovative and provocative works (Cave 2004; Lowery 2009).

6.1.2 Irish Contributions to Translation of Fiction

Frances Cashel Hoey and French Historical Novels

There was undoubtedly a strong vogue for historical novels in nineteenth-century translation, and French literature offered a vast choice of historical fiction. At least two of Frances Cashel Hoey’s translations were historical novels. She was the translator of *The outbreak of the great French Revolution related by a peasant of Lorraine* (NLI) by the writing duet Erckmann-Chatrion. It was published in 1871 by London publisher R. Bentley, Frances Hoey’s main

client. Emile Erckmann (1822-1899) and Alexandre Chatrian (1826-1890) were popular novelists in translation from French in the 1870s. Many of their historical novels are set during the French Revolution, the Napoleonic era, and the Franco-Prussian war. Both authors were from the Lorraine region, an area at the heart of territorial and cross-cultural issues in nineteenth-century France and Germany.

Moreover, Hoey's *1794, a Tale of the Terror* (NLI, TCD), translated from the French of Charles d'Héricault (1823-1899), reflect a long-standing interest in the French Revolution. It was published in 1884 by Gill and Son, and can be seen advertised many times subsequently in the *Nation*. A review, published in the *IER*, argues that this account of 'the worst stage of the French Revolution' is 'written in a good spirit, and is safe and instructive reading'³². Frances Cashel Hoey's translations seem to aim at a general audience, including juvenile readers. She rarely writes prefaces, but she did prefix one to *1794*. Here, she underlines the historical interest of d'Héricault's work, particularly as regards the impact of the French Revolution. Indeed, observing that many works have dealt with its impact on both the French nobility and the peasantry, she argues that very little had been written on the effects the Revolution had upon the middle-classes, which she describes as 'the gravest moral effects' (1884: vi). Indeed, she notes, 'the children of those middle-class masses formed what historians have called "that generation of the French people who grew up without a religion"' (ibid: vi-vii). Her preface provides us with an insight into Hoey's moral and religious standpoint. Indeed, comparing the Terror to the smallpox, she uses the disease comparison to describe the moral and religious aspects of the period in question:

Contagion of another kind had long been doing its work: the contagion of loss of faith, loss of respect, loss of modesty, the dislocation of family ties, the corruption of good manners by evil communications, the drying up of the sources of compassion, the unsexing of women (ibid: viii)

'These evils', she argues, 'had an important share in the moral deterioration of France' (ibid), and she qualifies as 'sham' many aspects of the French Revolution such as paganism, classicism, fraternity, and refers to that 'sham naturalism that forbade all restriction on speech and action, and reversed every law by which the social life of women had previously been regulated' (ibid).

³² *IER*, Vol. vii, 1886, p.767

Catholic Fiction

Reflecting overall trends in nineteenth-century translation in Ireland, Catholic stories form a significant part of the corpus of translated fiction. Many of these are intended either for a general audience or specifically for juvenile readers (See Children's Literature). Catholic fiction represents one of the main areas to which Irish translators and publishers have contributed. For the present section, we have retained translations from the Veillot family. Louis Veillot, who was mentioned in relation to M. F. Cusack, must have been a favourite author of Matthew Russell, editor of the *Irish Monthly*. Indeed, several of his short stories and poems appeared in the *IM*, often translated by Russell himself. For instance, a short story entitled 'The Graves of a Breton Household', published in 1877, presents a deeply Catholic image of the Breton people. Moreover, *Humble Victims* (1909) was a collection of sixteen short Catholic tales translated from Veillot's nephew, François Veillot (1870-1952). The translator was Susan Gavan Duffy, a daughter of Young Irelander Charles Gavan Duffy. Her translations, which were advertised in the *IM*, were well suited to her father's moralistic view of literature (see Historical chapter and Conclusion below). As evidenced by the following examples, however, translation of fictional works was not solely aimed at disseminating Catholic values.

May Laffan Hartley and the 'Slum' Story

Irish novelist May Laffan Hartley (1849-1916) was born in Dublin and received a Catholic middle-class education. She attended a Dominican convent school and would later criticize convent education (Kahn 2009: 497). She wrote several realistic novels about poverty, with Irish or French settings. Kelleher argues that she was one of the "pioneers of 'slum fiction' in Irish settings" (2006: 484). For instance, her successful *Flitters, Tatters and the Counsellor* (1879) described the lives of three street children in Dublin. She translated Hector Malot's *Sans famille* as *No relations* (UCC, TCD) in 1880. This story about orphaned, vagrant children seems consistent with Laffan's productions and it may have helped her compose her own stories with Parisian settings. It was also consistent with her philanthropic activities, as she was a founder member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC) in Dublin (Kahn 2009: 497). Kelleher points out that May Laffan "made a significant, and since neglected, contribution to the development of an Irish tradition of urban realism" (2006: 484), and her translation from Malot deserves to be considered within this perspective.

Short Stories

Several translations from French seem to point to a trend in short stories in the second half of the century. A number of these were published in Irish periodicals, but overall, few appeared in book form. Moreover, Lafcadio Hearn, who was probably the most prolific Irish translator of Romantic and contemporary French literature, particularly of short stories, published most of his works in North America. *Stories* (1908), translated by Hearn from the French of Théophile Gautier (1811-1872), was nonetheless found in Ireland's holdings (NLI, TCD, UCD). Gautier is mostly known for his role in the Romantic movement and his theories of "Art for Art's Sake", that is, an aesthetic rather than utilitarian view of art.

Conclusion: Fiction and Morality

To conclude with fiction, Murphy notes that "the popular appetite for fiction grew enormously throughout the nineteenth century, both in Britain and Ireland, matching increasing access to education and the rise in literacy rates" (1997: 1-2). However, of the few Irish publishers of fiction except Simms and M'Intyre, the most significant were James Duffy, M.H. Gill and Maunsel, who, for the most part, happen to be publishers with a focus on Catholic and Irish works. There were many English translations from French being produced outside Ireland, but it seems that only a small percentage of these reached out to nineteenth-century Irish readers. There are two key elements which may help us understand better these patterns. Firstly, English censorship is a good place to start with, and it is best exemplified by the case of Vizetelly's translations from Émile Zola (1840-1902). Zola's naturalist novels indeed came under vigorous attack when the Vizetellys, an English family of publishers and translators, attempted to circulate their translations. Bassnett and France (2006: 54) point out that Henry Vizetelly brought out eighteen translations from Zola in the 1880s. Despite having done so with some expurgations made to suit Victorian taste, he ended being tried, fined and sentenced to prison for his offending translations. Vizetelly had published Irish writer George Moore's *Literature at Nurse, or, Circulating Morals: a Polemic on Victorian Censorship* (1885), but his challenging of Victorian notions of propriety through translation became a high-risk occupation.

This was taking place in England, but it had some relevance to Ireland, as many of the translations available here came from English publishing houses. Moreover, we only need to take a look at the prevailing trends in fictional literature as described above to realize that there must have been a means of filtering translations from French other than legal censorship. Not only was there a trend for Catholic fiction, but, seemingly, the above-mentioned best-sellers hardly presented any challenge to nineteenth-century morality. In fact, many of these fictions, and not the least Sophie Cottin's typically edifying story *Elizabeth*, belong as well to the field of children's literature for that matter. But French fictional literature was often looked upon as suspicious. Only little of its vast repository of commercial productions, and only few of the various Realist, Naturalist or *fin-de-siècle* writings, came through translation in nineteenth-century Ireland.

The most compelling evidence that a moralistic pattern of filtering translations existed in Ireland can be found in the pages of the *Nation*, notably in three articles. The first of these, entitled 'A French Invasion' (September 1849), may have been penned by Charles Gavan Duffy. It mainly discusses the works by George Sand, with, overall, very mixed views of her novels, but the most interesting element for us here is the critic's general opinion of French literature in translation. While the author later remarks that he has little time for puritanical and alarmist observations, this is nonetheless how he begins his essay:

Cheap translations from the French are rapidly increasing amongst us. In the pettiest circulating library whole volumes of extravagant sentiment, and ill-concealed obscenity, either in the original, or done into English, can be read at the cost of a few pence. We have looked on silently at Eugene Sue, Dumas, and brotherhood, shoving out Shakespeare and Walter Scott, though not without a vague sentiment that we were betraying a duty in permitting such fiery stimulants to become habitual to our readers, without, at least, saying our say about it (1849: 58)

Duffy, if it is him, presents the dissemination of French translated fiction as a skilful conspiracy. He believes that these authors are first introduced in their most innocent appearance, through their 'least objectionable books', and then appear in all their most indecent splendour (ibid). He is particularly worried about the effect such literature can have on women:

For our young men these volumes are dangerous companions; but we confess we never see them in the hands of an Irish girl without horror. We cannot imagine a pure, modest

Irish maiden deliberately reading through one of Dumas's works – and he is far from the most depraved of these writers (ibid)

Yet, he is hopeful, and, somewhat prophetically, he remarks that

there are grounds for hope that the love of obscene literature will never become a normal condition with them (...) that we shall soon see the growing intellect of the country soar in a native literature, far above the filthy pool in which the majority of Parisian litterateurs, with voluptuous blandishment, invite them to wallow (ibid)

The prophecy is therefore accurate in some ways, and Gavan Duffy indeed played a role in promoting that native literature.

The reason why we believe Duffy wrote this article lies in the fact that an answer to this article from 'G.F.', addressed to Duffy, was published in November 1849. Again, George Sand seems to provide some of the basis for the author's arguments, and here too the potentially dangerous effect upon women is stressed. Both Duffy and 'G.F.' resort to suicide stories to argue for the extreme devastating impact which George Sand's novels can have on young women. Hence, writes 'G.F.',

Cholera kills not the body more surely, than this immoral French literature poisons the mind. Like a corroding acid, it has eaten away some of the heart of France. It has swept its hot breath over England. This city of London, I can aver, of my own knowledge, is inundated with cheap translations of all the disgusting French works... (1849: 162)

The letter continues in the same vein, but let us come now to the third article, which provides a fitting conclusion to the above. Published in the *Nation* in 1853, 'Another "French Invasion"' signals that views of French fictional literature as poisonous were not fading, and they were not mildly put either:

For nearly a century, France has been vomiting forth demoralizing literature; and she has manufactured it to suit all appetites and all capacities. Her fiction has been still more destructive than her philosophy; as the worship of the passions, to which it is dedicated, is more attractive than the worship of reason. If Rousseau and Voltaire have killed their thousands, Messieurs the Novelists can boast of having slain their tens of thousands (1853: 330)

We may now understand better why 'Messieurs the Novelists' did not fare very well in translation in nineteenth-century Ireland. It is quite possible that legal censorship was not

even necessary to filter out translations of French novels. Conservative moral values, adhered to by many of Ireland's agents of translations, including editors, publishers and critics, seem to have acted as a powerful filter.

6.2 Theatre

Translations of theatrical and operatic works probably form the most complex area of investigation. They involve much more than just a printed text since they are performative arts by essence. In this regard, in order to be thoroughly assessed, translation from French in the domains of theatre and opera would require investigations that would not be possible here. Moreover, the complexity is aggravated by several other elements. Firstly, this is an area of adaptation *par excellence*, both intralingually and interlingually. Secondly, source texts and authors are often unacknowledged, and the notion of translation is thereby often challenged. Lastly, more than anywhere else, there is a definite issue with dates. The dates we know and give are those of the printed texts. They do not correspond to the dates of performance, which, occasionally, are given on the title page. For space constraints, translation of opera will not be addressed, and the following is a brief summary of trends in theatre translation.

6.2.1 Nineteenth-Century Theatre: A Romantic and Melodramatic Affair

Several novels were adapted for theatre audiences. This is the case, for instance, of Lesage's much-loved *Gil Blas*, or Alexandre Dumas's novels such as *Les Frères corses* [*The Corsican brothers*] (NLI). English-language versions were often based on French theatrical adaptations. Moreover, authors who were not as prominent as expected in the area of novels, notably Victor Hugo, were nonetheless found in theatre adaptation. There were several adaptations of Hugo's *Ruy Blas* (NLI, TCD). Hugo was mostly known for breaking the classicist mould on stage, and his *Hernani*, of which two adaptations were found at TCD, became the symbol of Romanticism.

Most Irish imprints of plays date from the 1800s and 1810s. Two of the most popular were *The point of honor: a play, in three acts* (NLI, TCD, UCC), adapted from an eighteenth-

century play by Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814) and *Deaf and dumb or, The orphan protected: an historical drama, in five acts, performed by their Majesties servants of the Theatre Royal, in Drury-Lane, February 24th, 1801* (NLI, TCD, UCC). Historical plots and settings were indeed very popular on stage too. An adaptation of Casimir Delavigne's historical drama *Louis XI* was found at the NLI. It was done by W. R. S. Markwell, but it seems that Irish playwright Boucicault produced his own version too. Dublin-born Dion Boucicault (1820-1890), one of the most famous Irish playwrights and actors of the century, translated and adapted several French plays (Dolan 2009: 667). He produced a version of Dumas's "Corsican Brothers" (NLI) in 1852 on the London stage. According to Dolan, "heralding the era of gentlemanly melodrama, he developed the 'Corsican trap', the first of his many popular, custom-built stage devices" (ibid).

The sensational aspect is thus deeply connected to the large influx of French melodramatic and romantic plays. Indeed, except for German playwright August von Kotzebue, "the predominant kinds of drama on the nineteenth-century British stage were essentially French imports" (Hale 2006: 384). Hale (ibid: 385-386) notes that playwrights from the English-speaking world were flocking to Paris in order to bring back French plays and French plots, and they drew much inspiration from the new scenic devices. According to Brooks, melodrama was born during the Revolution and it was essentially a democratic genre because with its new techniques, it created plays which were "simple, direct, arousing, appealing" (1989: 603). Moreover, it was written for popular audiences and the general message itself tended to be democratic, with "the humble of the earth" generally standing up to their oppressors (ibid). The most popular exponent of the genre was Pixérécourt (1773-1844). Two of his plays bore Dublin imprints, notably *Rugantino; or, The bravo of Venice: A romantic melo drama, in two acts, as performed at the Theatre-Royal Crow-street, with unbounded applause* (1814, NLI).

6.2.2 Turn of the Century Trends

Generally-speaking, theatre translation, or adaptation, seems to have been a male-dominated activity. One woman, however, stands out for her contribution to Irish theatre at the turn of the century. Lady Gregory (1852–1932), née Isabella Augusta Persse in County Galway, was the co-founder and director of the Irish Literary Theatre, later renamed the Abbey Theatre, at Dublin (TRASNABIO). We have already mentioned the invaluable role she played as a

translator from Irish and from French (see Historical chapter), but we should just briefly remind the reader of her adaptations from Molière. Grouped together under the title *The Kiltartan Molière* (1910)³³, they were adaptations into Hiberno-English from the illustrious seventeenth-century French playwright, signalling a period of rising cultural self-confidence in Ireland. Overall, except for a few translations from the French of a Belgian-born symbolist playwright, Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949), there was very little in Ireland's holdings reflecting late-century trends in French-language theatrical composition.

6.3 Children's Literature

Although closely related to the theme of education, the present section will not discuss non-fictional educational works. Such translations generally dealt with the subjects of history, mathematics or poetry, but were not numerically important (see Appendix A). In addition to these non-denominational works, the Christian Brothers's lists of textbooks included their own translations, particularly from de La Salle, as well as existing translations from De Maistre, Chateaubriand, Abbé M'Carthy, Bossuet and Massillon. As we shall see now, much of the translated fictional literature for children served a pedagogical and religious purpose too.

In the domain of children's literature (see also Fiction), there were still some important literary figures from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably Fénelon, whose *Adventures of Telemachus* (NLI, UCC, NUIG, TCD) was originally written for the edification of the French Dauphin. There were also some collections of tales, including those by Comtesse d'Aulnoy, the seventeenth-century fairy-tale writer. The late century saw several translations of Jules Verne's adventure stories, which were popular because they combined mystery, exploration, sea and air travel, exotic and fantastic settings, and science fiction. Two Irish translators produced English translations from Verne, but only one of their translations has so far been found in Ireland's nineteenth-century holdings. This was Frances Cashel Hoey's *An Antarctic mystery* (1898, TCD), and she was also the translator of *For the flag* (1897), which carried a patriotic theme. Henry Frith (1840-1910), another Dublin-born writer who resided in England, translated several novels from Jules Verne as well as other

³³ Found in nine libraries, see Appendix

works from French. Yet, Frith seems to have been largely overlooked by national biographical resources.

Translated juvenile fiction in nineteenth-century Ireland was mainly drawn from French Catholic sources, and Irish female translators were the main contributors to this area of translation. Not surprisingly, we find here familiar names from the domain of non-fictional religious translation. The Sadlier family played a central role in the dissemination of Catholic children's literature. Mary Anne Sadlier particularly believed in the power of fictional religious tales, with which she hoped 'to reach those who will not read pious or devotional books' (preface to *Aunt Honor's Keepsake, A Chapter from Life* [1866], cited in Fanning 1990:120). Indeed, she believed that such moral and didactic stories were doing even 'more good, and exercising a more marked influence on the minds of ordinary people, than works of either instruction or devotion' (ibid). She even refers to novels as 'weapons' (ibid), which is tellingly illustrative of her approach to fictional literature. Her translations of French juvenile fiction include the anonymous *Benjamin or, the pupil of the Christian Brothers* (NLI, PC/TCD, NUIG). There are several Dublin editions of *Benjamin*, including one in 1851 by Warren. An introduction prefixed by Warren to the translation bears testimony to the increasing importance of the Christian Brothers in Ireland, and is used as a means to promote the Brothers' institutions. For the publisher, the fact that the child of the story becomes

a model of purity, fervour, and submissiveness, is a change solely attributable to that higher education which the Catholic Church always yearns to bestow upon her children, and which is no where better exemplified than in the schools of the Christian Brothers
(1880: vii)

The translator, in her own preface, underscores the currency of the educational issue for Catholics: 'At the present moment, when the whole Catholic world is awakening to the vital importance of securing a religious education for the rising generation, it seemed that a wider circulation of this little work might do much good' (1880: viii). She advocates the use of the Christian Schools because 'the day has at length come, when Catholic parents have no longer an excuse for sending their children to 'godless' schools' (ibid: ix-x).

Several of Sadlier's translations of Catholic tales have a historical setting. This is the case for example of the anonymous work entitled *The Spanish cavaliers: a tale of the Moorish wars in Spain* (1895, PC/TCD). Here, she is utterly confident about her task as a translator: 'I offer no apology for presenting the Spanish Cavaliers to the reader in an English dress' ([1860]: 3).

Her interest in this particular historical setting is closely connected to her Christian values, because the story provides her with an opportunity to champion those Christian chivalric heroes who ‘fought and died and conquered for the Cross’ (ibid: 4). The role played by D&J Sadlier in the dissemination of Catholic fiction for the young should be stressed too. In *The Pope's niece, and other tales*, translated from various authors, the publishers prefixed a ‘Preface to the Youth’s Catholic Library’. Their aim as Catholic publishers is clearly articulated:

Under this head we intend publishing a series of entertaining and instructive books, which Catholic parents may safely place in the hands of their children. (...) Are we to leave the rising generation to receive their ideas of men and things from the brainless, godless bookmakers who are flooding the world with “sensation stories”...? Heaven forbid! (...) It is hardly necessary to say that no volume will appear in “The Youth’s Catholic Library”, that is not fully deserving of the name (1862: 7-8)

These words from the Sadliers are particularly significant because not only do they remind us of the views expressed in Ireland about ‘sensational’ French fiction, but they precisely point to the reactive impulse of Catholic agents of translation in the face of non-Catholic writings. They point to the careful selection of texts deemed appropriate for the Catholic youth, ‘on account of the sound principles of religion and morality’ (ibid).

Another translator who played a significant role in the dissemination of Catholic fiction for children is Alice Wilmot Chetwode. There is no national biography for Chetwode, but we know she is Irish and has translated various works from French, all in the Catholic vein. According to the 1911 Census, Chetwode was born in the 1830s. She was an unmarried Catholic landowner residing at Emo, County Laois. Born a Protestant, she had converted to Catholicism (Chetwode 1903: 54). Chetwode was instrumental in importing novels from the French of two Breton female writers, Zénaïde Fleuriot (1829-1890) and Raoul de Navery, pseudonym of Eugénie-Caroline Chervet, née Saffray (1831-1885). From Fleuriot, she translated at least three works, notably *Réséda or sorrows and joys* (NLI), published in 1897 in Dublin. The copy held at the NLI has a stamp from the Marist Fathers at Milltown. Raoul de Navery used mainly Breton settings, and she also wrote an Irish historical novel anonymously translated as *Father Fitzroy; or, The martyr of a secret, a tale of the Irish famine* (NLI). It has a contemporary setting and is written from a strongly anti-Unionist and Catholic standpoint. Father Fitzroy, the Catholic martyr of the story, echoes Mary Anne Sadlier’s own *Father Sheehy*. Alice W. Chetwode translated at least three works from Raoul

de Navery, *The Castle of Coëtquen: or, Patira* (NLI, PC/TCD), and its two sequels. Unlike Sadlier, however, she has not left any translator's prefaces. Lastly, another contributor to this significant body of children's literature is Clara Mulholland, who translated the well-known children's story *The little hunchback* by the Russian-born Comtesse de Ségur (1799-1874). Most of the above-named titles were published by Gill in the 1870s, 1880s and 1900s.

In conclusion, as regards translated fictional texts intended for the young, women translators played a powerful role. In particular, Irish Catholic female translators took upon themselves the task of providing entertaining literature for the young because they knew this was the surest way to have them read Catholic literature. Translating Catholic tales was a means to counteract the large influx of mistrusted non-Catholic fictions. These stories served a strong religious, moral and educative purpose, and translation was moreover a means to uphold a Catholic system of education, which was a serious concern for Catholics in the nineteenth century. Moreover, as for adult fiction, the most popular tales were often those presenting a historical setting which provided the basis for upholding Christian values.

6.4 Poetry

Translation of French poetry was a lot more widespread than it appears from a survey of library holdings, in the sense that it was in great part published in periodicals. At the time, very few books of translated poetry were published, and even fewer were those monographs dedicated to one single foreign author. Translations from modern languages were usually included in works of original poetry. Notwithstanding the prominence of three or four French poets, what characterizes the body of translated poetry in nineteenth-century Ireland is its diversity. Although we cannot name every author and translator, we should keep this matter in mind, because it indicates that nineteenth-century Hiberno-French poetical connections were rich and varied (See Appendix A1). Certainly there were some major sources of interest, such as the French songwriter Pierre-Jean de Béranger. Since he emerged as the most significant figure in verse translation in nineteenth-century Ireland, Béranger will form the subject of our next chapter. The present section therefore highlights other noteworthy trends in translation of French-language poetry. Moreover, the purpose is to signal uncharted connections, principally when the translator is better known for other works than for his or

her translations from French, or simply by pointing to neglected translations and translators. Since several Irish translators named in the present section have translated from Béranger, their biographical details will be given in the next chapter, the only major exception being Francis Mahony.

6.4.1 Romantic Poetry

Throughout the nineteenth century, Irish poets showed great interest in French Romantic poetry, above all Chateaubriand, Lamartine and Hugo. In particular, Hugo and Lamartine were the most translated writers after Béranger in the field of poetry, their works frequently appearing in collections of poetry as well as in the ‘poet’s corner’ of Irish newspapers.

Victor Hugo’s Irish Translators

Victor Hugo’s works, which reflect his opposition to the strict rules of classical literature, enriched French poetry in the nineteenth century by using a wider variety of forms. This, in addition to overarching Romantic and social themes, as well as his use of dramatic Gothic settings, may explain why his lyrics appealed to various translators in Ireland. Firstly, many of Béranger’s Irish translators turned to Hugo’s poetry too. They are ‘Eva of the *Nation*’, Denis Florence MacCarthy, Francis Mahony, William Dowe, ‘Mrs. B. Somers’, William Drennan Jr. and William Starkey.

Other translators of Hugo’s poetry include three Corkmen, TCD Professor Edward Dowden, lawyer Edward Kenealy, and John Paul Dalton, a poet and a member of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, as well as Derry-born Bishop William Alexander. Dalton’s translation is included in his *Poems original and translated* (1894, NLI), which also contains translations from the French of two eighteenth-century poets, Gresset and Florian. William Alexander (1824-1911), Church of Ireland bishop of Derry and Raphoe, and later Archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, contributed articles on Victor Hugo in the *DUM* in the 1860s and delivered a lecture on Hugo’s collection *Légende des Siècles* in the Dublin theatre of the Museum of industry (1864). Much of Hugo’s poetry reviewed by Alexander recreate specific historical settings, particularly Gothic, and the main focus is on Christian themes. Alexander’s translations can also be found in his collection entitled *St. Augustine’s holiday and other poems* (1886, TCD, NLI, UU). Alexander’s wife, Dublin-born Cecil Frances Alexander, née Humphreys, collaborated on these translations. She was a successful hymn

writer and author of children's books (Litvack 2004: 661). She may have published more verse translations from French under pseudonyms, notably in the *DUM*. She was involved in charitable works, particularly with children, and recurrent themes in her translations from French are indeed those of childhood and poverty, with strong Christian connotations.

There were several articles in Ireland's newspapers following Victor Hugo's death in 1885. In June, 'J.P.L.' published a politically-oriented and eulogistic article that included a translated passage from the French republican poet's address to his fellow citizens in 1848. John P. Leonard was keen to stress that Hugo 'was devoted to all oppressed nations, and to Poland and Ireland in particular'³⁴. Furthermore, as a typical illustration of his ambition and role as Franco-Irish mediator, Leonard recounts that he had sent Hugo 'a fine translation of one of his poems by our highly gifted Irish poetess, Speranza, and he sent me for her a few eloquent words of thanks' (ibid). This poem could not be located, but we found several translations from Hugo by Speranza's eldest, and lesser-known son, Willie. Indeed, under his initials 'W.C.K.W.', William Charles Kingsbury Wilde (1852-1899) published four English translations from Hugo in the College magazine *Kottabos* in the 1870s. Death and the Orient are two major themes in his selections from Hugo's poetry. The same themes, as well as the Gothic settings, emerge through Francis Mahony's choices. Mahony (see further below), who gave a rendition of 'Le Voile' as 'The Veil, an Oriental Dialogue', remarks that Hugo's poetry is tinged with 'golden reminiscences of olden time' (1860: 310).

Lamartine's Irish Translators

Noted as a popular figure for his Christian and republican leanings, Lamartine was also a key figure of French Romantic poetry. As with Hugo, several of Béranger's Irish translators produced renditions of Lamartine's lyrics, including Eva, Dowe, 'Mrs. B. Somers', William Drennan Jr. and Starkey. Lamartine's recurring themes of nature, death, impossible love and reminiscences emerge strongly through translation, notably in Speranza's rendition of 'The Fountain in the Forest', which was included in her *Poems* (1864) along with other 'Wanderings through European Literature'. Another Irish female translator who was interested in Lamartine's poetry was M.E. Martin, 'M.E.M.', who contributed a translation,

³⁴ 'J.P.L.' (1885) 'Victor Hugo', the *Nation*, June 13, pp.12-13

‘The Prayer of the Poor’ to the *DUM* in July 1856, thus with strong social and religious dimensions.

Special mention must be made of James Clarence Mangan’s contributions, not the least because Mangan is rarely, if ever, associated with translation from French (see Historical chapter). Yet, Dublin-born Mangan (1803-1849) contributed several translations from French to various periodicals. He translated a fable of Lafontaine for George Petrie's *Irish Penny Journal* in 1840, and he published ‘Man: addressed to Lord Byron’ from Lamartine in the *DUM* in 1835. In fact, his translation output from Lamartine is arguably substantial, including several lengthy ‘Harmonies’ in the *Irish Monthly Magazine* in 1845-46. Even more strikingly, Mangan translated ‘Napoleon’, a rendition of Lamartine’s ode, ‘Bonaparte’. An interesting element in Mangan’s ‘Napoleon’ is that it is remarkably faithful to Lamartine’s original, at least by Mangan’s standards. Through his rendering of the poem and the notes attached to it, Mangan shows great respect towards the original lyrics as well as a deep interest in their historical subject³⁵.

Lamartine despised the tyrannical figure of Bonaparte. Yet his poem, written after the fallen emperor’s death, bears eloquent testimony to the general fascination with Napoleon, contributing to this emerging cult. Mangan’s translation of ‘Bonaparte’ is therefore far from insignificant within this perspective. There had been a flood of poems written about Napoleon after his passing in 1821, a major thread in nineteenth-century literature which was not confined to French literature only. Apart from French lyricists such as Béranger and Hugo, other major authors who wrote poems upon Napoleon’s death include patriot-poets Manzoni from Italy and Pushkin from Russia. Mangan is himself known for the nationalist sentiment of his poetry. In this regard, it is worth noting that Mangan contributed a translation of ‘La Marseillaise’ in March 1848 to John Mitchel’s *United Irishman*. In line with the paper’s revolutionary spirit, Mangan’s translation was undoubtedly a celebration of the French revolution of February 1848. His was not the only English-language rendition of ‘La Marseillaise’ in nineteenth-century Irish newspapers. For example, it appeared in the *Irishman* in October 1840 and in James Duffy’s *Catholic Guardian* in October 1852, both times with facing French and English versions.

³⁵ ‘Napoleon’ can be found in Chuto (1996), pp.363-368

6.4.2 Religion, Death, Exile, Martyrs, and a Hymn to Women: French Poetry in Nineteenth-Century Translation

To some extent, the poetic or lyric element was pervasive in nineteenth-century literature. It could be found in play scripts, musical pieces, fables, fictional stories, religious texts, as well as in philological and medieval translation. In turn, as we have seen above in relation to Hugo and Lamartine, religion pervaded much verse too. Chateaubriand and Lamartine were eminently Christian. There was also much Catholic verse translated in the *Irish Monthly*, notably by its editor Matthew Russell.

If George Sigerson's contribution to the dissemination of Charcot's work is not widely known, even fewer people must be familiar with his translation from a French poet, Charles Millevoye (1782-1816), 'Pray for me!'. Millevoye is a forgotten poet of the First Empire, who died at the young age of thirty-four. The translation was first published in the *Nation* in 1858, under Sigerson's pen name, 'Erionnah'. The translator added a note explaining that Millevoye wrote the poem a few days before his death. Sigerson also refers to Millevoye's persecution by 'The Atheistic School of the day'³⁶. The religious dimension is therefore undeniable here too, and the theme of death is strong.

Another French poet who died at a young age was André Chénier (1762, Constantinople-1794, Paris). Denis Florence MacCarthy (see Béranger chapter), who again is rather known for other poetical and translation works, contributed an essay on Chénier to the *Nation* in 1845 as part of a series entitled 'Flowers from Foreign Lands'. It was interspersed with translations which he later included in a collection of his works. Here, he recounts that Chénier originally welcomed the Revolution when 'the year 1789 came to dazzle France' (1845: 11). MacCarthy, the Young Irelander poet, indeed asks, 'Would he have been worthy of poetry if he had not loved liberty?' (ibid). MacCarthy therefore implies that poetry and liberty are intimately connected. Chénier was however executed in 1794 for taking the defence of Louis XVI and thus became the poet-martyr of the Revolution. For MacCarthy, Chénier's character 'was proof against all hypocrisy and against all despotism' (ibid). MacCarthy also translated several poems from Casimir Delavigne, another popular writer in nineteenth-century translation, as well as from Marceline Desbordes-Valmore and Millevoye.

'Mrs. B. Somers' (see Béranger chapter) translated from Delavigne too, indeed a long piece entitled 'Christian Greece; or, the Young Deacon', as well as 'An Elegy' from

³⁶ In 'Poet's Corner' (1858), *Nation*, Aug 14, p.794, re-published in Sigerson (1927) as 'The Angelus'.

Chateaubriand. These formed part of her anthology, *Selections from the modern poets of France* (1846, NLI, LCL), which, in addition to those already mentioned, contains translations from several poets, including a long piece from Léon Halévy entitled ‘Sleep of the Dying’. Themes related to Greece, Christianity and Death are important threads throughout her work, and her selection provides a perspective on nineteenth-century French literature that is very different from the perspective of today’s anthologies. Indeed, most of her source authors are quite forgotten today.

Another important theme in nineteenth-century poetry is that of departure and exile. Hence, Starkey chose to translate ‘The Exile’ from Chateaubriand. What may come as a surprise is that Thomas Davis produced what he refers to as a ‘paraphrase from the French’, also entitled ‘The Exile’. Davis did not acknowledge the author of the poem. However, we have been able to identify the original, which is Lamennais’s ‘L’Exilé’, in fact not a stand-alone poem but a passage from his *Paroles d’un croyant*. If we only knew Lamennais as a Catholic writer, perhaps Davis’s translation may have come as a greater surprise indeed, but we now know (see above) that Lamennais was a popular figure in revolutionary and socialist circles, and that a part-translation of his *Paroles* was found in the papers of John Blake Dillon, Davis’s friend. Hence, the connection between the Irish and the Breton poets becomes more understandable from this perspective. Moreover, the theme of exile, a leitmotiv in the Romantic literature of Europe, as well as a Biblical image, resonates strongly with the Irish people. It has a particular resonance with Ireland from a historical point of view, and with regards to the constant turmoil experienced by the country during the long nineteenth century. In Lamennais’s poem, then, the burden is ‘L’exilé partout est seul’ [The exile is everywhere alone], conveyed by Davis as ‘the poor exile is always alone’. While most of Davis’s rendition remains, for a ‘paraphrase’, fairly close to the original, he brings the poem home in his eighth stanza:

*When soft on their chosen the young maidens smile,
Like the dawn of the morn on Erin’s dear isle, (1866: 208)*

The native land of Lamennais’s lament has no name, it could be almost anywhere, but it is clearly Ireland for Davis. Correspondingly, in the tenth stanza,

*...happiness dwells not, except in our isle,
And so the poor exile is always alone (ibid: 209)*

The conclusion of the lament is permeated with Christianity:

Our country is Heaven – 'twill welcome you, too;

And cherish the exile, no longer alone! (ibid)

One of the earliest nineteenth-century poetic translations from French found in Ireland's libraries was produced by an Irish female writer, Amelia Bristow, possibly one of the lesser-known poets of Ireland from that period. *The maniac, a tale, or, a view of Bethlem hospital; and the merits of women, a poem from the French: with poetical pieces on various subjects, original and translated* (NLI, HC/RIA) was published in London in 1810, but most of its subscribers were Irish. Many of them were in the northern counties, where Bristow was probably from. There are several Protestant clergymen among them, which suggests that she may have been from a Protestant background herself. There are also several aristocrats in her list, including the Duke of Leinster. Her book is highly eclectic, and it is difficult to see at first glance any overall internal coherence. Yet, this anarchic selection may partly reflect the theme of the maniac, which is that of one of Bristow's original poems. The translations from French are very diverse indeed. There are several fables from a seventeenth-century author, Claude-Joseph Dorat. 'The Rural Sage' was translated from 'Abbé de Lille', i.e. Jacques Delille (1738-1813), a classicist, poet and translator who is known for his attempt to expand French poetic language. The longest piece of the book is by far 'The merits of women'. The original title and author are not named but it was undoubtedly 'Le mérite des femmes, poëme' (c.1800) by Gabriel Legouvé (1764-1812). As the title suggests, the poem is a defence of female intellectual equality and a tribute to women's courage and sensibility. The author cites several examples of female heroism, and in particular, he pays homage to women's fortitude during the French Revolution.

Connolly (2006: 439) observes that the theme of 'the maniac' was not uncommon in post-1798 Ireland. She suggests that the recurrence of maniac figures in Irish literature at the time was in fact a literary expression of the profound political and psychological impact of the Union. Hence, as well as a ballad known as 'Mary le More; or, The Irish maniac', "James Orr, James Stuart and Amelia Bristow all wrote poems that imagine fugitive (usually female) figures driven mad by the experience of political turmoil" (ibid). Bristow's entire work could therefore be understood as an eloquent expression of the complexities of her cultural, social

and political background. She was affected by 1798, ‘the unhappy rebellion’ (1810: 17) and there is a sense that destruction was not solely political or material, but also social and psychological. In particular, she is sensitive to the effects of such disturbances on women and family. Correspondingly, the extract from Legouvé’s introduction which she chose to retranscribe precisely evokes a moment of turmoil in France’s history:

In composing the poem which I now present to the public, I was not merely instigated by the design of doing the sex justice. (...) I wished to lead back to their society a valiant people, whom the concussions of the revolution have thrown at a distance from them; and by this means, to restore it that character of urbanity which it has nearly lost in the struggles of party (cited in Bristow 1810: 21).

Hence, Legouvé argues,

[women] can restore to us the graces which have forsaken us; give us back that affability which was our distinguishing characteristic; and re-create, if I may so express myself, that nation whom so many convulsions, crimes and misfortunes have thrown out of their true bias (ibid: 22)

It therefore appears that Amelia Bristow used her French source to express her own sentiment. Creative poetry and poetic translation seem to offer means of transcending turmoil and of ‘restoring’ ‘that character of urbanity’. Bristow’s biography and works still remain largely uncharted even though her poems and translations are eloquent reflections of Ireland’s sociohistorical context at the time.

6.4.3 Francis Mahony’s Cultural Free Trade

Almost every library in Ireland holds at least one edition of *The reliques of Father Prout, late P.P. of Watergrasshill, in the county of Cork, Ireland* (1836), or its later edition, *The works of Father Prout* (1881). The author, Francis Mahony (1804, Cork-1866, Paris), aka ‘Father Prout’ and ‘Oliver Yorke’, the alleged ‘editor’ of Prout’s work, is known for his tendency towards mystification. Educated with the Jesuits, both in Ireland and in France, he was destined to be a priest, but was soon deemed unsuitable for that profession. He became a journalist and was one of the ‘Fraserians’, the contributors to *Fraser’s Magazine*, which also included his fellow Corkonians William Maginn (see Béranger chapter), Crofton Croker, and Daniel Maclise. Renowned for his witty papers, collected in *The Reliques*, Mahony

interspersed his essays on literature and other subjects with poems, mostly translations from and into English. He was assisted by another Cork fellow, Francis Stack Murphy, in some of his polyglot translations. He is mostly remembered for his satirical stances against Thomas Moore and his use of mock poems and translations, deliberately challenging notions of authenticity and of authorship. Moreover, he sometimes adds entire new meanings, contemporary and local allusions to his translations. He also produced playful translations into French of English-language texts. For example, ‘The Night that Larry was Stretched’, which he attributes to Revd. Robert Burrowes, St. Finbarr’s Cathedral, Cork, and to which he gives the title of ‘The Death of Socrates’, is rendered as ‘La Mort de Socrate’, ‘par L’Abbé de Prout, Curé du Mont-aux-Cressons, près de Cork’ (1860: 267).

But aside from caustic satire, humour and mock translations, Prout’s *Reliques* may also be interpreted as a tribute to a cosmopolitan, European culture and of translation as an exercise of ‘free trade’. Mahony here gives the term ‘free trade’ a cross-cultural meaning: “‘Free trade’ in all the emanations of intellect has ever had a purely beneficial effect, blessing him who gave and him who received: it never can injure a nation or an individual to impart knowledge, or exchange ideas’ (ibid: 292). These words on cross-cultural exchange were part of a series of essays on ‘The Songs of France’. Undoubtedly Mahony was a Francophile. He had a close relationship with France, having resided there for several years, and his knowledge of French language and literature was extensive. One of his most significant translations from French is a rendition of *Ver-vert, the parrot*, a poem by the eighteenth century Jesuit Gresset. This was a satirical verse, “a mock-epic about a parrot who is the pride and joy of a convent, but shocks his hearers by learning bad language” (France 1995: 361). Mahony also translated from other poets such as Casimir Delavigne. ‘The Dog of the three days’, he claims, is ‘a truly national ballad’ by Delavigne about the 1830 Revolution (1860: 277). He is fascinated with the patriotic vein in French literature.

Mahony is equally interested in medieval literature and philology, and referring to Froissart, he stresses the chronicler’s influence on English-language literature (ibid: 239-240). His general theory is that much of British and Irish literature is indebted to French writings, beginning with Norman literature. For instance, he argues,

Who will question the influence exercised by Molière over our comic writers – Sheridan, Farquhar, and Congreve? Indeed, our theatre seems to have a prescription right to import its comedies from France, wholesale and duty free. (...) Fielding would be the

first to admit his manifold obligations to Le Sage, having drank deep at the fountain of “Gil Blas” (ibid: 238-239)

Cultural ‘Free Trade’, which is naturally pursued through the channel of translation, is therefore a means of nourishment or refreshment. Francis Mahony challenges notions of ‘cultural protectionism’, particularly when protectionism presents cultures as impermeable and promotes cultural isolationism.

Praising Sigerson, mentioned above, for his cosmopolitan and patriotic nature, Pdraig Colum wrote that “If any one in Irish letters was heir to the humane tradition it was George Sigerson. He belonged to an epoch when a good Irishman might also be a good European” (1927: i). In his own humoristic way, Father Prout’s aspirations may also be that of a ‘good European’, at least regarding relations with French culture: ‘To promote the interchange of national commodities, to cause a blending and a chemical fusion of their mutual produce, and establish an equilibrium between *our* negative and *their* positive electricity’ (ibid: 201). Mahony believes the English-reader public owes much to ‘Father Prout’, who, through translation,

has enriched England at the expense of her rival, and engrafted on our literature the choicest productions of Gallic literature. Silently and unostentatiously, on the bleak top of Watergrasshill, he has succeeded in naturalising these foreign vegetables, associating himself in the gratitude of posterity with the planter of the potato. The inhabitants of these islands may now, thanks to Prout! sing or whistle the “Songs of France”, duty free, in their vernacular language; a vastly important acquisition! (ibid: 202)

6.4.4 Late-Century Trends: the Irish Renaissance

To some extent, trends in poetry translation were beginning to change towards the close of the century and during the first decade of the twentieth century. While many of the above-named poets, save Hugo and Lamartine, had already disappeared from anthologies and ‘poet’s corners’, others were beginning to come into sight. English poets such as Ernest Dowson, John Gray or Arthur Symons, whom Yeats and Wilde knew through London’s literary circles, played an important role in diffusing French Symbolic, Decadent and *fin-de-siècle* poetry in England. Yet in Ireland, with some exceptions, library holdings and local periodicals do not reflect well these trends. Certainly, James Joyce translated Verlaine’s

'Chanson d'Automne' in the years 1900-1902³⁷. However, Rimbaud and many others are conspicuous by their absence, and very few libraries carry nineteenth-century translations of *fin-de-siècle* poetry. Baudelaire was long dead by the time he became an important literary figure in translation. On the other hand, we may need to acknowledge the contribution of translation of French poetry to the Irish literary revival. Indeed, in addition to Lady Gregory's work from Molière, there was a small but not insignificant amount of verse translation produced by key figures of the Irish revival.

Firstly, Conner (1998: 160-162) demonstrates that Yeats's poems 'At the Abbey Theatre' and 'When you are Old' were heavily based on Pierre de Ronsard's works. Ronsard was a member of the Pléiade, a sixteenth-century French Renaissance group of poets who sought to enrich the French language by imitating the classics. By using translation and assimilating, or 'digesting' the classics, they sought to create a new and richer poetic language in the vernacular. Moreover, they made extensive use of themes of nature and myth. For Conner (ibid: 160), Yeats's relationship with Ronsard's poetry was a conscious choice, recognizing in the Pléiade's enterprise a similar effort to that of the Irish revivalists.

As they sought ways of writing original poetry in English with a distinctly Irish flavour, Irish poets turned to translation from French in the same way they used Irish-language material. This is best exemplified by Synge's translations from Villon and Colin Muset, included in *Poems and Translations* (1909). Medieval French poetry was therefore Synge's main source for translation from French. Colin Muset was a thirteenth-century Old-French *trouvère*. Fifteenth-century poet François Villon, often referred to as the first *poète maudit*, is most noted for his linguistic inventiveness and his use of irony (Taylor 1995: 841). For Synge, the timber of poetry is rooted in real life and he chose Villon because he believed that

Many of the older poets, such as Villon and Herrick and Burns, used the whole of their personal life as their material, and the verse written in this way was read by strong men, and thieves, and deacons, not by little cliques only (1909: n.pag.)

Skelton (1961: v) observes that Synge, who wrote *Deirdre of the Sorrows* concurrently with many of his translations, was concerned "with the problem of creating a style that was at once colloquial and suitable for the expression of heroic themes" (ibid). Hence, 'Prayer of the Old Woman', translated from Villon, resonates in close affinity with Synge's Irish sensibility. In

³⁷ See Joyce (1992)

Synge's translation, the prayer of Villon's old pious Christian woman become the words of an old Irish woman:

I'm a poor aged woman, was never at school, and is no scholar with letters, but I've seen pictures in the chapel with Paradise on one side, and harps and pipes in it, and the place on the other side, where sinners do be boiled in torment (1909: 43)

Synge's translations from French therefore illustrate dramatically the author's close contact with the English speech and sensibility of Irish country people.

In conclusion, although poetry translation is not numerically important in book form, it is nonetheless a prominent and crucial area of translation in nineteenth-century Ireland, essentially and primarily published through the periodical press. The above-mentioned translations need to be considered against the background of their translators' better-known literary achievements. In the case of Synge or Yeats, translation attests to an opening of a distinct Irish style in English-language Irish literature. Translations from French convey a sense of cultural renewal which had begun to gather momentum and show deep connections and affinities between the French and Irish cultures. Yet, as we have seen, translation of French poetry occurred all through the nineteenth century, reflecting Ireland's cultural, social and political circumstances during the period, as well as contributing to the formation of an Irish poetic tradition in English.

It is striking that in the field of poetry, those authors who were most prominent in translation, save Lamartine and Hugo, do not seem to match the vision we have today of nineteenth-century French poetry. Indeed, poets such as Baudelaire or Rimbaud, to name only two among those who are most widely read and studied today, were not prominent, and in some cases virtually non-existent in nineteenth-century translation. An interest in these writers was beginning to grow towards the close of the century, but translations from such authors were in the main produced, and read, outside Ireland. On the other hand, selections of poems from writers such as Delavigne, Desbordes-Valmore or Chénier appear in works by Irish translators and were available to an Irish audience, particularly through newspaper contributions. Most strikingly, Pierre-Jean de Béranger, who has now been largely forgotten, both in Ireland and in France, was, as we shall see shortly, the most popular and translated French-language poet in nineteenth-century Ireland.

Lastly, translations of French poetry in nineteenth-century Ireland explore deeply the Romantic themes of exile, martyrdom, death and grief, with many religious and social connotations. Translation of French poetry has much to reveal about Ireland's poets in the nineteenth century. It may have provided a medium to express sentiments aroused by specifically Irish experiences. Hence, Connolly remarks that Irish Romantic aesthetics were deeply connected with the sociopolitical experiences of post-1798 Ireland, that is "post-1798 devastation, the broken promises and forced measure of the Union, Emmet's failed rebellion, famine and agrarian disturbances" (2006: 442). Yet, she notes, the Romantic language of despair and sorrow "survives as a literary and cultural resource into more prosperous and promising times" (ibid).

6.5 Overall Conclusion to Chapters Three to Six

To conclude first with translation of literary writings, theatre adaptation in nineteenth-century Ireland appears to share a common element with poetry. This common element is the fact that, while part of the century is characterized by translation from relatively contemporary authors, late-nineteenth century trends prioritize French classics and medieval sources rather than contemporary writings. We may argue that, within the framework of the Irish literary revival, authors such as Molière and Villon seem to have provided both prestige and adequate texture for the creation of a new literature in English, a movement of renewal yet also attentive to the past and to the demotic and folk roots of culture.

In fiction and children's literature, attention to contemporary sources, as well as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writings, is given throughout the century, but moral and religious values seem to prevail in matters of text selection. Here, many contemporary texts and trends are neglected by Ireland's agents of translation in favour of edifying and religious fictions, historical novels and adventure stories. Catholic novels and stories drew the special attention of Irish women translators, who, generally-speaking, contributed significantly to the area of fiction and children's literature.

Translation of literary writings in nineteenth-century Ireland indicates a variety of interests and a great number of translators, notably in poetry. But while some of the Romantic trends are well reflected in translation, other and later movements such as Realism, Naturalism or Symbolism are less prominent in translation than we may have expected. In general, and

notwithstanding other cultural and socioeconomic factors which lie beyond the scope of this investigation, we may indeed speculate that moral values played a significant role in the selection of literary texts.

Chapters Three through Six have provided an overview of overall trends in translation of French writing in nineteenth-century Ireland. This survey of Ireland's library holdings, periodicals and catalogues has unveiled patterns of producing, publishing and reading translations which were closely connected to a general sociohistorical context as well as to more specific and individual situations. The translation landscape thus unveiled is incredibly vast and complex, and the purpose of this concluding section is to bring together elements which are common to various areas of translation, particularly those which are crucial to Ireland's social, cultural and political history in the nineteenth century. Moreover, several important aspects will be addressed later in the overall conclusions of this thesis. These are essentially sociocultural aspects concerning Irish translators, as well as some noteworthy approaches to translation.

A crucial aspect of translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland is the use of translation to promote religious and political beliefs. This is true of various religious denominations and sociopolitical ideologies. Translations often come with an array of paratextual devices which help make their purpose clear. While prefatory remarks, dedications and translators' notes are the most obvious of such devices, religious translation is also characterized by additional paratexts such as approbations, which add weight to the promotion of particular principles. Correspondingly, translation is given much significance as a tool to reach out to an expanding English-reading public which was not always capable of reading texts in the French language. Translation therefore greatly facilitated access to French literature. Translation from French was becoming a vital necessity and a marketable niche. It helped compensate for the lack of relevant works in English, notably in the case of Catholic writings. In this case, translation from French was deemed a necessity and even a blessing. Indeed, several Catholic agents of translation believed that their translations from French 'conferred a boon' upon Irish readers.

When the subject of Ireland was raised in religious, political and historical translation, much emphasis was laid on the fact that French writers provided views from outside and that they were accordingly impartial, indeed 'free from party spirit and religious rancour'. This does not, however, mean that there was no political or religious purpose behind such translations.

Generally-speaking, and across various areas of translation such as religion, history or philology, there was great concern for credibility, authenticity and tradition. For example, we have seen that translators and writers of religious histories often stressed that their texts rested on trustworthy, authentic documents and sources, and that their works perpetuated well-established traditions.

Competing translations were not unusual, and there seems to have been various impulses behind re-translations. Ideology may have been only one of the reasons. Hence, we noticed re-translations of texts by Orsini, and Chateaubriand for example. In some cases, notably that of the *Génie du christianisme*, there were Catholic and Protestant ‘versions’. Orsini’s translators, however, were all Catholic and re-translations were sometimes produced with a view to improve textual quality or to add missing material. Occasionally, a concern for adapting the text to a particular readership prevailed, notably to an Irish or Irish-American readership, or to a particular age group. It can be argued as well that creative and aesthetic impulses came into play at other times, notably in the areas of theatre and poetry translation.

Another constant aim in translation was the instruction and edification of readers. This was common to writers, translators and publishers across several domains, from religion, fiction and children’s literature, to history. This can be seen in the light of what was discussed in the chapter on literacy, that is, a general view of literature as a means towards social and moral improvement. Indeed, translations which could provide instruction and/or edification were often the most popular. This is the case, for example, of Madame Cottin’s *Elizabeth*, but many translations of fictional and non-fictional, particularly historical and religious works, aimed at both instruction and edification. In this sense, there seems to have been some common moral values across various denominations and political allegiances. Furthermore, there was much talk about ‘good’ and ‘bad’ books. Reading lists, such as the *IER*’s best hundred books, were becoming a regular feature of the day, and they often contained translations from French. The Christian Brothers provided a list of recommendable books in *Christian Politeness*. They recommended authors such as Rollin, Bossuet and others. The positivists too produced their reading lists, notably Auguste Comte’s *Positivist library* (TCD).

Accordingly, concerns about denominational and non-denominational education, a serious debate in the nineteenth century, emerge in translation of fictional and non-fictional Catholic writings, notably in translation of children’s literature. With an active involvement of

translators and publishers such as Chetwode, the Sadliers, Gill and Son or the Christian Brothers, translation from French in this area reflects particularly well the strengthening of Catholic education in nineteenth-century Ireland. It also generally points to the identity-forming potential of children's literature, and the role given to translation in this process. We should moreover acknowledge that there were other Irish ventures in children's literature, such as translations from Jules Verne or Hector Malot, which were not necessarily based on religious concerns.

Closely connected to ideological and moral values, and to views of literature, was the fact that in numerous cases translation was a 'reactive' process. In other words, translations often came about in reaction to previous texts or to particular situations. This is the case, for instance, of O'Kelly's translation of MacGeoghegan's history, as well as of many translations dealing with Irish history and affairs. Indeed, reacting to previous works of history about Ireland, and what was deemed to be historical inaccuracies and prejudice, translators, editors and publishers often aimed at restoring a positive image of Ireland. A fair political and religious treatment was aimed for through publication of 'accurate' histories, and translation from French was a key source of such material in the nineteenth century.

Moreover, there were particularly strong reactions towards certain literatures on moral and religious grounds. Hard-line moral stances by Charles G. Duffy and others against French fictional literature seem extreme, but such views were not uncommon. Frances Cashel Hoey, who did not seem to belong to the most conservative factions, still referred to 'the moral deterioration of France'. The Sadliers, a little more outspoken in matters of religious and moral values, reacted to a certain type of fictional literature in general. 'Godless' literature and sensational stories were thought to be some wicked weapons of depravity and corruption, and the only way to counteract their effects was to disseminate texts which were selected 'on account of the sound principles of religion and morality'. To some extent, certain reactions to the French Revolution were similar to such moral stances against French fictional works, though most of the anti-Enlightenment and anti-Revolution animus was embedded in Catholic discourse. Hence, translations from writers such as Chateaubriand, Barruel, Abbé MacCarthy and de Maistre, or Abbé Cummins's translation from Boulogne, were closely linked to a reaction against the Revolution and Enlightenment writings. Mahony, Abbé MacCarthy's translator, manages to join together all thoughts that are non-religious and non-Catholic as forming a common enemy. Ideas of wickedness, decay, corruption and poison serve to create a powerful and influential image of these 'enemies'. Yet, French literature

seems to have presented both poison and remedy, and translation of French writings was indeed used as an ‘antidote’ too. This of course has been made evident by the survey’s overall results, which show the huge interest in French writings. More specifically, it is particularly evident in the case of initiatives such as Duffy’s and the Sadlier’s publications, or with John Healy and his Catholic Truth Society of Ireland. Moreover, the CTSI’s publications attest to another crucial trend that characterizes translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland, that is, as we shall see now, a ‘National and Catholic’ bent.

There is much interplay of historiographic, religious and political elements in nineteenth-century translation of French writings. Generally-speaking, there is an overlapping network of agents of translation, not only translators and publishers who are involved in the publication of translations belonging to various fields of literature and knowledge, but also actors who undertake various activities, including translation, novel writing, history writing, journalism, pastoral duties, or social and political activism. Furthermore, many prominent figures were closely connected with some form of Irish nationalism. This is particularly the case of John P. Leonard and the Sadliers, and in a less outspoken manner, of Frances Cashel Hoey. Leonard’s translation of Dupanloup’s life gathers several themes which many Irish Catholics deemed of importance in the nineteenth century, that is, Catholic education, relations with Rome, religious liberty, church and state issues. Concurrently, Leonard, who counted many Irish nationalists as his friends, translated much material on the Irish question, raising socioeconomic, political and religious issues. This was often done with a view to improve the conditions of Irish Catholics as well as a view to some kind of political independence. Besides Mary Anne’s works, the Sadliers published or reissued works such as MacGeoghegan’s, John Mitchel’s and Thomas D’Arcy McGee’s histories of Ireland. They also published the Nun of Kenmare’s *Life of O’Connell*. In fact, promoting a view of the Irish as a Catholic nation, Cusack’s and Sadlier’s writings seem to echo each other across the Atlantic.

The theme of martyrdom recurs in religious, fictional and historical accounts, as well as in poetry. In a general manner, the martyr-hero or the martyr-poet evokes situations where liberty is violated. In the case of Protestant or Catholic narratives, the concern is often for religious liberty. For Catholics, the theme allows them to recall a socio-political context in which Catholic faith is endangered, and for which heroes fight, suffer or die. Such heroes or martyrs are frequent features of Catholic fictional and historical narratives, such as translations from Raoul de Navery or Sadlier’s original writings. There are other typical

examples of close connections between translations of French Catholic writings and Irish nationalist aspirations. The *IER*'s 'Hundred Good Books' has Moore's *Melodies*, Bourdaloue's Sermons, Montalembert's *Monks of the West* and C.G. Duffy's *Young Ireland* on the same page. James Duffy and the *Nation* newspapers are two other eloquent examples. Duffy was one of the main providers of translations from French, most of which Catholic writings, and his publications were regularly advertised in the *Nation*. He was also the main publisher of the Young Ireland movement. It is no coincidence, then, that Duffy's firm reissued some of Sadlier's works in Ireland. Hence, through their publications and activities, agents of translation such as Duffy, Leonard or the Sadliers played a role in bringing closer together Irish Catholicism and Irish nationalism. The survey shows that there were many more actors in the process.

Interestingly, the same key players in the field of translation from French attest to a growth of Irish Catholic historiography in the nineteenth century. In this regard, it can be argued that translation of French writings may have contributed to this development. Indeed, it is not insignificant that the main trends in translation from French during that period are religion, mainly Catholic writings, and history. Here again, there seems to be a convergence of trends. In particular, this may be considered in the light of various Catholic religious histories which were translated from the French. Moreover, translation of foreign texts, as exemplified by Patrick Power's discourse on the history of Marian devotion, may have pointed to a want in particular areas of Irish historiography. Furthermore, Gaelic culture and ultramontane Catholicism became firmly attached together during the nineteenth century, and translation of French writings in the domains of history, politics, religion and fiction bears testimony to this crucial development. As we have seen, translation played a part in the growth of Catholic literature and of Roman Catholic religious life in nineteenth-century Ireland, and the tendency was increasingly ultramontane.

Notwithstanding this crucial merging of Catholicism and Irish nationalism through Roman Catholic practice, Catholic politics, as well as through fiction and history writing, there are other important aspects of translation from French. They are not necessarily unconnected though. Cultural nationalism and internationalistic approaches, as we have seen, are crucial trends which have emerged through this survey. Nationalism and internationalism could go hand in hand in translation, as exemplified by figures such as Lady Wilde (see also Historical chapter). On the one hand, they translated European literature and on the other, they could write from a nationalistic or patriotic outlook. We have seen that the influence of European

nationalism and Romantic historicism, notably through Augustin Thierry, Mazzini or Herder, merged with specifically Irish complaints, particularly through Thomas Davis's discourse. In translation from French, histories, poetry and national fictions seem the most important modes and channels of Romantic nationalism, but other areas of translation, such as philology, poetry or art history can also reflect cultural nationalist agendas. In particular, a vindication of Irish antiquity and an emphasis on the Celtic past were two important aspects of philology, religion and history in translation. There was much interest in the early Christian church and in the Middle Ages, with great emphasis on early Christian art, Irish monasteries and Irish learning in medieval times. The Ireland of saints and scholars was therefore vindicated through translation. Moreover, translation from French helped discover, preserve, understand and make accessible a corpus of medieval and Celtic literature. Views of early Irish Christianity were often re-appropriated by Catholic writers and translators, but interest in the medieval Irish past was not confined to Irish Catholic writers and translators. On the contrary, there were several contributors to medievalist studies who, like Margaret Stokes, were from a Protestant and Anglo-Irish background. Medievalist studies, as with many translations in the domains of religion or history, were an act of cultural nationalism, often aiming to counter anti-Irish prejudice in historical writing. Even when they were not aiming towards political independence from England, translations which provided information on Irish history, language or antiquity were markers of cultural specificity.

What may be above all interesting is how translators and other agents of translation have established and developed networks across cultures and languages. The cultural nationalist agenda often seem to be a fundamental building-block, but there were other various interests which stimulated the growth of such transnational networks. Transnational features and outward-looking attitudes are crucial to an understanding of translation from French in the nineteenth century. Interestingly, even in the case of Auguste Comte's transnational network, we have seen how issues of political autonomy were a common concern among positivists, particularly as regards Ireland. Generally-speaking, in the light of scientific, positivist and art history translations, Irish Anglicans formed a very scientifically aware community which was fundamentally outward-looking in approach. In other words, contact with French culture and with French-language thinkers was far from being confined to Irish Catholics, who, certainly due to historical circumstances, had formed a strong relationship with Europe.

Lastly, sociopolitical concerns over social and political equality, land issues, tithes, political representation or women's conditions, emerged strongly across several areas of translation

from French, notably in history, religious history, politics, travel and the emerging sociology of positivist philosophy. Translations reflect a wide spectrum of mixed political allegiances and interests. There was certainly a strong interest in the development of the French Republic and in the successive revolutions, as well as an attachment to the French aristocratic past, to which the Jacobites and the Irish Brigade were closely linked. A powerful sense of French national pride was emerging through national histories and poetry, and this overall sentiment seems to have fascinated the Irish public. This is particularly evident through the numerous translations that had Napoleon as their subject, though this overall fascination with the French emperor was also largely driven by fear and hostility. Yet, a sense of Irish national or cultural pride emerged in parallel, be it in relation to the Irish medieval past, to the old Gaelic aristocracy or to the Irish Brigades. Land issues and tithes were often mentioned in translation of historical, religious and political texts, with a focus on Ireland's socioeconomic conditions. Women's conditions were occasionally a source of concern too, notably in the case of the early socialists Wheeler and Thompson. However, very often, the position of women in society was generally seen from a conservative point of view. In other words, an essentially domestic role was generally advocated for women.

Finally, the notion of 'the people' was emerging through various texts, notably in relation to Lamennais, and signalled a growth of transnational democratic aspirations as well as strong concerns for the welfare of the lower classes. In areas of translation such as philology, 'the people' emerged as the main source and carrier of oral literature, as exemplified by O'Hagan's essay. Hence, there were two emerging visions of humanity: that of 'the people', which had no particular nationality, and that of the 'peoples', which was essentially a focus on the idea of nationality. As we shall see now in the next chapter, these two emerging themes, as well as other particular aspects discussed so far, are indeed crucial to translation of French poetry in nineteenth-century Ireland.

CHAPTER SEVEN: TRANSLATING BÉRANGER IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND: FOR THE PEOPLE, THE REPUBLIC AND THE NATION

As noted in the preceding chapter, there were very few collections of poems translated from one single French-language author in the nineteenth century. As regards Irish translators and publishers, such initiatives were practically non-existent. Yet, two such small monographs were found in Ireland's library holdings, one by Michael Joseph Barry, the other by Hubert De Burgh. Both volumes were devoted to the songs of Pierre-Jean de Béranger. The sole anthology of French contemporary poetry in translation produced by an Irish translator was that of Mrs. B. Somers. In her anthology, Somers devotes much space to Béranger's poetry. To this day, twenty Irish translators of Béranger's poems have been identified, and several more still remain unidentified. They have been taken into consideration for having published at least one full poem translated from Béranger. Added to these, there were several translated extracts in newspapers and magazines. This represents a relatively considerable number of Irish translators for one poet, suggesting that the level of interest in the French songwriter was great in Ireland at the time. Yet, Béranger has now been largely forgotten, both in Ireland and in France. He is occasionally mentioned in works on French history, which suggests that he may have become a historical rather than a literary subject³⁸.

This chapter sets out to explore the reception and the impact of Béranger in nineteenth-century Ireland through translation. In other words, it outlines the reasons why translators in Ireland were interested in his songs, and what songs they chose to translate, and explores the various discourses on Béranger outside translations. To this purpose, various comments in the press have been investigated. The figure of Béranger seems to have attracted the attention of a diverse public, and the translators who are portrayed in this chapter come from various

³⁸ See for example Lyons (1994: 184-187) and Tombs (1996: 92; 124; 344).

political and religious backgrounds. Yet, while their approaches to Béranger may differ at times, there are strong points of convergence among them.

The first part of this chapter provides a brief sketch of Béranger's life, character and works. The second part is a survey of Béranger's Irish translators. Well over two hundred translations have been identified, including anonymous publications. A list of translators and translations is provided in Appendix B. The third part examines the impact of Béranger's songs in Ireland through the lens of translations, paratexts, and other comments found in the press. Lastly, a conclusion summarizes and determines the critical elements of the relationship between Ireland and Béranger, and opens the discussion to the idea of a wider European network of translations from Béranger.

7.1 Béranger, Poet of the People and Patriotic Songwriter

Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780-1857) was from a humble Parisian background, in spite of the aristocratic particle added to the family name by his father (Béranger 1858: 14). One of the main influences on the development of his political views was his aunt, a Catholic but also an ardent republican and patriotic woman who took charge of him and of his education when he was a child (ibid: 18-20). The revolutionary wars aroused his patriotic emotions (ibid: 22), and patriotism indeed became a central element of his character and works. The cause of the Revolution and that of the French nation became inextricably linked in his mind ever after. Accordingly, his writings were to be marked throughout his life by a fear of foreign invasion and by strong elements of Anglophobia. A child of the Revolution and of the Republic, he attended "L'Institut patriotique", a school founded by a disciple of Rousseau. There, children were supposed to recreate a republican society and were taught to play at politics and war (ibid: 26-27).

It was at this time, too, that Béranger acquired the gift of song as, he recalls, every member of his family sung (ibid: 27). He worked as an apprentice at a printing office, but soon chose to follow his vocation as a songwriter. While living in Paris he experienced extreme poverty, but succeeded in obtaining the patronage of Lucien Bonaparte in 1804 (Touchard 1968a: 91-92). He took up a small position in the administration offices of the Imperial University until 1821. His first political chanson, however, was to be 'Le roi d'Yvetot', a light satire on the

Napoleonic Empire, which he published in 1813. It soon became one of the best-known songs in the country (Locke 2001: 300). From then on, his popularity soared. In 1813, he joined the 'Caveau moderne', a singing club whose members traditionally sang in praise of wine, women and song (ibid). The aftermath of the fearful period of the Terror in late eighteenth-century France had seen a renaissance of singing societies (Touchard 1968a: 116). Their members, many of whom were vaudeville playwrights, did not concern themselves with politics. Touchard (ibid: 115) distinguishes three main types of songs at the time: popular, political, and epicurean. The latter genre, exempt from poetical or political ambition, was typical of the Caveau's productions, and Béranger's early repertoire of songs mostly belonged to the epicurean genre (ibid). Yet, Béranger, often referred to as the 'French Benjamin Franklin', was increasingly interested in the social and political role of songs. Touchard (ibid: 149-157) observes that he already stood out amongst the epicurean songwriters for his cultivation of moral and social themes such as charity, fraternity, old-age wisdom, poverty and simplicity. While the Caveau songwriters were generally compliant with both the Empire and the Restoration, Béranger would soon become the songwriter of the opposition (ibid: 160).

Béranger was a staunch opponent to the Bourbon Restoration, during which he yearned for a return to a republican government. He directed his satirical pen mostly towards the court and the clergy. Béranger was not, however, an atheist nor was he against religion in general. Indeed, he was a great admirer of Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* and believed in a charitable, paternal God, the 'God of all good people' and the God of wine, love and friendship (ibid: 94; 228-230). A close friend of Lamennais, Chateaubriand and Lamartine towards the end of his life, Béranger believed that the cradle of poetry, particularly the song genre, lay among the people and that the voice of the people was the voice of God (Touchard 1968a: 23; 131). He often stressed that he was not against religion as such, rather against the ways in which it was 'delivered' to the people and against the use of religion for political motives (ibid: 497). In this respect, several of his songs, particularly his satires against the Jesuits, reflect well the anticlericalism of the liberal opposition during the Restoration (ibid: 234-240).

Following the defeat at Waterloo, France's surrender to the Allies, and the establishment of the Restoration, Béranger began writing songs which reflected the nostalgic Napoleonic spirit that prevailed among many at the time. This was closely linked to a general feeling of national humiliation. Touchard (ibid: 200-201) observes that political songs represented an

effective and powerful force during the Restoration. By this time, the epicurean singing societies of Paris had been largely replaced by the singing clubs called the ‘goguettes’, which, despite the government’s ban on politics in singing assemblies, were more popular and political in tone and character (ibid: 202-203). The ‘goguettes’ became associated with popular opposition to the Restoration, and indeed helped propagate Béranger’s songs. His lyrics were sung throughout France, and the government became acutely aware of the impact of his songs among the population (ibid: 388). Consequent to the publication of his political and anticlerical songs, Béranger was imprisoned for seditious libel twice during the Restoration, in 1821 and 1828 (ibid: 206-207; 393-394). Yet, as Day-Hickman points out, “his imprisonment made such a strong impression on his devotees that he was considered a martyr for the liberal cause” (1999: 30). Moreover, Béranger was unanimously praised for his indefatigable benevolence, in prison as well as outside, and he is known to have helped many who fell victim to either political repression or to poverty (Touchard 1968a: 380). He particularly took care of Rouget de Lisle, who, despite composing the patriotic *Marseillaise*, had been reduced to obscurity and poverty (ibid).

Béranger was a Philhellenist and a supporter of Polish national independence. His successful song ‘La Sainte Alliance des Peuples’ was a plea for a Europe of peoples in opposition to a Europe ruled by monarchs. His Philhellenism was both political and cultural (Touchard 1968a: 35). For him, Athens was the capital of culture and liberty while Rome was the capital of despotism, the city of emperors and popes (ibid). Béranger, notes Touchard (ibid: 512-514), did not however belong to either the Classicists or the Romantics. He drew some of his inspiration from the Classics, and had inherited a French lyrical tradition, but at the same time, his works closely reflected the French society of his day. He counted several Romantics among his friends, but was not inclined towards English and German literature as many French Romantics were. Additionally, he could not follow an ‘Art for Art’s sake’ approach because he was convinced that literature, particularly in a conflicted society such as that of France under the Restoration, had to be useful (ibid: 515). In this regard, he has been considered as a leading exponent of ‘l’art social’ in nineteenth-century France (Touchard 1968b: 105-106). Touchard (ibid) notes that ‘l’art social’, or, the use of art as a social action, was a major movement in post-1830 France. In a somewhat prophetic manner, Béranger declared that his popularity owed to ‘the good sense which kept me from despising the cultivation of an inferior style which led to no literary honours’ (1858: 185).

Yet, even Théophile Gautier, one of the most outspoken supporters of Romantic aesthetics, wrote that Béranger deserved the title of ‘national poet’ (Touchard 1968a: 528). Béranger attempted to develop the poetic aspect of songs, and this too was a clear departure from the Caveau’s tradition (ibid: 205-206). Most of his friends and admirers, who included literary figures such as Stendhal, Lamartine, Lamennais, Michelet, Chateaubriand and Alexandre Dumas *père*, agreed that Béranger had elevated the song to a more poetical genre. He was very often likened to Horace and Anacreon, as well as to La Fontaine and Molière³⁹. At least until his death, after which adverse criticism of his works began to arise, many thought that his name would remain immortal in the rolls of fame. Even though several of the above-named writers were poles apart from Béranger as regards politics, literary styles or religious and moral convictions, they all admired his patriotic vein, his natural obligingness, his independence of mind, and they all acknowledged him as the ‘lyrist of the people’. In the early 1820s, Béranger used to meet regularly with leading scholars and historians of his time, notably Michelet, Thiers, Mignet, Augustin Thierry and Fauriel (ibid: 358). Michelet, in particular, was Béranger’s favourite historian, and became very close to the songwriter (Touchard 1968b: 159). They both shared a concern for the ‘people’ (ibid: 235-237). Following Béranger’s death in 1857, numerous publications appeared, including various tributes and imitations. This in turn played against the ‘national poet’, initiating a flow of reactions in the name of religion, morality, art, beauty and politics (ibid: 373-422). Oblivion would soon follow.

Not only is Béranger regarded as a key figure in the creation and propagation of the Napoleonic legend, he is also widely considered to have had a strong influence on the Revolution of 1830. Yet, although he exerted great impact on the French political mind between 1815 and 1848, and was close to various politicians, he was not directly involved in any political party. He was elected a member of the Parliament in 1848, but he refused any political or academic position that was offered to him. He also announced his general ‘retirement’ in the 1830s. In France, as Locke (2001: 301) notes, Béranger had a lasting influence on contemporary working-class songwriters as well as on activist songwriters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and beyond. He expressed the feelings of the popular masses, and for half a century, many held him as the national lyricist and the poet of the people.

³⁹ See Touchard (1968a: 400-401; 518), as well as Stendhal’s, Gérard de Nerval’s and Chateaubriand’s praises of Béranger (ibid: 338-339; 427-429 and 1968b: 166 respectively).

7.2 A Survey of Béranger's Irish Translators

As much as possible, the following bio-bibliographical sketches follow a chronological order. In other words, translators who seem to have published the earliest translations will be discussed first. There is much discrepancy in the availability of biographical resources, and while there is no shortage of information for some translators, resources are very scarce for others. Emphasis is given here to details that may help us understand their relationship with French culture and with Béranger. The choice of translations and predominant themes developed both in translation and in paratexts will be discussed in a subsequent section.

William Maginn (1793-1842)

Born in Cork City of a Protestant family, he was educated there at the school where his father was a classics master. A precocious child, he was only about fourteen when he graduated from TCD (Latané 2004: 123). He then took the position of classics master in Cork. In addition to Greek, Latin and Hebrew, he knew many languages, including French, Irish, Swedish, Modern Greek and the Basque language. He moved to London in 1824, and remained in England until his death, except for a short period of time spent working as a correspondent in Paris. He contributed many articles to several periodicals, but is mostly known for his contributions to *Blackwood's Magazine*, and to *Fraser's Magazine* as one of the 'Fraserians'. He shares some common traits with Francis Mahony. Indeed, Latané remarks that for over twenty years, Maginn "stirred the pot with learned, witty, and frequently scurrilous essays, reviews, parodies, burlesques, and pasquinades, almost all anonymous or pseudonymous" (ibid: 126). Despite being a prolific journalist and a key figure in London's literary circle, both his finances and health declined very fast from the mid-1830s onwards and he spent time in the debtor's prison. He died of tuberculosis and in great poverty and was buried in a pauper's grave in England.

It is quite probable that Maginn was the anonymous translator of the *Memoirs of Vidocq* (1828), since an extract, the 'Slang Song', can be found in the collected volumes of his works. He appended numerous notes to the song, demonstrating his close knowledge of the

Parisian argot. He also translated the *Memoirs of Madame Du Barri* (1830) and Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du goût*. According to Latané (ibid: 123), Maginn had strong unionist and establishment views. He was nonetheless very proud of his Irish background, and of Cork in particular. In 1835, he published a review of Scottishman Henry David Inglis's *Ireland in 1834*, providing a vindication of the 'Irish Genius'. Significantly, he wrote: 'I will observe that the celebrated metaphysician Berkeley, the learned Usher, (...), Tom Moore, a song-writer second only to Béranger, were all Irishmen' (1857: 201).

Maginn is one of Béranger's earliest known translators. His translations were collected in various posthumous volumes, but they were originally published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in the late 1820s and early 1830s, and possibly in *Fraser's Magazine* too. His version of 'Monsieur Judas' appeared in *Blackwood's* in 1829. So far, around ten translations from Béranger have been accounted for, including the Bacchic song 'Brennus', the more politically-oriented 'The Holy Alliance', as well as 'The God of Honest People'.

Samuel Ferguson (1810-1886)

Already introduced in the historical chapter, Belfast-born Ferguson was noted for his lifelong enthusiasm for Irish history, language and culture, and for his legacy to the Irish literary revival. A unionist, Ferguson was however active with the Protestant Repeal Movement in 1847, until his marriage to Mary Catherine Guinness in Dublin (Denman 2009: 761).

Mostly known in relation to translation from Irish, it may come as a surprise that Ferguson was also one of Béranger's earlier translators. Like Maginn, his translations from the French lyricist, including 'The Studies of the Ladies' and 'The Doctor and The Patient', were published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, in 1833. They do not appear to be the most political of Béranger's songs. Nor were they Béranger's most translated songs.

(Rev.) Francis Sylvester Mahony (1804-1866)

Mahony, aka 'Father Prout', has been amply introduced in the previous chapter, particularly his close relationship with French culture and with translation. The 'Songs of France' were first published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1834 and Mahony gave prominence to Béranger's songs, including 'Popular Recollections of Bonaparte' and 'The Song of Brennus'.

Mahony's translations have been reissued individually in various Irish periodicals. In particular, the patriotic 'Three-coloured Flag' was published in several nationalist papers, and 'The Funeral of David the painter' appeared in *Young Ireland Magazine* in 1882 and in *The Dublin Journal* in 1887. His translations therefore enjoyed a certain longevity and were among those with whom the Irish public was most familiar.

William Dowe (1815-1891)

A poet and journalist from County Cork too, William Dowe does not, however, share the fame of his fellow Corkmen Mahony and Maginn. Similarly, he used an array of pseudonyms, including 'Delta, Cork' in the *Nation*. He moved to America in 1848, and contributed to John Mitchel's *Irish Citizen* (O'Donoghue 1970: 116). He remained there until his death.

Dowe was a prolific translator, and contributed numerous translations from various French authors to the *DUM* and the *Cork Examiner* in the 1840s, most of them from Béranger. His Béranger translations in the *DUM* amount to about twenty-seven, and there are several extracts as well. They were published in 1844-1845 in a series of articles on Béranger and his Songs. They include 'Song of the Cossaque', 'The King of Yvetot' and 'Mary Stuart's Farewell'. According to O'Donoghue, Dowe "was preparing a volume of translations about this time, but does not appear to have published them in book form" (ibid).

Denis Florence MacCarthy (1817-1882)

A polyglot, MacCarthy was already mentioned for his various translation works, notably in relation to Chénier. Born into a middle-class Catholic family in Dublin, he attended both Maynooth College and TCD (Quinn 2009a: 790). He contributed prose and verse to a number of Irish periodicals, notably the *Nation*. MacCarthy wrote much rousing nationalist poetry and was a founding member of the Irish Confederation in 1847 (ibid: 791). He counted among his friends Samuel Ferguson, John O'Hagan, Charles Gavan Duffy and John O'Donovan.

Two of his translations from the French of Béranger have been located. He published 'Nature' under his pseudonym 'Desmond' in the *Nation* in 1844, and was probably the

translator of 'The Eagle and The Star', which appeared in the *Young Ireland* newspaper in 1877 under the initials 'F.M.C.'

John O'Hagan (1822-1890)

The next contribution occurred around the same time as MacCarthy, and it was a translation by MacCarthy's Young Irelander friend, John O'Hagan. A brief introduction to O'Hagan was provided in reference to his translation of *The Song of Roland* (see General Survey).

O'Hagan's social and religious background was similar to MacCarthy's, and he too contributed much patriotic verse to the *Nation*, his best-known piece being 'Ourselves alone' (1842) (Sturgeon and Quinn 2009: 511-512). He was a founding member of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, with John K. Ingram.

O'Hagan too may have translated more from French than we are aware of. We assume that he was the translator of Béranger's 'The Gallic Slaves', published in the *Nation* in 1844 under the pen-name of 'Slievegullion', one of his most common pseudonyms. Accordingly, he may have been 'Slieve Gallion', who contributed a translation of Béranger's 'Malgré la voix de la sagesse' to the *Nation* in 1843.

Mrs. B. Somers, née O'Reilly

The shadowy 'Mrs. B. Somers' comes next in the chronological order, since her *Selections from the Modern Poets of France* was published in 1846. It was issued in Dublin by S. J. Machen. Somers wrote her preface from County Meath, but she was from Ballymorris, County Longford (O'Donoghue 1970: 434). This is probably where she met novelist and educationist Maria Edgeworth, who appears to have been an intimate friend and to whom Somers dedicated her work. She tells Edgeworth that the subject of her work is 'virtue' (1846: v), and it is to this end that she made a careful selection. Indeed, she notes, although modern French poetry offers variety, elegance, allying 'harmony and grace, with force and feeling' (ibid: vii), she also believes that it 'too often re-echoes impure sentiments in morals and religion' (ibid: viii). Accordingly, she has selected texts 'from the late and present poets of France, in which this blemish does not exist' (ibid). She is therefore offering 'specimens' which are

gracefully in accordance with the mighty spirit which happily, in that land, still lives, and breathes, and gains daily vigour – the spirit of Christianity, which, be the sin what it may, will battle with it, and will conquer (ibid: ix)

She continues her preface with a few words on that spirit of Christianity which cannot but remind us of Chateaubriand. Somers translated five of Béranger's songs, including 'Recollections of the People' and 'St Helena – 5th May, 1821'.

Martin MacDermott (1823-1905)

Irish poet and architect Martin MacDermott was briefly introduced in relation to art history. Born into a middle-class Catholic family in Dublin, his mother was of French descent and he was educated both in Dublin and in Boulogne, France (O'Donoghue 2004: 194). He converted to Protestantism early in life. He contributed poems to the *Nation* and the *Irish Felon* in the 1840s, one of the most popular being 'The Coulin' (ibid). Closely involved in the Young Ireland movement, he was in the unsuccessful delegation sent to Lamartine in Paris in 1848 and remained there until 1851. He was a founder member of the Irish Literary Society, and editor of various patriotic works. He was generally deeply active in promoting Irish literature and culture. Although he had to live and work outside Ireland for most of his life, mainly in Egypt and England, his deepest wish as an Irish architect is best summed up by his saying 'what I most desire is to raise up the churches of the old time; to nationalise, in fact, our architecture' (1889: 4)⁴⁰.

So far, six translations from Béranger by MacDermott have been noticed. They were published in the *Cork Magazine* in 1848, in a monthly series entitled 'The Songs of Pierre Jean de Béranger'. They include 'Red-Haired Jean' and 'The Prisoner of war'.

Percival Weldon Banks (1805-1850)

There is no extant biography of Percival Weldon Banks, but we were able to gather fragments of information, notably from a biographical notice (ODNB) on his brother, John Thomas Banks. Their father was a surgeon from Ennis, Co. Clare, and they were educated at TCD. A loyalist Protestant, barrister and writer, Percival Weldon Banks is mostly remembered for his

⁴⁰ 'Living Irish Writers: Martin MacDermott' (1889), *Nation*, Feb 9, p.4

contributions to *Fraser's Magazine* under the pseudonym 'Morgan Rattler' (Coakley 2004: 690).

It was under this pseudonym that Banks contributed a laudatory article on Béranger in 1849, entitled 'Of a philosopher, a patriot, a poet'⁴¹. His essay contains two translations, one of 'La Bonne vieille' and the other of 'Le Grenier'.

John Thomas Rowland (1825?-1875)

One of the least-known of Béranger's translators is John Thomas Rowland, Esq., from County Louth. He worked as a solicitor in Drogheda and in America (O'Donoghue 1970: 406). He contributed poems to various journals in Drogheda as well as in the *Nation* and the *Irishman*. He also published translations from Irish, notably 'The Prophecy of MacAuliffe' for O'Kearney's *Prophecies of St Columbkille* in 1856 (RICORSO).

His translations from Béranger were part of his 'Lecture on Béranger, the French Lyric Poet, delivered in the Drogheda Mechanics' Institute, on Monday, February 8th, 1858', which was subsequently printed in Drogheda. Apart from one or two pieces, all translations in the lecture are his own. They include 'My Tomb' and 'The Good Frenchman'. He also gave 'The Old Flag' but the text is not reproduced in the printed version.

Charles Graham Halpine [Halpin] (1829-1868)

A writer and journalist from County Meath, Halpine was the son of Nicholas John Halpin, a Protestant clergyman and newspaper editor (Rouse 2009: 371). Halpine emigrated to America in 1851 and remained there until his early death in 1868, working long hours as a journalist and editor. In the same vein as Maginn and Mahony, he wrote pseudonymous satires and humorous sketches. He served as army officer in the 69th Regiment during the American civil war. He then began to sign most of his writings as '[Private] Miles O'Reilly'. According to Rouse, "he was actively involved in the Young Ireland movement in Dublin and London" (ibid), and campaigned vigorously against corruption in politics. He wrote some historical

⁴¹ In *Fraser's Magazine*, V.40, Nov 1849, pp.531-545

novels, including one about the Irish Brigade in France, and *The Patriot Brothers, ..., a Page from Ireland's Martyrology*.

Rouse notes that Halpine “spent a brief time with the *New York Herald* as French translator” (ibid). He wrote several poems and songs and translated verse mostly from Horace and Béranger. He translated a poem from Désaugiers and several others from anonymous French poets. Some of his translations were included in his collections of poetical works, notably Béranger’s ‘The Prisoner of War’ (1854) and ‘Béranger to the Students – a paraphrase’ (1866).

Mary Anne O'Doherty, née Kelly [*Eva*] (1830-1910)

Mary Anne Kelly is mostly known as ‘Eva of the *Nation*’, one of the ‘Three Graces’ with ‘Speranza’ and ‘Mary’ (Ellen Mary Downing). She was born into an affluent family in County Galway, and was privately educated. Encouraged by her governess to write poetry, her earliest efforts consisted of translations from French, notably from Lamartine (Webb 1997 36; 39). She was closely linked with the Young Ireland movement (ibid: 52-53). She contributed numerous poems, mainly patriotic verse, to the *Nation* as well as other journals. She married Young Irelander Kevin Izod O'Doherty, and followed him into exile to France and then to Australia, where they remained. There, she published many poems, mostly translations, to the *Sydney Freeman's Journal* in the early 1860s. The last decades of Eva’s life were marked by tragedy, notably the loss of most of her children, and poverty (ibid: 78-79).

Besides her inflammatory and patriotic poems, her verse also expresses the themes of exile and concerns for social issues such as poverty. When attempting to explain why most of Eva’s contributions to the *SFJ* were translations, Webb (1997: 68) provides two reasons. Firstly, she recalls that at the time, work had to be produced in a hurry, and suggests that her translations may have already been prepared. Secondly, Webb suggests that perhaps “she was trying out a genre that had become popularised” by Mangan and Speranza (ibid). Yet, poetic translation, and particularly translation from Béranger as we shall shortly see, must have presented more than a genre to merely try out. We have already seen in the general survey of poetic translations that translation can be a means of poetic expression in its own right. Accordingly, it may have to be considered in the light of the translator’s life and ideologies.

Béranger was by far Eva's main source for translation from French. Thirteen translations have been accounted for. Three of these were published in the *Nation* in the 1850s, including 'My Republic', and the remaining ten in *SFJ*, including 'The Poor Woman' and 'If I Were a Little Bird'.

Bartholomew Dowling (c.1823-1863)

Dowling was another Irish expatriate who was close to the Young Ireland movement. Born in County Kerry, he had spent part of his childhood in Canada, before his family returned to Ireland, settling in Limerick. He seems to have lived in various places as an adult, including Liverpool and Boulogne, and he moved to America in 1848 or 1851 (O'Donoghue 1970: 116). He was based in California, where, according to O'Donoghue, he "entertained Mitchel, McManus, and J.J. Shields when they visited" (ibid). He contributed articles and verse to periodicals, notably the *Nation* and the *San Francisco Monitor*, under various pseudonyms such as 'The Southern' and 'Masque'. It appears that apart from the book chapter devoted by Crowley (1892) to Dowling's life and works, his poetry has not yet been collected as a stand-alone work. Yet, remarks Crowley, most of his historical verses "were written for and published in the *Nation*, at a time when the editors of that journal had determined to write a ballad history of Ireland" (1892: 40). The theme of the Irish Brigade runs through many of his historical verses, which include 'The Brigade at Fontenoy' and 'Sarsfield's Sortie'. Thomas Davis too wrote a poem on Fontenoy. The Battle of Fontenoy (1745) was indeed regarded as a moment of pride when the Irish Brigade saved the honour of France. Crowley reckons that all of Dowling's "energies and intellectual gifts were devoted to the cause of Irish independence" (1892: 44), and he was an outspoken anti-imperialist (ibid: 75). Dowling, whose health was declining in the 1860s, died following a road accident.

O'Donoghue (1970: 116) claims that Dowling was well acquainted with several languages. Moreover, Crowley recalls that "he carried along with him a little volume of Béranger's poems, the gift of his friend and compatriot, John Mitchel", and that "from this he made many beautiful translations during his connection with the *Monitor*" (1892: 34).

Unfortunately, we have not been able to access the *Monitor*'s archives, but Crowley reproduced one translation from Béranger in his work, 'The Song of the Cossack'. He also included 'The Capture of Paris', a translation from Victor Carmine, which relates the events of 1830 when students headed the first attacks of the July Revolution.

William Drennan [Jr.] (1802-1873)

Son of the better-known Belfast Presbyterian Patriot and poet William Drennan (1754-1820), Drennan Jr. was born in Dublin. A graduate of TCD, he was called to the Irish bar in 1826 (Stewart 2009: 463). He contributed verse, notably patriotic Irish ballads, to the *Nation* (O'Donoghue 1970: 122).

Drennan's father was himself a keen reader of French writings and produced a small amount of verse translation (See Historical chapter and Appendix). Drennan Jr. translated poetry from various languages, particularly German and French. As well as noteworthy translations from Hugo, Lamartine ('Bonaparte'), Lamennais ('Hymn to Poland') and other French writers, he published ten translations from Béranger in *Glendalloch, and other poems, by the late Dr. Drennan. With additional verses, by his sons* (1859). They include 'Waterloo', and a version of 'Le Grenier'.

Thomas Caulfield Irwin (1823-1892)

The son of a doctor, and originally from County Down, Thomas Caulfield Irwin travelled over various parts of Europe as a young man, and, according to O'Donoghue (1970: 211), he was well versed in continental literature. For over forty years, Irwin contributed numerous poems, prose tales and translations to various periodicals, including the *Nation*, the *DUM* and the *Weekly Irish Times*, usually under his initials 'T.I.' Many of his poems were in the romantic and patriotic vein. He resided at Rathmines, Dublin, where, during the last years of his life, he struggled with poverty and mental instability. Irwin is not a very well-known poet, yet O'Donoghue regarded him as 'distinctly one of the best Irish poets of the century' (ibid: 212).

In the 1860s, Thomas Irwin contributed articles on French literature to the *DUM*, a study entitled 'Songwriters, Moore-Béranger-Tennyson', and a translation of 'Madrid' from the French of Alfred de Musset in 'Translation Traceries from the Classic and Continental Poets'⁴². Irwin published several translations from Béranger in the *Irish People*, a short-lived Fenian newspaper (1863-1865). These contributions include 'The God of Good Souls' and

⁴² *DUM*, Vol.61, May 1863, pp.599-603 and Vol.66, Nov 1865, p.596 respectively.

‘The Bohemians’. Irwin’s verses were often likened to Béranger’s poetry, notably in the *Nation*⁴³. Matthew Russell, who admits that he is not particularly fond of Béranger, yet describes Irwin’s ‘An Artist’s Song’ as ‘a very artistic piece of work, tinged with a refined transcendental Bohemianism, and full of the true Berangeresque spirit, quaintly pathetic and very musical’ (1877: 760). Indeed, one of Irwin’s original contributions to the *Irish People*, ‘Song’⁴⁴, is remarkable by its resemblance in style and content to Béranger’s epicurean material.

Hubert John De Burgh (1845-1877)

Little has been written about Hubert J. De Burgh, who died at the young age of thirty-two. Born in County Kildare, he graduated from TCD in 1867 (O’Donoghue 1970: 102). His father was an army officer and his mother, Emma Maria, née Hunt, wrote prose and verse. She died in 1851 and her works were published posthumously (ibid). According to *Freeman’s Journal*, De Burgh was called to the Irish Bar, but moved to London where he frequented the literary salons of the day⁴⁵. He contributed verse to several papers, including *Kottabos* and *Yorick*, a comic Dublin paper. An obituary published in the *World* claims that De Burgh was a ‘Bohemian’ and a witty man, who led ‘a brief but devious life in London’⁴⁶. The journalist, however, underlines De Burgh’s literary qualities, and claims that ‘few among the voluntary exiles of Erin who condescended to adorn Saxon literature had a brogue more *prononcé*. None could tell an Irish anecdote with richer, racier humour (...) As it is he will be remembered by some spirited translations of Béranger’⁴⁷.

Indeed, despite his young age, De Burgh was, with William Dowe, one of the most prolific translators of Béranger’s songs. He published the first of the two monographs devoted to Béranger mentioned in our introduction. His *Songs of Béranger* was issued in Dublin and London in 1870. The collection contains seventeen pieces, including ‘Cyprian Wine’. Both ‘The Fourteenth of July’ and ‘The Veteran’ had been previously published in the *Nation*. Other translations from Béranger were published in *Kottaboos*, including ‘The Old Vagabond’ (1874) and ‘Adieu, Chansons!’ (1877).

⁴³ See ‘T.I.’s Versicles’ (1856), *Nation*, Jan 26, p.10

⁴⁴ ‘Song’ (1864), *Irish People* (July), p.506

⁴⁵ ‘The Late Hubert De Burgh’ (1877), *FJ*, Oct 20, p.5

⁴⁶ ‘What the *World* says’ (1877), *FJ*, Oct 24, p.6

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Michael Joseph Barry (1817-1889)

Born into a middle-class Catholic family in Cork City, Young Irelander Michael Joseph Barry published much poetry, as well as essays on politics and law. He worked as a barrister and taught Law. He was involved in the Irish uprising of 1848, but gave up hopes and political activism following its failure (Quinn 2009b: 343-344). He published a series of humorous pieces, 'The Kishogue papers', in the *DUM* under the pen-name of 'Bouillon de Garçon', and contributed to various other journals, including the *Nation* and the *Cork Southern Reporter*, under various pseudonyms. He was closely involved in the production of the *Nation's* Library of Ireland series. Barry published several of his works in book form, notably *Lays of the War* (1856), and he edited *The Songs of Ireland* (1845), prepared by T. Davis.

Barry published *Heinrich and Leonore: an Alpine Story, and some Miscellaneous Verse* in 1886, which contains some translations from Béranger. These poems he had already published in 1871 in a separate volume, *Six songs of Béranger*, 'for private circulation'. This is the second of the two monographs devoted to Béranger. In the same manner as Mrs. B. Somers, Barry provided the original text for each of his versions. He chose to translate Béranger's love songs, such as 'A World of Love', and his selection includes also 'The Garret' and 'The Song of the Cossack'.

William Starkey (1836-1918)

Starkey was named in the general survey as a translator of French contemporary poetry. Of Starkey, who is generally only mentioned in passing in the biographies of his son, we only know that he was a pharmacist in Rathmines, Dublin, and that he contributed verse to various nationalist periodicals under an unknown pen-name (Murphy and Hourican 2009: 980). He is much less known than his son, Seumas O'Sullivan, a key figure of the Irish literary revival. Starkey published one book, *Poems and translations* (1875), in which his aforementioned translations were found. It also contains a translation from Béranger, 'Napoleon's Arab Steed'.

David James O'Donoghue (1866-1917)

We owe some of the biographical details in this chapter to O'Donoghue, who was born in England and whose parents were from Cork. According to Doyle, he “studied at local Roman Catholic primary schools, and was self-educated at the British Museum library, where he read widely on English literature and became familiar with many languages, including Latin, French, German, and Irish” (2009b: 406). He was closely involved in the Southwark Irish Literary Society in the 1880s, as well as in the Irish Literary Society, founded in 1892. Both London-based societies, of which Martin MacDermott above was a founding member, played a crucial role in the cultivation of Irish literature, history, and art. He moved to Dublin in 1896 and produced several important works on Irish literature. His *Poets of Ireland* has proved very useful to the present research.

It is not impossible that, considering his linguistic skills and his love of literature, he may have produced several translations. However, we only know of one translation from the French of Béranger. Entitled ‘Reminiscences of Napoleon’, it was published in the *Young Ireland Magazine* in 1882.

Joseph Glynn (1865-1907)

Glynn, who is not to be confounded with his better-known namesake Joseph Glynn (1869-1951), has been overlooked by most biographical resources. Here again, O'Donoghue's work is invaluable. O'Donoghue knew Glynn, who, owing to his extensive knowledge of Irish literature, helped him with some of the biographical entries (1970: 163). Glynn was a National School teacher in Mullingar, County Westmeath. He contributed essays and verse to various journals such as *Young Ireland* and the *Dublin Journal*. O'Donoghue (ibid) notes that one of Glynn's verse pieces was preserved in *Lays and Lyrics of the Pan-Celtic Society* (1889). Among his contributions to the *Dublin Journal*, there were articles on Irish minstrelsy, biographical sketches of Thomas Davis, Mangan, Moore and Swift. He often signed himself as ‘G., J.’, as he did for his translation from Béranger, ‘The Falling Stars’, published in the *Dublin Journal* in 1887.

Anonymous, Pseudonymous and other Contributions

There are at least another fifty translations from Béranger whose authors have not been identified. The earliest contribution was ‘La Gerontocratie’ or, the Government of the Aged’, a satire on the French government. It was found in *The Belfast News-Letter* of December 1828. A translation of the same poem was published in the *DUM* by ‘G.C.’, who contributed four pieces in 1833-1834. There were numerous translations published anonymously in the *Cork Examiner* in the 1840s. In the short-lived *Dublin Penny Satirist* (1835-1836), ‘H. Honeycomb’ signed no less than seven translations from Béranger. They include ‘The M.P.-“Le Sénateur”’ and ‘The Children of France’. Several contributors to the *Nation* have not been identified, two of whom published translations of ‘Plus de politique’. The translators were described in a comparative way as ‘a strong and practised masculine hand’ and ‘a lady, more graceful and not less faithful to the original’ in June and July 1845 respectively. Along with Thomas Irwin’s contributions, there were other anonymous or pseudonymous translations from Béranger published in the *Irish People*. In fact, Béranger was the most translated continental poet in this Fenian organ. In particular, ‘W.R.C.’ contributed ‘The Holy Alliances of Peoples’ and ‘Nebuchod’nezzar: the Ox-king’ in 1864. Some translators were named, but still remain unidentified. This is the case of two individuals who contributed translations of ‘Les Adieux de Marie Stuart’ in the *Weekly Irish Times*, R. J. Reilly in 1886 and John Bee[t?] in 1892. The latest English-language translation from Béranger was ‘The broken violin’, which can be found in the *Class Book of French Poetry for the Young* (1898), a collection of poems published in Dublin by Edward Ponsonby for the Intermediate Education Series. The translator, known only as ‘E.M.’, produced several translations of French works for the same series.

The *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, published by James Duffy, had two translations, including ‘The Old Flag’ by ‘C.J.M.’ in 1861. Moreover, *Duffy’s Irish Catholic Magazine* contained several translations from Béranger in 1848. Firstly, there was an article devoted to ‘The Songs of Béranger’, which, however, reproduced translations taken from English-born John G. Hamilton Bourne. Most interestingly, ‘The Garret’, which appeared anonymously in the same magazine, is so far the sole translation which has been found accompanied by the title of a local air. The melody suggested for accompaniment is indeed ‘While History’s Muse – Irish Melody’, the title of one of Thomas Moore’s patriotic *Irish Melodies*.

Additionally, extracts of poems and single quotes from Béranger often appeared in various journals. In particular, an anonymous essay on Béranger published in the *Celt* in 1857 is copiously strewn with translated extracts. The *Celt* was the magazine of the Celtic Union, a nationalist literary and political society founded by Young Irelander Robert Cane (1807-1858) (Quinn 2009c: 307). Nationalist figures such as Fenian Charles Joseph Kickham (1828-1882) contributed to this journal.

Lastly, and although Irish-language translation is beyond the scope of this study, we should nonetheless mention that Béranger appears to have been one of the few foreign writers who could draw praise from the Gaelic revivalists⁴⁸. He was indeed the subject of a serialized essay by Cathaoir Ó Braonáin in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* in 1908 (O’Leary 1994: 79), which included several Irish translations from Béranger.

Conclusion

To conclude this survey briefly, some definite trends and clusters already seem to emerge within the group formed by Béranger’s translators. The most prominent cluster is that which is formed by the Young Ireland movement and the *Nation*. Over half of the above-named translators have a connection with the nationalist movement and/or with the *Nation*. To this we should add the importance of Béranger in other nationalist and patriotic papers. In other words, it seems that the patriotic and political nature of Béranger’s works had a particular resonance amongst Ireland’s nationalists in the nineteenth century. Two other clusters, which overlap to some degree, are, firstly, the Cork group of translators, and secondly, a group characterized by a tendency for wit and satire. The names of Maginn and Mahony first come to mind here. Yet, there is also great diversity among Béranger’s translators, with a variety of ideological and religious backgrounds. This complexity of backgrounds is reflected in the different periodicals which disseminated translations from Béranger, ranging from the *DUM* and *Kottaboos* to the *Nation* and James Duffy’s publications. Hence, in order to determine the key trends in translation of Béranger’s poetry, and the general reception of Béranger in Ireland, we now need to look at the main choices made in translation and to examine various contemporary commentaries.

⁴⁸ I am indebted to Ailbhe Ní Ghearbhuigh (NUIG) for this valuable piece of information.

7.3 *Translating Béranger in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*

Paratextual devices, journal articles, as well as the main choices made in translation, can now be analyzed in the light of what has emerged in the previous sections. This third part aims to increase our understanding of the relationship between the above-named translators and Béranger's works, and, thereby, of his impact in nineteenth-century Ireland. The dominant motifs which have emerged throughout this survey are that which relate to patriotism, liberty and 'the people'. The Napoleonic legend and Béranger's references to England are crucial too. They will be discussed along with the patriotic theme as they are closely related to it. The Republic is another key motif, and will be addressed in the section on 'Liberty'. The theme of 'the people' will be the subject of a third separate investigation. A final section will briefly evoke other favoured topics, notably the subject of Mary Stuart. Inevitably, there is a certain amount of overlap between these various motifs.

7.3.1 Patriotism, Napoleon and National Glory

In Béranger's poetry, the Napoleonic myth of a golden age, of past national and military glory, is often connected with his hostility to the Bourbon monarchy and to England and the Allies. For example, one of the most typical poems in the patriotic cultivation of imperial glories is 'Les Souvenirs du Peuple' [Recollections of the People], a popular poem in Ireland. It was translated by Dowe, Mahony, O'Donoghue and Somers, and the *Celt* gave copious extracts from it in October 1857. In the same vein as Lamartine's and Manzoni's verses mentioned before, Béranger's 'Le cinq mai (1821)' was written upon Napoleon's death. It was translated by Mrs. B. Somers, as 'St Helena – 5th May, 1821'. The *Celt* hails this song as 'a mighty and mournful hymn, chanted over the tomb of the great warrior' (1857: 150). 'Napoleon's Arab Steed', translated by William Starkey, was also a sympathetic account of Napoleon, which, moreover, portrayed him as a man who rose from poor circumstances. Nostalgia for past imperial glory is often conveyed in the turn of a phrase, as in 'The Tailor and the Fairy', translated here by Rowland: 'But a darkness o'ershadows and saddens the strings, / The bright days of Glory and Empire are o'er' (1858: 13).

Rowland's lecture is valuable, not only because it comprises several translations as well as an essay on Béranger, but it was directly addressed to an audience, that of a Mechanics'

Institute. When Rowland introduces his translation entitled ‘The Good Frenchman’, he claims that ‘it is full of national love, honour, pride, and independence, that it gives a lesson to the people of all nations, and deserves to be studied in every line, and in every word’ (ibid: 21). For Rowland, Béranger’s songs therefore provide a lesson on patriotism, which he is happy to pass on to his own Irish audience through translation. He associates this love of country with the fear of foreign invasion, by referring to Béranger’s satires on the Allies and on the Russians (ibid: 21-22). For instance, ‘Le Chant du Cosaque’, one of the most translated songs, creates an image of Europe being ‘trampled’ by the Cossack and of France as a country submitted to foreign rule. Along with this, there are several poems in which ‘Anglo-mania’ is the target of Béranger’s piques. This is the case of ‘The Good Frenchman’, as well as ‘The Boxers; or, the Anglomania’, translated by ‘G.C.’ and Eva of the *Nation*. Rowland aims at strengthening Irish patriotism and national unity through his lecture and translations:

It would delight me now if I could persuade others to make their country the goddess of their national pride, and not the battle-ground of furious factions: if I could hope that the spirit of Béranger would enter into some hearts, and warm into life even a little of all that Ossian and Moore would have evoked (ibid)

For the *Dublin Penny Satirist*, Béranger is ‘a name that ought to be received in the two-fold light of – a patriot and a poet’⁴⁹. It is indeed in this journal that one of the most patriotic pieces can be found, ‘The Children of France’, translated by ‘H. Honeycomb’. The patriotic vein runs through many poems, including Mahony’s translation of ‘Le violon brisé’, ‘The French fiddler’s lamentation’, where, Mahony argues, ‘honest patriotism swells the note and exalts the melody’ (1860: 275). Here, the song tells the story of a fiddler who refused to play for the Allies, who in turn broke his fiddle. In ‘The Garret’, a song popular with translators in Ireland, Napoleon’s victory at Marengo is evoked with pride and nostalgia. This was the poem which was given in translation with Moore’s Irish melody in Duffy’s magazine. Furthermore, ‘Le Pigeon Messenger’, translated by De Burgh, Mahony and Maginn, is a Philhellenist song. It celebrates Greek independence, thereby introducing a transnational idea of nationalism. Nationalist aspirations emerge also in ‘The Veteran’, translated by De Burgh, with the following words: ‘Ah! When shall the nations now sleeping / Be sung them again?’ (1870: 15).

⁴⁹ ‘Béranger’ (1835), *Dublin Penny Satirist*, Feb. 20, p.60

Moore and Béranger were frequently compared at the time. This comparison established a connection between the French and Irish cultures, and it often signalled a patriotic and demotic strain. Moreover, the two poets were often likened to Burns as well, thereby drawing a poetic, and even a ‘Celtic’, connection. In a review of Béranger’s *Memoirs*, John Frazer Corkran writes that Moore and Béranger produced ‘songs that spoke to the national feeling, and both chose the music of their country as the vehicle of their poetry’ (1858: 448-449). For Dowe as well, both poets ‘manifest strong national predilections, and country is the source of the higher inspiration of both’ (1844a: 205). Rowland establishes the Celtic connection as he proposes to give the portrait of ‘the departed genius of our Celtic brethren of France’ (1858: 3). He also draws an analogy between Béranger’s simple funeral wish with that of ‘our own Thomas Davis’ (ibid: 6). There is no better way to conclude this section than Rowland’s introduction to the translation ‘He is not Dead!’ As well as presenting a critique of English imperialism, the song offers a good illustration of the Napoleonic legend, but Rowland goes further in presenting the legend of the national hero as a transnational Celtic theme. Indeed he chose this poem because not only does it invoke Béranger’s ‘great emperor’, but, he claims, ‘the idea is widely Celtic’ (1858: 30):

In this country we have the legend of Gerald D’Earla. In Germany they attach it to Frederick Barbarossa. In Scotland it is linked with the history of Thomas of Ereildoune. (...) In all these the superstition tells us of a great departed hero whom his countrymen deem not dead but laid under some magic spell, and again destined to appear as a redoubtable warrior to take part in a final struggle for the salvation of his country (ibid)

7.3.2 Liberty and the Republic

Locke remarks that songs such as ‘Ma République’ and ‘Le vieux drapeau’ “expressed explicit support for a return to republican government” (2001: 300). ‘Le vieux drapeau’, which was as powerful as the *Marseillaise* in 1820s France (Touchard 1968a: 398), was popular with Irish translators, notably Mahony, Dowe, Rowland and ‘C.J.M’. ‘Ma République’ was translated by several Irish poets, including ‘H. Honeycomb’ and ‘Eva’. Duffy’s magazine reproduced Bourne’s version, as well as his rendition of ‘La Liberté’. Both themes of the ‘republic’ and of ‘liberty’ are highly evocative of the ideals of the French Revolution, and they are intrinsically connected in Béranger’s songs. Hence, in Eva’s

translation: ‘Republics quite my fancy take’, the same stanza ending with ‘Our simple motto – Liberty!’⁵⁰

For Corkran, Béranger advanced ‘the cause of Republicanism in France’ (1858: 448). The themes of ‘liberty’ and ‘republic’ are closely connected to Béranger’s political stance against the French monarchy. Poems levelled at monarchy include ‘Louis XI’, which was popular with Irish translators such as Dowe, MacDermott and Mahony. Strongly linked to these themes is the recurrence of the words ‘tyrants’ or ‘tyranny’. Rowland describes Béranger as ‘the foe of tyrants’ (1858: 22), and uses the term again several times throughout his lecture. In ‘The Garret’, Barry introduces the expression ‘banded tyrants’ where Béranger had only referred to ‘Les rois’ [the kings]. Barry certainly conveys Béranger’s general standpoint, but the choice of words is significant in its representational aspect, denoting partisanship. Barry’s choice may have been influenced by his own nationalist ideology, since the ‘kings’ in question included England’s rulers.

In reference to 1830, Rowland refers to Béranger as ‘the man who had lighted the sacred fire of liberty’ (1858: 27). The contrasted themes of liberty and tyranny are eloquently illustrated in Maginn’s translation of ‘Le Pigeon Messenger’:

*Soon, missioned from Athens, come braving again
The tyrants and vultures that frown on thy way.
Return from the Free, and let Liberty’s tones
Strike the ears of our kings on their tottering thrones!*⁵¹

The themes of the ‘republic’ and ‘liberty’ are therefore often connected to that of the ‘nation’. In Béranger’s poetry, we have, for example, the following line from ‘The Gallic slaves’, translated by O’Hagan: ‘Wake, nations, wake, and burst your chains!’⁵² Significantly, this was published in the *Nation* in 1844, during Repeal agitation in Ireland.

The motif of ‘liberty’ also emerges in relation to Béranger’s character and with regards to political freedom and freedom of speech. It is in fact closely connected to the theme of ‘martyrdom’, a motif already underlined in the overall survey. This is best exemplified by Corkran’s descriptions of Béranger as ‘a thoroughly independent-minded man’ (1858: 445),

⁵⁰ ‘My Republic’ (1859), *Nation*, May 21, p.600

⁵¹ ‘The carrier-pigeon’, in Walsh (1888), pp.58-60

⁵² ‘The Gallic slaves’ (1844), *Nation*, Oct 5, p.827

and by his statement that ‘in nine cases out of ten political prosecutions make political martyrs’ (1858: 443).

7.3.3 The People

The opening words of the *Celt*'s article on Béranger are: ‘Le Peuple, c’est ma Muse’ (1857: 169). The author of this article writes that Béranger was ‘ever calling for the rights of the people, while he sung of their joys, glories, and sorrows’ (ibid: 170). The theme of the ‘people’ is therefore crucial to Irish translators’ and journalists’ understanding of Béranger’s character and poetry. The ‘people’ is generally understood as the ‘ordinary’ people, that is, those who were not of a privileged rank. The close connection between the poet and the people is best represented by ‘The Plebeian’ [‘Le vilain’], translated by Eva. Here is the burden of the song in her translation: ‘I am plebeian yes I trow / I am plebeian, truly so / Plebeian only, rude and low’⁵³.

The plebeian nature of Béranger could also be the point of difference which was occasionally made between Moore and Béranger. For Corkran, the Frenchman was ‘one of the people’, and ‘never wished to leave their ranks’, while ‘the Irishman ever sought to rise higher and higher in the social scale’ (1858: 448). Dowe uses this theme to establish the analogy between Burns and Béranger, claiming that they ‘both rose in the ranks of the people’, and that ‘they vindicated the class to which they belonged’ (1844b: 752). Both, he argues, ‘have sung the loves and the business of the poor, and told the story of their virtues and their sorrows, in language of undying truth and beauty’ (ibid).

In Duffy’s magazine, the author of the article ‘The Songs of Béranger’ claims that Béranger’s ‘songs are thoroughly democratic’ (1848: 137). Several translators and journalists highlight Béranger’s use of old airs and of ordinary language, which enhances that democratic and demotic character. Dowe argues that Béranger ‘had often witnessed the melancholy disposition of men collectively, and conceived the idea of songs whose serious tenor should be suited to the poor, the afflicted – in fact, to the people’ (1844b: 751). Mrs B. Somers connects the themes of patriotism, liberty and the democratic nature of Béranger’s work:

In all the writings of Béranger are to be found a high spirit of independence, and inextinguishable love of France, and a full conviction that the masses of the people (for

⁵³ *The Nation*, 22 Nov 1856, p.200

whom his songs are chiefly intended) are capable of the most elevated sentiments (1846: 89)

Ferguson, who did not choose to translate Béranger's most political songs, is yet remarkable in his use of a colloquial style which was highly evocative of the people's ordinary speech. An extract of his translation, 'The little brown man', will thus close this section:

*When every mad grisette
He has toasted, till his score
Holds no more;
Then, head and years in debt,
When the duns and bums abound
All around,
D'ye see, says he, my plan –
D'ye see, says he, my plan –
My plan, d'ye see, 's to laugh at that!
Sing merrily, sing merrily, the little brown man!*⁵⁴

7.3.4 Of Love, Wine, and Mary Stuart

The epicurean vein in Béranger's lyrics is clearly conveyed in Ferguson's above-cited translation. Michael J. Barry was particularly fond of the love songs, including 'Qu'elle est jolie!', extracts of which can also be found in the *Celt*. The bacchanal material was popular with several translators, notably Maginn, Dowe, De Burgh and Mahony. For the *Celt*, 'Béranger sings of wine with as much fervour and richness as Anacreon himself' (1857: 210). In effect, several of the epicurean songs carry social and political meanings as well. For instance, the patriotic vein is very strong in 'Brennus', where French national identity is represented by the Gauls. Moreover, the theme of the 'people' and the bacchanal vein are often closely linked. Béranger's religion, as translated by Maginn, is thus summed up: 'I worship the god of the lowly and meek, / In the giver of genius, love, friendship, and wine!'⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol.xxxiii, May 1833, p.844

⁵⁵ 'The God of Honest People', in Walsh (1888), pp.145-147

Lastly, another popular theme is that of Mary Stuart. Four translations of Béranger's 'Les Adieux de Marie Stuart' have been located. The translators were Dowe, Somers, and the two unidentified *Weekly Irish Times* contributors. The poem underlines Mary Stuart's love of France. The patriotic theme is therefore crucial in this song too. As seen in the general survey, the cult of Mary Stuart was closely linked to Jacobite nostalgia, and it could be correlated to a general interest in Jacobite poetry. In this regard, we may argue, as Welch does in relation to Jacobite poetry, that the cult of Mary Stuart in translation possibly reflects a "traditional Irish ideology of kingship", and a hope for restoration and renewal (1996c: 272). It may therefore have been the expression of a desire for political change in nineteenth-century Ireland.

7.4 Chapter Conclusion

7.4.1 Béranger's Mischief

In order to fully understand this significant moment of translation contact between Béranger and Ireland, we first need to determine whether all the main elements of his poetry could be found in translation. It generally appears that the most political poems were also the most popular in Ireland. Political themes relating to patriotism, and nationalism, Napoleon, republicanism, 'liberty', and the 'people' were crucial to the choices made in translation. We have seen that the epicurean material was popular with several translators too, but a certain degree of selectivity was nonetheless exercised in translation of Béranger's works in nineteenth-century Ireland.

Somers introduces Béranger as having first appeared 'as a writer of bacchanalian songs, some of which, although possessing great poetical merit, are in other respects exceptionable' (1846: 88). Dismissive comments about Béranger's 'licentious' material were not uncommon in nineteenth-century Ireland. Corkran argues that to English taste, there is 'one great stain on the brightness of many of Béranger's earlier lyrics; we allude to their occasional licentiousness, and even grossness – a stain from which his muse is free when she rises to the higher themes of patriotism' (1858: 438). It is significant that such comments were not particular to any political or religious sides of Irish society. Indeed, the same discourse could be seen in the pages of the *Nation* as much as in the *DUM*. Yet, owing to the Irish fascination

with Béranger's political lyrics and populist character, he was easily forgiven for his 'indecencies'. In fact, in Duffy's magazine, they believe that there is 'a delicacy' in his songs 'even when they touch upon the grossest subjects, which they unhappily do not unfrequently' (1848: 137).

Moreover, many translators and commentators turned a blind eye to Béranger's anticlerical material. Dowe, De Burgh and Ferguson translated some of Béranger's anti-clerical verse, but they were about the only ones to do so, and not extensively. Dowe believes that 'these bold lyrics possess less attraction for a foreign reader, and are less indicative of the true genius and power of Béranger than others of his muse' (1844b: 748). It appears that several anticlerical songs were left out by Béranger's translators, including 'Les Révérends Pères', a satirical critic of the Jesuit order. It is clear that Béranger's social and political material was the main focus of their interest. Indeed, most agreed that his patriotic songs were, in the *Celt's* words, 'of a higher and nobler character' (1857: 150). Owing to this, Béranger seems to have been forgiven for any 'mischief'. Interestingly, the *Celt*, a Catholic nationalist paper, argues that Béranger 'sunk into his last sleep cheered and sustained by the Catholic faith, in which he was born' (ibid: 170).

7.4.2 Béranger the Precursor

As Eccles had already pointed out in 1909, it is difficult to do justice to Béranger today: "For one thing, we are indifferent to the idols and bugbears of that day; and for another, we read instead of singing him" (1909: 71). As Locke (2001: 301) argues, Béranger was nonetheless a precursor of the French political chanson, setting the pattern for later activist and working-class songwriters. Indeed, although Béranger has long been forgotten, "his songs remain a powerful example of the role that music can play in the propagation of social and political ideology" (ibid). The combination of his use of pre-existing tunes and of simple popular expression, his sympathy for the oppressed, his praise of liberty and country, exerted a powerful impact. He was also one of the main founders of the Napoleonic legend, which explains that today he is mostly remembered in historical accounts, rather than in literary studies.

7.4.3 The International Appeal of Béranger: A Transnational Patriotic Network

Firstly, we need to acknowledge that apart from the numerous contributions by Irish translators explored in this chapter, there were several other books found in Ireland's holdings which were partly or fully devoted to Béranger's poetry, and which were produced in England, Scotland and America. The translators of these collected volumes include William Young, who produced the most large-scale collections of translations from Béranger (see TCD, UCC, UCD) and William Toynbee (TCD, NUIM).

In the *Celt*, Béranger's broad appeal is interpreted by the fact that he was the 'universal melodist of emotion' (1857: 211). In his study of the British reception of Béranger, Phelan however notes that the French lyricist "appealed to dissident voices within the cultural and political establishment, such as Thackeray and Clough, and to radical writers like Harney and Massey" (2005: 20). Through the Fraserian connection, Thackeray would have been quite close to Irish translators Mahony and Maginn. Massey, who hailed Béranger as the 'friend of the people', and Mackay, were Chartist poets and activists, and therefore had a strong socio-political agenda. They were receptive to messages of liberty and equality conveyed by writers such as Béranger and Lamennais. Moreover, we know of a strong Irish connection with Chartism, notably in the person of James Bronterre O'Brien.

The appeal of Béranger was broad and international, but his poetry had particular resonance amongst Romantic writers, Republicans, nationalists and radicals across Europe. Locke observes that

the uncrowned national bard of France and, in particular, the voice of the liberal and republican opposition during the Bourbon restoration, he lived to see his works sung and read throughout Europe, drawing praise and in some cases imitation from Goethe, Heine, Thackeray, Garibaldi and many of the progressive Russian writers (2001: 301)

Not only was Béranger admired by Goethe and Heine, but as Touchard (1968b: 507) notes, his influence amongst liberals in nineteenth-century Germany was considerable. Moreover, Touchard (*ibid*) points out that the impact of Béranger's songs in Germany coincided with various efforts by German intellectuals to revive a tradition of folk songs, and that for some, Béranger's works stood as a French model for *Volkslieder*. In Italy, the patriot revolutionary Garibaldi was not the sole admirer of Béranger. Indeed, although the French songwriter did not champion minority languages as such, his songs nonetheless inspired various writers

concerned with the revival of dialectal poetry (ibid: 519-520). Béranger's influence in nineteenth-century Russia was tremendous among liberals, Slavophiles and revolutionaries (ibid: 528-529). His satires against the monarchy were popular amongst opponents to the government of the Russian Empire. Béranger's songs, however, faced strict censorship, and his collections were banned from Russia as early as 1825 (Baer 2010: 229). Baer (ibid: 230) notes that Béranger's works were however known to the revolutionary Decembrists, who led an uprising in 1825.

The Polish Romantic poet Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821-1883) translated Béranger into Polish. Echoing the impact of Béranger on the Young Ireland movement, revolutionary figures in various parts of Europe were fascinated by the French songwriter. A fine example is Sándor Petőfi (1823-1849), the Hungarian national poet and revolutionary who was involved in the radical movements of 1848 in his country. Petőfi translated from Béranger too. Lastly, it may be interesting to know that in the twentieth century, based on the Index Translationum database, the only translations produced from the French of Béranger were done in Eastern Europe, notably in Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Kazakh and Russian. As it happens, several of these nationalities gained political independence in the twentieth century.

7.4.4 Ireland and Béranger

In nineteenth-century Ireland, Béranger's name was commonly invoked as a model for other poets. For example, an article in the *Nation* refers to Samuel Lover as 'our Tipperary Béranger'⁵⁶. Irish people held him as one of the greatest poets of the time, not only comparing him with their 'own' Moore and with Burns, but with many classics as well, notably Horace and Anacreon. While Béranger is largely forgotten today, this may provide us with food for thought on the subject of literary canons. Béranger's songs, particularly those which appealed to patriotic sentiment, captured the imagination of Irish poets, and for them, he was the 'people's poet', as well as the embodiment of French culture. There seemed to be an affinity with his witty and satirical side. While several of Béranger's Irish translators were portrayed as witty, notably Maginn, Mahony, Barry and De Burgh, the *Celt* (1857: 150-151) describes wit as a French characteristic that is fundamental in Béranger.

⁵⁶ 'Literary and Artistic Gossip' (1858), *Nation*, Jan 9, p.298

The article published in the *Celt* sums up the key elements of Béranger's poetry and the fascination in nineteenth-century Ireland for nationality and nationhood. In particular, it underlines the potential of song and poetry to represent the national soul in its essence. Indeed, for the *Celt*, Béranger

sung of gaiety and wine, of wit and love, of war, triumph and disaster – passing the national history and national character through the burning alembic of his heart, while he reproduced their essence in songs which made the whole people kin, and rendered the minstrel a beloved magician, whose “gentle-spiriting” awakened the national heart to patriotism and glory, to love, good fellowship, and laughter (ibid: 148)

This is significant, because, as we have already mentioned before, notably in the history of translation in Ireland, poetry and translation came to play a vital role in the emergence of the Irish nation. Thomas Davis regarded national poetry as ‘the very flowering of the soul’ (cited in Campbell 2006: 501). Ferguson, who chose to follow the demotic nature of Béranger's poetry, thought of ‘sentiment’, as the ‘soul of song’ and a common national property (ibid: 513). The *Nation* quotes MacDermott who was merely relating the saying of Samuel Ferguson: ‘our salvation will come to us from the poets’⁵⁷. Dowe (1844b: 738) regarded Béranger as ‘a faithful chronicler’, indeed a national chronicler. Accordingly, many commentaries and translations point to the power of national ballads such as Béranger's to kindle a flame of patriotic ardour. Politician and journalist Justin McCarthy believed that Béranger's ballads were ‘great organs to stir the soul of the nations’ (1868: 149). Interestingly, Dowling, Mitchel's and McManus's friend, wrote ‘Hymn of the Imperial Guard’, which reminds us of Béranger's material in its glorification of the tricolour and of the French imperial army. Many of Dowling's poems and translations celebrate military glory and heroic deeds, all with a patriotic theme. Generally-speaking, the cultural nationalist vein is strong, and many of Béranger's translators also happen to show an enthusiasm for Irish history and culture.

It is therefore all the more significant that fifty years after Rowland's lecture, another paper on Béranger, this time in the Irish language, was read by Father Cathaoir Ó Braonáin as part of the Gaelic revivalist project. The talk was delivered at the Rotunda ‘under the auspices of the Dublin Coisde Ceanntair of the Gaelic League’, a report of which was published in

⁵⁷ ‘A unique gathering’ (1897), *Nation*, Jun 5, p.4

Freeman's Journal. Similar to Rowland's discourse, the lecture suggested that there was a lesson to be learnt from Béranger: 'The poet who would interpret the feelings and aspirations of the Irish people would learn much from the poetry of Beranger.'⁵⁸

In his review of William Toynbee's translations from Béranger (1886), Oscar Wilde notes the political interest of the ballad. Wilde, who is rather known for his aestheticist approach to art, yet regrets that British democracy 'does not use poetry as a means for the expression of political opinion' (1886: 5). He goes further in stating that

most modern poetry is so artificial in its form, so individual in its essence, and so literary in its style, that the people, as a body, are little moved by it, and, when they have grievances against the capitalist or the aristocrat, they prefer strikes to sonnets, and rioting to rondels (ibid)

Wilde then suggests that 'possibly, Mr. Toynbee's pleasant little volume of translations from Béranger may be the herald of a new school. Béranger had all the qualifications for a popular poet' (ibid). One may wonder whether Wilde was aware that, long before Toynbee's volume, there had been many translations from Béranger published by Irish translators in Ireland, America, Scotland and England. Interestingly, the *Dublin Penny Satirist* was aware of its own role in the dissemination of Béranger's writings:

Our attention has been drawn to the circumstance that, since we commenced giving our series from Béranger, one or two London publications, of great pretension, have at length thought it right to introduce that great and original writer to the British public⁵⁹

Mahony too is proud to have recorded in his papers his admiration of 'this extraordinary writer':

and when, at a future period, commentators and critics shall...disport themselves in the leaves of his immortal poetry, it will be perhaps mentioned by some votary of recondite lore, that an obscure clergyman, on a barren Irish hill, made the first effort to transplant hither some slips of that luxuriant tree (1860: 303-304)

Many were those who, like Mahony, thought that Béranger was an 'immortal' poet. For Lady Morgan, who had known Béranger since she first met him in Paris in 1818, the French

⁵⁸ 'Lecture in Irish on "Beranger"', by Rev. Cathaoir O Breandain' (1908), *FJ*, Jan 17, p.5

⁵⁹ 'Béranger' (1835), *Dublin Penny Satirist*, Feb 20, p.60

songwriter was ‘a genius and a patriot’, and she believed that he would be ‘read by posterity’ (1830: 258). She visited him in the prison of La Force, and recounted this memorable moment in her *France in 1829–30*. Her words are quite symptomatic of the affection thus felt in nineteenth-century Ireland for the French lyricist, denoting democratic and republican sentiment, as well as strongly Francophile sympathies. At least twice she mentions the ‘tyranny’ to which ‘he was subjected’ (ibid: 489). She refers to Britain as ‘the last stronghold of aristocratic prejudice’, in contrast with ‘that national sentiment’ which, in France, ‘values a man for what he is’ (ibid: 487). She believes that the poetry of Béranger, who came from the people, and whose ‘muse’ is that of liberalism, ‘is in the mouths of all Frenchman, who are not the slaves of the court, nor the protectors of abuse’ (ibid: 257). She contends that the talents of ‘the poet of liberty and of France’ (ibid: 491) ‘are directed to the honest purposes of patriotism, and to the furtherance of the cause of liberty’ (ibid: 485). John Patrick Leonard met Béranger several times and introduced him to ‘one of the Irish outlaws of 1848’⁶⁰. He even sent him translations of his songs into English verse, notably ‘from the pen of our Irish Poetess “Eva”’, which Béranger particularly admired⁶¹. For Leonard, the French lyricist was ‘the beacon-light of true patriotism’⁶².

Lastly, for Rowland, the translator and lecturer, there is no doubt that Béranger belonged to Ireland as well. His words best sum up the special relationship between Ireland and Béranger:

He was our own – he was altogether of ourselves. We felt what he so happily expressed; we thought as he directed; we enjoyed what he praised; we sung only such songs as were akin to him. We made him a part of ourselves, of our life, of our hearts (...) he, it was, who spoke to us of honor and glory, and the echoes of our soul repeated his songs of liberty; he was the enthusiasm within us, and taught us how to love our country (1858: 4)

⁶⁰ *Nation*, 28 Nov 1857, p.202

⁶¹ *Nation*, 19 Sep 1857, p.42

⁶² *Nation*, 25 July 1857, p.760

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 8 summarizes and brings together the key common elements of both the overall survey and the Béranger survey, in the light of major historical developments described in Chapter 2. In this perspective, Part I of the following conclusions summarizes the main trends in translation of French writing in nineteenth-century Ireland. It is especially framed around the main research question, that of the impact of translation from French, and aims to determine key aspects of the Franco-Irish translation relationships during that period. The purpose of Part II is similar, but this time the focus is brought onto Ireland's agents of translation, particularly translators. This section is an attempt to underline specific sociocultural aspects which have emerged throughout this research concerning Irish translators from French in the nineteenth century. It briefly touches on the notions of translators' anonymity and invisibility. Additionally, some interesting approaches to translation are highlighted for the perspective they offer on more general cultural trends in the nineteenth century. Moreover, Part II connects back to the themes of 'Ireland in the world' and 'the world in Ireland' by stressing the importance of translation as a transnational network builder in the nineteenth century. Part III, then, presents the main achievements of the thesis, with regards to the claims and arguments stated in the introduction. Lastly, Part IV outlines some outcomes of this project and suggests ideas for further research.

8.1 Nineteenth-Century Franco-Irish Translation Relationships: Main Trends and Ideas

This study has sought to shed light on the impact of translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland, and on the Franco-Irish translation relationships during that period. The general survey of Ireland's library holdings, periodicals and catalogues was useful in providing a platform of data from which various trends and clusters emerged, and from which several key Irish contributions were brought to the fore. We have dealt with a large and heterogeneous body of literature and this thesis has sought to describe and analyze the most significant trends against the wider sociohistorical background of nineteenth-century Ireland. Among these trends, the cluster of translators around the figure of Béranger deserved our special attention for its cultural and political significance. Where available, the individual

narratives of Ireland's agents of translation, particularly any useful bio-bibliographical information, have helped us shed some light upon their productions. Most significantly, paratextual and metatextual devices proved invaluable in helping us identify some of the main motives behind translation in nineteenth-century Ireland, and thereby understand better the impact of translation from French.

Although we generally had no access to quantitative information such as print-runs or sales figures, we were nonetheless able to gather much helpful and relevant information. There was evidence of ownership for many of the surveyed items. Additional information was occasionally gleaned about specific items. For example, Denys Scully's annotations on the Concordat were crucial in showing an engagement of the reader with the text. Surviving page markers, notably several lithographed cards found in some Catholic books, as well as school-prize plates and various manuscript inscriptions, bear testimony to a readership in the nineteenth century and beyond. We also reported strong evidence that the translation of Cottin's edifying *Elizabeth* was one of the most-widely read translations of French fiction in nineteenth-century Ireland, and we learnt about the impact of Mulcaile's translation of de Feller's Catholic apologetics and the popularity of Marian translations. Occasionally, translators themselves, or other prefacers, claimed that their translations had an impact in Ireland. This is the case, for example, of Rev. Patrick Costello's remarks on his religious translation from Maurel. As for the particular case of poetry, influential newspapers and journals such as the *Dublin University Magazine* and the *Nation*, and various periodicals such as the *Cork Examiner* or the *Irish People*, carried translations from French, particularly from Béranger. Translations from French were therefore part of the expanding print culture available to a growing English-language readership in Ireland.

We should stress again the importance of translated Catholic literature as a major trend in Ireland. On the basis of this research, we may now indeed argue that one of the most significant and evident traces of impact of translation from French can be found in the area of Catholic writings, particularly devotional literature. These translations helped strengthen the link with Rome and contributed to the 'Irish counter-reformation' and the Catholic 'devotional revolution'. They inspired and influenced spiritual, liturgical and writing practices. Religious translations were read by the religious and the clergymen, and were among the most readily available reading materials for the Irish public. Religious translations reflect various creeds and concerns, but Catholic nationalism emerged strongly throughout

this research, aptly illustrated by the phrase used by Abbé McCarthy's translator, who wished to illustrate 'the religious biography of this country'.

However, it is equally important to acknowledge that translation from French served a wide range of purposes and occurred in various areas of knowledge and interest that include history and politics, fiction and children's literature, theatre, sciences, positivist philosophy, philology, literary criticism, art history, travel, and last but certainly not least, poetry. Our understanding of the Franco-Irish translation relationships in nineteenth-century Ireland benefits greatly from looking at the motives behind translation. The global choices made in translation as regards publication and readership in general, and in particular, the specific motives expressed by some of Ireland's agents of translation, have been our principal research focus. As stated in the conclusion of the overall survey, a crucial aspect which has emerged strongly throughout this research is the use of translation to promote religious, moral and political beliefs. This appears to be also true of the translations from, and commentaries on, Béranger. There are dominant political motifs recurring through both surveys, and moral and religious values were equally crucial in guiding the choices made in translation.

Political themes relating to patriotism and nationalism, Napoleon, republicanism, 'liberty', and the 'people' emerged as significant tropes in nineteenth-century translation. The impact of the French Revolution, with its thrust towards democracy but also its sanguinary history, was evident in translation. Cultural nationalism was, moreover, a driving force in various areas of translation. As illustrated by various examples in the domains of religion, history, philology or travel, translation from French helped build a literature that was relevant to Ireland. Several writings were used and discussed through translation as a means to build Irish cultural self-confidence. For some, this supported a claim to Irish political autonomy as well because it contributed to developing the notion of Ireland as a stand-alone cultural-national entity. Translation contributed to an increased historical and cultural awareness in nineteenth-century Ireland, and the nation-building program of Irish cultural nationalism represents an important aspect of both surveys. In particular, the connection with Béranger reveals close links with Irish patriotic sentiment and Irish nationalism and republicanism.

The link between translation, particularly of poetry, and ideas of cultural-political nationality needs to be stressed. This indeed has been a common thread running through the foregoing chapters. Poetry and translation came to play a vital role in the emergence of the Irish nation. Commenting on the type of poetry which was published in the *Nation*, Arthur Griffith, the

founder of the revolutionary party Sinn Féin, observed that it was ‘written deliberately to re-awaken and strengthen the national spirit and inform the national mind’ (cited in Campbell 2006: 516). The *Nation* itself once wrote in its own defence: ‘We have the same right to awake the memory of past glory, to appeal to the pride of the people, to lament their woes and dissensions, and urge union, and hold out hope, that ever bards had, from Tyrtæus to Beranger’⁶³. The connection with Béranger, with his general patriotic ardour and his nostalgia for national and military glory through the Napoleonic cult, helped nourish this fascination for nationality and nationhood in nineteenth-century Ireland. Furthermore, to use Welch’s words, the Jacobite vein that runs through translation of historical writings or in translations from Béranger contributed to cultivate “a language and symbolism of revolt...through which revolutionary ideas could be transmitted” (1996c: 273). The interest taken in Béranger is, moreover, correlated to the idea that song and poetry can represent the national soul in its essence. In this regard, the particular relationship between Ireland and Béranger takes its roots from a deep cultural-national sentiment, and it represents one of the most significant moments of translation contact in nineteenth-century Ireland.

The theme of ‘the people’ is different from that of nationality, and yet it too sometimes carries the notion of a national soul, as exemplified by commentators on Béranger or by Irish literary revivalists. Conveying the words of Lamennais, Béranger, the Romantic historians, as well as through various socialist and poetical connections, translation in nineteenth-century Ireland nourished on the one hand a universalist and populist notion of a struggling or neglected ‘people’. Even the vogue for melodrama reflected a growth of transnational democratic aspirations, and Béranger was referred to as the ‘universal melodist of emotion’ and the ‘people’s poet’. Yet at the same time, it was often this very ‘people’ who were said to be the most authentic bearers of a nation’s cultural heritage, and the demotic roots of culture formed an increasingly important motif in the development of Irish and European nationalism. A similar discourse could even be traced back in the words of de Latocnaye’s translator, written in 1798. Béranger provided cultural nationalists with a successful model of cultural-national representativeness. Moreover, the emphasis on the Celtic connections and on the Celtic ‘people(s)’ in poetry, religion or philology may have been a means to construct a cultural-national identity, differentiate Ireland from England, as well as establish transnational links.

⁶³ 24 Feb 1844, p.314

Both surveys underline the crucial importance of moral and religious values in the choice of translation, notably the pattern of controlling moral content. Overall, they reveal a clear scepticism about French morality, which prevented much French fictional literature from becoming too popular in translation and which partly guided the general preferences for Béranger's political rather than bacchanal and anti-clerical material. Such values, on the other hand, partly explain the popularity of 'morally-acceptable' translations in fiction, and the high percentage of pious literature and of edifying biographies. The consolidation of Irish pietistic practice through translation is, as we have argued, a key pattern related to the strengthening of Irish Catholicism in the nineteenth century, but it also seems symptomatic of a general movement for 'moral improvement', as exposed in the historical chapter. The moralistic patterns were crucial to translation from Irish in creating an acceptable image. In translation from French, such patterns also suggest that the masses must have been regarded as easily susceptible. Accordingly, they imply that translation was indeed recognized as a decisive channel of influence.

Translation from French was a means to express and share ideals of freedom of religion, of social and political equality, of national self-determination, as well as many other ideas which reflect the variety of interests, backgrounds and beliefs in nineteenth-century Ireland. It provided a means to disseminate literature, as well as a platform for crucial debates.

Translation was used to help shape the moral, religious and political direction of the Irish people. It was used for creative or transformative ends in several respects. The period under study is a period of profound social, cultural and religious transformation in Ireland, and translation contributed to that change. It may arguably have had formative influence, contributing to the development of a native body of literature in English. For instance, translation from French may have contributed to the development of a native Catholic literature in English. Moreover, French writers such as Villon, Béranger or Molière provided models and materials which captured the imagination of Gaelic and literary revivalists, who used translation from French as a means to build a national literature in both Irish and English.

The ways in which translation was used and produced seem to be varied. In particular, to use Cronin's words, translation represented "an important source of heroic models, images and motifs" (1996: 22). In the nineteenth century, the numerous images and motifs included the messianic Napoleon, images of military and national glory, or again, images of inspiring religious saints. The notion of representation is therefore crucial to translation from French

during that period. One remarkably eloquent example of the importance of image and representation is that provided by the reviewer of Montalembert's translated *Monks*. Indeed, by asking that translation should support 'the fair fame of' the Irish church and the 'reputation' of Irish Catholics, the reviewer entertains the idea that images generated through translation are crucial. Additionally, we should note that representations of French culture through translation are varied, reflecting a variety of religious, moral, cultural and political values. They result in an ambivalent and complex image of French-language culture, which is undoubtedly a critical aspect of the Franco-Irish relationship in the nineteenth century.

While each decade of the century appears to have been important, with translations from French published and available all throughout the century, the 1830s-1840s were however particularly momentous. From the point of view of book trade, as Benson observes, "the general standard of production rose considerably" (2011: 33) in the 1830s. As regards translation from French, the period is significant. It was marked by extensive and vibrant productions in poetry translation, notably in the *DUM* and the *Nation*. The *DUM* indeed noticed that Ireland was 'at her humanities' (cited in Hayley 1987: 36). It was one of the most prolific times for translations from Béranger. A Catholic religious impulse was becoming evident, but the period was also marked by a historiographic and political impulse, by a cultural nationalist impetus, notably with the Young Irelanders, by a romantic view of history, by socialist connections and the rising theme of 'the people', by Béranger's praise of liberty and country, by the first translations from Dumas published in Belfast, by two revolutions in France, and by the liberal Catholics' religious and socio-political agenda. The period was also marked by dramatic social, cultural and political upheavals in Ireland, notably the Famine and the decline of Irish.

While several clusters of Irish translators have emerged, we should also briefly draw attention to a French 'group' of significant figures, namely Béranger, Lamennais, Lamartine and Chateaubriand, for they all, in different ways, had an impact in Ireland. Interestingly, Lamennais, Lamartine and Chateaubriand became very close to Béranger, particularly towards the end of his life. These four personalities may not be the most talked-about nineteenth-century French writers today, yet their impact during that period is best summarized by one of their contemporaries. Henri de Lacretelle, after taking note of their distinct characters, indeed wrote "Mais ils tenaient en eux toutes les passions du siècle" [Yet, between themselves alone, they crystallized all the century's passions] (cited in Touchard 1968b: 173n).

8.2 Translating from French in the Nineteenth Century: Ireland's Agents of Translation

This thesis has sought to provide, as stated before in Simeoni's words, 'the view from the agent'. Irish translators deserved to be investigated in the context of this research because, as Cronin puts it, they were "architects of literatures and languages, channels of influence, ambassadors for the Other" (1996: 1). Reflecting the variety of texts and contexts, the translators who contributed to the Franco-Irish relationship form a very diverse group, with a variety of religious, cultural, social and political backgrounds. Among them, however, overall trends and patterns have emerged, not only as regards sociocultural backgrounds, but regarding some approaches to translation as well. For example, we noted the significant output from translators linked to the *Nation* newspaper, and from Trinity and Maynooth colleges' students and staff. Most translators seem to have been from a middle-class background, including professional and merchant classes. At the time indeed, children from the middle and upper classes had a greater chance of acquiring French than those from the lower classes. The education of many translators remains unrecorded, but the following basic information may shed some light on their relationship with the French language. The translators mentioned in this study received their education in Ireland and/or in France, acquired sufficient knowledge of French, and sometimes of other languages too. Besides those who studied French at Trinity, Maynooth or Clongowes Wood Colleges, there were translators who probably attended schools with close links with France such as, for example, the Ursuline schools (Mary Hackett). A great number, notably Hannah Lynch, George Sigerson, Martin MacDermott and John P. Leonard, received at least part of their education in France. It is reasonable to assume that a number of male religious translators, particularly those who were born in the eighteenth century, attended French seminaries or universities at some stage during their training. John Wilson Croker attended a school run by French émigrés in Cork, and 'Eva of the Nation' was privately educated, having learnt the language from a French governess. Several women translators had no formal education, notably Anna Doyle Wheeler and Frances Cashel Hoey. They were both largely self-taught.

Moreover, translators did not come from Dublin alone, but from various parts of the country as well. In particular, there were a significant number of translators from the Cork area, showing that the south of Ireland seems to have maintained a close relationship with

continental Europe. However, much of the translation and publishing activity was increasingly centred in Dublin, as well as outside Ireland. As with many Irish authors at the time, several translators produced and/or published their works outside Ireland, particularly London or North America. This pattern may be explained by the exigencies of economic survival as well as other cultural, personal and political reasons. Translators such as Mary Anne Sadlier were able to publish outside Ireland as well as in Dublin. At other times, particularly for Catholic publications or when the translation generally bore an Irish historical or religious interest, the work could be published locally in Ireland. However, one striking aspect which has emerged about Ireland's translators from French is the financial difficulties which many of them experienced, even those who sought a better situation abroad. For instance, among the large numbers of translators who emigrated to live and die in England, North America, Australia, or indeed France, William Maginn, Bronterre O'Brien, 'Speranza' and 'Eva of the Nation' died in poverty. Both Frances Cashel Hoey and Mary Anne Sadlier, two of the most prolific translators, and possibly the closest to what we would refer to as 'professional' translators today, nonetheless experienced great financial difficulties towards the end of their lives. We mentioned Hoey's generosity as one reason for her poverty. Another may be linked to the difficulties encountered during her career, as evidenced by the following anecdote. *The correspondence of Prince Talleyrand and King Louis XVIII during the Congress of Vienna* (1881, NLI) was published anonymously, but Edwards (1982: 50) believes that the first volume was translated by Frances Cashel Hoey, and the second by Mary Charlotte Mair Simpson. Edwards notes that this commission by London publisher Richard Bentley "had to be done at breakneck speed" (ibid: 26), and Bentley had originally agreed to pay Frances 140 guineas for the two volumes. In the event, however, "she was unable to carry out the work quickly enough and received only £40 for translating the first volume" (ibid).

The significant role played by the above-named women, as well as the role of women religious examined in Chapter 3, suggest that the case of women translators should receive proper attention, particularly if we consider their unequal social and educational treatment at the time. While this conclusion could not afford to provide such investigation for space constraints⁶⁴, we may, however, briefly look at issues of anonymity and invisibility, both in a general manner as well as from a gender perspective. Generally-speaking, there was much anonymity, near-anonymity and pseudonymity in translation from French, but this was not

⁶⁴ See Milan (2012: 91-93) for a closer investigation of gender perspectives.

true of all translators. Some of them, particularly TCD and Maynooth scholars, were accredited on title pages with a list of credentials. In contrast, married women translators were often in a situation of double invisibility. Even though Mary Anne Sadlier is not wholly invisible since she is acknowledged on title pages as the translator or writer, and her biography is available to us today, she was nonetheless systematically referred to as ‘Mrs. J. Sadlier’. The loss of her forename, replaced by the mark of her married status prefixed to her husband’s initial and surname is revealing. On the title page, she is not so much Mary Anne anymore, rather James Sadlier’s wife. Although there are several cases where a woman’s full name is acknowledged, this nevertheless remains a very typical pattern for married women translators, as exemplified by ‘Mrs Cashel Hoey’ and ‘Mrs. W. R. Wilde’.

Many nineteenth-century translators have been overlooked in Irish literary histories, perhaps because they did not produce much original work and/or were situated at a cultural crossroads, such as the Corkran family. Others have been overlooked because, not only did they live and write outside Ireland, but their works do not belong to any literary canons, such as Sadlier for example. And generally-speaking, there is a myriad of Irish translators who are not known because translation has been neglected as a channel of literary, religious and political influence. Furthermore, figures such as Synge, Sigerson or Boucicault are better known for other works. Yet, their translations from French may have played a particular formative role within their own literary and aesthetic careers.

However, we should note that translation and translators were not always ‘invisible’. In fact, commentaries and reviews, by their very existence, brought translation to the foreground, thereby acknowledging its importance. This is true, for instance, of Mary Hackett’s translation from Montalembert. Accordingly, the role of the press proved important throughout this survey. Periodicals reviewed and published translations. They also provided an advertising platform for booksellers and publishers, whose role, we argue, was equally crucial to the Franco-Irish translation relationships. Indeed, from important firms such as James Duffy’s, M.H. Gill, Simms and M’Intyre or D&J. Sadlier, to smaller or lesser-known ventures such as Hugh Fitzpatrick, John Exshaw, Gerald Bellew, the CTSI, or even Leonard’s ‘once-off’ publisher Denis Holland, they all played an active part in the process. There are several more publishers, printers, booksellers who made translations from French available to Irish readers, and Appendix A2 should be consulted in this respect.

Many of Ireland's agents of translation aimed at effecting change in Irish society, in religious practices as well as in socioeconomics and politics. They were dedicated individuals or groups who, as well as some commercial and economic interests, were often committed to particular causes. This is notably evidenced by their participation in other cultural, educational, religious, social, philanthropic or political activities. For several of them, particularly in religion and politics, translation was a duty and a responsibility. For example, Mary Anne Sadlier felt that she had been entrusted with this task, which is perhaps equivalent to a religious call. Magray (1998) refers to the "transforming power" of Irish nuns in the nineteenth century. The phrase seems especially appropriate as regards Ireland's agents of translation in the nineteenth century.

Translation was important to them. It had its rightful position within the translators' cultural and political agendas. Irish translators, who often apologized in their prefaces for not being able to provide the 'best' version, therefore viewed translation as an activity requiring and deserving care and skill. The value placed by them on translations is also evidenced by their willingness to publish them. We know, for example, that William Dowe had intended to publish his translations in book form, and Leonard had intended to publish more translations. Leonard's translations, moreover, demonstrate that, despite the absence of a proper international copyright agreement, there seemed to have been some sort of 'contract' between author and translator in certain cases. We refer here to the proudly-announced 'sole authorized translation' seen on the title pages of Leonard's translations.

Our understanding of translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland may further benefit from looking back at certain ideas conveyed in translation paratexts, particularly in religious translation. There was, in particular, an emphasis on ideas of sobriety and chastity, which fitted both a moral and religious agenda. In her preface to de Ligny's text, Mary Anne Sadlier argues that the style of the translation has to respect the soberness of the original, which she refers to as 'chaste simplicity' (1853: 4). According to Sister Mary Teresa Austin Carroll, Sister of Mercy Mary Vincent Deasy's translation displayed a certain 'chaste beauty'. Such approach to translation seems to belong to a long Irish tradition of translating religious texts. As Cronin notes, post-Reformation translation already promoted a plainness of dress, which was the true expression of "a direct and honest relationship with God and the Word" (1996: 72). In nineteenth-century translation, the text, in form and content, reflected the moral and religious aims of authors and translators, whose purpose was to foster piety and virtue, indeed religious renewal.

In fact, the notion of textual simplicity was not confined to religious translation, and could be found advocated in other cultural areas. For example, as noted before, melodrama aimed to be “simple, direct, arousing, appealing” (Brooks 1989: 603). The democratic factor and the appeal to masses on the one hand, and the introvert, spiritual factor on the other were crucial to the Romantic period. The Romantic emphasis on ‘plainness’ and ‘chastity’ is a reflection of a desire for the ‘pure’, the ‘natural’. It refers, argues Cronin, to the essential meaning of a text, that which is “immanent in the text itself” (1996: 74). This, we argue, can be correlated, not only to much of the spiritual literature found in translation, but particularly to the increasingly powerful attachment to the concept of the Sacred Heart in nineteenth-century Ireland and France. Indeed, the Sacred Heart, the core element of Jesus, the unadorned heart of love, compassion and suffering, may be another expression of a Romantic move inwards.

In religious translation, in the same manner as the religious themselves, texts were committed to the ‘care’ or ‘cure’ of souls. Translation was used as a means to salvation and perfection. Accordingly, since translators are essentially in-between cultures and texts, the term ‘intercession’ may be appropriate to define that translation moment. The term appears in Mary Anne Sadlier’s anthology on Purgatory (c1886), and is frequently encountered in religious texts, particularly those referring to saints or to the Blessed Virgin, who are usually asked to plead with God on behalf of the faithful. In relation to the doctrine of Purgatory, intercession is said to be achieved through devotional practices such as prayers in favour of the souls departed. Intercession therefore represents that mediating moment. Translation in nineteenth-century Ireland is intercession. Like Purgatory, it is also that middle state, that otherworld, and the moment of translation may be seen as an interlude between life and afterlife. Mary Anne Sadlier is always referred to as ‘Mrs James Sadlier’ on title pages, and thereby embodies that ‘shadowy border-land’ (ibid: 6), this idea of an intermediate state or place. Acting as a mediator between cultures, the connective nature of Sadlier’s ‘life-long labours’ is a powerful case in point. In a broader sense of intercession as intervention and bridge-building, Sadlier, and many other Irish translators in the nineteenth century, are mediating between cultures, spaces and times.

The fostering of personal and public piety through devotional and spiritual literature and devotions to the Sacred Heart, and the promotion of devout life and ‘godly speech’ may be correlated to an emphasis on the inner life, as evidenced through translated lives of the saints, biographies and apologetics. The pattern for individuation and psychological inwardness may have been fostered by nineteenth-century apologetics such as Chateaubriand’s, through

which, argues Dulles, “man seems to have become more conscious than ever before of his own individuality and subjectivity” (1971: 158). Chateaubriand’s work provided “an inward apologetic of the heart, based on the aspirations of the human spirit” (ibid). In parallel, the century was marked by the increasing popularity of individual stories, memoirs and biographies, particularly in relation to Napoleon, and great interest was taken in the character of Béranger as much as in his works. Furthermore, Romantic subjectivism, as noted before, is crucial to European nationalism in the nineteenth century, for its emphasis on the individual qualities of a culture, supporting claims to cultural and political separateness. This thesis has sought to show that cultural nationalists in nineteenth-century Ireland such as Thomas Davis were connected to a transnational phenomenon. Indeed, as Campbell argues, their ideas should be seen within “the contexts of a western liberal tradition of nationality founded in Romantic subjectivism, recreating in the public sphere an emphasis on individual qualities of spirit, will and emotion. Only liberty could allow the growth of both individual and nation (...)” (2006: 517).

Translation Island

As Cronin puts it in relation to Ireland in the Middle Ages, Ireland in the nineteenth century was “creatively alert to the news from elsewhere” (1996: 9). Through translation, Ireland maintained strong links with the continent, particularly with France. Translation patterns show a European and cosmopolitan outlook in many areas of intellectual, religious and political inquiry. The outward-looking approach of several key translators or editors is worth noting, because they established and developed various networks across cultures and languages. Translation history brings evidence that Ireland in the nineteenth century was undoubtedly a ‘translation island’. There was still a strong tradition of learning, and translators brought foreign influences into the country. Through them, the Irish public was brought into contact with the wider world of European learning.

In some cases, Franco-Irish translation contact was facilitated by travel and emigration. Indeed, the peripatetic careers of Irish journalists and writers such as the Corkrans, the Hoeys or John P. Leonard supported the creation of a strong relationship with French-language culture. This relationship was also fostered by strong educational links. Not only had a great number of Irish translators received part of their education in France or Belgium, but several families in Ireland had recourse to French governesses, as in the case of Eva of the *Nation*.

Travel to and from Ireland was therefore an important feature of translation in nineteenth-century Ireland, as was the circulation of translated materials. Translation from French bears testimony to a culture which was not merely insular, but was exposed to a broad range of influences. To use Ó Ríordáin's words, "new approaches, new ideas, new religious orders and groupings of one kind or another" (1980: 69) poured in during that period.

As noted before, the transnational aspect of cultural nationalism is one particularly crucial feature in nineteenth-century translation. As Leerssen argues, European cultural nationalism involved "a reassessment and revalorisation of the various individual, vernacular cultures" (2006: 573). The actors and agents in the process, "bequeathed to their political fellow-travellers a discourse, rhetoric and mental template concerning their nations' roots, specificity and autonomous cultural status" (ibid). Leerssen (2002: 170-173) observes that when Hardiman introduced *Irish Minstrelsy* (see Historical Chapter), not only did he make a nationalist analogy between Ireland under English rule and Greece under Turkish rule, he also compared his undertaking with Fauriel's translations of Greek songs, which we mentioned in relation to philological translations and Charles Brinsley Sheridan. European cultural nationalist interest in folk songs as described by Leerssen is also one feature of the reception of Béranger in Europe. The romantic movement was both nationalistic and internationalistic in perspective. Not all nationalist approaches in Ireland were inward-looking, and translations from Béranger and of 'La Marseillaise' are eloquent examples. Moreover, the transnational aspect is accrued by Ireland's socioeconomic circumstances. For example, with regard to the increasing importance of Irish nationalism in North America, it is worth considering the contribution by Ireland's expatriate translators and publishers to such a transnational link. With a widening market for translations, the influence of Ireland's agents of translation could be felt beyond Ireland.

Poetry translation provides an eloquent homage to Ireland's transcultural history. We only need to look at the titles given to various series of nineteenth-century translations: 'Flowers from Foreign Lands' by D. F. MacCarthy, Speranza's 'Wanderings through European Literature' and Mangan's 'Lays of many lands'. International revolutionary poetry provides us with a clear transnational network. Speranza and Mangan, as we know, contributed several translations from the German revolutionary poet Georg Herwegh. Herwegh himself translated from Lamartine into German. He also wrote a praising poem about Béranger. Several transnational links on Béranger were also highlighted in Chapter 7. Another example of political transnational link is connected to the Chartist connection. English poet and radical

William James Linton (ODNB), contributed to the *Nation*, and translated from both Béranger and Lamennais.

Various transnational cultural and political networks were thus constructed in the nineteenth century, and translation was an essential part of the process. While Irish translators contributed greatly to the Franco-Irish relationship, translation also occurred in the outward direction, and we know, for example, that some of Margaret Anna Cusack's works were translated into French at the time. But this is another story, to be told some other day.

8.3 Achievements

Generally-speaking, the thesis has shed new light on the Franco-Irish translation relationships and on the impact of translation from French in nineteenth-century Ireland. It has done so by highlighting and analyzing overall socio-historical trends in nineteenth-century translation of French writing in Ireland, and by giving due attention to Ireland's agents of translation. The foremost achievement of this project is to have carried out research in a vast understudied area, thereby generating new knowledge. The key movements of thought behind translation practice in Ireland have been underlined, and in this regard, this research has succeeded in showing the specificity of the Franco-Irish translation relationships in the period. In other words, the project underlines a tradition that is specific to Ireland, notably because some texts were engagingly translated and published in Ireland. One crucial example is provided by these untold quantities of religious texts which were found in translation. Both surveys demonstrate that a myriad of translation moments occurred between the French and Irish cultures in the period under study. The following points attempt to answer more specifically to the various claims and arguments stated in the introduction to this thesis, although they are all interrelated to some extent.

Translation/Translators

The thesis supports the idea that translation represents a significant channel of influence and that translators deserve attention as agents of cultural change. Translations provide a window onto a web of values and beliefs in the period under study, reflecting the concerns of the Irish public, but they also contributed to political and cultural developments. In other words, the historical role of translations is far greater than a merely passive and reflective role. In translation, various ideological agendas were at work, involving the interplay of print media,

contexts, translators, publishers, booksellers, periodicals, readers, institutions, and various factors and actors in the process.

This thesis has shown the contribution which translation and translators have made to various cultural and political developments in nineteenth-century Ireland. In particular, numerous translators and publishers played a decisive role in the dissemination of French Catholic writings, and in the strengthening of Irish Catholicism in general. The growth of Irish cultural nationalism, which at times overlaps that of Irish Catholic nationalism, is another key development to which Irish translators have contributed. Indeed, some translations from French allowed them to construct the image of a distinctive culture, and at times, to support the idea of political autonomy. Translations from Béranger in nineteenth-century Ireland represent a decisive moment in which key socio-political ideologies were at play, and, in the main, contributed to the growth of patriotic and nationalist sentiment. As we know, developments in cultural, constitutional and Catholic nationalism during the nineteenth century inspired the minds of political revolutionaries in the first decades of the twentieth century. These decades were to be marked by a struggle for political autonomy, notably the Easter Rising in 1916 and the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922. Furthermore, we know that the relationship established during the nineteenth century between the Roman Catholic Church and the political nation was to prove enduring.

This thesis, in other words, has sought to show that translations from French in Ireland should be seen as part of wider developments in the nineteenth century. Ireland's agents of translation contributed to various national and transnational movements, through their translations as well as through other activities and contacts. They created a cross-cultural network of discursive practices which carries historical weight and should not be dismissed as insignificant. They contributed to various areas of learning and to numerous lesser-known cultural and political developments, encompassing the areas of religion, history, politics, fiction, children's literature, theatre, sciences, art history, positivist philosophy, philology, travel, and poetry.

Translation History

The translation trends and clusters which have emerged throughout this research inform us about prevailing sociocultural attitudes in nineteenth-century Ireland. Translations are highly informative as primary sources for the scholar. They provide us with new perspectives, and help us understand wider narratives. This thesis advocates the contribution which translation

history can make to various fields of study, and the following points show examples of achievements in relation to these knowledge areas.

Historical and Literary Studies

The key cultural and political developments described above are highly relevant to Irish historical studies, and in this regard, the material presented throughout this survey adds an important dimension to Irish cultural and political history, making a strong argument for looking at translation history as a valuable tool for historical and sociocultural studies. This is not only true of translations that occurred in the domains of religion, history and politics, but in other areas too. For example, translations of scientific works could be used by historians looking at the history of sciences in Ireland, particularly as regards mathematics or medical science. Additionally, this history of translation from French presents an entire body of items and a set of cultural trends which widen our knowledge of the history of the Irish book in English. In this regard, translation history adds new knowledge to existing histories and biographies. Translations are valuable not simply for their content and textual form, but also for the various paratextual devices they bear. Prefatory remarks sometimes reflect contemporary developments in Irish society. For example, we noted that several prefacers reflected on signs of what they referred to as a general ‘religious impulse’ in mid-nineteenth century Ireland. Moreover, editors’ prefaces and other textual devices such as letters of approbation or subscription lists showed the involvement of other actors in the process.

This research has unveiled connections which no one else had pointed to before. For example, the translation by Thomas Davis from Lamennais remained, to this day, unknown to both cultural and political historians. Yet, Davis is one of the most-remembered figures of the Young Ireland movement. Besides the fact that little interest must have been previously taken in this ‘paraphrase from the French’, the main reason why this link was unknown to everyone, we believe, lies in the fact that Davis had not named his source. The connection with Lamennais was unveiled by using together back-translation and internet search. These are some of today’s tools for translation history.

Translation history is a useful, and even necessary, science because it helps us unveil cross-cultural moments which would otherwise be overlooked. This is the case with Béranger. It is significant that literary encyclopaedias and anthologies omit him today. From an aesthetic point of view, his corpus of works does not appear to provide the kind of material which literary critics are interested in discussing today. Yet he was a significant figure, both in

France and in Ireland, and notably in translation. In this respect, translation history may even raise questions regarding the definition of literary canons. Moreover, it allows us to re-assess well-known names and texts in the light of translations, whose existence, in many cases, has been forgotten. We have, for example, highlighted the use of translation from French during the Irish literary revival. Additionally, this study adds another dimension to our knowledge of James Clarence Mangan. Not only are his translations from French much lesser-known, if at all, than his translations from other languages, but new light was also shed on his approach to translation. Indeed, whereas Mangan is rather known for his creative approach and for his ‘perversions’, we noted how he paid real attention to the ‘historical fact’, notably in his ‘Napoleon’ from Lamartine. Additionally, his translation of ‘La Marseillaise’ attests, not only to his own patriotic sympathies, but to a wider interest taken in French patriotic and republican writings in nineteenth-century Ireland.

Translation Studies

With regards to translation studies in general, translation history brings new perspectives to translation as it helps build up the overall body of knowledge useful for further developments in the field. In particular, the analysis of religious connections in translation brings the focus to a whole area of religious translation which has so far been neglected in translation studies, that of non-Biblical religious translation. In the context of nineteenth-century Ireland, as well as in other cultures and times, the production, publication and assessment of such texts, including devotional, historical or apologetic literature, present a whole range of discursive practices which is valuable material for translation studies.

Franco-Irish Studies

This project makes a valuable contribution to the field of Franco-Irish studies. Its aim was to remedy a situation, namely, the neglect of translation as a contributory factor to the Franco-Irish relationship and to Hiberno-French cultural developments. This research indeed leaves us with a very different understanding of the Franco-Irish relationship in the nineteenth century by redressing the omission of translation as a channel of influence and of translators as agents of cultural change in Franco-Irish history. For example, this research has shown the importance of translation of Catholic and political writings to the growth of this relationship. The significance of religious translation in the Franco-Irish relationship has been overlooked until now, and therefore needed to be highlighted for a greater understanding of the history of this relationship. The thesis has, moreover, demonstrated that moral values played a part in

the image of French culture in Ireland, as it guided many choices made in translation. It shows the immense variety of translation moments between the two cultures, and in particular, it unveiled the decisive moment of translation contact between Ireland and Béranger. This, we believe, represents a truly unprecedented achievement.

Presentism

The last point is closely related to all of the above, because surveys in translation history invite a re-consideration of the past and of existing links. Indeed, research in translation history can help us adjust our perspectives on earlier periods and materials, thereby preventing distorted, overly “presentist” views of past cultural relations. This is best exemplified in this thesis, not only by the overall survey results, but also by the significance of writers and poets such as Béranger in nineteenth-century translation. With some rare exceptions, no great interest was taken by Ireland’s agents of translation in French Realist, Naturalist or *fin-de-siècle* writers. On the other hand, much importance was attached to non-fictional translation and to writers who are largely forgotten today. In other words, while attention is more commonly paid today to nineteenth-century writers such as Baudelaire or Flaubert, translation trends show that figures such as Béranger were far more popular in translation. In this regard, this thesis, while perhaps confirming certain elements already known, yet offers a new and more complete picture of the Franco-Irish relationship in the nineteenth century.

We may hope for more attention given to translation in the future. Providing a rightful place to ‘translation’ in the ‘index’ section of scholarly works, both in literary and historical studies, may only be a very small step, but a useful one. Naturally, the fostering of studies in translation history, and the acknowledgment of the contribution it can make to other areas of intellectual inquiry, and particularly to historical and literary studies, would be a most satisfactory outcome.

8.4 Personal Research Outcomes and Further Research Ideas

It is very probable that from this research several smaller studies will be extracted and developed. I am currently working on two conference papers, one on the Béranger connection, the other on Irish Catholic women religious and translation. The papers will be presented this year (2012) at the Association for Franco-Irish Studies (AFIS) and the History

of Women Religious in Britain and Ireland (HWRBI) annual conferences respectively. The very fact that these proposals were accepted for conferences outside the realm of translation studies proves the points made above on the relevance of this research to other fields of studies.

Other papers or journal articles are being planned. They include several studies on religious translation, notably one on purgatory, another possibly on devotional literature, particularly on the Sacred Heart, and another article on the Positivist connection. Another aspect which I will further investigate is ‘the Cork network’ of translators. Of course, due to the broad coverage of this study, numerous ideas for further research can be identified. Generally-speaking, we could investigate further into specific topics, particularly those which have received less attention during this research. In particular, the whole area of theatre and opera would require, as we noted in that section, an investigation in its own right. Additionally, the impact of nineteenth-century translations on a reader such as Sean O’Casey seems another worthwhile idea for further research.

While it was impossible to check all the translations individually, the present research could however open new avenues of textual investigation, and will hopefully encourage other researchers to go and study in more detail the texts surveyed for this project. In particular, further textual investigation of translations from Béranger may prove rewarding. Another path of research would be the examination of particular families with strong Franco-Irish links, such as the O’Mearas or the Corkrans. In fact, as suggested before, one desirable outcome would be a contribution to the area of Irish biography. There are several translators and other agents of translation who have emerged through this survey and who, to this day, do not have any proper biographical entries in the national biographies. This is the case, for example, of Rev. James Maher, Mary Banim, or John Thomas Rowland. We could generate further information by focusing on individual experiences, drawing on diaries, correspondence and autobiographies. Moreover, an investigation of the relationships between translators and publishers in the nineteenth century would be valuable.

In the meantime, it is hoped that the large amount of bio-bibliographical data which has been generated through this research will someday be available as open source information. To this end, CTTS at Dublin City University is intending to provide the online facilities (TRASNABIO) necessary for sharing this knowledge. In this respect, we wish to

acknowledge here the valuable role played by An Foras Feasa at Maynooth in fostering research in the digital age and increasing our awareness of database creation.

Lastly, another suggestion for further projects would be the creation, or the interlinking, of transnational and/or interdisciplinary research. To continue with the spirit in which this project was born, some aspects of this research could be linked, for example, to other investigations of nineteenth-century writing and translation, either in Ireland or across several cultures. Transnational or cross-cultural perspectives to various topics, such as religion, politics, sciences or philology, as well as, for example, gender studies, could thereby be developed.

To conclude, there is no doubt that this vast area of research, which until now was markedly understudied, should repay further investigation. This project shows that there were many narratives in the history of the Franco-Irish relationship waiting to be explored, unveiled and (inter)connected. They may be eloquent reflections of the rich and complex processes of transcultural contact. And, perhaps, may we compare ourselves to this ‘votary of recondite lore’ called upon by Francis Mahony, for having sought to bring back to our remembrance various neglected subjects such as ‘that obscure clergyman’, who ‘on a barren Irish hill, made the first effort to transplant hither some slips of that luxuriant tree’.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

‘A French Invasion’ (1849), the *Nation*, Sept. 22, p.58

A Round Table of the Representative Irish and English Catholic Novelists, at which is served a feast of excellent stories by: Louisa Emily Dobrée, M.E. Francis, Theo. Gift, Baroness Pauline Von Hügel, Lady Amabel Kerr, R.B. Sheridan Knowles, Frances M. Maitland, Sophie Maude, Clara Mulholland, Rosa Mulholland, Mrs. Bartle Teeling, Kath. Tynan Hinkson (1897) New York/Cincinnati/Chicago: Benziger Brothers

‘A Son of the Soil’ (1868) ‘Notes’ in J. de Lasteyrie, *French Thoughts on Irish Evils*, trans.

‘A Son of the Soil’, London: Longmans, Green, pp.33-67

Adamo, S. (2006) ‘Microhistory of Translation’, in G. L. Bastin and P. F. Bandia (eds) *Charting the Future of Translation History* [Online], Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, pp.81-100, Available at: http://isg.urv.es/library/papers/Bastin-Bandia_history.pdf [Accessed 21 October 2010]

Agnew, R. (2003) ‘The Prelude to Stethoscopy: Some French, British and Irish Contributions in the Early Nineteenth Century’, in *Journal of Medical Biography*, Vol. 11 (3), pp. 135-141

Agorni, Mirella (2005) ‘A Marginalized Perspective on Translation History: Women and Translation in the Eighteenth Century’, *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, Vol.50 (3), pp.817-830

Alger, J. G. (2004) ‘MacCarthy, Nicholas Tuite’, rev. G. M. Murphy, in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.35, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.116-117

Allen, G. (2001) *Intertextuality*, London/New York: Routledge

‘An Irishman’ (1798) ‘Translator’s Preface’ in J-L. de Latocnaye, *Rambles through Ireland; by a French emigrant*, trans. ‘An Irishman’, Cork: printed by M. Harris, pp.iii-v

Anon. (1862) ‘Translator’s Preface’ in A. Leguay, *The path of perfection in religious life: a work intended for persons consecrated to God*, trans. anon, Dublin: James Duffy

- ‘Another “French Invasion”’ (1853), the *Nation*, Jan. 22, p.330
- ‘Approbations’ (1877) in A. Maurel, *The Christian instructed in the nature and use of indulgences*, trans. P. Costello, Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son
- Aston, N. (2000) *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780-1804*, London: MacMillan Press
- Baer, B.J. (2010) ‘Literary Translation in the Age of the Decembrists: The Birth of Productive Censorship in Russia’ in D. Merkle, C. O’Sullivan, L. van Doorslaer and M. Wolf (eds) *The Power of the Pen: Translation and Censorship in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Berlin: LIT Verlag, pp.213-239
- Baker, M. (1997) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, London/New York: Routledge
- Barrett, S. D. (1998) ‘John Kells Ingram (1823-1907)’, *Hermathena* (164), pp.5-30
- Bartlett, T. (2009) ‘Napoleon, Britain and Ireland’, paper presented at the Lewis Glucksman Memorial Symposium ‘*Napoleon, Empire and Europe*’, Trinity College Dublin, 18 June
- Bassnett, S. and P. France (2006) ‘Translation, Politics and the Law’ in P. France and K. Haynes (eds) *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol.4 1790-1900*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 48-58
- Bassnett, S. and H. Trivedi (1999) *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, London/New York: Routledge
- Bastin, G. L. (2006) ‘Subjectivity and Rigour in Translation History: The Case of Latin America’, trans. S. Sacks, in G. L. Bastin and P. F. Bandia (eds) *Charting the Future of Translation History* [Online], Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, pp.111-129, Available at: http://isg.urv.es/library/papers/Bastin-Bandia_history.pdf [Accessed 21 October 2010]
- Bayley, P. (1995a) ‘Bossuet’ in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 107-108
- Bayley, P. (1995b) ‘Fénelon’ in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.307-308
- Benson, C. (2011) ‘The Dublin Book Trade’ in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.27-46

- Béranger, P-J. de (1858) *Memoirs of Béranger*, trans. anon, London: Hurst & Blackett
- Béranger, P-J. de (1870) *Songs and Ballads from the French of P. J. de Beranger*, trans. H. J. De Burgh, Dublin: William McGee; London: Bell and Daldy
- Béranger, P-J. de (1871) *Six songs of Béranger*, trans. M. J. Barry, Dublin: Printed by Alexander Thom
- Best, R. I. (1903) 'Translator's Preface' in H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*, trans. R.I. Best, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., p.iv
- Billington, J. H. (2009) *Fire in the minds of men: origins of the revolutionary faith*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers
- Binckes, F. 'Lynch, Hannah' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.34, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.876-877
- Bolster, E. (1989) *A History of the Diocese of Cork: From the Penal Era to the Famine*, Cork: Tower Books of Cork
- Boudens, R. (1967) 'Lamennais' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: McGraw-Hill, pp.347-349
- Bowman, F.P. (1995) 'Chateaubriand' in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.157-158
- Boyce, D. G. (2004) 'Valera, Éamon De' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.56, Oxford: OUP, pp.55-60
- Boyce, D. G. (2005) *New Gill History of Ireland Vol. 5 Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Search for Stability*, Dublin: Gill & MacMillan
- Boylan, C. H. (1825) 'Dedication' in J-B. Massillon, *The ecclesiastical conferences, the synodal discourses and episcopal mandates, of Massillon bishop of Clermont, on the principal duties of the clergy*, trans. C.H. Boylan, Dublin: R. Milliken and R. Coyne, pp.iii-v
- Boyle, E. (2010) 'Margaret Stokes (1832-1900) and the study of medieval Irish art' in C. Breathnach and C. Lawless (eds) *Visual, Material and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, Dublin: Four Court Press, pp.73-84

- Brake, L. and M. Demoor (2009) *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, Gent/London: Academia Press; British Library
- Brihault, J. (2007) 'Lady Morgan: Building Bridges' in E. Maher, E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) *Reinventing Ireland through a French prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 115-130
- Bristow, A. (1810) *The maniac, a tale; or, A view of Bethlem Hospital; and The merits of women, a poem from the French*, London: Hatchard
- Brooks, P. (1989) 'The Melodramatic Imagination' in D. Hollier, *A New History of French Literature*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp.602-608
- Brown, M. J. (1972) *The Politics of Irish Literature: from Thomas Davis to W. B. Yeats*, London: Allen and Unwin
- Brown, S. J. M. (1919) *Ireland in Fiction; a guide to Irish novels, tales, romances, and folklore*, Dublin: Maunsel & Co.
- Brown, T. (2009) 'Yeats, William Butler' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1087-1093
- Brown, T. (2010) *The Literature of Ireland: Culture and Criticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Buckley, M. (1982) 'French influences on Young Ireland (1842-1845), *Études Irlandaises*, no.7, pp. 99-113
- 'C' (1894) 'What Our Country Folk Read', *New Ireland Review*, Vol. I (March), pp.65-7
- Caball, M. (2010) 'Lost in Translation: Reading Keating's *Foras feasa ar Éireann*, 1635-1847', in A. Carpenter and M. Caball (eds) *Oral and print cultures in Ireland, 1600-1900*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp.47-68
- Caldicott, C. E. J., Gough, H. and Pittion, J.-P. (1987) *The Huguenots and Ireland: anatomy of an emigration*, Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press
- Campbell, J. (1984) *The Irish Impressionists: Irish Artists in France and Belgium, 1850-1914*, Dublin: The National Gallery of Ireland

Campbell, M. (2006) 'Poetry in English, 1830-1890: from Catholic emancipation to the fall of Parnell' in M. Kelleher and P. O'Leary (eds) *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature, Volume 1 - To 1890*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.500-543

'Candid observer' (1799) *Biographical anecdotes of the founders of the late Irish rebellion*, Third Edition, London: John Crenan

Carroll, M. A. (1881) *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, New York: Catholic Publication Society

Casteleyn, M. (1984) *A History of Literacy and Libraries in Ireland: The Long Traced Pedigree*, Brookfield: Gower Publishing

Cave, R. A. (2004) 'O'Casey, Sean' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.41, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.410-413

Chambers, L. (2004) 'Catholicism, Nationalism, and Philosophical Enlightenment' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 133-145

Chateaubriand, F-R. de (1803) *Génie du christianisme, ou Beautés de la religion chrétienne*, Paris: Migneret [Online] Available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k103262f> [Accessed 22 April 2011]

Chetwode, A. W. (1903) 'A Journey to the City of Peace' in *The City of Peace: by Those who have Entered it* (1903), London/Dublin: CTSI, pp.54-66

Cheyfitz, E. (1991) *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from the Tempest to Tarzan*, New-York: Oxford University Press

Christian Brothers (1843) 'Preface' in J-C. Garreau, *The life of the Ven. J. B. de la Salle, founder of the Christian Schools*, trans. Christian Brothers, Dublin: William Powell, pp.5-10

Christian Brothers (1843) 'Chapter XVII' in J-C. Garreau, *The life of the Ven. J. B. de la Salle, founder of the Christian Schools*, trans. Christian Brothers, Dublin: William Powell, pp.217-227

Christian Brothers (1882) *The literary class-book; or, Fourth series of select reading lessons, in prose and verse*, Dublin, M.H. Gill & Son

Chuto, J. (ed) (1996) *The Collected Works of James Clarence Mangan*, Vol.3, Blackrock: Irish Academic Press

Claretie, J. (1876) *Camille Desmoulins and his wife*, trans. F. C. Hoey, London: Smith, Elder & Co

Clarke, F. (2009) 'Hoey, Frances Sarah (Mrs Cashel Hoey) Johnston' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.735-736

Classe, O. (ed) (2000) *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, London: Fitzroy Dearborn

Clear, C. (1987) *Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan

Clear, C. (2002) 'The Re-emergence of Nuns and Convents, 1800-1962' in A. Bourke *et al.* (eds) *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing, Vol. IV*, Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 517-536

Clinton, G. and S. Sturgeon (2009) 'Orpen, Goddard Henry' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.907

Clyde, T. (2002) *Irish Literary Magazines: an outline history and descriptive bibliography*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press

'Cn' (1904) 'John P. Leonard' in 'Cn' and J.B. McGovern, 'Two notable self-exiled Corkmen, Rev. William Anderson O'Connor and John P. Leonard', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. X, pp. 166-70

Coakley, D. (2004) 'Banks, Sir John Thomas', in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.3, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.690-691

Colantonio, L. (2004) 'French Interpretations of Daniel O'Connell, from the last years of the Restoration to the Second Republic' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp.259-273

Coldrey, B. M. (1988) *Faith and Fatherland: the Christian Brothers and the Development of Irish Nationalism 1838-1921*, Dublin: Gill and MacMillan

- Coldrey, B. M. (2001a) 'The System of Education' in B. M. Coldrey *The Educational Ideas of Edmund Rice and Other Essays*, Thornbury: Tamanaraik Press
- Coldrey, B. M. (2001b) 'Objectives and Philosophy of the Early Brothers' in B. M. Coldrey *The Educational Ideas of Edmund Rice and Other Essays*, Thornbury: Tamanaraik Press
- Collins, K. (2002) *Catholic Churchmen and the Celtic Revival in Ireland 1848-1916*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Collins English Dictionary, Concise Edition* (2006a) 'Purgatory', New York: HarperCollins Publishers, p.1316
- Collins English Dictionary, Concise Edition* (2006b) 'Indulgences', New York: HarperCollins Publishers, p.803
- Colum, P. (1927) 'Introduction' in G. Sigerson, *Songs and Poems*, Dublin: James Duffy, pp.i-vi
- Comerford, R.V. (1982) 'France, Fenianism, and Irish Nationalist Strategy', *Études Irlandaises*, no. 7, pp 115-125
- Conlon, J. F. (1974) *Some Irish Poets and Musicians*, Midleton: Litho Press
- Conner, L. I. (1998) *A Yeats Dictionary: persons and places in the poetry of William Butler Yeats*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press
- Connolly, C. (2006) 'Irish Romanticism, 1800-1830' in M. Kelleher and P. O'Leary (eds) *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature: Volume 1 - To 1890*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.407-448
- Conroy, G. M. (1877) 'Introduction' in J. Tissot (ed) *The mystical flora of St. Francis de Sales: or, The Christian life under the emblem of plants*, trans. C. Mulholland, Dublin: M. H. Gill
- Conroy, J. (ed) (2009a) *Franco-Irish Connections: Essays, memoirs and poems in honour of Pierre Joannon*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Conroy, J. (2009b) 'Introduction' in J. Conroy (ed) *Franco-Irish Connections: Essays, memoirs and poems in honour of Pierre Joannon*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. xi-xix

- Cooper, T. (2004) 'Carroll, Anthony' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.10, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.292-293
- Corboy, J. (1943) 'Father Henry Fitzsimon, S.J. 1566-1643' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 32 (126), pp. 260-266
- Corish, P.J. (1968) 'The Origins of Catholic Nationalism' in Corish, P.J. (ed) *A History of Irish Catholicism*, Vol. 3 (8), Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, pp.1-64
- Corish, P.J. (1985) *The Irish Catholic Experience: a Historical Survey*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan
- Corkery, J. (1970) 'Ecclesiastical Learning' in P.J. Corish (ed) *A History of Irish Catholicism. Vol 5, The Church since Emancipation*, Part 9, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan
- Corkran, J.F. (1858) 'Pierre Jean Béranger', *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. 51 (April), pp.437-450
- Cormack, W.S. (1998) 'Barruel, Augustin (1741-1820)' in D.R. Woolf (ed), *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, New York: Garland Publishing, p.74
- Costello, P. (1877a) 'Preface to the Second English Edition' in A. Maurel, *The Christian instructed in the nature and use of indulgences*, trans. P. Costello, Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son
- Courtney, W. P. (2004a) 'Whitty, Michael James', rev. N. Banerji, in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.58, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.778
- Courtney, W. P. (2004b) 'Mangin, Edward', rev. J. Hinings, in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.36, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.413
- Croker, T. C. 'Preface' in F. de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, *The Tour of the French traveller M. de la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644*, ed. T.C. Croker and trans. J. Roche, F. Mahony, T. Wright, and T.C. Croker, pp.v-viii
- Cronin, E. M. (2002) 'Petition from Parishioners of Blanchardstown to Archbishop Murray concerning Clerical Appointments, 1826', *Archivium Hibernicum* [Online] Vol. 56, pp. 189-205, Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25484197> [Accessed 03 April 2011]

- Cronin, M. (1996) *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Cultures*, Cork: Cork University Press
- Cronin, M. (2002) 'Jane Wilde, ou l'importance d'être Speranza', in J. Delisle (ed) *Portraits de Traductrices*, Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 267-290
- Cronin, M. (2007) 'The Shining Tumultuous River? Irish Perspectives on Europe' in E. Maher, E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) *Reinventing Ireland through a French prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 21-39
- Cronin, M. (2008) 'Downsizing the World: Translation and the politics of proximity' in A. Pym, M. Shlesinger and D. Simeoni, *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in homage to Gideon Toury*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp.265-276
- Crosbie, B. (2009) 'Wadding, Luke' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 686-687
- Crossley, C. (1995) 'Maistre, Joseph de' in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.486-487
- Crowley, D. O. (1892) *Irish Poets and Novelists*, San Francisco: printed by P. J. Thomas
- Cullen, C. (2011) 'Reading Spaces in Dublin' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.274-280
- Cummins, F. (1822) 'Dedication' in E-A. Boulogne, *The Pastoral instructions of his Lordship, Stephen-Anthony de Boulogne*, trans. F. Cummins, Kilkenny: printed by John Reynolds, pp. v-viii
- Cunningham, B. (2009) 'Keating, Geoffrey (Céitinn, Seathrún)' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 42-44
- Cunningham, G. F. (1965) *The 'Divine Comedy' in English: A Critical Bibliography, 1782-1900*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd
- Curtis, E. (1919) 'The Spoken Languages of Medieval Ireland', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol.8 (30), pp.234-254

Dabrigeon-Garcier, F. (2004) 'Applied French Naturalism in George Moore's Short Fiction' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 55-68

D'Arcy, F. A. (2009) 'O'Brien, James (Bronterre)' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.44-46

Davis, T. O. (1866) *The poems of Thomas Davis*, New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co.

Davis, T. O. [1914] *Thomas Davis: Selections from his Prose and Poetry*, Dublin: The Talbot Press

Davison, N. R. (1998) *James Joyce, Ulysses, and the construction of Jewish identity: culture, biography, and "the Jew" in modernist Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Day-Hickman, B.A. (1999) *Napoleonic art: nationalism and the spirit of rebellion in France (1815-1848)*, Newark: University of Delaware Press

Deane, S. (1990) 'Introduction' in T. Eagleton, F. Jameson, and E.W. Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 3-19

De Blacam, A. (1941) 'Review: "A Valiant Dublin Woman": A Chapter in Irish Spiritual History Reviewed', *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 69 (812), pp. 97-105

Delisle, J. (1999) *Portraits de traducteurs*, Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa

Delisle, J. (2002) *Portraits de traductrices*, Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa

Delisle, J. and J. Woodsworth (1995) *Translators through History*, Amsterdam
Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Dempsey, M. (1928) *A Contribution to the Study of the Sources of The Génie Du Christianisme*, Paris: H. Champion

Denman, P. (2009) 'Ferguson, Sir Samuel' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.761-762

Déon, M. (2007) 'Preface' in E. Maher, E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) *Reinventing Ireland through a French prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 7-9

- Dierlagh, G. (1834) *Erin's island*, Paris: A. Belin
- Dolan, A. (2009) 'Boucicault, Dion Lardner' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.667-668
- Donnelly, P. (1995) 'Church and State, Irish Style: Tradition and Innovation' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol.84 (335), pp.293-301
- Dooley, D. (1996) *Equality in Community: Sexual Equality in the Writings of William Thompson and Anna Doyle Wheeler*, Cork: Cork University Press
- Dooley, D. (2004) 'Wheeler, Anna' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.58, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.426-427
- Dooley, D. (2009a) 'Wheeler, Anna Doyle' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.872-874
- Dooley, D. (2009b) 'Thompson, William' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.335-337
- Dowe, W. (1844a) 'Béranger and his Songs', *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol.XXIII (February), pp.204-215
- Dowe, W. (1844b) 'The Songs of Béranger', *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol.XXIII (June), pp.738-756
- Doyle, C. (2009a) 'Walsh, Edward' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 734-735
- Doyle, C. (2009b) 'O'Donoghue, David James' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.406-407
- 'Dublin Diocesan Archives: Murray Papers' (1982) in *Archivium Hibernicum* [Online], Vol.37, pp.29-121, Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25487441> [Accessed 20 April 2012]
- Duffy, E. (2004) *Faith of our Fathers: reflections on Catholic tradition*, London: Continuum
- Dulles, A. (1971) *A History of Apologetics*, London: Hutchinson

- Dunne, T. (1988) 'Haunted by history: Irish romantic writing 1800-50' in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds) *Romanticism in National Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.68-91
- Eagleton, T. (1995) *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*, London/New York: Verso
- Eagleton, T. (1999) *Scholars and Rebels in Nineteenth-century Ireland*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Eccles, F. Y. (1909) *A Century of French Poets*, London: Archibald Constable
- Edwards, P.D. (1982) *Frances Cashel Hoey*, St Lucia: University of Queensland
- Escarbelt, B. (1974) 'France as fictional material in the novels of John Banim 1798-1842' in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 133-149
- Ewles-Bergeron, P. (1997) 'Mangin's list of Huguenot names, 1841', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.26 (5), pp.611-634
- Fahey, T. (1987) 'Nuns in the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century' in M. Cullen (ed) *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, pp.7-30
- Fanning, C. (1990) *The Irish Voice in America: Irish-American fiction from the 1760s to the 1980s*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky
- Farmar, T. (2011) 'An Eye to Business: Financial and Market Factors, 1895-1995' in C. Hutton (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1891-2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.209-231
- Fehlmann, G. (1974a) 'France-Ireland: an Historical Survey from François Ier to Napoleon', in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp.11-28
- Fehlmann, G. (1974b) 'Somerville and Ross and France', in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp.153-162

Fenning, H. (2006) 'Dublin Imprints of Catholic Interest 1796-1799', *Collectanea Hibernica*, No. 48, pp. 67-108

Ferguson, F. (2011) 'The Industrialization of Irish Book Production, 1790-1900' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.9-26

Ferriter, D. (2009) 'Cullen, James Aloysius' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1068-1069

Fierobe, C. (1974) 'France in the Novels of Charles Robert Maturin' in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 119-130

Finegan, J. (1996) 'Georgian Drogheda and the printed word' in G. Long (ed) *Books Beyond the Pale: Aspects of the provincial book trade in Ireland before 1850*, Dublin: Rare Books Group of the Library Association of Ireland, pp. 33-42

France, P. (1995) 'Gresset, Jean-Baptiste-Louis' in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.360-361

France, P. (2000) *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

France, P. (2006) 'French' in P. France and K. Haynes (eds) *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol.4 1790-1900*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 230-242

France, P. and K. Haynes (eds) (2006a) *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol.4 1790-1900*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

France, P. and K. Haynes (2006b) 'Preface' in P. France and K. Haynes (eds), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol.4 1790-1900*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.xiii-xv

'G.F.' (1849) 'George Sand Again', the *Nation*, Nov. 10, p.162

Genet, J. (2009) 'From dialectics to Unity in the Poetry of Yeats' in J. Conroy (ed) *Franco-Irish Connections*, pp. 95-112

Genette, G. (1982) *Palimpsestes: littérature au second degré*, Paris: Seuil

- Geoghegan, V. (1991) 'A Jacobite History: The Abbé MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, Vol. 6, pp. 37-55
- Giblin, C. (1971) 'Irish exiles in Catholic Europe' in P. J. Corish (ed), *A History of Irish Catholicism*, Vol.IV (3), Dublin: Gill and Macmillan
- Giblin, C. (1978) 'The Irish Colleges on the Continent', in L. Swords (ed) *The Irish-French Connection 1578- 1978*, Paris: The Irish College, pp.9-20
- Goodare, J. (2004) 'Mary (1542–1587)' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.7, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.71-93
- Gorman, W. G. (1899) *Converts to Rome since the Tractarian movement to May, 1899*, Fourth ed, London: Swan Sonnenschein
- Grogan, G. (2004) 'Nineteenth-Century European Co-operation: Ireland, France and Germany – The role played by French liberal Catholics as a channel for the dissemination of O'Connell's ideas in Catholic Germany' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 275-286
- Hale, T. (2006) 'Popular Theatre' in P. France and K. Haynes (eds) *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol.4 1790-1900*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.382-393
- Hart-Davis, R. (1962) *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World
- Haskell, Daniel C. (1920) *Foreign plays in English: a list of translations in the New York Public library*, New York: New York Public library
- Hayley, B. (1987) 'A Reading and Thinking Nation: Periodicals as the Voice of Nineteenth-Century Ireland' in B. Hayley and E. McKay (eds) *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals*, Dublin: Lilliput Press, pp.29-48
- Hayley, B. and C. Murray (eds) (1992) *Ireland and France, a Bountiful Friendship: Literature, History, and Ideas: Essays in Honor of Patrick Raftery*, Gerrards Cross: C. Smythe

- Haynes, K. (2006) 'Christian Texts' in P. France and K. Haynes (eds) *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol.4 1790-1900*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 443-450
- Healy, J. (1895) *Maynooth College: its centenary history*, Dublin: Browne and Nolan
- Heffernan, B. (ed) (2012) *Life on the Fringe? Ireland and Europe, 1800-1922*, Dublin/Portland: Irish Academic Press
- Hermans, T. (1999) *Translation in systems: descriptive and system-oriented approaches explained*, Manchester: St. Jerome
- Hickey, D. J. and J. E. Doherty (2003) *A New Dictionary of Irish History from 1800*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan
- Higgins, R. (2011) 'The *Nation* Reading Rooms' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.262-273
- Hill, J. (2009) 'Scully, Denys' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.8, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.815-816
- Holland, D. (1858) 'A Word from the Publisher' in L. d'Haussonville, *Robert Emmet*, trans. J.P. Leonard, Belfast: D. Holland, p.vii
- Honderich, T. (ed) (1995) 'Positivism' in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.705-706
- Houghton, W. E. (1972) *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals, 1824-1900*, Vol.2, Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Houghton, W. E. (1989) *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals, 1824-1900*, Vol.5, Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Humble, A. L. (1971) 'Heron, Matilda Agnes' in E. T. James, J. W. James and P. S. Boyer (eds) *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol.2, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp.187-188
- Hutchinson, J. (1987) *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, London: Allen and Unwin

- Hyde, D. (1943) *Dánta éagramhla agus Béarla curtha ortha*, Dublin: Colm O Lochlainn
- The Industries of Dublin, Historical, Statistical, Biographical: An account of the leading business men, commercial interests, wealth and growth* (c1887), London: Spencer Blackett
- ‘J.F.H.’ (1896) ‘Notices of Books: The Monks of the West’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol.xvii, pp. 84-87
- Joannon, P. (1974) ‘Wolfe Tone in Paris (1796-1797)’ in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp.83-107
- Joyaux, G. J. (1953) ‘The Reception of Pierre-Jean de Béranger in America: 1818-1848’, *The French Review*, Vol. 26 (4), pp. 268-277
- Joyce, J. (1992) *Poems and Exiles*, London: Penguin
- Joyce, J. (2005) *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, London: Collector’s Library
- Julienne, J. (2000) ‘John Patrick Leonard (1814-1889), chargé d’affaires d’un gouvernement irlandais en France’, *Etudes Irlandaises*, Vol. 25 (2), pp.49-67
- Kahn, H. (2009) ‘Hartley, May Laffan’ in J. McGuire and J. Quinn *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.496-498
- Kelleher, M. (2006) ‘Prose writing and drama in English, 1830-1890: from Catholic emancipation to the fall of Parnell’ in M. Kelleher and P. O’Leary (eds) *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature: Volume 1 - To 1890*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.449-499
- Kelly, J. (2004) ‘Russell, Matthew’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Vol.48, pp.322-323
- Kelly, Michael (1995) ‘Renan, Ernest’ in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.682-683
- Kennedy, M. (2001) *French Books in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation

- Keogh, Dáire (2008), *Edmund Rice and the First Christian Brothers*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Keogh, Dáire (2009a) ‘Gahan, William’ in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.4-5
- Keogh, Dáire (2009b) ‘Troy, John Thomas’ in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.502-503
- Keogh, Dermot (2009) ‘Ireland and France in the twentieth century – contrasting and conflictive relationships’ in J. Conroy (ed), *Franco-Irish Connections: Essays, Memoirs and Poems in Honour of Pierre Joannon*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. 152-170
- Kerr, D. A. (1982) *Peel, Priests and Politics: Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Kettle, T.M (1908) ‘Introduction’ in L. Paul-Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, trans. anon [T.M. Kettle, J. M. Hone, G. F. H. Berkeley, A.E. Clery], Dublin: Maunsel and Co, pp.v-xii
- Kiberd, D. (2010) ‘Synge, (Edmund) John Millington’ in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 213-216
- Kinane, V. (1996) ‘The Early Book Trades in Galway’ in G. Long (ed) *Books beyond the pale: aspects of the provincial book trade in Ireland before 1850*, Dublin: Rare Books Group of the Library Association of Ireland, pp.51-74
- Kinane, V. (2002) *A Brief History of Printing and Publishing in Ireland*, Dublin: National Print Museum
- Kinealy, C. (2008) *A New History of Ireland*, Charleston: The History Press
- Kinealy, C. (2009) *Repeal and Revolution: 1848 in Ireland*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press
- Kirk, J. F. (1891) *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, Vol.1, Philadelphia/London: J. B. Lippincott Company

- Kleinman, S. (2004) 'Pardon my French: the linguistic trials and tribulations of Theobald Wolfe Tone' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 295-310
- Kleinman, S. (2005) 'Translation, the French language and the United Irishmen (1792-1804)', PhD thesis, Dublin City University
- Kleinman, S. (2009) 'What did the French ever do for us? Or, some thoughts on French archives as realms of Irish memory' in J. Conroy (ed) *Franco-Irish Connections: Essays, memoirs and poems in honour of Pierre Joannon*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. 171-184
- Larkin, E. (1997) *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Latané, D. E., Jr. (2004) 'Maginn, William' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.36, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.123-127
- Latham, J. E. M. (2004) 'Anna D. Wheeler: The Anonymous Translator of Lamennais's Paroles d'un croyant', *Notes and Queries* [Online], Vol. 51(2), pp.130-132, Available at: <http://nq.oxfordjournals.org/content/51/2/130.long> [Accessed 6 July 2011]
- Lawless, C. (2010) 'Devotion and Representation in Nineteenth-Century Ireland' in C. Breathnach and C. Lawless (eds) *Visual, Material and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, Dublin: Four Court Press, pp.85-97
- Leblanc, G. (1974) 'J. M. Synge in Paris' in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 191-213
- Lee, J. J. (2004) 'Preface', in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 13-15
- Leerssen, J. (1996) *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, Cork: Cork University Press/Field Day
- Leerssen, J. (2002) 'Irish Cultural Nationalism and its European Context' in B. Stewart (ed) *Hearts and Minds: Irish culture and society under the Act of Union*, Gerrards Cross/New York: Colin Smythe, pp.170-187

- Leerssen, J. (2006) 'The Cultivation of Culture', *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol.12 (4), pp.559-578
- Leerssen, J. (2009) 'Owenson, Sydney (Lady Morgan)' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1024-1026
- Legg, M-L. (2011) 'Libraries' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.243-261
- Le Juez, B. (2004) 'Art, écriture et moralité: Flaubert modèle d'Oscar Wilde' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 83-96
- Leonard, J. P. 'Beranger. Personal Recollections of the Poet, Correspondence, &c.' (1857), the *Nation*: Part I, 19 Sept, p.42; Part II, 28 Nov, p.202
- Leonard, J. P. (1858) 'Translator's Preface' in L. d'Haussonville, *Robert Emmet*, trans. J.P. Leonard, Belfast: D. Holland, pp.v-vi
- Leonard, J. P. (c1888) 'Introduction' in A. Dillon, *Historical notes on the services of the Irish officers in the French Army*, trans. J.P. Leonard, Dublin: James Duffy and Sons, pp.iii-vi
- Litvack, L. (2004) 'Alexander, Cecil Frances' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.661-662
- Lloyd, D. (1987) *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism*, Berkeley: University of California Press
- Locke, R.P. (2001) 'Béranger, Pierre-Jean de' in S. Sadie (ed) *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: MacMillan, pp.300-301
- Loeber, R., Stouthamer-Loeber, M. and A. M. Burnham (2006) *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Loeber, R. and M. Stouthamer-Loeber (2011) 'Popular Reading Practice' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.211-239

- Logan, J. (1990) 'Sufficient to their needs: literacy and elementary schooling in the nineteenth century' in M. Daly and D. Dickson (eds) *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: language change and educational development 1700-1920*, Dublin: Department of Modern History, Trinity College, pp. 113-137
- Logan, J. (2011) 'The National Curriculum' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.499-517
- Long, G. (2011) 'Institutional Libraries and Private Collections' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.281-297
- Lough, J. and M. Lough (1978) *An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century France*, London: Longman
- Lowery, R. G. (2009) 'O'Casey, Sean' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.167-170
- Lowry, D. (2009) 'Kettle, Thomas Michael ('Tom')' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.164-167
- Lunney, S. (2009) 'Carroll, Margaret Anna (Sister Mary Teresa Austin)' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.373-374
- Lyons, J. B. (2009) 'Sigerson, George' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.8, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 945-946
- Lyons, M. (1994) *Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution*, London: MacMillan
- Lyons, M. (2008) *Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Mac Annaidh, S. (1999) *Fermanagh books, writers and newspapers of the nineteenth century*, Enniskillen/Belfast: Marmara Denizi

- MacCaffrey, J. (1910) *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1789-1908)* Vol. II [Online], Dublin and Waterford: M. H. Gill and Son, Available at: <http://www.questia.com/read/16213707/16213707> [Accessed 12/09/2010]
- McCann, H. (1982) 'Economic Relations between Ireland and France', *Études Irlandaises*, no.7, pp. 203-208
- MacCarthy, D. F. (1845) 'André Chénier', the *Nation*, June 7, p.11
- McCarthy, J. (1868) "*Con Amore;*" or, *Critical Chapters*, London: Tinsley Brothers
- McCartney, D. (1988) 'Rev. James Maher P.P.' in *Carlow County Heritage Society 1987-88* Vol.1 (2) pp.47-53
- Mac Conmara, M. (1974) 'French Culture in Contemporary Ireland' in P. Raffroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 55-65
- MacDermott, M. (1860) 'Advertisement' in E-E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages*, trans. M. MacDermott, Oxford/London: Parker, pp.v-vi
- McGrath, T. (2009) 'Doyle, James ('J. K. L.)' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.444-449
- McIntosh, G. (2011a) 'M.H. Gill, later Gill and MacMillan' in C. Hutton (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1891-2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.511-528
- McIntosh, G. (2011b) 'Marcus Ward & Co. of Belfast' in J. H. Murphy (ed) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.129-136
- McPhee, P. (1992) *A Social History of France 1780-1880*, London/New York: Routledge
- Maginn, W. (1857) *Miscellaneous writings of the Late Dr. Maginn*, ed. R. S. Mackenzie, Vol.V, New York: Redfield
- Maginn, W. (1885) *Miscellanies: Prose and Verse*, ed. R.W. Montagu, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington
- Magray, M. P. (1998) *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press

Maher, E. and G. Neville (eds) (2004a) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang

Maher, E. and G. Neville (2004b) 'Introduction', in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp.17-21

Maher, E., E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) (2007) *Reinventing Ireland through a French prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang

Mahony, C. (1848) 'Introduction' in N. T. Mac Carthy, *Sermons of the Abbé Mac Carthy, S.J...the celebrated Irish preacher in France*, trans. C. Mahony, Dublin: James Duffy, pp.i-xii

Mahony, F. (1860) *The Reliques of Father Prout*, London: H.G. Bohn

Mangin, E. (1804) 'Advertisement' in J. de Sales, *The life of C.G. Lamoignon Malesherbes*, trans. E. Mangin, Edinburgh: Arch. Constable, p.1

Markey, P. (2007) 'French Culture and Oscar Wilde's Fairy Tales: an unexplored interlink with neglected works of art' in E. Maher, E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) *Reinventing Ireland through a French prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp.131-145

Matthew, H. C. G. (2004) 'Taylor, William Cooke' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.53, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.1000-1001

Maume, P. (2009a) 'Cusack, Margaret Anna ('The nun of Kenmare')' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1131-1134

Maume, P. (2009b) 'Holland, Denis' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.751-754

Merle d'Aubigné, J. H. (1842) *History of the Reformation in the sixteenth century*, trans. W. K. Kelly, London Whittaker and Co.

Mermillod, G. (1862) *Sermon on behalf of the distressed Irish*, trans. J.P. Leonard, Dublin: Fowler

Milan, M. (2012) 'Found in Translation: Franco-Irish Translation Relationships in Nineteenth-Century Ireland' in *New Voices in Translation Studies* (8), pp.82-98, Available at:

<http://www.iatis.org/images/stories/publications/new-voices/Issue8-2012/IPCITI/article-milan-2012.pdf> [Accessed 3 June 2012]

Milton, J. and P. Bandia (eds) (2009) *Agents of Translation*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Moell, C.J. (1967) 'Sacred Heart, Devotion to' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: McGraw-Hill, pp.818-820

Mollier, J-Y. and M-F. Cachin (2007) 'A Continent of Texts: Europe 1800-1890, in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds) *A Companion to the History of the Book*, Malden: Blackwell, pp.303-313

Molony, J. (2009) 'Davis, Thomas Osborne', in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.82-86

Morin, C. (2011) 'The Wild Irish Girl and Corinne ou l'Italie', in E. D'hoker, R. Ingelbien and H. Schwall (eds) *Irish Women Writers: New Critical Perspectives*, Bern/Oxford: Peter Lang, pp.169-185

Mortimer, M. (1974) 'Synge and France' in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 183-190

Mourre, M. (1978) *Dictionnaire encyclopédique d'histoire*, Paris: Bordas

Murphy, D. (2009a) 'O'Meara, Barry Edward in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.691-692

Murphy, D. (2009b) 'Fitzsimon, Henry' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 976-977

Murphy, J. H. (1984) 'The role of Vincentian parish missions in the "Irish counter-reformation" of the mid nineteenth century', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 24 (94), pp. 152-171

Murphy, J. H. (1997) *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland, 1873-1922*, Westport: Greenwood Press

Murphy, W. and B. Hourican (2009) 'O'Sullivan, Seumas' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.980-982

National Library of Ireland/Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann (2009) 'Strangers to Citizens: the Irish in Europe' [Exhibition Brochure], Dublin: National Library of Ireland/Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann

Neville, G. (2004) 'I hate France with a mortal hatred: Daniel O'Connell and France' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 241-246

Ní Chonaill, (2004) 'The Irish Presence in the *Félibrige*' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 313-326

Ní Mhunghaile, L. (2009) 'O'Flanagan, Theophilus' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 476-477

Nolan, P. L. (2004) 'Moylean, Francis', rev. D. Keogh, in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.39, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.607-608

O'Brien, E. (2007) 'Vivre la differ[a]ence: French and Irish Republicanism – towards a deconstructive intertextual critique' in E. Maher, E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) *Reinventing Ireland through a French prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 273-308

O'Brien, W.S. (1862) 'The Abbe Perraud's Work on Ireland', the *Nation*, July 18, p.752

Ó Cathaoir, B. (2009) 'Dillon, John Blake' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.302-303

Ó Céirín, C. and K. Ó Céirín (1996) *Women of Ireland: a biographic dictionary*, Kinvara: Tír Eolas

Ó Ciosáin, E. (2001) 'Hundred years of Irish migration to France, 1590-1688' in T. O'Connor (ed) *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp.93-106

Ó Ciosáin, N. (1997) *Print and popular culture in Ireland, 1750-1850*, New York: St. Martin's Press

O'Connor, A.V. (1987) 'The Revolution in Girls' Secondary education in Ireland 1860-1910' in Cullen, M. (ed) *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, pp.31-54

- O'Connor, A.V. (2002) 'Education in Nineteenth-Century Ireland' in A. Bourke *et al.* (eds) *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing, Vol. V*, Cork: Cork University Press, pp.647-666
- O'Connor, P. (2009) 'The Irish College in Paris: from penal days seminary to Irish cultural centre' in J. Conroy (ed) *Franco-Irish Connections: Essays, memoirs and poems in honour of Pierre Joannon*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. 258-268
- O'Connor, T. (1998) 'Jesuits' in S.J. Connolly (ed) *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.277
- O'Donoghue, D.J. (1970) *Poets of Ireland*, Dublin: Hodges Figgis
- O'Donoghue, D. J. (2004) 'MacDermott, Martin' rev. K. Mullin, in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.35, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.194
- O'Dwyer, P. (1988) *The Irish Carmelites (of the Ancient Observance)*, Dublin: Carmelite Publications
- Ó Gallchoir, C. (2004) 'Germaine de Staël and the Response of Sydney Owenson and Maria Edgeworth to the Act of Union' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 69-82
- O'Hagan, J. (1883) 'Introduction' in anon., *The Song of Roland*, trans. J. O'Hagan, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, pp.3-45
- O'Kelly, P. (1844) 'Preface' in J. MacGeoghegan, *The history of Ireland, ancient and modern, taken from the most authentic records*, trans. P. O'Kelly, Dublin: James Duffy, pp.iii-iv
- O'Leary, M. (2009) 'Aikenhead, Mary' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.57-58
- O'Leary, P. (1994) *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881-1921: Ideology and Innovation*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press
- Oliver, G. (1838) *Collections towards illustrating the biography of the Scotch, English and Irish Members, S.J.* [Online] Exeter: W.C. Featherstone, available at:

[http://books.google.ie/books?id=iUMBAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_s
ummary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.ie/books?id=iUMBAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_s
ummary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [Accessed 8 July 2012]

O'Meara, B. E. (1820) 'Preface' in Napoleon I, *Historical memoirs of Napoleon: Book IX, 1815*, trans. B. E. O'Meara, London: Richard Phillips, pp.iii-vii

O'Neill, P. (1985) *Ireland and Germany: A Study in Literary Relations*, New York: Peter Lang

Ó Ríordáin, J. J. (1980) *Irish Catholics, Tradition and Transition*, Dublin: Veritas

Ó Súilleabháin, S. (1978) *Longford authors: a biographical and bibliographical dictionary*, Mullingar: Longford/Westmeath Joint Library Committee

O'Sullivan, T. F. (1945) *The Young Irelanders*, Tralee: Kerryman

Owenson, S. [Lady Morgan] (1830) *France in 1829-30*, Vol.1, London: Saunders and Otley

Parkes, S.M. (1996) 'Higher Education, 1793-1908', in W. E. Vaughan (ed) *A New History of Ireland, Vol.VI, Ireland under the Union II, 1870-1921*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.539-570

Pašeta, S. (2004) 'Kettle, Thomas Michael' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.31, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.459-460

Peatling, G. K. (1998) 'Who Fears to Speak of Politics? John Kells Ingram and Hypothetical Nationalism', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 31 (122), pp. 202-221

Perkins, P. D. and I. B. Perkins (2004) *Lafcadio Hearn: a bibliography of his writings*, Mansfield Centre: Martino Publishing

Pernot-Deschamps, M. (2004) 'Wolfe Tone, a Francophile at Heart' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 287-293

Petiet, J-C. and M. Petiet (1974) 'Napoleon Bonaparte seen through Irish Songs' in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 109-116

- Phelan, J. (2005) 'The British Reception of Pierre-Jean de Béranger', *Revue de littérature comparée*, Vol.1 (313), pp.5-20
- Pierse, M.S. (2007) 'George Moore and "le moment célibataire"' in E. Maher, E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) *Reinventing Ireland through a French Prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 147-156
- Pilbeam, P. (2006) 'Fourierists in France and Britain' in S. Aprile and F. Bensimon (eds) *La France et l'Angleterre au XIXe siècle: échanges, représentations, comparaisons*, Paris : Créaphis, pp.123-138
- Pollard, M. (2000) *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade 1550-1800: based on the records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin*, London: Bibliographical Society
- Powell, R. R. (1997) *Basic Research Methods for Librarians*, Greenwich and London: Ablex Publishing Corporation
- Power, P. (1850) 'Advertisement' in M. Orsini, *The life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God: taken from the traditions of the East, the manners of the Israelites, and the writings of the Holy Fathers*, trans. P. Power, Dublin: James Duffy, p.v
- Power, P. (1854) 'Introduction' in M. Orsini, *The History of the Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God*, trans. P. Power, London/Dublin: Richardson and Son, pp.vii-xii
- Power, P. (1905) *Catechism: doctrinal, moral, historical, and liturgical: with answers to the objections drawn from the sciences against religion*, Dublin: James Duffy
- 'Preface to the Youth's Catholic Library' (1862) in *The Pope's niece, and other tales* [Online], trans. M.A. Sadlier, New York: D&J Sadlier, pp.7-8, Available at: <http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/ItemRecord/51370?id=b81860baf8102608> [Accessed 10 July 2011]
- Pressensé, E. de (1862) *The religions before Christ, being an introduction to the history of the first three centuries of the Church* [online], trans. L. Corkran, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, Available at: <http://archive.org/stream/religionsbefore00pres#page/n5/mode/2up> [Accessed 17 June 2012]
- Price, R. (1987) *A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France*, London: Hutchinson

- 'Publishers' Note' (1886) in A-N. Didron, *Christian iconography, or, The history of Christian art in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.J. Millington, London: George Bells and Sons
- Pym, A. (1998) *Method in Translation History*, Manchester: St Jerome
- Quinn, J. (2009a) 'MacCarthy, Denis Florence' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.790-792
- Quinn, J. (2009b) 'Barry, Michael Joseph' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.342-344
- Quinn, J. (2009c) 'Cane, Robert' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.306-307
- Quinn, Joseph (1994) 'Ultramontaniam' in M. Glazier and M.K. Hellwig (eds) *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, London: Gill and MacMillan, p.881
- Rafroidi, P. (1972) *L'Irlande et le Romantisme*, Paris, Éditions universitaires
- Rafroidi, P. (1974) 'The mirror and the Myth' in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 31-50
- Rafroidi, P. (1980) *Irish Literature in English: the Romantic Period (1789-1850)*, Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe
- Rafroidi, P., G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) (1974) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires
- Raftery, D. and J. Harford (2007) 'The Education of Girls Within the National System' in D. Raftery and SM. Parkes (eds) *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900*, Dublin/Portland: Irish Academic Press, pp.33-68
- Randell, K. (1991) *France: Monarchy, Republic and Empire, 1814-70*, London: Hodder & Stoughton
- Ranger, Pierre (2011) *La France vue d'Irlande: L'histoire du mythe français de Parnell à l'Etat Libre*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes

Reynell, W. (2004) 'Harte, Henry Hickman', rev. I. Grattan-Guinness, in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.25, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.600

Rigby, B. (1995) 'Volney' in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.844

Rivière, M.S. (2004) 'In Defence of Irish Catholicism: Charles de Montalembert's aborted History of Ireland and *Journal Intime*' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp.147-161

Rivière, M.S. and J. O'Connor (2007) 'The Representation of the Irish cultural landscape in the journals of Montalembert (1830) and Tocqueville (1835)' in E. Maher, E. O'Brien and G. Neville (eds) *Reinventing Ireland through a French prism*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 41-60

Roe, W. G (1966) *Lamennais and England: the reception of Lamennais's religious ideas in England in the nineteenth century*, Oxford University Press

Roney, J.B. (1998) 'Michelet' in D.R. Woolf (ed) *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, New York: Garland Pub, pp.614-615

Rouse, P. (2009) 'Halpin (Halpine), Charles Graham' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.371-372

Rowbotham, S. (1977) *Hidden from history: 300 years of women's oppression and the fight against it* [Online], London: Pluto Press, Available at:

<http://www.marxists.org/subject/women/authors/rowbotham-sheila/hidden-history.htm>

[Accessed 6 July 2011]

Rowland, J.T. (1858) *Lecture on Beranger, the French lyric poet*, Drogheda: printed by M'Dougall

Russell, M. (1877) 'Thomas Irwin', *Irish Monthly*, Vol.5, pp.757-766

Sadlier, M. A. (1853) 'Translator's Preface' in F. de Ligny, *The history of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ; from his incarnation until his ascension, denoting and incorporating the words of the sacred text from the vulgate* [Online], trans. M.A. Sadlier, pp. 3-4, New

York/Boston/Montreal: D&J. Sadlier, Available at:

<http://www.archive.org/stream/lifelordhistoryo00lignrich#page/4/mode/2up> [Accessed 4 May 2011]

Sadlier, M. A. [1860] 'Translator's Preface' in anon, *The Spanish cavaliers a tale of the Moorish Wars in Spain*, trans. M.A. Sadlier [Online] New York: D&J Sadlier, pp. 3-4, Available at: <http://www.canadiana.org/cgi-bin/ECO/mtq?doc=94404> [Accessed 10 July 2011]

Sadlier, M.A. (1872) 'Translator's Preface' in M. Orsini, *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God; with the history of the devotion to her. Completed by the traditions of the East, the writings of the fathers, and the private history of the Jews* [Online], trans. M.A. Sadlier, New York & Montreal: D&J Sadlier, pp.iii-iv, Available at: <http://archive.org/stream/lifeofblessedvir00orsirich#page/n3/mode/2up> [Accessed 8 June 2012]

Sadlier, M. A. (1880) 'A few words from the translator' in anon, *Benjamin or, the pupil of the Christian Brothers*, trans. M.A. Sadlier, Dublin: John Mullany, pp.viii-x

Sadlier, M. A. (c1886) *Purgatory: Doctrinal, Historical and Poetical* [Online], New York: D&J Sadlier & Co, Available at: http://archive.org/stream/cihm_37736#page/n5/mode/2up [Accessed 8 June 2012]

Salmon, J.H.M. (1998) 'French Historiography' in D.R. Woolf (ed) *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, New York: Garland Pub, pp.328-334

Select Papers of the Belfast Literary Society (1808), Belfast: printed by Smyth & Lyons

Sigerson, G. (1927) *Songs and Poems*, Dublin: James Duffy

Simeoni, D. (1995) 'Translating and Studying Translation: The View from the Agent', *Meta : Journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, 40 (3), pp.445-460

Simon, S. (1996) *Gender in Translation: Cultural identity and the politics of transmission*, London/New York: Routledge

Simon, S. (2000) 'Gender in Translation', in P. France (ed) *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.26-33

- Skelton, R. (1961) 'Introduction' in J. M. Synge, *Translations*, Dublin: Dolmen Press
- Smithson, R. N. (1972) *Augustin Thierry: social and political consciousness in the evolution of a historical method*, Genève: Librairie Droz
- Sollier, J. (1907) 'Louis-Jacques-Maurice de Bonald' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* [Online], New York: Robert Appleton Company, Available at: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02647b.htm> [Accessed 17 August 2011]
- Somers, Mrs. B. (1846) *Selections from the Modern Poets of France*, Dublin: Machen
- 'The Songs of Béranger' (1857) in the *Celt*, no.10, pp.147-151, no.11, pp.169-170, and no.14, pp.209-211
- Spoerhase, Carlos (2008) 'Presentism and Precursorship in Intellectual History', *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 49 (1), pp.49-72
- St-Pierre, P. (1993) 'Translation as a Discourse of History', *TTR*, 6 (1), pp.61– 82
- Stanley, M. (1974) 'Yeats and French Paintings' in P. Rafroidi, G. Fehlmann and M. Mac Conmara (eds) *France-Ireland: Literary Relations*, Paris: Editions Universitaires, pp. 167-180
- Stewart A. T. Q. (2009) 'Drennan, William' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.461-463
- Sturgeon, S. (2009) 'Young, Mary Ursula' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.1109
- Sturgeon, S. and J. Quinn (2009) 'O'Hagan, John' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.7, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.511-513
- Sullivan, Mary C. (1995) *Catherine McAuley and the Tradition of Mercy*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Sullivan, Mary C. (2004) *The Correspondence of Catherine McAuley, 1818-1841*, Dublin: Four Courts Press

- Swords, L. (1978) 'Collège des Lombards', in L. Swords (ed) *The Irish-French Connection 1578- 1978*, Paris: The Irish College, pp.44-62
- Swords, L. (1989) *The Green Cockade*, Dublin: Glendale
- Synge, J.M. (1909) *Poems and Translations*, Dublin: Maunsel and Co.
- Taylor, J. (1995) 'François Villon' in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.840-841
- Taylor, M. (2004) 'O'Brien, James [Bronterre O'Brien]' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.41, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.364-365
- Taylor, W. C. (1839) 'Translator's Preface' in G. de Beaumont, *Ireland: social, political, and religious*, trans. W.C. Taylor, London: Richard Bentley, pp.iii-iv
- Thomas, W. (2004) 'Croker, John Wilson' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.14, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.273-278
- Tombs, R. (1996) *France 1814-1914*, London & New York: Longman
- Touchard, J. (1968a) *La Gloire de Béranger*, Vol.1, Paris: Armand Colin
- Touchard, J. (1968b) *La Gloire de Béranger*, Vol.2, Paris: Armand Colin
- Towey, J. (1981) *Irish De La Salle Brothers in Christian Education*, Dublin: De La Salle Provincialate
- Tymoczko, M. (1999) *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation*, Manchester: Jerome Publishing
- Tymoczko, M. (2002) 'Connecting the two Infinite Orders: Research Methods in Translation Studies', in T. Hermans (ed) *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues*, Manchester: St Jerome
- Tymoczko, M. (2005) 'Trajectories of Research in Translation Studies', *Meta*, 50 (4): 1082-1097
- Tyrrell, G. (1909) *Versions and perversions of Heine and others*, London: Elkin Mathews

- Venuti, L. (ed) (1992) *Rethinking Translation: discourse, subjectivity, ideology*, London/New York: Routledge
- Venuti, L. (2005) 'Local Contingencies: Translation and National Identities' in S. Bermann and M. Wood (eds) *Nation, Language, and The Ethics of Translation*, Princeton and Woodstock: Princeton University Press
- Walsh, W.S. (ed) (1888) *Béranger's poems in the version of the best translators*, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott
- Webb, B. (1997) 'Eva of the Nation and the Young Ireland Press', MPhil Thesis, NUI Galway
- Weissbort, D. and A. Eysteinnsson (2006) *Translation, Theory and Practice: a historical reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Welch, R. (1988) *A History of Verse Translation from the Irish 1789-1897*, Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe
- Welch, R. (1996a) 'Translation into Irish' in R. Welch (ed) *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.568-569
- Welch, R. (1996b) 'Sadleir, Mary [Anne]' in R. Welch (ed) *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.506
- Welch, R. (1996c) 'Banim, Mary' in R. Welch (ed) *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.30
- Welch, R. (1996d) 'Jacobite Poetry' in R. Welch (ed) *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.272-273
- Whelan, K. (1993) 'The United Irishmen, the Enlightenment and Popular culture' in D. Dickson, D. Keogh and K. Whelan (eds) *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion*, Dublin: The Lilliput Press, pp. 269-296
- Whelan, K. (1996) 'The Republic in the Village: the dissemination and reception of popular political literature in the 1790s' in G. Long (ed) *Books Beyond the Pale: Aspects of the provincial book trade in Ireland before 1850*, Dublin: Rare Books Group of the Library Association of Ireland, pp. 101-134

- Whelan, K. (2009) 'A nation in waiting? The Irish in France in the eighteenth century' in J. Conroy (ed) *Franco-Irish Connections: Essays, memoirs and poems in honour of Pierre Joannon*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. 304-320
- White, H. (1989) 'Romantic Historiography' in D. Hollier, *A New History of French Literature*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp.632-638
- Wilde, O. (1886) 'Béranger in England', *Pall Mall Gazette*, Vol. XLIII, April 21 (6583), p.5
- Wood, D. (1995) 'Staël, Anne Louise Germaine Necker, Madame de' in P. France (ed) *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.777-778
- Woods, C. J. (2009a) 'Notes on some Irish residents in Paris' in J. Conroy (ed) *Franco-Irish Connections: Essays, memoirs and poems in honour of Pierre Joannon*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. 321-338
- Woods, C. J. (2009b) 'Fitzpatrick, Hugh', in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.961-962
- Woods, C.J. (2009c) 'Gill, Henry Joseph' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.86-87
- Woods, C. J. (2009d) 'Conroy, George Michael' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.781
- Woods, C. J. (2009e) 'Battersby, William Joseph' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.374
- Woods, C. J. (2009f) 'Best, Richard Irvine' in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol.1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.507-508
- Wright, J. (2004) 'Irish Nationalism in the roman-feuilleton: Paul Féval's *Les Mystères de Londres* (1844) and *La Quittance de Minuit* (1846)' in E. Maher and G. Neville (eds) *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 163-175
- Zach, W. and H. Kosok (eds) (1987) *Literary Interrelations: Ireland, England, and the World, Vol.1: Reception and Translation*, Tübingen: G. Narr Verlag
- Zamoyski, A. (1999) *Holy Madness, Romantics, Patriots and Revolutionaries, 1176-1871*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson

OTHER SOURCES

Periodicals

Anti-Unionist (1818)

Bagatelle (1827-1828)

Belle Assemblée (1838-1842) [England]

Blackwood's Magazine [Edinburgh]

British Medical Journal

Catholic Guardian (1852-1853)

Catholic Penny Magazine (1834-1835)

Celt (1857)

Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine (1835-1839; 1846-1848)

Citizen; or Dublin Monthly Magazine (1841)

Cork Censor, and Weekly Magazine (1847)

Cork Examiner

Cork Magazine

Cork Penny Magazine and Weekly Advertiser (1862)

Dana: A Magazine of Independent Thought (1904-1905)

Dublin Examiner (1816)

Dublin Family Magazine, caption title: *The Dublin juvenile magazine; or literary and religious miscellany* (1829)

Dublin Journal (1886-1887)

Dublin Monthly Magazine

Dublin Penny Satirist (1835)

Dublin Review

Dublin Satirist (Nov 1809-Mar 1810)

Dublin Satirist, or Weekly Magazine of Fashion and Literature (1833-1834)

Dublin University Magazine

Duffy's Hibernian magazine (1860-1863) and *Duffy's Hibernian sixpenny magazine*

Duffy's Irish Catholic magazine (1847-1848)

Fraser's Magazine

The Freeholder; or, Eight-Day Magazine [Cork] (1814-1822, discontinued)

Harp: An Irish Catholic Monthly Magazine (1859)

Hibernia: a monthly popular review

Illustrated Dublin Journal: a miscellany of amusement and popular information, by the most eminent writers (1861-1862) [publ. by Duffy]

Irish Ecclesiastical Record

Irish Felon (1848)

Irish Harp (1863)

Irish Monthly

Irish Monthly Magazine (1845-1846)

Irish Penny Journal [or *New Irish Journal of Information for the People...*] (1840-1841)

Irish Penny Magazine (1833-1842)

Irish People (1863-1864)

Irish Union Magazine (Mar-Aug 1845)

Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge / The Gaelic Journal (1908)

Irishman (1840; 1848)

Irishman (A Weekly Newspaper) Belfast (Oct 1820-May 1823)

Kerry Examiner and Munster General Observer (1848-1850)

Kottabos (1870&1874)

Limerick and Clare Examiner (1848-1849)

Monthly Museum; or, Dublin literary repertory (1813-1814)

Nation

Nationist (1905-1906)

New Irish and British Catholic Magazine [publ. Duffy], caption title: *Kennedy's British and Irish Catholic magazine, and journal of miscellaneous knowledge* (1836-1837)

Northern Patriot (1895-1896)

Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (London, 1832)

Sartain's union magazine of literature and art (1850, U.S.), available at:

<http://books.google.ie/books?id=YULZAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [Accessed 7 July 2012]

United Ireland (1881-1883; 1886)

United Irishman (Feb-May 1848)

Young Ireland [Magazine] / The Shamrock (1875, 1877, 1888)

Irish Newspaper Archives (<http://www.irishnewsarchive.com/>) provides access to various newspapers, notably the *Nation*, *Freeman's Journal*, *Anglo-Celt*, *Westmeath Examiner*, *Southern Star*, *Meath Chronicle*, *Leitrim Observer*, *Irish Independent*, *Sunday Independent*

ProQuest: access to the *Irish Times*, the *Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, the *Weekly Irish Times* <http://search.proquest.com/?accountid=15753> [Access restricted]

19th Century British Library Newspapers: access to the *Belfast newsletter*, *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* and *Pall Mall Gazette*

<http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/19th-century-british-library-newspapers.aspx> [Access restricted]

Catalogues

A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Dublin Society, Classed Under Proper Heads, 1807

A Catalogue of Books in the Library of Christopher D. Bellew Esq. Mount-Bellew, 1813

A General Catalogue of Cheap Second Hand Books (Grant & Bolton), 1833

A Catalogue of Modern Books, now selling at Unusually Low Prices, by Richard Harman, 1830

A Catalogue of a Scarce and Valuable Collection of Books...for 1811-12... by Gilbert & Hodges

Accounts and lists of books of the Clare Reading Society, 1843-1867 (Inchiquin Papers, Ms, NLI)

Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge (Linen Hall Library), Supplementary Catalogue of General Literature and of Prose Fiction, to December, 1896

Bibliotheca Hibernica (John O'Daly); Catalogue, 1863-1876

Catalogue of the Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, White Linen Hall, Belfast, 1851-56

Catalogues of the Books belonging to the Dublin Library Society, 1810 & 1857

Catalogue of Books contained in The People's Library...Belfast, 1847

Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Diocese of Clogher.. Clones, Co. Monaghan (n.d., late century)

Catalogue of Hodgson's New Circulating Library, 9, High-Street, Belfast, 1824

Catalogue of the Larne Reference Library, 1875

Catalogue of a Lending Library, ... [found in *Hints on the formation of lending libraries in Ireland*, 1824, NLI]

Catalogue of the Library of the late Alderman Robert Cane, c1858

Catalogue of the Library of the Late James Hardiman, Esq. M.R.I.A...., including the library of the late James F. Ferguson, Esq.....to be sold by auction by John F. Jones ...Dublin, 1856

Catalogue of the Library of the late John O'Donovan...to be sold by auction by John F. Jones ...Dublin, 1867

Catalogue of the Library of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland (Auction), 1848

Catalogue of Malahide and Portmarnock Parochial Lending Library, 1881

Catalogue of a rare and most interesting collection of books, the late Dr. Joseph E. Kenny etc etc...to be sold by auctionDublin...1900, Bennett & son

Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Books, being part of the stock of Hodges and Smith, 1830

Catalogue of the valuable library of the late Dr. R.R. Madden, author of...To be sold by auction..., 1886, by Messrs. Bennett and Son...Dublin [bound with 1865 Auction Catalogue of same library]

Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the late Right Rev. William Reeves, ... Lord Bp of Down, Connor and Dromore, President of the RIA, &c...sold by auction by John W. Sullivan...Dublin, 1892

Catalogue of a very extensive collection of Second Hand Books (Grant & Bolton), 1838

Catalogue of W. B Kelly's Publications and Remainders, 1865

Classified catalogue of the books in the Cork Library, 1852

James Duffy & Co.'s Catalogue of Standard Works of History, Amusement and Instruction (several catalogues, 1880s-)

John O'Daly's Catalogues, 1852-1857

Limerick Free Public Library, Catalogue of the Lending Library and Reference Department, 1902

List of Books selected from the Catalogue of the Public Library of Armagh, with a Catalogue of its Manuscripts, Belfast, 1892

Biographical Resources (Internet Links)

- DIB <http://dib.cambridge.org/> [Access restricted]
- ODNB <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> [Access restricted]
- RICORSO (formerly PGIL) <http://www.ricorso.net/rx/az-data/index.htm>
- PI, available at <http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924029566530#page/n5/mode/2up>
[Accessed 1 July 2012]
- TRASNABIO <http://www.ctts.dcu.ie/t/MainIndex.html>
- BNF <http://www.bnf.fr/fr/acc/x.accueil.html>
- LI, based on *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (1878)
<http://www.libraryireland.com/biography/index.php>
- Ulster Biography <http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php>
- National Census (1901 & 1911) <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/search/>
- Irish Genealogy (Church Records) <http://www.irishgenealogy.ie/index.html>

Libraries and Bibliographical Resources (Internet Links)

- NLI <http://catalogue.nli.ie/>
- TCD <http://library.catalogue.tcd.ie/>

RIA	http://www.ria.ie/Library/Catalogue.aspx
CCL, no online cat. (09/07/12)	http://www.catholiclibrary.ie/
ML	http://marshlibrary.ie/catalogue/
MDI/ SPD/DCU	http://library.spd.dcu.ie/TalisPrism/
UCD	http://udprism01.ucd.ie/TalisPrism/
NUIG	http://www.library.nuigalway.ie/
NUIM	http://library.nuim.ie/
QCat	http://encore.qub.ac.uk/iii/encore_qub/?lang=eng
UU	http://z11.ulster.ac.uk/TalisPrism/
UCC	http://library.ucc.ie/
UL	http://193.1.100.111/TalisPrism/
MIC	http://prism.talis.com/mic/home
GMIT	http://library.gmit.ie/
DIT	http://library.dit.ie/
Dundalk IT	https://ww2.dkit.ie/library
NCAD	http://prism.talis.com/ncad/
LHL	http://lh-lms.qub.ac.uk/
RCPI	http://www.rcpi.ie/HeritageCentre/Pages/LibraryCatalogue.aspx
DCL	http://libcat.dublincity.ie/
Link to all Irish Public Libraries	http://www.borrowbooks.ie/index.php#
Sources (database for Irish research)	http://sources.nli.ie/

BNF

http://catalogue.bnf.fr/jsp/recherchemots_simple.jsp?nouvelleRecherche=O&nouveaute=O&host=catalogue

Online Digitized Texts

Gallica (BNF)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/
Archive.org	http://archive.org/
Open Library	http://openlibrary.org/
Google Books	http://books.google.com/
Early Canadiana Online (ECO)	http://eco.canadiana.ca/
Hathi Trust	http://www.hathitrust.org/
CELT (UCC)	http://www.ucc.ie/celt/transpage.html

Other Resources

Worldcat	http://www.worldcat.org/
British Fiction 1800-1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception	http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/index.html
CNL Catalogue	http://www.catholic-library.org.uk/catalogue/index.php
Index Translationum	http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/
The NSTC	http://nstc.chadwyck.com/home.do [Access restricted]

APPENDICES

List of Appendices

Appendix A (General Survey)

A1: Translators/Editors/Anonymous Contributions

A2: Publishers/Printers/Booksellers/Circulating Libraries

A3: Some Other Interesting Items (Irish-owned but not published or translated in Ireland)

Appendix B (Béranger)

The following appendices provide bio-bibliographical lists of Irish translators/editors/publishers who contributed to the dissemination of translations from French in nineteenth-century Ireland. Appendix A is a representative selection rather than an exhaustive enumeration. In particular, for publishers and printers who issued a great number of translations, only a sample of their publications is provided, and there were a greater number of printers/booksellers than we could possibly show. These appendices illustrate the role played by the most prominent agents in the process, and may be useful to further researches. While there may be inconsistency of available information, researchers interested in tracing back these translations should, hopefully, be able to do so on the basis of the following information. Appendix B provides a comprehensive list of translators and translation titles in relation to Béranger.

The timeline is 1798-1910, in other words, translations published or printed during that period. Appendix A1 is structured according to the themes presented in the overall survey, and, within these categories, the various agents of translation are listed alphabetically. Each category is then concluded with a list of unidentified/anonymous contributors. The supposition that they may be Irish is made on the basis of details such as imprints and paratextual information. Some translators were identified by drawing inferences from various data and biographies. In cases where identity has not been fully confirmed, we use (prob.) for ‘probably’ or (poss.) for ‘possibly’. For each translator/editor is provided: his/her name, the periphrase or pseudonym used where it applies, some of the main biographical resources⁶⁵, translation title(s), date(s) of publication and location of item(s), evidence of Irish ownership, and paratextual/metatextual elements which seem worth signalling (e.g. prefaces, advertisements). Names of other agents in the process (e.g. prefacers, printers/booksellers) are highlighted (in bold) for the part they played. Some of them have been given separate treatment in relevant appendices or sections, and others not. If a translation is known of but has not been located in Ireland, a link to an online resource may be provided.

⁶⁵ The focus is on resources which, to some extent, are available online. There are certainly many more biographical contributions and essays other than those referred to here as regards well-known figures, e.g. Douglas Hyde or Lady Gregory, and even Mary Anne Sadlier. On the other hand, in the case of ‘obscure’ translators, it has been deemed necessary to provide as much information as possible.

APPENDIX A (GENERAL SURVEY - THEMATIC)

A1: Translators/Editors/Anonymous Contributions

1) Religion

Note that catechetical works intended for the youth and for educational purposes have been included in this category. They may be as relevant to the section on education.

Abraham, George Whitley ‘George W. Abraham, A.B.’ [RICORSO]: *The life of Saint Dominick: preceded by a memorial to the French people for the restoration of the order of preachers in France* (1851, NUIM) from Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802, Burgundy region-1861, Sorèze, Occitan region); adv. by **Duffy** (q.v.) as part of ‘James Duffy’s Valuable Catholic Publications Adapted for the Holy Season of Lent’ in the *Nation* on Feb 5, 1853

Anderdon, William Henry [S.J.] (1816-1890 [England]) ‘Rev. W.H. Anderdon, M.A.’ [chaplain and dean of the Catholic University, Dublin, in the 1850s-1860s; became a Jesuit in 1870s, cf. ODNB]: *Sermon of Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, preached in the Church of St. Roch, Paris, on Monday in Holy Week, 1861, for the poor Catholics of Ireland* (1861, MDI&NUIM) from Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878 [Rhône-Alpes region]); ‘*Permissu Superiorum*’; ‘All profits to be devoted to the victims of Partry, and of similar cases of unmerited distress’ (t.p.); authorization of the translation written in French by Dupanloup, followed by his invitation addressed to Anderdon to come visit him in Orléans, with Anderdon’s address: ‘87 Stephen’s Green South, Dublin, Irlande’; dedication by Anderdon ‘To the Reverend **Patrick Lavelle** (q.v.), administrator of Partry...’; publ. **John F. Fowler** (q.v.); NUIM item has ‘Second thousand’ on t.p; MDI: Bookplate (Dublin Diocesan Library) Ex Libris John Charles McQuaid [DIB/ODNB] and Bookplate Ex Libris ‘Sir Henry Bellingham, Bt’ (q.v.)

Arthur, William (1819, Ireland-1901, France) [DIB/ODNB]: *Money, its use and abuse: a lecture; translated from the French with a preface by William Arthur* (c1863, NLI) from Franck Coulin (1828-1907 [Switzerland]) trans. **anon**; publ. by the London Book Society

Banim, Mary (?-1939) [see Welch 1996c; she wrote a *Story of the Children's Hospital, Temple Street, Dublin, under the care of Sisters of Charity, a sketch for Irish children at home and abroad* (1892)]: *The newest saint: St. John Baptist de la Salle founder of the Christian Schools* (c1900, NLI), author unknown

Bellingham, Alan Henry (Sir), 4th bart. (1846-1921) 'Henry Bellingham, M.A., Barrister-at-Law' [of Castle Bellingham, Co. Louth, MP for Louth; no biog]: *Social aspects of Catholicism and Protestantism in their civil bearing upon nations: translated and adapted from the French of M. Le Baron de Haulleville, by Henry Bellingham, ... with a preface by His Eminence Cardinal Manning* (1878, MDI&TCD) from Prosper-Charles-Alexandre (baron) de Haulleville (1830, Luxembourg-1898, Belgium); pref. by Card. **Henry Edward Manning** [ODNB]

Boylan, Christopher H. (1789-1832) 'the Rev. C. H. Boylan, of the Royal College of Maynooth' [see Healy1895: 572-573, and the *IM*, Vol. 16 (185), Nov 1888, p.702]: *Ecclesiastical conferences, the synodal discourses and episcopal mandates, of Massillon bishop of Clermont, on the principal duties of the clergy: in two volumes* (1825, NLI, CCL, NUIG, NUIM) from Jean-Baptiste Massillon (1663, Provence -1742, Auvergne); 'printed for the translator and published by **R. Milliken**, and **R. Coyne**'; dedication 'to the Right Rev. John MacHale', i.e. **Abp John MacHale** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]; long list of subscribers incl. including MacHale, Abp Daniel Murray and Bps Doyle, Coppinger and Murphy; listed in the 1838 catalogue of **Grant and Bolton**, Dublin booksellers

Boyle, Patrick 'Rev. Patrick Boyle, C.M.' [Irish College]: translations from de Saint François de Sales (1567, Sales, Savoy-1622, Lyon) and Saint Vincent de Paul (1581, Aquitaine region-1660, Paris) in *Instructions on Preaching, Catechising and Clerical Life; By Saints and Fathers of the Church* (TCD); translator's pref; *Imprimatur A. Fiat, Sup. Gen. Cong. Miss. Lutetiis Paris., die 12e Martii, 1902, Nihil Obstat: Thomas Magrath, S.T.D. Censor Theol. Deputatus; Imprimatur: Gulielmus, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas*, i.e. Abp **William J. Walsh** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]; publ.by **M.H. Gill and Son** (q.v.) & other publishers abroad

Brady, Joseph, 'Rev. Patrick Boyle, C.M.' [no biog; a review of the following translation in the *Athenaeum*, No.3749, Sept 2, 1899, p.313, refers to 'The Irish predilections of the translator']: *History of St. Vincent de Paul, founder of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) and of the Sisters of Charity* (1898&1908, CCL; 1899, NLI, TCD, NUIM,

&UCD) from Mgr Emile Bougaud (1824, Burgundy region-1888); with an introduction by His Eminence the cardinal archbishop of Westminster; UCD: From the collection of Monsignor Patrick Boylan [DIB]

Burke, Thomas Nicholas, O.P. (1830-1883) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: [Prefacer] *True and False Devotion, or, Gold and Alloy in the Devout Life* (1876, CCL; 1883, MDI; 1888, TCD), trans. **anon**, 'authorised translation' from Jacques-Marie Louis Monsabré, O.P. (1827-1907); as this was also locally published, by Gill, it is probable that the anonymous translator was Irish too; 20-page long pref. by Burke; TCD: With former owner's label of the Library, St. Mary's Convent, Cabra (Dublin)

Carew, Patrick Joseph and **Kelly, William** [both Professors at Maynooth; only a brief RICORSO notice for Carew]: *The perpetuity of the faith of the Catholic Church on the eucharist; with the refutation of the reply of a Calvinistic minister* (1834, NLI[2], CCL, UCD&NUIM) from Antoine Arnauld (1612, France-1694, Belgium) and Pierre Nicole (1625-1695); printed by **John Coyne** (q.v.); NUIM: 'Ex Libris Universit. Cath. Hibern.' bookplate inside book

Carroll, Anthony, S.J. (1722, Ireland-1794, England) [ODNB; Oliver 1838: 222]: *Sermons for Sundays and Festivals*, also titled *Sermons and moral discourses on the important duties of Christianity* (6 items: 1843, NLI; 1867, MDI; 1843&1867, CCL&NUIM) from Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704); according to Cooper (ODNB) and Fenning (2006: 77), these translated sermons were originally published under the title of *Practical Divinity* in 1776 and *Practical Theology...The second edition, revised and corrected, by the Reverend B. Mac Mahon* in 1794

Carroll, Margaret Anna, i.e. Sister Mary Teresa Austin (1835, Ireland-1909, Louisiana), referred to as 'a member of the Order of Mercy', 'a Sister of Mercy' or 'the authoress of the life of Catherine M'Auley, etc.' [DIB]:

- *A treatise on the knowledge and love of Our Lord Jesus Christ, with an original sketch of the author* (1875, MDI) from Rev. Jean-Baptiste de Saint Jure, S.J. (1588-1657)

- *The Spiritual Man; or, the spiritual life reduced to its first principles* (1878, NUIM) from de Saint Jure

- *The religious: a treatise on the vows and virtues of the religious state* (1882, MDI) from de Saint Jure

- *History of Blessed Margaret Mary, a religious of the Visitation of St. Mary; and of the devotion to the Heart of Jesus* (1867, not found) from Rev. Charles Daniel, S. J. (1818-1893); 44-page long introduction by Carroll; online preview available at:

http://books.google.ie/books?id=fzg3Y1OcEwUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_suummary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false [Accessed 8 July 2012]

Chetwode, Alice Wilmot (c1833-?) [no biog; see national census and Chetwode 1903]

- *A French navy captain: Augustus Marceau; Commander of the "Ark of the Covenant"* (1887, PC/TCD & CCL) from Rev. Claudius Maria Mayet; TCD: Loretto Convent reward plate, 'A.M.D.G. Convent of Our Lady of Loretto, St. Stephen's Green. This Premium was awarded for Merit [of?] Christian Doctrine to Miss [A.?] Crotty, at the Examinations held on the 21st July 1888'; short reviews in the *IM*, Vol.16 (177), Mar 1888, p.187 and *IER*, 3d series, 1888, pp.382-383

- *The valiant woman: conferences addressed to ladies living in the world* (1886, NLI, NUIG, TCD, CCL) from Mgr Jean-Baptiste Landriot (1816, Burgundy region-1874, Champagne-Ardenne region); *Nihil Obstat*: **P. J. Tynan**, S.T.D. Censor Theologicus Deputatus & *Imprimatur*: Gulielmus J. Walsh, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas, i.e. Abp **William J. Walsh** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *I am the way* (1906, CCL) from Rev. François Nepveu, S.J. (c1639-c1708); pref. by Card-Abp of Westminster

Comerford, Michael (Rev.), P.P., V.F., M.R.I.A.', born c1832, 'Bishop of Corycus' (cf. NUIM) [short biog. in the *Dublin Journal*, June 16, 1887, p.143]; *Pleadings of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (1874, NUIM; 1903, NLI & CCL), unknown source; 1874 is 2nd edn, publ. **William Powell** (q.v.); 1903 is 7th edn, publ. **James Duffy** (q.v.)

Conan, Walter (1860-1936) [DIB]: *Ecclesiastical dress, from the French of Monsignor Barbier de Montault* (1903, MDI, NLI&TCD) from Xavier Barbier de Montault (1830-1901 [Poitou-Charentes region]); TCD: bequest of the Rev. Canon John Purser Shortt; this translation could also be categorized in Miscellany/Crafts

Coppinger, William (1753-1831), the 'Right Rev. William Coppinger' [DIB]:

- Two translations from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627, Dijon, Burgundy-1704, Paris): *An exposition of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in matters of controversy* (1821&c1830, NLI; 1831, UCD) [first publ. in the 18th c] and *Pastoral Instruction upon the Promises of Christ to His Church* (1810, HC/RIA; NUIM)

- *The polemic catechism of John James Scheffmacher, Quandum Lecturer of Controversial Theology in the Cathedral Church of Strasbourg; lately re-printed by the Charitable Book Society in France, and now respectfully offered to the good sense of his fellow-countrymen, in a translation, by their devoted servant, William Coppinger, Roman Catholic Bishop in the Diocese of Cloyne and Ross. An appendix: on the ancient religious and literary establishments in Ireland* (1830, NLI[3], TCD, RIA, UCC[3]) from Johann Jakob Scheffmacher, S.J. (1688-1733) [Alsace region]; the appendix is mostly taken from a speech by **Eneas MacDonnell** (1783-1858) [DIB/RICORSO]; UCC: MS note on t.p.: 'John Parker, Summer Hill.' [Cork]

Corkran, Louisa (sometimes spelt Louise or Luisa), née Walsh(e) (Bapt.1818, Dublin) 'L. Corkran' [just a brief notice in Kirk 1891: 389; see 'Marriages' (1839), *FJ*, July 2, p.2; Irish Genealogy [Online], ID Record of what seems to be her Baptism: DU-RC-BA-606106 (Roman Catholic Church) and ID Record of Marriage with John Frazer Corkran: DU-CI-MA-34575 (Church of Ireland); see also Hart-Davis 1962: 75; 232]

- *The religions before Christ, being an introduction to the history of the first three centuries of the Church* (1862) from Edmond de Pressensé (1824-1892 [Paris]); available at: <http://archive.org/stream/religionsbefore00pres#page/n5/mode/2up> [Accessed 17 June 2012]

- *The Critical School and Jesus Christ, a reply to M. Renan's Life of Jesus* (1865) from Edmond de Pressensé; not sighted but the translation was adv. and reviewed in various British magazines (as well as the above title)

Costello, Patrick, , C.C. 'Rev. Patrick Costello, C.C., Ballinasloe' [no biog]

- *The Christian instructed in the nature and use of indulgences* (5 items: 1875, CCL&MDI; 1877&1890, NLI; 1890, NUIM) from Antonin Maurel, S.J. (1803-1874); 'an approved translation of the fourteenth French edition'; translator's prefs. to 1st and 2nd edns; *Nihil obstat* and *Imprimatur*; numerous letters of approbation from clergymen, incl. **Abp MacHale** and **Card. Cullen**; 1890 edition: 'revised and enlarged according to the latest decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites'; first publ. **McGlashan & Gill**, then **M.H. Gill & Son** (q.v.)

- *The Church and the Sovereign Pontiff: an analytical catechism* (1878&1879, TCD; 1878, UCC; 1879, NUIM) from Antonin Maurel; ‘an approved translation of the third French edition corrected, with notes’; publ. by **Duffy** (q.v.)

Cummins, Felix, ‘Abbé Cummins, ‘priest of the Religious Congregation of the Most Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Bach. of Theol. in Sorbonne, Prof. of Theol. in the Seminary of Picpus’ [no biog; see <http://www.sscepipus.com/news.aspx?c=3&ln=en&id=856> (Accessed 8 June 2011), and *Finns Leinster Journal*, Vol.lxi, Dec 1, 1827, p.3]; Cummins is the author of a language method aimed at French-speaking learners of English, *L’Abréviateur anglais, ou Méthode courte et facile pour apprendre cette langue, à l’usage des Français, par M. l’abbé Cummins* [1834, BNF]:

The Pastoral instructions of his Lordship, Stephen-Anthony de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, elected Archbishop of Vienne, Peer of France (1822, NLI, HC/RIA, TCD, DCL) from Etienne-Antoine Boulogne (174, Provence-1825, Paris); dedication ‘To the most Reverend and the Right Reverend the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland’, signed in Paris, Nov 1822; 13-page long translator’s pref; printed by **John Reynolds**, Kilkenny; TCD: MS inscription Carmelite Church, Whitefriar Street [Dublin]; with bookplate of Sodality of the Holy Family, Kingstown, St. Michael’s Library; DCL: Stamp of St John’s College Library Waterford on half title; A second-hand copy of this translation was adv. by **Joseph Tully** (publisher/bookseller), 58 Middle-Abbey, Dublin, in the *Nation* on Dec. 15, 1866, ‘with Book Plate of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Healy’, i.e. Abp John Healy [DIB/RICORSO]

Cusack, Margaret Anne, i.e. Sister Mary Francis Clare (1829, Ireland–1899, England), also known as ‘the Nun of Kenmare’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Ó Céirín and Ó Céirín 1996]: *Conferences for Ecclesiastical Students and Religious* (1878, NLI), from Louis Tronson (1622-1700)

Davin, Mary Baptist (prob.) ‘Sister M. B. Davin, of St. Michael’s Presentation Convent, Portarlinton’ [no biog; Davin was a founding member of the Presentation Convent at Portarlinton, Co. Laois, see <http://www.presentation-sisters.ie/content/view/103/128/#PortarlintonConvent> (Accessed 22 July 2012)]: *Maxims and duties of parents* (1883, not found) from Abbé Claude d’Arvisenet (1755-1831); adv. several times by **M. H. Gill & Son** (q.v.) in the *DR* and *FJ* in 1883; *Nihil Obstat*: **P. J. Tynan**, S.T.D. *Censor Theol. Deput. & Imprimatur*: Eduardus Card. MacCabe,

Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas, i.e. Card-Abp **Edward McCabe** (1816-1885) [ODNB/RICORSO]

Dean, Joseph Joy (Rev.) (c1752-1836) [no biog; see Cronin, E. 2002]: *Devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus: exercises for the holy sacrifice of the mass, confession and communion visits to the Blessed Sacrament feasts of the sacred heart &c. With an appendix on the nature of indulgences* (10 items: 1820&n.d., TCD; 1820&n.d.[2], NLI; 1820&c1851, NUIM; 1842&n.d., CCL; 1869, MDI) from anon; the full title for later edns [NLI holds 12th edn] is: *Devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus: containing exercises for confession, communion, and the Holy Mass, with numerous other prayers and reflections suited to the devotions, and an account of its origin, progress and excellence, to which are added, devotions to the Sacred Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary; also, the proper Mass of the Sacred Heart*; 3rd edn (n.d., TCD) has a pref. by the translator; 9th edn advertised in the *Nation* in 1890 by the **Irish Catholic**, Dublin, in 'Our Book List for June'; Irish publishers of this work include **Richard Grace** (q.v.), **James Duffy** (q.v.) and **C. M. Warren** (q.v.); TCD 1820 item: MS note, The gift of 'Mrs. Bower' of the Presentation Convent to 'Mary Clare French'; from the Library of the Franciscan Friars, Killiney; TCD n.d. item: MS date 'Dec 1874' on front paste-down

Deasy, Margaret, i.e. Sister Mary Vincent Deasy (18??-1878), 'a member of the Order of Mercy, Cork' [no biog; see Carroll 1881: 240-242; 245, and Sullivan 2004: 85n]

- *A Series of Exhortations on the Nature and Duties of the Religious Life* (1843, CCL) from Abbé Asselin ['ancien vicaire général de Glandèves', BNF]

- *The Perfect Religious: a work particularly conducive to arouse the tepid, to animate the fervent, and to attract the more advanced in the perfection of their holy state* (1845, NLI&MDI), from Rev. Michel-Ange Marin (1697-1767); publ. and sold at the **depository of St Mary's Asylum**, 23, Essex-Quay, Dublin, and profits of the sales donated to St Mary's Asylum, Drumcondra, Dublin; NLI: MS on front matter: 'Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, Baggot Street'; MDI: various MS names as well as sticker of 'St. Clare's Convent Library' and stamp of 'Dublin Diocesan Library, Clonliffe Road'

Farrington, Andrew Elias, O.C.C. [President of Terenure College (Carmelite); no biog; see O'Dwyer 1988; Farrington wrote *History of the French Clergy, 1789-94* (c 1892) as well as works on the Carmelites]: *Life of Blessed Frances d'Amboise, Duchess of Brittany and*

Carmelite Nun (1875, CCL) author not acknowledged, though poss. Abbé François Richard (1819, Nantes-1908, Paris); publ. by **Duffy** (q.v.)

Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington (1834, Ireland-1925, England) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO] prob.editor of *The lukewarm Christian: two sermons, arranged and abridged by Percy Fitzgerald* (1902, TCD) from Jean-Baptiste Massillon (1663, Provence-1742, Auvergne)

Gahan, William, O.S.A. (1732-1804) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]:

- *Bourdaloue's spiritual retreat, for eight successive days; containing suitable meditations for ecclesiastics, religious, and Christians of every state of life; preceded by an interesting account of the author* (7 items: 1810&1833, NLI& CCL; 1801, 1810&1833, TCD), from Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704); the title of 1833 edn also states: 'A new ed., translated from the French original by the late Rev. William Gahan, O.S.A. and carefully revised by a **Catholic priest**'; TCD: all items bought from the **Franciscan Friars**, Killiney; 1810 TCD item: with MS note 'Presentation Convent, Killarney'; 1833 TCD item: with MS note 'Mary Patrick MacDermot, Presentation Convent, Galway ...'; 1810 edn printed by **E. M'Donnell**, 50, Essex-St., Dublin; Gahan's translation was republished in 1893 by **William J. Alley & Co.**, Dublin, as *An eight-days' spiritual retreat for religious* (NUIM); this item was donated by the **Presentation Convent**, Portlaoise in 2002

As an editor: *A compendious history of the New Testament: interspersed with moral reflections, and containing the life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (1840, NLI) from Nicolas Fontaine (1625-1709), trans. Joseph Reeve, S.J. (1733-1820) [ODNB] 'and abridged by the late Rev. William Gahan'

Hackett, Mary, 'late a pupil of the Ursulines, St Mary's Convent, Waterford' [no biog; see Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber and Burnham 2006: 533]: *Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Duchess of Thuringia* (4 items: n.d.&1852, NLI; 1873, CCL&NUIG) from Charles Forbes [René de Tryon Comte] de Montalembert (1810, England-1870, France); dedication by the translator to Montalembert; advertised in the *Nation* on 5 Feb 1853 as part of **James Duffy's** (q.v.) 'Valuable Catholic Publications Adapted for the Holy Season of Lent'; the imprint for the 1852 edn shows a '**J. Hackett**, Clonmel' underneath Duffy's name, perhaps someone who was related to the translator; NLI: MS inscription, gift to 'Mary Elizabeth Archbold' by someone named O'Brien, in the hope that the dedicatee would 'imitate the great St Elizabeth'

Hanbury, J. ‘Esq., late of the College of Carlow’ [no biog]: *Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Sacred Virgin Mary, approved of by Pope Innocent XI* (c1851, not found) from ‘Eglise catholique’; ‘Translated from the French, with Preface, copious Notes, &c.’; adv. by **Duffy** (q.v.) in the *Nation* on May 3, 1851

Higgins, Mother Teresa [no biog]: no translation title was found but she is mentioned by Carroll as, I understand, a mistress of novices at George’s Hill Presentation Convent, Dublin, “well known in her day as a compiler and translator of several useful works” (1881: 41).

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982]

- *The Life of Madame de la Rochefoucauld, Duchesse de Doudeauville, Foundress of the Society of Nazareth* (1878, GMT, CCL[2], TCD) from anon; published with charitable intention towards the Orphanage of Nazareth; the translation is inscribed ‘to the beloved Memory of Charlotte Murray Stewart, Child of Mary of Nazareth’ [her eldest daughter, d.1878]; list of names from the ‘Committee of the Society’, including The Lady Herbert of Lea, Mrs. Cashel Hoey, The Lady O’Hagan, The Lady Alexander Gordon Lennox, The Lady Georgina Fullerton, The Lady Constance Bellingham; introduction signed ‘Mrs. William Langdale’

- *Nazareth* (1873, TCD) from a Religious lady of the Congregation of Nazareth [Hoey is often referred to as the author of this work]; preface by the Rev. W. Humphrey

Hughes, James (d.1876) ‘Rev. J. Hughes, Dean of Carlow College’ [no biog]: *An invitation to sing the divine praises, together with practical instructions on singing in churches; being the Lenten pastoral of the Right Reverend Peter-Aloysius Parisi, Bishop of Langres* (1846, NLI) from Bp Pierre Louis Parisi (1795, Orléans-1866, Arras); publ. **James Duffy** (q.v.); adv. by Duffy in **Battersby’s** Registry for 1852

Keenan, Stephen (1804, Ireland-1862, Scotland) [no biog; see Mac Annaidh 1999: 43-44]: *Controversial Catechism; or, Protestantism refuted and Catholicism established, by an appeal to the Holy Scriptures, the testimony of the holy fathers, and the dictates of reason, in which such portions of Scheffmacher’s catechism as suit modern controversy are embodied; by Stephen Keenan; with latest revisions by George Cormack; and a preface by John Cuthbert Hedley* (1846, 1849, 1850, 1853&1896, TCD; n.d., MDI; 1853, NUIM) adapt. from Johann Jakob Scheffmacher (1668-1733 [Alsace region])

Note: Mac Annaidh also mentions the following title by Keenan: *Catechism of the Christian Religion, being with some changes a compendium of the Catechism of Montpelier* (1851)

Kelly, Matthew (1814–1858) ‘Rev. Mathew Kelly, Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Healy1895: 593-598] *The power of the pope during the Middle Ages, or, An historical inquiry into the origin of the temporal power of the Holy See and the constitutional laws of the Middle Ages relating to the deposition of sovereigns, with an introduction, on the honours and temporal privileges conferred on religion and on its ministers by the nations of antiquity, especially by the first Christian emperors* (1853, MDI; CCL[2]; NUIM, NUIG) from Jean-Edme-Auguste Gosselin (1787-1858); publ. by Dolman (London), this was the first volume of their ‘Library of Translations from Foreign Literature’; Vol.1 has: publishers' notice, translator's preface and author's preface; Vol.2: editorial notice by W.B.D.D. Turnbull [Scotland, ODNB]

Kelly, Walter Keating ‘Walter Keating Kelly, Esq., B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin’ (c1806, Ireland-1867, England) [no biog; there is a forum thread by his descendants at <http://genforum.genealogy.com/> (Accessed 25 August 2012); see also Houghton 1972]: *History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century* (1842, NLI) from Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné (1794-1872 [Switzerland])

Lamy, Adolphe ‘Professor of French, Clergy Sons' School, Lucan’ [no biog]: *La religion d'argent. Et encore la religion d'argent; a French publication in two vols. which has gone through sixteen editions; translated into English, by Monsieur Adolphe Lamy, Professor of French, Clergy Sons' School, and dedicated to the Rev. Thos. Scott, A.M. St. Audeon's School, Dublin by Augustus Heron, ... [with] two letters from Augustus Heron, Esq. to the most Rev. Doctor Murray* (1846, HC/RIA [2]) from Napoléon Roussel (1805, Languedoc-Roussillon region-1878, Geneva, Switzerland) on one item it is stated: ‘The profits of this little work will be applied towards the education of two orphans; the children of clergymen under very peculiar circumstances, as advertised in the Statesman. Mr. Heron will be happy to enter your name for any number of copies you may please to order. He will also forward one copy by post to any part of the Empire, by enclosing one shilling, and two postage stamps, directed to him, Primrose Hill, Lucan. Mr. **Frazer**, the printer, 37, Arran Quay, Dublin, will forward any number of copies by the least expensive mode of conveyance - per order.’ On the second item (2nd edn): ‘The profits of sale to be applied towards the fund collecting for the Protection of Reformed Roman Catholic Priests. Mr. Heron will forward

one copy by post on enclosing one shilling, and two postage stamps, to him Primrose Hill, Lucan. Mr. Frazer, the printer, 37, Arran Quay, will forward any number - per order.'

Lavelle, Patrick (1825-1886), 'P.L.' [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: see details at entry below for **Leonard, John Patrick**

Leonard, John Patrick (1814, Ireland-1889, France), 'J.P.L.' [DIB] see also 'Cn'1904 and Julienne 2000]

- *Sermon preached by Mgr. the Bishop of Orleans on behalf of the poor Catholics of Ireland: in the Church of St. Roch, Paris, on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1861; with a biographical memoir* (1861, TCD, NLI, NUIG, LICL) from Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878 [Rhône-Alpes region]); this 'Sole Authorized Translation' is presented as a group effort in the introduction; 'the Life of Dupanloup', which precedes the sermon, is trans. by John P. Leonard from Léon Saint-Albe; The *Sermon* was adv. in the *Irish Times and Daily Advertiser* (16 Apr 1861, p.2) as "'The Sermon of the Bishop of Orleans for the Poor of Ireland'", translated (with special authority of the most Reverend Preacher), by J.P Leonard, Esq., of Paris, and **Rev. Patrick Lavelle**', i.e. Patrick Lavelle (1825-1886) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]; Lavelle is prob. the person who wrote the introduction as 'P.L.'

- *Sermon on behalf of the distressed Irish* (1862, NLI) from Gaspard Mermillod (1824, Switzerland-1892, Italy)

- *A study of freemasonry* (1875, TCD&UCD), trans. anon, identified by Julienne (2000)

L'Estrange, Francis Joseph, ODC, Clarendon-Street, Dublin (1788-1833) [see Sullivan 1995: 341]: [Editor] *Elevation of the soul to God, by means of spiritual considerations and affections* (1825, 1833, 1835&1838, NLI; 1833, 1860&1869, CCL) trans. Robert Plowden, S.J. [England] from Abbé Barthélemy Baudrand, S.J. (1701-1787); 7th, 8th & 9th edns 'revised ... by the late Rev. F.J. L'Estrange, O.C.D. approved of, for the diocese of Dromore, by the Right Rev. Dr. Blake', i.e. prob. **Michael Blake** (1775-1860) [DIB]; various Irish imprints, incl. **J. Coyne** (q.v.) and **R. Grace** (q.v.); CCL: 1860&1869 copies seem to have gone missing

Lucas, Frederick (1812, England-1855, Rome) [moved his newspaper, the *Tablet*, to Dublin in 1849, and he is regarded by many as an Irish political figure; DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: *How to enslave a church; or, the tyranny of Prussia over her Protestant and Catholic*

subjects, particularly in the Rhenish provinces (1845, NLI&HC/RIA[2]) from Gustave (Vicomte) de Failly, misspelt as ‘M. de Jailly’ (pref.); this title is equally relevant to section on **politics** (religious politics); publ. **James Duffy** (q.v.)

McCarthy, Mother Mary Borgia (prob., cf. Sturgeon 2009: 1109): *Spiritual consolation, or, A treatise on interior peace*; ‘interspersed with various instructions necessary for promoting the practice of solid piety, by the **Authoress of the "Ursuline manual"**’ (5 items: 1840, CCL & DIX/NLI; 1835, HC/RIA; 1840&1875, TCD) from Ambroise de Lombez, ie. Jean de La Peyrie (1708-1778 [Occitan region]); RIA: MS inscription ‘James Sleoni September 26th 1848, city of Dublin; TCD: one item bought from the Franciscan Friars, Killiney, 1975

M’Geoy, T. (Rev.) i.e. prob. **Thomas M’Geoy**, of County Longford, based in the Diocese of Ardagh [no biog; see Farrell, J.P (1891) *History of the County Longford*, p.361]: *The Priests of Mary, statutes, interior life, apostleship, adapted from the first French edition by Rev. T. M’Geoy, P.P.* (1909, MDI&GMIT); printed & publ. by **Browne & Nolan** (q.v.); *Nihil Obstat: T. ODonnell, C.M. and Imprimi Potest: Gulielmus, Archiep. Dublinen., Hiberniae Primas, ‘Dublin die 31a Julii, 1909’*, i.e. prob. Abp **William J. Walsh** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO], with a printed handwritten message on the Association of the Priests of Mary written from Armagh in October 1909

McGettigan, Daniel (1815-1887), ‘Rev. Dr. M’Gettigan, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland’ [DIB]: [Prefacer]*The Eucharistic year; or, preparation and thanksgiving for holy communion on all the Sundays and principal feast of the year* (NLI) alleged author: Jean-Nicolas Loriquet, Jean Nicholas (1767-1845), though prob. Mère Saint-Jérôme ‘chanoinesse de la Congrégation Notre-Dame’ (1810-1868), trans. **Sydney Agatha Sheil** (unidentified); additions; Eucharistic verses’ by several authors, mostly **Mathew Russell** (q.v.); publ. & printed by **M.H. Gill & Son** (q.v.)

M’Ghee, Robert James (1789, Ireland-1872, England), ‘Rev. R.J. M’Ghee’ [ODNB; there is a ‘M’Ghee collection’ (32 vols.) at Cambridge University Library]: [Editor]*The Poor gentlemen of Liège: being the history of the Jesuits in England and Ireland, for the last sixty years, translated from their own historian, M. Cretineau Joly, Edited with preface and supplemental notes and comments by Rev. R.J. M’Ghee* (1863, RIA; NLI; NUIM; TCD), trans. anon, from Jacques Crétineau-Joly (1803, Vendée region-1875, Paris); note: M’Ghee’s anti-Jesuitic ‘preface and supplemental notes and comments’ are altogether longer than the

translation itself, which represents only one-fourth of the author's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*; in their 'Advertisement', the 'editors' propose to publish translations of the remaining chapters if the present one was well received. As far as we know, there was no sequel to this publication

Mackenzie, Alexander, S.J., signs his works as '**Clinton, Alexander**' (1730, Scotland-1800, Ireland) [Oliver 1838: 4]:

- *The School of Christ* (6 items: 1801, NLI; 1801, 1803, 1870, CCL; 1801, 1833 TCD), 'translated from an original French manuscript', from Abbé Jean-Nicolas Grou, S.J. (1731, France-1803, England); TCD: both items were bought from the Franciscan Friars, Killiney, 1975; one item has a printed label 'Fergusson's book ... ware-house, ... Cork' on front paste-down endpaper; Provenance: With name Clare Kearney on front free endpaper. With MS note 'pray for your affectionate friend my dear Miss K. Mary M. Lawler?' at head of p. 1

- (prob) *The Characters of True Devotion* (1896, CCL) from Abbé Jean-Nicolas Grou, S.J. (1731-1803)

Maher, James (1793-1874), 'the Very Rev. James Maher, of Carlow' [no biog; see McCartney 1988] *Pastoral Instruction of His Eminence Cardinal De Bonald, on the Liberty of the Church* (1846, HC/RIA, TCD, UCD, NUIM&DCL) from Louis-Jacques-Maurice de Bonald (1787, Rouergue region -1870, Rhône-Alpes region), originally given at Lyons in Feb 1846; publ. by William J. **Battersby** (q.v.), 'and sold by all Catholic Booksellers'; 'Dedicated to the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland' by the publisher; NUIM: MS inscription on t.p: 'To the editor of the Dublin Revi[ew] with the Publisher's compliments'; Binder's label: **W. Neaton**, 78 Aungier-St., Dublin; DCL: Booksellers label on front endpaper '**Myles Doyle** Wexford Bookseller Stationer'

Molloy, Brian Arthur, 'Esq., Barrister-at-Law' [no biog]: *The history of the life of Our Lord Jesus Christ, from his incarnation until his ascension; denoting and incorporating the words of the sacred text from the Vulgate, connected, explained, and blended with reflections* (1846, NLI, CCL, MDI) from François de Ligny, S.J. (1709-1789); dedicated 'To his Grace the Most Reverend **Dr. Murray**, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin'; NLI: Translator's presentation copy, with MS dedication by the translator 'To the Very Reverend **Dean Meyler**, D.D., with the translator['s] respectful regards'; a 2nd edition adv. by **James Duffy** (q.v.) in the *Nation* on Jan 8, 1848 with a slight change in the title, *History of the Life and Sufferings of our Lord*

and Saviour Jesus Christ, from His Incarnation until His Ascension...; the names of Molloy, Murray and Meyer appear in the list of subscribers for John D'Alton's *History of Ireland* (1845); Molloy's name also appears as Chairman of the Committee of the Loyal Repeal in *Reports of the Parliamentary Committee of the Loyal Repeal Association of Ireland* (1845); he is listed as barrister and located at '37 Belvidere Place'[Dublin] in *Slater's National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (1846), and authored works on legal topics, incl. *Validity of Presbyterian Marriages on Roman Catholic Principles* (1844, RIA)

Mulcaile, James Philip, S.J. (c1727-1801) [Oliver 1838: 240]: *The philosophical catechism, or, A collection of observations fit to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (7 items: 1800, TCD; NLI[2]; CCL; NUIM; DCL[2]) from François Xavier de Feller (1735, Brussels, Belgium-1802, Ratisbonne, Germany); long subscription list; TCD: with bookseller's ticket of **H. Fitzpatrick** (q.v.); listed in *Catalogues of the Books belonging to the Dublin Library Society* for 1810 & 1857

Mulholland, Clara (?-1934) [RICORSO; see also Brown 1919; *A Round Table* 1897]

- *The mystical flora of St. Francis de Sales: or, The Christian life under the emblem of plants* (1877, NLI, CCL&DCL), from Joseph Tissot (1840-1894)/ Saint François de Sales (1567, Sales, Savoy-1622, Lyon); introduction by Bp **George Michael Conroy** (1831-1878) [DIB]; publ. by **Gill & Son** (q.v.)

- *The Power of St. Joseph, a New Book of Meditations and Devotions in Honour of the Foster-Father of Our Lord* (1876, CCL) from Fr. Jean-Joseph Huguet (b.1812); review in the *IM*, Vol.4, pp.480-481]

O'Connor, Robert Francis (1845-?) [prob; this is the closest match, cf. 1901 census: a 56-year old Cork-born journalist/author residing at Clontarf East, Dublin]

- *Saint Francis of Assisi* (1880, TCD; n.d., CCL; c1900, NLI) from Léopold de Chérancé, O. M. C. (1838-1926); 'translated from the French with the author's special permission by R. F. O'Connor'; translator's pref. written in Cork on the 'Feast of the Canonization of S. Francis' in 1880; translator's pref. to 3rd edn (1900) written at Clontarf, Dublin; *Nihil obstat*: **Thomas Magrath**, S.T.D. & *Imprimatur*: Gulielmus, i.e. (prob.) Abp **William J. Walsh** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO], 'DIE 1 Decemb., 1900'; Chérancé's declaration of obedience to the decrees of Pope Urban VIII and to the Apostolic See; letters from Irish prelates and Irish Franciscans addressed to O'Connor

- *St. Clare of Assisi* (1910, CCL&MIC) from de Chérancé; ‘sole authorized translation by R. F. O’Connor’ [translator not acknowledged in CCL/MIC catalogues]

- *St Margaret of Cortona, the Magdalen of the Seraphic Order* (1903, TCD, CCL, NUIG) from de Chérancé; ‘sole authorised translation by R. F. O’Connor’

O’Donnell, Eugene, ‘Rev. E. O’Donnell’ [no biog; see Dempsey1928; Cunningham 1965: 52; O’Donnell’s translation from Dante (1852) is dedicated ‘To the Youth of Great Britain and Ireland’]: *The Genius of Christianity; or the Spirit and Beauties of the Christian Religion* (1854, CCL) from François-René (Vicomte) de Chateaubriand (1768, St-Malo, Brittany-1848, Paris); this translation seems to have been publ. by Thunot in Paris

O’Meara, Kathleen (1839, Ireland-1888, France) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; granddaughter of Barry Edward O’Meara (q.v.)]: *Henri Perreyve and his counsels to the sick* (1881, TCD) from Henri Perreyve (1831-1865); translator’s pref. and sketch of Perreyve’s life by the translator prefixed to the translation

O’Sullivan, Michael, P.P., V.G., C.M. b.1810 ‘The Very Rev. Michael O’Sullivan V.G., of Cork’ [see Diocese of Cork and Ross available at: <http://www.corkandross.org/priests.jsp?priestID=909> Accessed 23 June 2012; Bolster 1989: 273]: [editor/translator?] *Meditations on the Life of Our Lord, for every Day in the Year* (1866-, MDI) from Rev. Jacques Nouet, S.J. (1605-1680); MDI has vol.1 (1866, 4th edn) & vol.2 (n.d., 5th edn), both vols. bearing MS inscriptions of women religious (previous owners); different pref. by translator in vol.1 & 2; previous edns: *Meditations on the hidden life of Our Lord, commencing with the first Sunday in Advent, and terminating with Septuagesima Sunday; translated from the French, and published for the benefit of the sick poor visited by the Sisters of Charity* (1842, TCD; 1843&1845, NLI); no name of translator/editor in the 1840s edns; 1842 edn: dedication by the translator ‘To the Mother of the Incarnate Word...’; work originally designed ‘for the use of a small religious community’ (translator’s pref. to 4th edn); printed by **J. Browne**, 36, Nassau-Street, Dublin [possible link with Brown & Nolan (q.v.)]

Power, Patrick, ‘the Rev. Patrick Power’ [no biog]: *The life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God: taken from the traditions of the East, the manners of the Israelites, and the writings of the Holy Fathers* (1850&1885, MDI; 1857, CCL) from Abbé Mathieu Orsini (1802, Corsica-1875); *Permissu Superiorum*; translator’s ‘Advertisement’ signed ‘Feast of the

Ascension'; publ. by **James Duffy** (q.v.); 1850 edn printed at the **Columbian Press** by **J.M. O'Toole** (Hawkins-St.), 1885 edn printed by **Burke and Gallinagh** (Great-Strand St.); 1885 item: MS dedication 'To Miss Annie Booth with D. L. O'Brien's sincerest wishes for a Happy Christmas 1884' and stamp of **Holy Cross College Clonliffe**; adv. by Duffy in the *Nation*, Feb 5, 1853, as part of 'James Duffy's Valuable Catholic Publications Adapted for the Holy Season of Lent'

- *The history of the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary* (1854, CCL) from Orsini; *Permissu Superiorum*; translator's introduction signed 'Carrick-on-Suir, *Easter Monday*, April 17, 1854'; advertisement at end of book for an upcoming translation, 'In Preparation': M. John Couturier's Dogmatical and Moral Catechism [i.e. Abbé Jean Couturier's *Catéchisme dogmatique et moral*]; various MS inscriptions, one (poss.) 'Miss Sarah Moriarty, Mallow'

Prendergast, Jarlath, O.S.F., O.F.M. (?-1911) 'Fr. Jarlath Prendergast' or 'F.J.P.' [no biog; various brief mentions in the Franciscan magazine *Collectanea Hibernica* & in the *IM*; see in partic. Fennessy (2004/2005) in *Collectanea Hibernica*, no. 46/47, pp. 275-286, on Prendergast's expulsion from Rome on account of insubordination]: *Manual of the Children of Mary, for the use of Boarding-schools and Orphanages* (n.d.[1900s] MDI) from anon; 'new edition, rev. and improved'; 'with Indulged Prayers from the Raccolta, and Prayers and Instructions, approved by Ecclesiastical Authority; also Appendix, with Ordinary of the Mass, Vespers and Complin, Hymns for Benediction, etc.' [originally publ. in 1889]; printed & publ. by **Duffy** (q.v.); *Nihil Obstat*: C. P. Meehan [**Charles Patrick Meehan**, DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO], *Cens. Dep.*, and *Imprimatur*: Gulielmus, *Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, H. Primas*, i.e. (prob.) Abp **William J. Walsh** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

Russell, Matthew, S.J. (1834-1912) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

- 'A Plea for Faith', from Frédéric Ozanam (1813, Italy -1853, France), in M. Russell (ed) *Reasons for holding the Catholic faith* (1904, NLI), pp.20-24

Sadlier, Mary Anne, née Madden (1820, Ireland-1903, U.S.), 'Mrs. J. Sadlier' [sometimes spelt **Sadleir**] [DIB/PI/RICORSO; see also Welch 1996b; Fanning 1990]

- *The admirable life of the glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph: to which is added the Lives of St. Joachim and St. Anne taken from the Cité mystique de Dieu, (The mystical city of God)* (1850s, NLI [missing?]) from Abbé Joseph Antoine Boullan (1824-1893); the French

translation may be based on a Spanish-language work by María de Ágreda, née María Fernandez Coronel (1602-1665)

- *Meditations on the Litany of the Blessed Virgin* (1854, NLI [missing?]) from Abbé Édouard Barthe (1802-1885)

- *Catholic anecdotes: or, the catechism in examples* (n.d.[c1866], NLI; n.d.[c1866]&1867, MDI; 1870, PC/TCD) from ‘the Brothers of the Christian Schools’/‘Les frères des écoles chrétiennes’; adv. in the *Nation* in ‘National Publications’ on Apr 10, 1869; NLI item: bookplate in Gaelic

- *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God; with the history of the devotion to her. Completed by the traditions of the East, the writings of the fathers, and the private history of the Jews* (1867, NLI [missing]; 1870, UU [Morris Collection]) from Abbé Mathieu Orsini (1802, Corsica-1875); 1872 edn [online] contains translator’s pref. signed ‘M.A.S.’, 1870; author’s pref; benediction in Latin by Gregorius XVI; translated letters apostolic from Pius IX; a history of the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in America, added by the translator; translation from Barthe (see below); and translation from Boullan (see also below); available at: <http://archive.org/stream/lifeofblessedvir00orsirich#page/xiv/mode/2up> [Accessed 17 June 2012]

- *The history of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ; from his incarnation until his ascension, denoting and incorporating the words of the sacred text from the vulgate; also, the history of the Acts of the Apostles, connected, explained, and blended with reflections* (1869, QCat) from François de Ligny, S.J. (1709-1789)

- *Doctrinal and scriptural catechism, or, instructions on the principal truths of the Christian religion* (n.d. [1870s], MDI) from Rev. Pierre Collot (1672?-1741); dedication ‘to the Brothers of the Christian Schools’

- *The Great Day: or motives and means of perseverance after First Communion* (1868&n.d.[c1889], NLI) from Mathieu Bransiet; **Duffy** edn (n.d.) bears the *Nihil Obstat* of C.P. Meehan [**Charles Patrick Meehan**, DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO] and the *Imprimatur* of Gulielmus J. Walsh [Abp **William Joseph Walsh**, DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *A new treatise on the duty of a Christian towards God, being an enlarged and improved version of the original treatise, written by the Venerable J B de La Salle, founder of the*

Christian Schools, 'Second American from the eighteenth Paris edition' (1850, not found) from Saint Jean Baptiste de La Salle (1651-1719), ed. Frère Mathieu Bransiet (1792-1874) and Frère Louis Constantin (1788-1838); available at:

http://archive.org/stream/cihm_46675#page/n9/mode/2up [Accessed 19 June 2012]; a further edn [1910?] appeared as *Duty of a Christian towards God, being an enlarged and improved version of the original treatise, written by the Venerable J B de La Salle, founder of the Christian Schools*

- *Rules of Christian Politeness* (1850, 1862) [not found, see GoogleBooks, title view only at: http://books.google.ie/books?id=40NLcgAACAAJ&dq=Rules+of+Christian+Politeness&hl=br&sa=X&ei=OurhT_CLM46AhQfP88DXAw&ved=0CCwQ6AEwAA [Accessed 20 June 2012]; this translation was also included in the above-mentioned *A new treatise on the duty of a Christian towards God*

- in: *Purgatory: Doctrinal, Historical and Poetical* (c1886, not found) [Online]; contains translations from Étienne Binet (1569-1639), François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821), Saint François de Sales (1567-1622), as well as legends from the French of Jacques-Albin-Simon Collin de Plancy (1794-1881); translations from Binet are mostly taken from *Purgatory surveyed: or, A particular account of the happy, and yet thrice unhappy, state of the souls there* (1874, TCD&MDI), trans. Fr. Richard Thimbleby & ed. **W.H. Anderdon** [English, chaplain and dean of the Catholic University, Dublin, for several years, cf. ODNB]; there are also translations by Sadlier's daughter, Montreal-born **Anna Theresa Sadlier**; the compilation is dedicated to M. A. Sadlier's late son, Francis Xavier, S.J.; available at: http://archive.org/stream/cihm_37736#page/n5/mode/2up [Accessed 8 June 2012]

Tyrrell, George, S.J. (1861, Ireland-1909, England) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: [Prefacer]

- *Saint Vincent de Paul* (1898, MIC; 1901, TCD) from Emmanuel (prince) de Broglie (1854-1926), trans. Mildred Partridge

- *The psychology of the Saints* (1898, MDI&NUIM) and *Saint Ignatius of Loyola* (1899, MIC) both from Henri Joly (1839-1925), and both trans. Mildred Partridge

- *Saint Ambrose* (1899, TCD&MIC) from Albert (duc) de Broglie (1821-1901), trans. Margaret Maitland

- *Saint Francis of Sales* (1900, TCD) from Amédée de Margerie (1825-1905), trans. Margaret Maitland

- *The Gospel and the Church* (1903&1908, TCD) from Alfred Loisy (1857-1940), trans. Christopher Home

- *The mystery of Newman* (1907, TCD, UCD&NLI) from Henri Bremond (1865, Aix-en-Provence-1933, Arthez-d'Asson), trans. Henri C. Corrance

Walsh, William (1804, Ireland-1858, Halifax, Canada) [DIB/PI]: *The Maxims and Councils of St. Vincent de Paul* 'by the late Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Halifax' (not found, see *IER* vol.v, May 1884, p.340)

Whitty, William (Rev.) 'W. Whitty' (?-1914) [no biog]: *Let us go to the Holy Table: an appeal to Christians of every age and condition; by J.M. Lambert of the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament* (1893, NLI[2]; 1894, CCL) from Jean-Marie Lambert (1857-19..); publ. **Browne and Nolan** (q.v.)

Young, Mary Ursula (1783-1830) [DIB]: no translation sighted in holdings, but according to Sturgeon (2009: 1109), Young, a Cork Ursuline, translated the congregation's constitutions and the novice's directory, and she was involved with the publication of the Ursuline manual compiled by Mother Mary Borgia McCarthy (q.v.)

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

'**A Catholic Clergyman**': *Considerations on the Eucharist viewed as the generative Dogma of Catholic piety* (1839, MDI, NLI, NUIG, CCL, DCL) from Abbé/Bp Olympe-Philippe Gerbet (1798, Jura-1864, Languedoc-Roussillon); dedication by the translator 'To the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, R.C. Bishop of Cork', i.e. **Bp John Murphy** [DIB]; addition: poem entitled 'The Sister of Charity' by Gerald Griffin [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/PI] pp.232-234

'**A Catholic Priest**' [poss. same as below]: *The angelical virtue, or a treatise on holy purity* (1835, NLI) from Abbé Claude d'Arvisenet (1755-1831); dedicated 'to the Youth of Ireland, of both sexes'; printed by **John Coyne** (q.v.); also publ. in the 1850s by **Duffy** (q.v.), series 'Duffy's Golden Library'

‘**A Catholic Priest**’/‘**Patritius**’ [one suggestion is Cork-born **Rev. Thomas O’Sullivan**, see *PI*]:

- ‘**A Catholic Priest**’ ‘Meditations for Every Day’, author not named, trans. for the *Catholic Penny Magazine*, published in various parts throughout 1834 and 1835

- ‘**Patritius**’ (who is occasionally referred to as ‘A Catholic priest’): translations from Chateaubriand for the *Catholic Penny Magazine*, 21 June 1834, p.194 and 20 Dec 1834, pp.503-505 (the latter titled ‘Description of Bethlehem’)

‘**A Clergyman**’ ‘carefully revised and corrected by a Clergyman of St. Vincent's College, Castleknock’: *Life and Pious Labours of St. Vincent of Paul, Founder of the Congregation of the Missions, and of the Sisters of Charity* (1853, not found [1846, NLI]) from Pierre Collet (1693, Poitou-Charentes region-1770, Paris) trans. by ‘**a Catholic clergyman**’; all edns publ. **James Duffy** (q.v.); the 1853 edn in question was adv. as part of ‘James Duffy's Valuable Catholic Publications Adapted for the Holy Season of Lent’ in the *Nation*, Feb 1853

‘**A Parish Priest**’ [again, poss. same as ‘Catholic Priest(s)’]: *A dogmatical and practical treatise on indulgences; for the use of the clergy and laity in three parts; abridged from a French work written by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bouvier, Bishop of [Le] Mans by a parish priest* (1839, TCD&UCD) from Jean-Baptiste Bouvier (1783-1854); Ireland is mentioned in the translator’s pref.and the translator may have added some material about Ireland in Bouvier’s chapters on congregations and sodalities of the Sacred Heart; printed by **John Coyne** (q.v.)

Anon: *The pious communicant; or, Devotions to Jesus Christ in the most holy sacrament of the altar* (1812, TCD; 1836, UCD) from (Dom) Robert Morel (1653-1731); Dedication by the (anon) editor to Dr. **Francis Moylan**, R.C. Bishop of Cork [DIB/ODNB]; TCD: with names ‘Mary Rose Daly’ (front free endpaper), ‘Anne Maria Magdalen Joseph Mahon’ ... 1815 (t.p.); bought from the Franciscan Friars, Killiney

Anon: *Panegyric on Saint Vincent of Paul, pronounced in the Chapel of the castle of Versailles, by order and in presence of His Majesty Louis XVI. March 4, 1785* (1847, NLI, RIA, NUIM) from Cardinal Jean-Sifrein Maury ((1746, Valréas, Provence-1817, Rome); four-page dedication to ‘Mrs. Mary Aikenhead (in Religion - Sister Augustine) Superioress of the Sisters of Charity’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]; various Vincentian sources (e.g. <http://via.library.depaul.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1092&context=vhj> [Accessed 23 June 2012]) suggest **Michael O’Sullivan, C.M.** (q.v.) as a possible translator

Byrne, Andrew (Rev.) 'translator of "Martini on the Holy Mass," "The Hand that leads to Heaven," and "Principles of Christian Life" [Balyna Parish, where Byrne wrote his preface from, is located in the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin; Byrne also translated from Latin; no biog.]

- *Jesus Speaking to the Hearts of the Children of Mary* (1856, PC/TCD; 1865, CCL) from Fr. Alessandro Maria (Alexandre-Marie) Teppa (unacknowledged on t.p.); Dublin publisher: **John Mullany** (q.v.); six-page long dedication 'To the Most Reverend Dr. Errington, Coadjutor-Archbishop of Westminster' i.e. George Errington [ODNB]; dedication signed 'The Translator, Balyna, *Feast of the Annunciation*, 1856'

- *The Month of Mary; at the Foot of the Cross, presented to the Penitent Soul* (not found) author anon.

Both translations adv. by **John Mullany** (q.v.) in *FJ*, Apr 29, 1872, as 'translated from the French by the late Rev. Andrew Byrne' and as 'Catholic Works Suited to the Month of May'

'The Christian Brothers'

- *The life of the Ven. J. B. de La Salle, founder of the Christian schools, with an historical sketch of the institute to the present time* (1843, TCD, NLI, NUIM, MIC, UCD) from Jean-Claude Garreau, S.J.; 'and also an account of the rise and progress of the society in Ireland, by the Christian Brothers'; 'slightly abridged' translation, cf. translators' pref.; a copy of this translation is also located, according to Towey (1981: 318) in the library of O'Connell School Community of the Irish CBs, North Richmond St. Dublin; Coldrey (2001b: 1; 39) suggests that one of the translators' name was **M. P. Riordan** [or **Br. Paul Riordan?**]

- [prob] *Christian politeness, chiefly from the "Civilité Chretienne" [sic] of the Ven. de la Salle* (1857&1875, NLI; 1857, PC/TCD[2]) also adv. as *Christian Politeness, principally from the French of Ven. de la Salle*; from Saint Jean-Baptiste de La Salle (1651, Reims Champagne province-1719, Rouen, Normandy) trans. by Christian Brothers at the North Monastery in Cork, cf. Coldrey (2001b: 8); 20th-c edns titled: *Christian politeness and counsels for youth* (1904, MDI)

- *The Christian teacher, comprising the Ven. de La Salle's Twelve Virtues of a Good Master, expounded by Brother Agatho [sic], Superior-General of the Christian Brothers; the Duties of a Religious Instructor, by Père Judde, S.J.; Saint Ligouri's Admonitions to a Catechist;*

Instruction in the Christian Doctrine, the first of Obligations, by Rev. A. Butler; Abbé Fleury's Discourse on Catechetical Instruction; with a Discourse on the Instruction of Youth, by Père Crasset, S.J. 'the whole slightly abridged, and in part translated, by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and chiefly intended for the Junior Members of their Society' (1846, MDI, UCD) from J-B. de La Salle, 'Frère Agathon' (i.e. Joseph Gonlieu), Claude Judde, S.J., (1661, Rouen, Normandy-1735, Paris), Abbé Claude Fleury (1640-1723 [Paris]) and Jean Crasset, S.J. (1618, Dieppe, Normandy-1692, Paris); 2nd edn.

- *A treatise on the duties of a Christian towards God, originally written by the Ven. De La Salle, translated into English, and considerably enlarged by the Christian Brothers* (1876, MDI), also advertised as *The Duties of a Christian, being a full Course of Instruction on the Christian Doctrine, illustrated with Historical Anecdotes* (Second Edition), adv. in 'Class Books, &c., by the Christian Brothers' in lists of class books issued by **William Powell** (q.v.); from Saint Jean Baptiste de La Salle (1651-1719), ed. Mathieu Bransiet (1792-1874) and Louis Constantin (1788-1838)

- in the Christian Brothers' *The literary class-book; or, Fourth series of select reading lessons, in prose and verse* (1882, 18th edn, NLI), there are translations from several French Catholic writers, e.g. 'Funeral oration of Henriette Ann of England, Duchess of Orleans' (Bossuet), 'Forgiveness of Injuries' (Bourdaloue), 'Christian Sacrifice' (Abbé/Bp. Olympe-Philippe Gerbet), 'St Vincent de Paul and the galley-slave' (Abbé/Card. Maury), 'On bad books' (Abbé McCarthy), 'Glory of the Cross' (Montalembert)

- according to their pref., several French works were consulted for the Christian Brothers' *School government, being a Manual of Education, as a Science and an Art* (1865), incl. de La Salle's *Conduite des écoles Chrétiennes*, Charles Rollin's *Belles Lettres*, and authors such as Revs. Claude Judde and Jean Crasset, S.J.

'**Fils-de-Patrice**': *The echoes of the Vatican, translated from the French of L. Massenet de Marancour, by Fils-de-Patrice...to which is added an appendix, treating of the approaching oecumenical council, the organs of infallible teaching, general councils, etc. by Mgr Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence; translated by an Eminent Divine* (1868, NUIG; 1869, MDI, NLI&CCL) from Léon Massenet de Marancour, appendix tr. from a French translation by 'an Eminent Divine' of a German text by Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler; translator's pref. signed from Dublin (1869); publ. **McGlashan & Gill** (q.v.); MDI: stamp 'Dublin Diocesan Library'

‘**L.M.K.**’ (poss. Irish): *An easy method of meditation; or practical explanation of the second manner of prayer of St. Ignatius* (1883, MIC) from François Xavier Schoupe (1823, Belgium-1904, India); *Nihil Obstat*: **P. J. Tynan**, S.T.D., *Censor Theol. Deput.* and *Imprimatur*: Eduardus Card. MacCabe, *Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas*, i.e. Card-Abp **Edward McCabe** (1816-1885) [ODNB/RICORSO]; publ. **M. H. Gill & Son** (q.v.)

Lyons, Helena [poss. Irish]

- *The Valiant Woman: A Series of Discourses Intended for the Use of Women Living in the World* (1872, CCL, [TCD]) from Mgr Jean-Baptiste Landriot (1816, Couches, Bourgogne-1874, Reims, Champagne-Ardenne); letter from Landriot to ‘Miss Helena Lyons’ dated Feb 1872

- *Sins of the tongue and jealousy in woman's life, followed by discourse on Rash Judgments, Patience, and Grace, by Monseigneur Landriot, Archbishop of Rheims* (1873, TCD) from Mgr Jean-Baptiste Landriot; with a preface by the Bishop of Kerry, signed ‘David, ... The Palace, Killarney, Nov. 28, 1872’, i.e. Bp **David Moriarty** (1814–1877) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]; this translation went through at least four London edns & one U.S. edn

M’Auley, Peter (Rev.): *The Young Christian Daughter in the World: Approved of by His Eminence Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux; translated from the French of Abbe Juilles, by the Rev. Peter M’Auley* (1864, TCD&MDI) from Abbé Jean-Baptiste Juilles; printed and publ. by **G.P. Warren**, 88, Thomas Street, Dublin; *Nihil Obstat* Admodum Rev. E. O’Reilly, S.J., i.e. **Edmund Joseph O’Reilly** [DIB/ODNB] and *Imprimatur* Paulus Cullen, *Archiep. Dubl.*, i.e. Card-Abp **Paul Cullen** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

McMahon, Ella J. [sometimes referred to as ‘Miss Ella M’Mahon’; no definite identification; while there is an Irish novelist of same name, née Eleanor Harriet MacMahon (1864–1956), a Catholic convert of Anglican background [DIB, RICORSO], this seems unlikely. A more plausible suggestion is that she may have been an Irish-American like Mary Anne Sadlier. Her publications follow the same patterns: works published by American firms, including D. & J. Sadlier themselves, and by Gill in Dublin; approbations by American prelates; advertisements & reviews in Irish periodicals]

- *The secret of sanctity according to St. Francis de Sales and Father Crasset, S. J* (1892, CCL; MDI) from Saint François de Sales (1567, Sales, Savoy-1622, Lyon), Jean Crasset, S.J. (1618, Dieppe, Normandy-1692, Paris), & others
- *The art of profiting by our faults according to St. Francis de Sales* (1889, NLI), from Joseph Tissot (1840-1894)
- *The book of the professed* (c1883-1889, NLI), from Adrien Sylvain (1826-1914); 4th edn
- *Golden grains: a collection of little counsels for the sanctification and happiness of every-day life* (1878, MIC; 1884, NLI&NUIM), from Sylvain [although D&J Sadlier advertise her translation as *Golden Sands*...and not *Golden grains* and McMahon's name does not appear on the 1878/1884 editions; it may just be the case that the title was slightly changed; another translator suggested for *Golden grains* is **Josephine Black** (q.v.)]
- *The Little Month of May* (1885, review in *IER*, V. vii, May 1886, p.474), from Sylvain [unattributed, see BNF& RICORSO]
- *Vacation Days: A Book of Instruction for Girls* (1883, PC/TCD), from Sylvain 'by the author of GOLDEN SANDS'; translator's name not on t.p. but 'Copyright, Ella J. MacMahon'; publ. New York & Montreal: **D. & J. Sadlier & Co**; also relevant to 'Education' category; item provenance: two MS inscriptions, 'Carmelites, 1992' and 'Florrie Hamilton, Ursuline Convent, Sligo, 23/6/'09'

McMahon translated more works (see for ex. RICORSO, Archive.org).

Mahony, C. [or D.]: *Sermons of the Abbé Mac Carthy, S.J., translated from the French, with a notice of his life and character, by C. Mahony* (1848, NLI&CCL), later editions: *Sermons for Sundays and festivals the Blessed Virgin, charity sermons, panegyrics of the saints, &c. Translated from the French of Rev. N. Tuite Mac Carthy, S.J. by D. Mahony, Esq.* (4 items: 1868, NLI &MDI[2]; 1881, CCL) from Rev. Nicolas Tuite de MacCarthy [or Mac Carthy], S.J. (1769, Ireland -1833, France) [also known as Abbé de Lévigac]; long translator's pref.

Mahony, F. M'Donogh [Mahony also trans. from Latin, *Life and Revelations of Saint Margaret of Cortona* from Giunta Bevegnati]:

- *Ravignan's last retreat, given to the Carmelite Nuns of the monastery, Rue de Messine, Paris, in November, 1857* (1859, not found) from Ravignan, Gustave-Xavier de La Croix de

(S. J., Le P.), 1795(Bayonne, Basque country)-1858(Paris); dedicated ‘To the Sisters of the Presentation Convent of S. Joseph, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry, this work is inscribed in memory of long acquaintanceship and “Auld Lang Syne,” by the Translator’; *Imprimatur* Henricus Eduardus, *Archiepiscopus Westmonast.*, *Nihil Obstat* David O’Leary, *Censor Deputatus*, *Imprimatur* Andreas, E.P. Kerriensis; available at: <http://archive.org/stream/ravignanslastret00raviuoft#page/n3/mode/2up> [Accessed 24 July 2012]

- *Democracy and France* (1884, TCD) from Edmond Scherer (1815-1889)

O’Kavanagh, J. M.: *Cardinal Mercier’s Conferences delivered to his seminarists at Mechlin in 1907* (1910, CCL, NLI, NUIM) from Désiré-Joseph Mercier (1851-1926 [Belgium]); introduction by **Patrick Augustine Sheehan** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]; dedication to Pope Pius X; letter from Pius X to Mercier (translated); letters of approval from clergymen in Ireland and abroad

‘Priest of the Ancient Order of Mount Carmel, Whitefriar-Street, Dublin’: *Three Roses of the Elect* (1880, CCL) from (Mgr) Louis-Gaston de Ségur (1820-1881[Paris]); translator’s pref; *Nihil Obstat & Imprimatur* resp.by **Johannes Carr**, OCC, , *Censor, Theo. Deput. & Eduardus, Archiepis, Dublinensis* i.e. prob. Card-Abp **Edward McCabe** (1816-1885) [ODNB/RICORSO]; printed and publ. by **M. H. Gill & Son** (qv); MS inscription: ‘P. Brady, St Vicenti College Castleknock’[Dublin]

Ram, Helen ‘Mrs. Abel Ram’ [poss. Irish, though this speculation is only made on the basis of her (married) name, closely linked with a family of peers in the Wexford region]: *Conferences on the spiritual life, by the Rev. Pere de Ravignan, S.J. compiled by the "Enfants de Marie" (Convent of the Sacred Heart, Paris, 1855, 1856, and 1857)* (1873, TCD; 1895, MDI); pref. ‘by the Rev. Father Gordon, of the London Oratory’

‘the Redemptorist Fathers’: *The imitation of St. Joseph* (1854, NLI) from anon; publ. ‘with Approbation of His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin’, i.e. Card-Abp **Paul Cullen** (1803-1878) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO], Cullen’s approbation is signed from Dublin, Jan 1854; publ. **James Duffy** (q.v.), ‘publisher to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin’

Unidentified women religious

Anon: *The path of perfection in religious life: a work intended for persons consecrated to God* (1862, CCL & MDI[2]) from Abbé Alexandre Leguay, ‘vicar-general of Perpignan, director of several religious communities’

‘**a Sister of Mercy**’: *Life of the Ven, Father Perboyre, Priest of the Congregation of the Mission* (1875, not found), author unknown; review in the *IM*, Vol.3, 1875, p.177

‘**a Sister of Mercy**’: *Devotions to the Sacred Heart for the first Friday of every Month; translated from the French of P. Huguet, Marist, by a Sister of Mercy* (c1884, not found) from Jean-Joseph Huguet (b.1812); adv. in the *Dublin Review*, Vol.97 (1885), p.240; one suggestion is Margaret Anna Carroll (q.v.), the imprint being Benziger Brothers in New York

‘**a member of the Presentation Convent, Lixnaw, Co. Kerry**’: *The Martyrs of Castelfidardo* (7 items: c.1883, CCL; c.1883 & 1895, NLI; c1881, 1883 (2) & 1886, PC/TCD) from ‘A. de Ségur’; all edns publ. **M. H. Gill and Son** (q.v.); CCL: stamp ‘Carmelite Monastery’, Stillorgan, Dublin

‘**a Religious of Loreto Convent Navan**’: *Reflections on the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (1872, MCL), ‘Compiled and Translated from the French...’ of various authors, including Henri Perreyve (1831-1865) & Jacques Nouet, S.J. (1605-1680); adv. by Burns & Oates (London) in *FJ*, Mar 28, 1872

‘**a member of the Ursuline Community, Blackrock, Cork**’, also referred to as ‘**Miss Kennelly**’ in pref. by Rev. S.H. Frisbee, S.J.:

- *The Interior of Jesus and Mary* (1847, CCL&NLI; 1891, MDI), from Abbé Jean Nicolas Grou, S.J. (1731-1803); adv. by **James Duffy** (q.v.) in the *Nation* (Feb 1853), in ‘James Duffy’s Valuable Catholic Publications Adapted for the Holy Season of Lent’

- *Mary, the Morning Star* (c1855, not found) from Abbé Grou; ‘Translated from the French by a Member of the Ursuline Community, Cork’; adv. by **Duffy** (q.v.) in the *Nation* on Feb 24, 1855

‘**a member of the Ursuline Community, Thurles**’: *Solid virtue or, A treatise on the obstacles to solid virtue, the means of acquiring, and motives for practising it* (1879, DCL; 1887, NLI), from Rev. Aloysius Bellécius, S.J (1704-1757) [original in Latin, translated into

French by Abbé Louis Berthon] ‘with a preface by ... Rev. Dr. Croke’, i.e. **Thomas William Croke**, Abp of Cashel (DIB/ODNB); DCL [Dublin and Local Studies Collection]: Coloured picture of the Virgin and child pasted inside the top board/ Provenance: Signature of ‘John McCormack’ in pencil inside front cover

‘**a member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo**’: *Meditations on the duties of religious especially those devoted to the instruction of youth* (1901, NLI, MDI), from ‘Superioress of the Ursulines of Montargis’

‘**the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary**’ [though not a female religious community as such, there may have been a close link with the Sisters of Charity in Dublin]: *Manual of the Children of Mary, for the use of the orphan asylum and the schools of the Daughters of Charity* (1863, NUIM; 1871, NLI) from anon; NLI: signed membership card of the **Association of the Children of Mary**; publ. **James Duffy** (q.v.)

2) History/Politics

Bingham, Denis Arthur (1829-1897) "Captain the Hon. D. A. Bingham" [military officer and historian, son of Denis Arthur Bingham, Baron Clanmorris, Co. Mayo; short entry in Kirk 1891]: *A selection from the letters and despatches of the first Napoleon; with explanatory notes* (1884, QCat) from Napoléon I (1769, Corsica -1821, St Helena)

Croker, John Wilson (1780, Ireland–1857, England) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: *Royal memoirs on the French Revolution: Containing, I. A narrative of the journey of Louis XVI. and his family to Varennes, by Madame Royale, duchess of Angoulême. II. A narrative of a journey to Bruxelles and Coblenz in 1791, by Monsieur, now Louis XVIII. III. Private memoirs of what passed in the Temple, from the imprisonment of the royal family to the death of the Dauphin, by Madame Royale, duchess of Angoulême* (1823, JC/NLI) from Marie-Thérèse Charlotte (duchess) d'Angoulême (1778-1851) and Louis XVIII, King of France (1755-1824); ‘with historical and biographical illustrations by the translator’; translator’s pref.

Dillon, John Blake (1814-1866) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI]: unpubl. part-translation of *Paroles d'un croyant* (MSS TCD) from Félicité Robert de Lamennais [or La Mennais] (1782, Saint-Malo, Brittany-1854, Paris)

Doherty, Hugh [no biog; see Rowbotham 1977: 41-42; Doherty drew attention to the difficulties of translating socialist vocabulary in his journal the *London Phalanx*, partic. Vol.I, May 1841]: [prefacer]

- *The passions of the human soul* (1851, not found) from Charles Fourier (1772-1837), trans. John Reynell Morell

- 'A memoir of Fourier' prefixed by Doherty to *Charles Fourier's theory of attractive industry, and the moral harmony of the passions*, trans. anon, from Abel Transon (1805-1876)

Frith, Henry (1840-1910) [no biog; wrote several adventure stories and diverse works in the areas of travel literature, history of technology, science and discoveries, and palmistry]: *Chivalry* (1891, TCD) from Léon Gautier (1832, Normandy-1897, Paris)

Hamilton, Charles Claude (d.1846, London) [no biog; brief mention in *PI*; author of *Epitome of Universal Chronology, History, and Biography* (1826), *Essay on the Art of Flying* (1841) and *Leigh's Road-Book of Ireland* (1835); described as 'formerly of Crebilly, County of Antrim', and 'author of... several works on history, geography and education'; obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.XXV, Feb 1846]:

- *History of the conquest of England by the Normans; with its causes, and consequences to the present time* (c1840, RIA) from Augustin Thierry (1795-1856); publ. by Whittaker and Co, London; 1st publ. in 1825, cf. Smithson (1972: 97; 113); this is prob. the translation found in the *Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Dublin Library Society* for 1857, the date of publ. being 1841; RIA item: with MS note on contents at inside back cover

- [accord. to Worldcat.org] *The historical works of M. Augustin Thierry, translated from the latest French editions* (c1841, not found); publ. London, series: Whittaker's popular library; contents: History of the conquest of England by the Normans, with its causes, and consequences to the present time (see above), Narratives of the Merovingian era, or scenes of the sixth century: the historical essays, published under the title of "Dix ans d'études historiques," and an autobiographical preface

Thomas Hearn (1749-1827) ‘Formerly physician to the British Factory at Cadiz’ [no biog; for family background of Dr Hearn, see O. W. Frost (1958) *Young Hearn* (a biography of Lafcadio Hearn), p. 49, cf.UCC]: *Fundamental principles of Christian faith: or, Revelation supported by reason : presenting a collective view of the first revelations, the prophecies, the harmony of the Old and New Testament, and the final establishment of the Church, the principal outlines from the French of Monsieur Aymé* (1807, DIX/NLI, CCL&UCC) prob. from Chanoine Albert Aymé; ‘printed for the author by **John Bull**’(q.v.); dedicated ‘to **John Power**, R.C. Bishop of Waterford and Lismore’; Ex libris Patrick Canon Power [DIB/RICORSO]

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982]

- *Camille Desmoulins and his wife: passages from the history of the Dantonists, founded upon new and hitherto unpublished documents* (1876, TCD) from Jules Claretie (1840-1913)

- *The government of M. Thiers: from 8th February 1871 to 24th May 1873*(1878, UCC) from Jules Simon (1814, Lorient, Brittany- 1896, Paris); trans. anon, cf. Edwards (1982: 90)

- *Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat: 1802-1808, published by her grandson, M. Paul de Rémusat* (1880, TCD&NLI) from Claire-Élisabeth-Jeanne Gravier de Vergennes (Comtesse) de Rémusat (1780-1821), ed. Paul de Rémusat (1831-1897); trans. ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie’

- *A selection from the letters of Madame de Rémusat to her husband and son, from 1804 to 1813* (1881, NLI&TCD), from Comtesse de Rémusat, ed. Paul de Rémusat; trans. ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie’; ‘Introductory Note by the Translators’

- *Memoirs of Count Miot de Melito, minister, ambassador, councillor of state and member of the Institute of France, between the years 1788 and 1815* (1881, TCD &JC/NLI) from André François Miot de Melito (1762-1841), ed. General Wilhelm Auguste von Fleischmann; trans. ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie’

- *The correspondence of Prince Talleyrand and King Louis XVIII. during the Congress of Vienna (hitherto unpublished) from the manuscripts preserved in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris; with a preface, observations and notes by M.G. Pallain* (1881, NLI) from Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent (1754-1838), Louis

XVIII, King of France (1755-1824), ed. Georges Pallain (1847-1923); trans. F.S.C. Hoey and Mary Charlotte Mair (Minnie) Simpson, cf. Edwards (1982: 26)

- *The history of fashion in France; or, the dress of women from the Gallo-Roman period to the present time* (1882, TCD) from Augustin Challamel (1818-1894); trans. 'Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie'

- *Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa: from hitherto unpublished documents, 1740-1742* (1883, TCD) from Albert (duc) de Broglie (1821-1901); trans. 'Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie'

- *The cat: past and present* (1885, TCD) from Jules François Felix Husson, aka 'Champfleury' (1821-1889); 'with supplementary notes by Mrs. Cashel Hoey and numerous illustrations'; the notes contain some translated extracts from Théophile Gautier (1811-1872); also 'A Few Words to the Reader' signed 'Frances Cashel Hoey, September 1884'

- "*Yester-year*": *ten centuries of toilette...illustrated by the author* (1892, TCD&UCC) from Albert Robida (1848-1926)

- *A friend of the Queen (Marie Antoinette - Count Fersen)* (1894, TCD) from Paul Gaulot (1852-1937)

- *The Century of Louis XIV: its arts – its ideas* (1896, TCD) from Émile Bourgeois (1857-1934)

- *Tamers of the sea: the Northmen in America from the tenth to the fifteenth century* (c1897, NLI) from Edmond Neukomm (1840-1903); 'New and cheaper edition' [this title could also be classified as children's literature]

Kelly, Walter Keating 'Walter Keating Kelly, Esq., B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin' (c1806, Ireland-1867, England) [no biog; there is a forum thread by his descendants at <http://genforum.genealogy.com/> (Accessed 25 August 2012); see also Houghton 1972]: *The history of ten years, 1830-1840* (1844-1845, JC/NLI&UCD) from Louis Blanc (1811, Madrid, Espagne -1882, Cannes, Provence); trans. anon, but Kelly's name appears on the t.p. for the 1848 edn, available at:

<http://books.google.ie/books?id=DPwaAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [Accessed 26 June 2012]

Kettle, Thomas Michael ('Tom') (1880, Ireland-1916, France), 'T.M. Kettle, M.P.' [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: [editor/translator] *Contemporary Ireland* (at least 24 items: SPD, MDI, NUIG, TCD, NUIM, UCD[3], UCC[2], UU, QCat, UL[2], MIC, CAACL/DCL/LICL/LOCL/TCL/COCL/WICL/KL) from Louis Paul-Dubois (1868-1939) [sometimes spelt 'Louis-Paul Dubois']; editor's introduction; 'The Editor [Kettle] wishes to record his particular indebtedness, as regards the Historical Introduction, to Mr A.E. Clery, LL.B., and as regards the remainder of the book to Mr. J. M. Hone, and Mr. G. F. H. Berkeley'; i.e. **Arthur Edward Clery** (1879-1932) [DIB/RICORSO], **Joseph Maunsell Hone** (1882-1959) [DIB/RICORSO] and **G. F. H. Berkeley** is only described in RICORSO as the author of *The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860* (1929); addition: Appendix with Editor's notes; publ. by **Maunsell and Co**, Dublin and Fisher Unwin, London

Leonard, John Patrick (1814, Ireland-1889, France) aka 'J.P.L.' [DIB' see also 'Cn' 1904 and Julienne 2000]

- *Robert Emmet* (1858, NLI&RIA) from Louise [de Broglie, Comtesse] d'Haussonville (1818-1882) trans. 'John P. Leonard'; 'Sole Authorised Translation, with permission of the Authoress' and with 'strictly reserved Copy Right'; 'Belfast: printed and published 'at the "Ulsterman" office, and sold by all Booksellers' (sold by all agents of the *Irishman* in Dublin and around the country); translator's pref. signed 'J.P.L.'; 'Word from the Publisher' by **Denis Holland** (q.v.); RIA: donation **Lord Moyne** [DIB/ODNB]

- *The Irish question* (1860, NLI) from 'Jean de Paris' [poss. a collective pseud. for a joint work by author and translator; author suggested: Henri Martin (1810-1883)]; a 'simultaneous publication in Paris and Dublin'; translator's pref. signed 'J.P.L., Paris, June 16 1860', and a dedication to 'John Bull', signed 'Jean de Paris' is dated the same; publ. by **A.M. Sullivan**, Dublin, printed by **J.F. Fowler** (q.v.), Dublin

- *Ireland in 1862* (12 items: 1863, NLI, CCL, RIA, NUIG, TCD, QCat, LHL, DCL/ LICL/ LOCL/MACL) or *Ireland under English rule* (8 items: 1864, NLI, QCat, DCL/KL/LOCL/MCL/WCL) from Card. Adolphe Perraud (1828-1906); 'Sole Authorized Edition'; unsigned foreword; reviews from various sources reproduced at the end, some of these tr. from French; adv. by **James Duffy** (q.v.) in the *Nation* on Oct 14, 1871, as 'carefully revised and annotated by the late J.E. Pigot, Esq., Barrister, and a Committee of Gentleman' [i.e. **John Edward Pigot** (1822-1871), DIB/PI/RICORSO]; 1864 item, NLI: Stamp of Dublin Royal Society; RIA: Bequest Thomas Aiskew Larcom [ODNB/DIB]

- *Historical notes on the services of the Irish officers in the French Army, addressed to the National Assembly by one of its members, General Arthur Dillon, 1792* (n.d., CCL&DCL; [1878]&n.d., UCD; 1880, UCC; [1893], TCD) from General (Count) Arthur Dillon (1750, England- 1794, France), trans. ‘J.P. Leonard’; translator’s pref. & ‘Short sketch of the life of General Arthur Dillon’ signed ‘J.P.L.’

Lynch, Hannah (1862, Dublin-1904, Paris) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *The history of Florence under the domination of Cosimo, Piero, Lorenzo de Medicis, 1434-1492* (1892, MDI) from the French of François T. Perrens (1822, Bordeaux-1901, Paris)

McKenna, Theobald (1797–1859) [prob], ‘Theobald MacKenna, Esq., Barrister at law’ [no biog; mentioned in DIB record for his father, Theobald McKenna (1765-1808)]: *The civil code. Book the first, of persons* (1833, TMC/RIA) from the *Code Napoléon, ou Code civil des Français* (1804-); ‘translated from the French, with an introduction, and notes explanatory and illustrative’; printed by **J. S. Folds**, 5, Bachelor’s-walk, Dublin

Maginn, William (1793, Ireland-1842, England) ‘Morgan O’Doherty’, ‘Tickler’, and poss. ‘F.L.’ [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI; see also Rafroidi 1980: 234-237]

- *Memoirs of Vidocq* (1828; NLI, item missing); note that ‘Vidocq’s Slang Song Versified’ was also publ. separately in collected volumes of Maginn’s works (e.g. Maginn 1885), and it is relevant to the ‘Poetry’ section

- *Memoirs of Madame Du Barri* (1830, not found) from Étienne-Léon de Lamothe-Langon (1786, Montpellier, Occitania-1864, Paris)

Mangin, Edward (Rev.) (1772, Ireland-1852, England) [ODNB/PI; see also Ewles-Bergeron 1997: 611-634]:

- *The life of C.G. Lamoignon Malesherbes* (1804&1814, NLI; 1814, TCD), authorship uncertain, prob. from Jean-Baptiste-Claude Delisle de Sales (1739?-1816); ‘Advertisement’ by the translator; TCD item: dedicated to ‘Alicia Lefanu’ [i.e. prob. Le Fanu]

- *The Life of the celebrated Jean Bart, naval commander in the service of Louis XIV* (1828, not found) from Adrien Richer (1720-1798)

- *Essay on Duelling* (1832, not found) from Jean-Baptiste Salaville (1755-1832)

Mayne, Ethel [or Ethelind] Frances Colburn (1865–1941) [ODNB/RICORSO]: *Louise de La Vallière and the early life of Louis XIV; from unpublished documents by Jules Lair* (1908, UCD) from Lair, Jules (1836, Normandy-1907, Paris); note that there could be more translations from French by Mayne because she is described as a ‘professional translator’ from French and German in the ODNB

O'Brien, James ‘Bronterre’ (1804, Ireland–1864, England) ‘Bronterre, Editor of the Poor Man’s Guardian, Hetherington’s Twopenny Dispatch, etc. etc.’ [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: *History of Babeuf’s conspiracy for equality; with the Author’s reflections on the causes and character of the French Revolution, and his estimate of the leading men and events of that epoch; also, his views of democratic government, community of property, and political and social equality* (1836, not found) from Philippe Buonarroti (1761, Italy-1837, Paris), ‘translated from the French language, and illustrated by original notes, etc.’; ‘Biographical Sketch of Buonarroti’ and ‘To the Reader’ signed ‘Bronterre’; according to Billington (2009:568n), this translation “allegedly sold about 50,000 copies in a short space of time”; available at:

<http://books.google.ie/books?id=05HRAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [Accessed 27 June 2012]; additionally, it is probable that O’Brien’s *Life and Character of Maximilian Robespierre* contains translations from Robespierre

O’Kelly, Patrick (c.1775–1858), ‘late professor of languages in the city of Versailles’, ‘author of a History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, &c.’ [DIB]: *The history of Ireland, ancient and modern: taken from the most authentic records, and dedicated to the Irish Brigade* (around 35 items: 1831-2, 1845, n.d, c1868, c1884[2], NLI; 1844, TCD; 1831-2, 1844, 1855, CCL; 1844&1849, UCC; 1844[4] SPD&NUIM; 1831-32&1844, UCD; and various edns at: CLCL/CACL/COCL/DCL/LCL/MCL/OCL/WL/WCL/WMCL/FCL) from Abbé James MacGeoghegan [or Mac Geoghegan] (1702, Ireland-1763, France); first edn (1831-2) publ. ‘for the author of the translation’ by **T. O’Flanagan** (q.v.); translator’s pref.; later edns include: ‘a continuation from the Treaty of Limerick to the year 1868 by **John Mitchell** [DIB/ODNB]; revised and continued to the present time by **D.P. Conyngham** [DIB]’; TCD: With ink stamp of ‘O. **McCreesh**’s Circulating Library, no.2, Church St., Dundalk’; UCC: 1844 edn with bookplate of Queen’s College Cork Library; **Duffy**’s edn (1840s) announced as ‘MacGeoghegan’s National History of Ireland’ in the *Nation*; also found in the *Catalogue of the library of the late Alderman Robert Cane* (c1858)

O'Meara, Barry Edward (1786?, Ireland-1836, England) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI]:

- *Historical memoirs of Napoleon: Book IX, 1815* (1820, NLI) from Napoléon I (1769, Corsica -1821, St Helena); 'translated from the original ms'

- *Napoleon in exile: or a voice from St Helena* (1822, UCC, RIA&CACL; 1822 [3]&1823 [2], NLI; 1822&1827, NUIG; 1827, UCD; 1822&1888, TCD; 1888, QCat&NUIM; n.d., DCL) and *Memoirs of the military and political life of Napoleon Bonaparte: from his origin, to his death on the rock of St. Helena...* (1822, NLI) contain several translated letters and documents from Napoleon's papers

Orpen, Goddard Henry (1852-1932), 'Barrister-at-Law' [DIB/RICORSO]: *The socialism of today* (1885, NLI, TCD) from Émile de Laveleye (1822-1892 [Belgium]); 'Together with an account of socialism in England, by the translator'; translator's pref. signed from '1, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn' [London]

Stapleton W. [William] 'W. Stapleton, Esq, of Trinity College, Dublin' [no biog.]: *History of the Consulate and the Empire* (1845, not found); available at:

http://books.google.ie/books?id=yAsI9rxgZCYC&pg=PA1&dq=Thiers+History+of+the+Consulate+and+the+Empire&hl=en&sa=X&ei=yIDnT_q9BI27hAf4qpnNCQ&ved=0CEgQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q&f=false [Accessed 24 June 2012]) from Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877);

'translated from the Author's Genuine Edition'; 'Published for the Proprietors by Houlston and Stoneman, London; J.Menzies, Edinburgh; A. Rutherglen, Glasgow; T. Le Messurier, Dublin...' [T. Le Messurier, bookseller, 8, Lower Abbey-street]; 26-page 'Critical Preface to the Translation' by **Bond Coxe**, Esq, TCD, signed 'Drumcondra Terrace, Dublin, 28th August, 1845'; adv. in the *Nation* on May 31, 1845: 'Part I. and Nos. I to VI are now ready'

Taylor, William Benjamin Sarsfield (1781, Ireland-1850, England) [DIB/ODNB]: *Origin and outline of the penitentiary system in the United States of North America, translated and abridged from the French official report of Messrs. G. de Beaumont & A. de Tocqueville* (1833, HC/RIA) from Gustave de Beaumont (1802-1866) and Alexis de Tocqueville (1805, Paris-1859, Cannes, Alpes-Maritimes); RIA: (poss. translator's presentation copy) with Ms. note at the head of the title page 'The **Lord Bishop Cloyne** with Taylor[']s] most respectful compliments.' (i.e. poss. John Brinkley, ODNB/DIB)

Taylor, William Cooke (1800-1849) 'W.C. Taylor, L.L.D.' [DIB/ODNB/LI]: [translator /editor] *Ireland: social, political, and religious* (10 items: 1839, NLI, QCat[2], NUIM, UCD,

DOCL/DCL/LICL/TCL/CLCL) from Gustave de Beaumont (1802-1866); translator's pref.; NLI: MS signature 'C.G. Otway'

Thompson, William (1775-1833) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: 'Political Economy made Easy, a Sketch Exhibiting the Various Errors of our Present Political Arrangements, presented to the London Cooperative Society by the translator' (1828); Thompson is identified as the translator by Pilbeam (2006:134)

Ussher, Thomas (Sir) (1779-1848, Ireland) [ODNB]: 'From Elba to Paris' in: *A narrative of events connected with the first abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, his embarkation at Frejus and voyage to Elba, on board His Majesty's ship Undaunted; by Captain Sir Thomas Ussher. His embarkation at Elba and a journal of his extraordinary march to Paris, as narrated by Colonel Laborde, who accompanied the emperor on that occasion* (5 items: 1841, JC/NLI, QCat, RIA[3]) from Étienne de Laborde (1782, Languedoc region-1865, Paris)

Wheeler, Anna, née Doyle (1785, Ireland-1848, England) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: no translation was sighted, see Dooley (1996) partic. pp. 205, 384 & 397-398, as well as DIB/ODNB/RICORSO, stating that Wheeler translated from Henri (de Rouvroy, comte) de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Charles Fourier (1772-1837) and other socialist and feminist writers, incl. 'The Women of the future', trans. from Jeanne Deroin aka 'Jeanne-Victoire' (1805-1894), publ. in the journal *the Crisis*, 15 June 1833, p.182 (Dooley 1996: 398); poss. the translator of *The words of a believer: and having thus spoken, he was eternally damned by the Pope of Rome, for having uttered them* (1834, HC/RIA) from Félicité Robert de Lamennais [or La Mennais] (1782, Saint-Malo, Brittany-1854, Paris), cf. Latham (2004: 130-132)

Wilde, Jane Francesca, née Elgee (1821?, Ireland-1896, England), aka 'Speranza', 'Lady Wilde', 'Mrs. W. R. Wilde' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/TRASNABIO; see also M. Cronin 2002]: *Pictures of the First French Revolution, being episodes from the History of the Girondists; with a summary of the intermediate events* (1850, QCat) trans. anon from Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869); series: The Parlour Library, publ. **Simms and M'Intyre** (q.v.)

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

Anon: ‘Constitution of the French Republic’, the *Irish Felon*, 24 June 1848, vol.I, no.1, p.13

Anon: *The report of General De La Moricière to Monsignor de Merode, Minister of Arms of His Holiness Pius IX., on the operations of the Pontifical army against the Piedmontese invasion in the Marches and Umbria* (1860, JC/NLI]) from Christophe Louis Léon Juchault de Lamoricière (1806, Nantes-1865, Prouzel, Picardy); ‘Authorised English translation’; foreword: ‘To the Reader’; supplemented with an account of ‘The battalion of St. Patrick’; publ. by **Keating & Co.**, Dublin

Anon [poss. Irish-American]: *Ireland and France* (1899, NLI, UL) from Alfred Duquet (1842-1916); ‘with a sketch of the life of Marshal MacMahon, second president of the French Republic’; dedicated by the translator ‘To the fast and firm friend and champion of the Irish race, **Patrick Ford** [DIB], Esq., Editor Irish World, New York’; Duquet had first published his account in a series of newspaper articles, which had been translated into English in the *Irishman* in 1871; this translation was publ. by **John Murphy** (q.v.); note: a further translation of this text, by ‘J. De L. Smyth’, son of Patrick James Smyth [DIB/RICORSO], would appear in 1916, also available in Ireland’s library holdings

Anon: ‘Description of the Pageant attending the entry of Louis the 14th into Paris, when he had attained his Majority’, ‘from the French of an eye witness’, *Bagatelle*, no.xi, Jan 19, 1828

Anon: ‘Memoirs of Marshal Suchet – Abridged from the French’, prob. from Louis Gabriel Suchet (1770, Lyon-1826, Marseille), *Dublin Family Magazine*, Sep 1829

‘**A Son of the Soil**’, poss. (**Sir**) **Justin Sheil** (1803, Ireland-1871, England) [DIB/ODNB], cf. NSTC: *French thoughts on Irish evils* (1868, UCC, NLI, UU) from Jules de Lasteyrie; trans. from art. in *Revue Des Deux Mondes* (c1863-1864); lengthy notes by the translator

‘**C.E.H.N.**’ and ‘**F.H.N.**’: *A Few observations upon Ireland* (1861, HC/RIA, UCD) from Jules de Lasteyrie; trans. from art. in *Revue Des Deux Mondes* (1860); dedicated to the **Duke of Leinster**, i.e. Augustus Fitzgerald (DIB/LI)

‘**Garrad Dierlagh**’ [Irish resident in France]: *The Words of a believer* (1834, not found; see BNF) from Félicité Robert de Lamennais [or La Mennais] (1782, Saint-Malo, Brittany-1854, Paris), trans. ‘by the author of "Erin's island"’ [*Erin's island* (NLI, RIA)]; printed by A. Belin in Paris

O'Donnell, B. L., 'B. L. O'Donnell, Officier d'Académie, M.R.I.A., Professor of Modern Languages and Literature, University College, Dublin; Examiner Royal University of Ireland, Etc. Etc.' [no biog; brief mention by Donnelly 1995: 297]: *Papacy, Socialism and Democracy; followed by the Papal Encyclical on the Condition Of Labour* (1892, CCL, MDI, TCD, UCD) from Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu (1842, Lisieux, Normandy-1912, Paris) 'Membre de l'Institut'; author's pref. signed Apr 1892; 'translated from the French, with explanatory notes and preface'; translator's pref. signed 'B. L. O'D., Dublin, August 1st, 1892'; MDI: bookplate 'Ex Libris Bibliothecae Archiepiscopi Dublinensis' and stamp Dublin Diocesan Library: Ex Libris John Charles McQuaid [DIB/ODNB]; MDI item is a presentation copy by the translator to (prob.) Abp William Joseph Walsh [DIB/ODNB], and the MS dedication to Walsh is in French: 'Hommage respectueux à Monseigneur Walsh, de la part de Son Serviteur, B. L. O'Donnell, Le 1er Novembre, 1892'

3) Fiction

Several titles in this section may also be relevant to the category of Children's Literature, and vice-versa.

Campbell, (Sir) Gilbert Edward (1838, England?-1899) (Bart) [brief notice in Kirk 1891: 279; he is described as '3rd baronet of Carrick-Buoy, County Donegal, but there is some uncertainty about his place(s) of birth, residence and death; according to various sources, he was Captain of the 92 Highlanders, and appeared before the London court of justice for fraudulent activities, cf. Gorman 1899: 40; *NY Times* [Online] Available at: <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F40D13FE3A581B7A93C1AB178BD95F458884F9> [Accessed 23 August 2012]:

- several novels from Victor Hugo (1802, Besançon, Franche-Comté region-1885, Paris), incl: *The Outlaw of Iceland: A Romance* (1885, TCD) and *Under Sentence of Death or, A criminal's Last Hours* (1886, TCD), *The Workers of the Sea* (1886, nt found in Ireland; in British Library), and *The History of a Crime by an Eye-Witness* (1888, nt found in Ireland, in British Library)

- several novels from Émile Gaboriau (1832-1873), incl. *The Slaves of Paris; Caught in the net (The Champdoce Mystery)* (1889, not found in Ireland; in British Library)

Carey, John (1756, Ireland-1826, England) [ODNB/RICORSO/LI]

- poss. the anon. translator of: *The young exiles, or, Correspondence of some juvenile emigrants: a work intended for the entertainment and instruction of youth* (1799, PC/TCD) from Stéphanie Félicité (Comtesse) de Genlis (1746-1830) [generally referred to as “Young emigrants” in catalogues; NB: error in ODNB, where the work is attributed to Germaine de Staël]

- *The Batavians Or Virtue and Valour Crowned by Perseverance* (c1799, not found, cf. ODNB) from Paul Jérémie Bitaubé (1732-1808)

Corkran, Louisa or Louise, née Walsh(e) (Bapt.1818, Dublin) ‘L. Corkran’ [just a brief notice in Kirk 1891: 389; see ‘Marriages’ (1839), *FJ*, July 2, p.2; Irish Genealogy [Online], ID Record of what seems to be her Baptism: DU-RC-BA-606106 (Roman Catholic Church) and ID Record of Marriage with John Frazer Corkran: DU-CI-MA-34575 (Church of Ireland); see also Hart-Davis 1962: 75; 232]

- ‘Sabine’ from Élise de Pressensé (1826, Switzerland-1901, Paris) ; in the *DUM*, Vol.85, May 1875

- ‘Gertrude de Chanzane’ from Élise de Pressensé ; in the *DUM*, Vol.85, July 1875 and Vol.85, Aug 1875

- ‘The violin of the man that was hanged’ from Émile Erckmann (1822-1899) and Alexandre Chatrian (1826-1890) [both from the Lorraine region]; in the *DUM*, Vol.88, Sep 1876

- *The wings of courage, and the cloud-spinner: two stories* (1884, NLI), translated from George Sand, i.e. Amantine Lucile Aurore de Dudevant, née Dupin (1804, Paris-1876, Nohant); sometimes presented as a translation by Louisa Corkran’s daughter Alice Corkran (1856?, France-1916, England), but Kirk (1891: 389) attributes this to Louise, and the name on t.p. is ‘Mrs. Corkran’; she also contributed translations from George Sand in the *DUM*, incl. ‘Two chapters from George Sand's Impressions et Souvenirs’, Vol.87, Jan 1876

Duffy, Susan Gavan [no biog]: *Lowly Tragedies* and *Humble Victims* (1909, not found) both from François Veuillot (1870-1952); reviews in the *IM*, Vol.37 (430), April 1909, p.234, and Vol.37 (433), July 1909, pp.417-418 respectively

Frith, Henry (1840-1910) [no biog; wrote several adventure stories and works in the areas of travel literature, history of technology, science and discoveries, and palmistry; some information on Frith is provided in an online study of ‘The Victorian Translators of Verne: Mercier to Metcalfe’, available at:

<http://www.ibiblio.org/pub/docs/books/sherwood/Mondial.htm> [Accessed 2 July 2012]:

- *Sappho: Parisian manners. A realistic novel* (1887, TCD) from Alphonse Daudet (1840, Nîmes, Provence-1897, Paris)

- *Tartarin on the Alps* (1887, 1896&1902, TCD) from Alphonse Daudet

- *Escaped from Siberia: the adventures of three distressed fugitives* (1885, not found) from Victor Tissot (1845, Switzerland-1917, Paris) and; dedication ‘To My Mother, to whose loving instruction I owe my acquaintance with any language, I dedicate This Translation in affectionate recognition of the trouble she so unselfishly bestowed on The Translator’, with translator’s pref. signed ‘H.F.’; 1894 edn available at:

<http://archive.org/stream/escapedfromsiber00tissrich#page/n9/mode/2up> [Accessed 2 July 2012]

Hearn, (Patrick/Patricio) Lafcadio [Yakumo Koizumi] (1850, Levkás, Ionian Islands-1904, Japan) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO; Hearn spent part of his childhood in Ireland]

- *The crime of Sylvestre Bonnard* (1890, TCD; 1908, UCD) from Anatole France [pseud. of Jacques Anatole Thibault] (1844-1924)

- *One of Cleopatra's nights, and other fantastic romances* (1907, TCD) from Théophile Gautier (1811, Tarbes, Gascogne region-1872, Île-de-France region)

- *Stories* (1908, NLI, TCD, UCD) from Théophile Gautier

- for a comprehensive list of Hearn’s essays on French literature and translations, which include translations from Anatole France, Alphonse Daudet, Théophile and Judith Gautier, Émile Zola, Pierre Loti, Guy de Maupassant, Gérard de Nerval, Charles Baudelaire, François Coppée and Gustave Flaubert, see Perkins and Perkins (2004)

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982; Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber and Burnham 2006: 608-610]

- *The outbreak of the great French Revolution related by a peasant of Lorraine* (1871, NLI) from Émile Erckmann (1822-1899) and Alexandre Chatrian (1826-1890) [both from the Lorraine region]

- *What Might Have Been* (1881, not found), author anon, trans. ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey’; Edwards (1982: 45) suggests this could be an original work by Hoey; reviewed in the *IM*, Vol.9 (93), Mar 1881, p.154

- *1794, a Tale of the Terror* (1884, NLI&TCD) from Charles d'Héricault [sometimes de Ricault] (1823-1899); translator's pref.

- *The startling exploits of Dr. J.B. Quiès* (1886, not found) from Paul Célières (1836-1883); trans. ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie’; 1887 edn available at: <http://archive.org/stream/startlingexploit00clgoog#page/n10/mode/2up> [Accessed 28 June 2012]

- *André Cornelis* (c.1888, not found) from Paul Bourget (1852-1935); adv. in the *IT*, Jan 23, 1899, p.7

- *Dr. Rameau* (1889, not found) from Georges Ohnet [ie. Georges Hénot] (1848-1918)

- *Rafael: a Romance of the History of Spain* (1896, NLI) from Ernest Daudet (1837, Nîmes, Provence -1921, Dieppe, Normandy)

Laffan, May: see Hartley [Children's Literature]

Lawler, Dennis [no biog; prob. a playwright, cf. *PI* & RICORSO; see also Morin 2011: 181-182]: *Corinna; or, Italy* (1807, TCD) from ‘Madame de Staël’, i.e. Germaine (baronne) de Staël-Holstein, née Anne Louise Germaine Necker (1766-1817); 5 vols; with MS name ‘Lt. Col. [Thomas?] Pepper, (of Ballygarth Castle, Co. Meath)’

Martin, Selina [PI; see Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber and Burnham 2006; author of *Narrative of a three years' residence in Italy* (1828) and *The Protestant Rector, or Tale of the other times in Ireland* (1830)]: *Eglantine, or the flower that never fades; an allegorical tale, altered from the French, by the author of a narrative of three years' residence in Italy. Addresses to*

the children of St. George Smith, ... of Green-Hills, near Drogheda (1828, HC/RIA) author unknown; printed by **R. Graisbury** for **Richard Moore Tims**, Grafton-Street, etc.

Moylan, Denis Creagh (1794-1849) [no biog; barrister/judge/writer, see his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1850), Vol.XXXIII, New Series, Feb 1850, p.214, according to which he had also employed himself on a translation from Machiavelli]: *History of Manon Lescaut and of the Chevalier des Grioux* (1886, UCC) from Abbé [Antoine François] Prévost (1697-1763); first publ. as *Manon Lescaut* (1841, not found); with translator's pref. signed 'D.C. Moylan, London, June 4, 1841' and a 'Life of the Author' signed 'D.C.M.'; Creagh is not acknowledged for the UCC item, but we can see from the 1906 edn [Online] that it was indeed his translation which was used for these later editions; with, in addition, a pref. by Guy de Maupassant (trans.), and it seems that Moylan's translation was revised, prob. by someone named Edmund Goldsmid; 1841 edn available at:

<http://books.google.ie/books?id=w7kTAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [Accessed 28 June 2012]

1906 edn available at:

<http://www.archive.org/stream/historyofmanonle00pr#page/n9/mode/2up> [Accessed 28 June 2012]

Russell, Matthew, S.J. (1834-1912), 'M.R.' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO], short religious and folk tales, incl:

- 'The Sleepy Carthusian' from Louis Veuillot (1813-1883), *IM*, Vol.4, 1876, pp.658-659

- 'The Legend of the Red Lillies' from Louis Veuillot, *IM*, Vol.5, 1877, pp.756-757

- 'The Graves of a Breton Household' from Louis Veuillot, *IM*, Vol.5, 1877, pp.417-418

Wilde, Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills (1854, Ireland-1900, France) 'Sebastian Melmoth' [DIB/ODNB/PI], poss.translator of: *What never dies: a Romance* (1902, NLI[Microfiche]) from Jules-Amédée Barbey d'Aurevilly (1808, Normandy-1889, Paris) 'Privately printed' in Paris by Charles Carrington; "Attribution of translation to Wilde may be erroneous" (NLI)

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

Anon: ‘The Life and Times of Timothy Tymutton; or the adventures of another queer fellow’ [No.3 of ‘Queer Stories – by a Queer Fellow’], ‘condensed from a very queer little French book’, Chaps. I & II (‘to be continued’), the *Irish Penny Magazine*, 19 Feb 1842, Vol.II, no.6, pp.61-62

Anon: ‘The Predilection’ from Ernest Fouinet (1799, Nantes-1845, Paris), *Dublin Satirist, or Weekly Magazine of Fashion and Literature*, Vol.I, Nov 2 1833, p.160

Ensor, Laura [poss. Irish; a relation of Frances Power Cobbe (DIB/ODNB)]: trans. several novels incl. *Madame Chrysantheme* (1897, UCC) from Pierre Loti, i.e. Louis Marie Julien Viaud (1850, Charente-Maritime Dept-1923, Hendaye, Basque Country) and *Jack* (1896, TCD) from Alphonse Daudet (1840, Nîmes, Provence-1897, Paris)

Lynch, E. M., ‘E.M.L.’, also referred to as ‘Mrs. Lynch’ or even ‘Miss Lynch, so far identified as either Mrs. Edward Melville Lynch or Miss E. Melville Lynch [much confusion here, but I suggest that the initial of her first name may also have been ‘E’, which would at least explain her signing as ‘E.M.L.’; she authored several novels and according to Houghton (1989: 484), she was residing in Co. Meath in 1897; see also Brown 1919: 178]: *A Parish Providence: a country tale*, with ‘introduction by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G.’ (1894, NLI) from Honoré de Balzac (1799, Tours-1850, Paris) [author not named anywhere on t.p. or introduction; only the original title, *Médecin de champagne*, is mentioned in the introduction] 40-page long introduction signed ‘C. Gavan Duffy, Villa Guillory, Nice, 28th February, 1894’; Series: The New Irish Library, ed. C. G. Duffy, assistant eds: ‘Douglas Hyde, LL.D., National Literary Society; T.W. Rolleston, Irish Literary Society’; i.e. (Sir) **Charles Gavan Duffy** (1816, Ireland-1903, France) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]; **Douglas Hyde** (1860-1949) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/TRASNABIO]; **Thomas William Hazen (T. W.) Rolleston** (1857, Ireland-1920, England) [DIB/PI/RICORSO]

Lalor, Patrick Davis:

- ‘A Roland for their Oliver’ from Paul Lescard [unknown author] in the *WIT*, Feb 4, 1893, p.4

- ‘A Novel Reward’ from anon., in the *WIT*, Mar 4, 1893, p.1

Shannon, O. J.: *The parchment of the Morrish doctor* (c1910, NLI) from Emile Souvestre (1806, Morlaix, Brittany-1854, Paris)

Shaw, C.A.: 'The Honeymoon', author unknown, in the *WIT*, May 9, 1891, p.1

4) Theatre/Opera

Atkinson, Joseph (c.1743, Ireland-1818, England) [DIB/ODNB/PI] *Love in a blaze! A comic opera, in three acts; by Joseph Atkinson ... as performed at the Theatre-Royal, Crow-Street, Dublin* (1800, DIX/NLI) from Joseph de La Font (1686-1725) French source not acknowledged on t.p. but cf. Atkinson's 'Advertisement, and Rafrondi 1972: 424; music by (Sir) **John Andrew Stevenson** (1761-1833); *Love in a blaze* was also performed at the Cork Street Theatre

Boucicault, Dion, i.e. Dionysius Lardner Boursiquot (1820, Ireland-1890, U.S.)
[DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *Les frères Corses; or, The Corsican brothers: a dramatic romance, in three acts and five tableaux. Adapted from the romance of M. Dumas, by MM. E. Grangé et X. de Montépin* ([1852], NLI) from Alexandre Dumas [*père*] (1802, Picardy region-1870, Normandy), French adapt. by Eugène Grangé (1810-1887) and Xavier (comte) de Montépin (1823-1902); item provenance: Joseph Holloway Gift [DIB/RICORSO]

- *Led astray, a comedy in 5 acts* (c1873, NLI) from Octave Feuillet (1821-1890); French's standard drama, no. 372

- *Used up: a petite comedy in two acts* (1880s, NLI) from Félix-Auguste Duvert (1795-1876) and Augustin Théodore de Lauzanne de Vauroussel (1805-1877), adapt. by Boucicault and Charles James Mathews [ODNB]; Series: Dick's standard play, no. 1047; 'original complete ed., as originally performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, Tuesday February 6th, 1844'

Falconer, Edmund [pseud. of Edmund O'Rourke] (1813, Ireland-1879, England)
[DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

- *The rose of Castille; opera in three acts by A. Harris and E. Falconer. First produced at the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Oct. 29, 1857 and performed in the presence of Her Majesty and the court on the occasion of the festival performance at Her Majesty's Theatre in honor of the nuptials of H.R.H. the Princess Royal and H.R.H. the Prince of Prussia, Jan. 21, 1858 / other edn: The rose of Castille: opera in three acts, by Messrs. A. Harris and E. Falconer; the*

music by M.W. Balfe ([1857]&c1885, NLI; c1885, UCD) from Adolphe d'Ennery [or Dennery], i.e. Adolphe Philippe (1811-1899), Clairville, i.e. Louis-François Nicolaïe (1811-1879) (librettists), and Adolphe Charles Adam (1803-1856) (composer); adapt. by Falconer with Augustus Harris [ODNB] and composer **Michael William Balfe** (1808, Ireland-1870, England) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI]

- According to his biographers, Falconer produced other adaptations from the French, notably *Ruy Blas* (1858) from Victor Hugo, performed at Princess Theatre (London).

Gregory, Isabella Augusta, née Persse [Lady Gregory] (1852-1932)

[DIB/ODNB/TRASNABIO/RICORSO]: *The Kiltartan Molière: The miser; The doctor in spite of himself; The rogueries of Scapin* (12 items: 1910, NLI[2], TCD, SPD, NUIG, QCat, LHL[2], COCL, LCCL, DCL[2]) from Molière, i.e. Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (1622-1673); presented as 'Semi-Irish adaptations of Molière'; *The doctor in spite of himself* first performed Abbey Theatre, Dublin 16 Apr 1906, *The rogueries of Scapin* first performed Abbey Theatre, Dublin 4 Apr 1908, *The miser* first performed Abbey Theatre, Dublin 21 Jan 1909; publ. by **Maunsel and Co**, Dublin

Note that in *Three last plays by Lady Gregory* (1928), *The would-be gentleman* is a translation and adaptation of Molière's *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*

Heron, Matilda Agnes (1830, Ireland-1877, U.S.) [see Humble 1971]: *Medea: a tragedy in three acts, translated from the French* (n.d., NLI) from Ernest Legouvé (1807-1903 [Paris]) [prob. based on Euripides's tragedy]; note: according to Humble (1971), Heron translated *La Dame aux camélias* by Dumas, Alexandre [*fils*] (1824, Paris-1895, Île-de-France region) as *Camille* (1855) for the American stage, in which she also performed.

Kelly, Michael (1762, Ireland-1826, England) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI]:

[Composer/singer]

- *Blue-beard; or, female curiosity! A dramatick romance; first represented at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, on Tuesday January 16, 1798; written by George Colman, the younger* (5 items: 1798, 1799&1800, NLI; 1800, TCD[2]); later edns include: *The grand dramatic romance of Blue Beard; or, Female curiosity; with all the songs, choruses, trios, &c. As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Crow-Street, with unbounded applause* (1814, TCD) libretto by George Colman, the younger [ODNB]; French sources: Charles Perrault (1628-1703 [Paris]), adapt. André [Ernest-Modeste] Grétry (1741, Belgium-1813, France),

unacknowledged, but cf. Centre for Performance History [Online], available at:

<http://www.cph.rcm.ac.uk/Virtual%20Exhibitions/Music%20in%20English%20Theatre/Pages/Caption4.htm> [Accessed 2 July 2012]; TCD: Music by Michael Kelly not included. Copy B

(1800 edn) with signature of 'William Shanahan'; most early edns printed in Dublin by

William Porter (q.v.) and in Cork by **A. Edwards**

Note: Kelly was also involved in the production/performance of *The captive of Spilburg in two acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, altered from the favourite French drama called Le souterrain* (1799, TCD) from Benoît-Joseph Marsollier de Vivetières (1750, Paris-1817, Versailles), trans. Prince Hoare [ODNB], music by Johann Ladislaus Dussek

Kenney, James (1780, Ireland-1849, England) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI]:

- [prob] *The blind boy; a romantic drama, in two acts. First performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, Dec. 1st, 1807* (TCD, JC/NLI) from Louis Caigniez (1762–1842); Series: Dicks' standard plays; note: a William B. Hewetson is accredited as 'Author of the "Blind Boy"', signalling poss. joint work with Kenney, or another version

- *Matrimony: a petit opera, in two acts, altered from the French* (1810, TCD) from Benoît-Joseph Marsollier de Vivetières (1750, Paris-1817, Versailles); 1st printed 1804 (music by Matthew Peter King [ODNB] not incl.)

- According to Kenney's biographers [ODNB/RICORSO] and Rafroidi (1972: 77), *Hernani, or the Pledge of Honour* (1831) was a version of Hugo's *Hernani* and *The Sicilian Vespers* (1840) an adaptation of Casimir Delavigne's *Vêpres siciliennes*.

Note that Kenney's son, Charles Lamb Kenney (1821, France-1881, England) [ODNB], was also a playwright and adapted/translated several works from French which were found in Ireland's holdings.

Mangin, Edward (Rev.) (1772, Ireland-1852, England) [ODNB/PI; see also Ewles-Bergeron 1997: 611-634]: *Hector, a Tragedy in Five Acts* (1810, HC/RIA) from Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival (1764-1810); dedicated 'To William Falconer'

O'Callaghan, John Cornelius (1805-1883) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: *Tragedy of Mahomet* in: *The green book or, Gleanings from the writing-desk of a literary agitator* (1842, 1844&1849, NLI) from Voltaire, i.e. François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778 [Paris]); 1844 edn publ. **James Duffy** (q.v.); 1849 edn publ. **P. Donahoe** (q.v.)

Pilon, Frederick (1750, Ireland-1788, England) [ODNB/RICORSO]: *The deaf lover: a farce, in two acts. As performed at the Theatres-Royal, Covent-Garden and Crow-Street* (1802, JC/NLI) from ‘Carmontelle’ ie. Louis Carrogis’ (1717-1806 [Paris]); printed for **G. Folingsby**, Dublin; 1802 is the 4th edn

5) Education & Children’s Literature

Birrell, Eleanor, née Locker (d. 1915) and **Birrell, Augustine** (1850-1933) [both from England, they resided in Ireland for several years as Augustine was chief secretary for Ireland; DIB/ODNB/RICORSO for Augustine Birrell]: *The story of the bold Pécopin: a legend of the Rhine* (1902, TCD) from Victor Hugo (1802, Besançon, Franche-Comté region-1885, Paris); this tale created by Hugo may be considered relevant to the general section on fiction too

Chetwode, Alice Wilmot (c1833-?) [no biog; see national census and Chetwode 1903]

- *Without beauty, or, the story of a plain woman* (1883, PC/TCD) from Zénaïde Fleuriot (1829, Saint-Brieuc, Brittany- 1890, Paris)

- *Réséda or sorrows and joys* (1897, NLI) from Zénaïde Fleuriot; with stamp from the Marist Fathers at Milltown, Dublin

- *The Castle of Coëtquen: or, Patira* (1886, NLI&PC/TCD) from ‘Raoul de Navery’, pseud. of Eugénie-Caroline Chervet, née Saffray (1831, Ploërmel, Brittany-1885, Île-de-France region); Series: Tales for the Young; TCD: with stamp of St. John of God Library, Stillorgan

- *The Treasure of the Abbey* (1886&1904, PC/TCD) from ‘Raoul de Navery’; sequel to *The Castle of Coëtquen*; 1904 item: Bookplate with a cross, and school certificate: ‘Prize awarded to Miss May Anthony of Junior Grade Class for Music, Midsummer Examinations, 1908’

- *John Canada* (1887, NLI) from ‘Raoul de Navery’; sequel to *The Treasure of the Abbey*

Frith, Henry (1840-1910) [no biog; wrote several adventure stories and works in the areas of travel literature, history of technology, science and discoveries, and palmistry; some information on Frith is provided in an online study of ‘The Victorian Translators of Verne: Mercier to Metcalfe’, available at:

<http://www.ibiblio.org/pub/docs/books/sherwood/Mondial.htm> (Accessed 2 July 2012)]

- *Unac, the Indian: a tale of adventure in Central America; adapted from the French by Henry Frith ... with twenty-five illustrations* (1884, PC/TCD), author unknown;

- *Half hours of scientific amusement; or, Practical physics and chemistry without apparatus* (1890, not found) from Gaston Tissandier (1843-1899); also relevant to Sciences category; available at: <http://archive.org/stream/halfhoursscient00fritgoog#page/n12/mode/2up> [Accessed 2 July 2012]

- from Jules Verne (1828, Nantes-1905, Amiens) (not found): *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (1876); *The Floating City and the Blockade Runners* (1876); *Adventures of Three Englishmen and Three Russians in South Africa* (1877); *Round the World in Eighty Days* (1878); *The Fur Country* (1879), *Kéraban the Inflexible* (1884)

Note: Frith also translated *Willis the pilot: a sequel to the Swiss family Robinson* (c1872, PC/TCD), poss. from a French translation by a certain 'Adrien Paul' of an original German work by Johann Rudolf Wyss

Gill, Henry Joseph (1836-1903) 'H. J. Gill, M.A., T.C.D.' [DIB, RICORSO]: in: *Chased by wolves, and other instructive stories; chiefly translated from the French, German, and Italian* (1890, TCD&NLI) from various anon; publ. **M.H Gill and Son** (q.v.)

Hackett, Mary, 'late a pupil of the Ursulines, St Mary's Convent, Waterford', 'translator of Count Montalembert's *Life of St Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, ...*' [no biog; see Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber and Burnham 2006: 533]: *Josephine: a tale for young ladies. From the French* (1852, NLI), anon author; MS 'Loretto Abbey', publ. **Gerald Bellew** (q.v.); at end: list of 'Bellew's Cheap and Beautiful Editions of Catholic Prayer-Books'

Hartley, May Laffan (1849-1916) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: *No relations* (1880, TCD; 1898, UCC) from Hector Malot (1830-1907)

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), 'Mrs. Cashel Hoey' [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982]:

- *For the flag* (1897, not found, poss. at LCCL) from Jules Verne (1828, Nantes-1905, Amiens)

- *An Antarctic mystery* (1898, TCD) from Jules Verne

- *An involuntary voyage* (1880, not found), from Lucien Biart (1829-1897); trans. 'Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie'; available at: <http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924031247202#page/n9/mode/2up> [Accessed 26 June 2012]

- *The clients of doctor Bernagius* (1881, not found) from Lucien Biart; translator's pref. available at: <http://archive.org/stream/clientsdoctorbe00biargoog#page/n4/mode/2up> [Accessed 9 July 2012]

Mulholland, Clara (?-1934) [RICORSO; see also Brown 1919; *A Round Table* 1897; Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber and Burnham 2006]

- *The little hunchback* (1876&1885, PC/TCD) from Sophie Rostopchine, Comtesse de Ségur (1799, St Petersburg/Russia-1874)

Rice, James (Rev.) 'Rev. James Rice, B.D., Ex-Scholar & Senior Classical Moderator, T.C.D.' [no biog]: *The protégé of Marie-Antoinette* (1895, NLI) 'literally translated' from Xavier de Maistre (1763, Chambéry, Savoy-1852, Saint Petersburg, Russia); several publishers/booksellers, incl. **Edward Ponsonby** (q.v.), William McGee, and **M.H. Gill & Son** (q.v.), Dublin; printer: printer: **C.W. Gibbs**, Wicklow Street, Dublin; item provenance: Ms 'James Blake Butler, Clongowes Wood, Sallens, Co. Kildare (Private) IV Junior, 3-3-1896'

Sadlier, Mary Anne, née Madden (1820, Ireland-1903, U.S.), 'Mrs. J. Sadlier' [sometimes spelt **Sadleir**] [DIB/PI/RICORSO; see also Welch 1996b; Fanning 1990]

- *Benjamin or, the pupil of the Christian Brothers* (c1851&1880, NLI; c1851, NUIG; 1876, PC/TCD) 'translated from the French by M. J. Sadlier', from anon. ('M.L***', cf.BNF); 1850s edn publ. by **C. M. Warren** (q.v.) & 1876/1880 edn (4th edn) by **John Mullany** (q.v.); prefatory remarks: 'A few words from the translator', dedication 'To the Boys of the Christian Schools', and Warren's 'Preface' signed 'Dublin, Christmas Day 1851'; 1880 item: MS inscription 'A premium awarded to J.J. [Gahan?/Graham?] by the Sisters of the Clarendon-St. School on the 12th of July 1880'

- *The orphan of Moscow; or, the young governess. A Catholic tale* (3 items: c1854, NLI; 1903, PC/TCD[2]) from 'Madame Woillez' i.e. Catherine Woillez, née Rieder (1781-1859);

most chapters begin with epigraphs from various French authors, notably Chateaubriand; adv. by **John Mullany** (q.v.) in the *Nation*, 'Christmas Books' on Dec 23, 1854

- *The Castle of Roussillon; or, Quercy in the Sixteenth Century, a Catholic Tale* ([1850s], WL) from Eugénie Dutheil Mistral (comtesse) de la Rochère (b.1810); adv. by **James Duffy** (q.v.) in the *Nation* on Feb 24, 1855

- *The knout: a tale of Poland* (4 items: 1887, NLI; 1884, 1904[2], PC/TCD) from anon originally publ. in the *New York Freeman's Journal* and rev. by the translator; translator's pref; NLI: MS at end 'C.P. Hyland'

- *Wilhelm; or Christian forgiveness' from the French, by Mrs. J. Sadlier* (1890, PC/TCD) from anon; added to *As good as gold*, trans. [from the German of Wilhelm Herchenbach] by Josephine Black (q.v.)

- *The Spanish cavaliers: a tale of the Moorish wars in Spain* (1895, PC/TCD) from anon.

- *The Pope's niece, and other tales* (1862, not found) from Alphonse Balleydier (1810-1859 [Lyon]) and other unnamed authors, principally; Series: 'the Youth's Catholic Library'; 'Preface to the Youth's Catholic Library' by publishers **D. & J. Sadlier** (New York/Montreal); available at:

<http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/ItemRecord/51370?id=b81860baf8102608> [Accessed 10 July 2011]

- *Valeria, or, the first Christians, and other stories* (c1890, not found) from Alphonse Balleydier and 'Madame Bourdon', i.e. prob. Mathilde Bourdon (1817, Belgium-1888, French Flanders); available at: <http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.93971> [Accessed 2 July 2012]

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

Anon: *Louisa; or, the virtuous villager: A catholic tale, from the French; intended for youth; revised by a clergyman* (n.d. [1850s], PC/TCD) trans. anon, from anon; there is a preface, prob. written by an Irish Catholic, either the translator or the editor; publ. **John Mullany** (q.v.); with bookplate 'A.M.D.G. Loretto Convent, Kenilworth Square. This Premium was

awarded to Miss D. Higgins for regular attendance, Lessons Arithmetic, at the distribution of prize, the 1st July 189[5?]

Anon: *Suema, or, the little Africa slave: a tale of our own times* (1871, MDI&TCD) from Mgr Joseph Gaume (1802-1879); notes: the translator mentions Ireland in her/his dedication and at the end of the book, there is a request to send funds to ‘the R.P Procurator-General of the **Congregation of the Holy Ghost and of the Sacred Heart of Mary**, who have charge of the Zanzibar mission, ... Paris; or by Monseigneur Gaume, ... Paris...or at **the French College, Blackrock**, Dublin’; publ. **W.B. Kelly**, 8 Grafton Street, Dublin

Anon [on the basis of the book’s subject and general standpoint, we suggest an Irish connection, possibly an Irish-American translator]: *Father Fitzroy; or, The martyr of a secret, a tale of the Irish famine* (c1883, NLI) from from ‘Raoul de Navery’, pseud. of Eugénie-Caroline Chervet, née Saffray (1831, Brittany-1885, Île-de-France region); publ. by **P. O’Shea** (New York)

Black, Josephine [M.] (poss. Irish) ‘Mrs. Josephine Black’ [translated several works from French and German]

- *Stephanie* (1883, 1887&1904, PC/TCD) from Louis Veuillot (1813-1883); pref. by ‘M.R.’, i.e. **Matthew Russell** (q.v.)

- *The girl’s spiritual calendar, translated from the French of the author of "Golden grains."* by Josephine M. Black (1884, PC/TCD) from Adrien Sylvain (1826-1914); advertised by the **Irish Catholic (Bookseller)**, Dublin, in the *Nation*, Jun 30, 1888; note: Josephine Black may also be the translator of *The Girl’s Book of Piety at School and at Home* (not found) from Sylvain and advertised by same on Aug 4, 1888

‘**E.M.**’ [prob. Irish for his/her close association with publisher **Edward Ponsonby** (q.v.), Dublin, & the Intermediate Education Series] ‘editor of “Derriere les Hais” and “Les Prisonniers du Caucase”’:

- *Behind the hedges: a tale of the Vendean War (1793-1794)* (1896, NLI) from ‘Madame de Witt’ i.e. Henriette de Witt, née Guizot (1829-1908); Intermediate Education Series; printed at the **University Press** by **Ponsonby and Weldrick**; list of IES publications at end, incl. Malot’s *Sans Famille*, trans. ‘**A.C.**’ (not found)

- *The prisoners of the Caucasus* (1897, NLI) from Xavier de Maistre (1763, Chambéry, Savoy-1852, Saint Petersburg, Russia); Intermediate Education Series; MS
'...Keogh...14/3/98, Dublin'

- *Class book of French poetry for the young* (1898, NLI) from the edition by Paul Barbier (1873-1947); Intermediate Education Series; authors incl. André Chénier, Florian, Hugo, Amable Tastu, Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, Lamartine, Arnault, La Fontaine, L. Ratisbonne, L. Tournier ; educational format, with numbered stanzas; this title is also relevant to the Poetry section

-see also Béranger Appendix

'**M.B.**': *The education of daughters, by Archbishop Fenelon; translated from the latest and best French copy of M. L'abbé Rauzan, by M.B. To which are added Fenelon's epistle, character of antiope* (1841, NLI) from François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), ed. Abbé Jean-Baptiste de Rauzan (1757-1847); dedication 'to the Very Rev. Dr. Yore', ie. **William Yore** [DIB]; translator's pref; additions at end, incl. references to F. de Sales, Claude d'Arvisenet, Abbé Fleury & William Gahan (q.v.)

6) Philosophy, Sociology, Economics

Gibson, William [Mac Giolla Bhríde, Liam] (1868, Ireland-1942, France) 'Hon. William Gibson', also referred to as 'author of *The abbé Lamennais and the liberal catholic movement in France* (1896)' [DIB]: *Plato and Darwin: A Philosophic Dialogue; translated with an introduction by the Hon. William Gibson* (1899, MDI&TCD); translator's pref.

Hutton, Henry Dix (1825-1907) [no biog; see Peatling 1998; a member of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, Hutton graduated TCD (B.A.) in 1845]: 'Appendix' in *System of positive polity, Vol.4* (1875-1877, TCD&QCat) from Auguste Comte (1798–1857); the Appendix contains translations of Comte's early essays on social philosophy

Ingram, John Kells (1823–1907), MRIA [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO' see also Peatling 1998 & Barrett 1998]

- *Passages from the letters of Auguste Comte selected and translated* (1901, TCD, RIA&UCC) from Auguste Comte (1798–1857)

- *Human nature and morals according to Auguste Comte; with notes illustrative of the principles of Positivism* (1901, TCD) from Auguste Comte

Wetherell, Caroline Charlotte Vesey (poss.) [entered in *PI* as ‘Wetherell, Mrs Dawson’, who also signed under initials ‘C.C.V.G.’; there is a brief obituary for a ‘Caroline Charlotte Vesey Gillden, daughter of Major Dawson’ in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.37, Jan 1852, p.109; according to this notice, she committed suicide, she was then in ‘a state of destitution’, residing in Leicester (England), with ‘her property in Ireland...in the hands of attorneys’]: *The Four Ages of Life* (1826, TCD, JC/NLI&RIA) prob. from Louis Philippe (Comte) de Ségur (1753-1830), trans. anon but attributed to Wetherell in *PI*; publ. **William Curry, Jun. & Co**, Dublin, and other publishers abroad; List of subscribers; TCD: with signature of Arthur A. Nugent, a subscriber

7) Sciences

Everett, Joseph David (1831-1904[England]) ‘J.D. Everett, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Queen’s College, Belfast’ [ODNB; Everett taught at Queen’s for 30 years]: *Elementary treatise on natural philosophy* (1881, MDI; 1880-1882, 1885&1894, TCD) from Augustin Privat-Deschanel (1821-1883); ‘trans. and ed., with extensive modifications’; one TCD item bears MS autograph of Dr. S. Haughton, i.e. prob. Samuel Haughton (q.v.); also *Electricity: an expansion of Everett's Deschanel, part III, on the lines of modern electrical theory* (1901, TCD[2])

O'Shaughnessy, (Sir) William Brooke (1808, Ireland-1889 England) ‘W. B. O'Shaughnessy, M.D.’ [DIB/ODNB (under ‘Brooke’)]: *Essays on the effects of iodine in scrofulous diseases: including an inquiry into the mode of preparing ioduretted baths* (1831, QCat) from Jean Guillaume Auguste Lugol (1786-1851); ‘with an appendix by the translator containing a summary of cases treated with iodine [etc]’; translator’s pref. signed from London, Oct 1831

Graves, Charles (1812–1899), ‘the Rev. Charles Graves, A.M., M.R.I.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO] : *Two geometrical memoirs on the general properties of cones of the second degree and on the spherical conics* (1841, RIA) from Michel Chasles (1793-1880); ‘translated from the French, with notes and additions, and

an appendix on the application of analysis to spherical geometry'; item provenance: Label of 'Rev. Close' bequest and signature, December 1841, bequest of Rev. Maxwell Henry Close, M.R.I.A. [DIB/ODNB]

Harte, Henry Hickman (1790–1848) 'Rev. Henry H. Harte, F.T.C.D. M.R.I.A.' [ODNB]

- *Treatise on Celestial Mechanics* (1822, not found), from Pierre-Simon [marquis] de Laplace (1749, Normandy-1827, Paris); 'translated from the French, and elucidated with explanatory notes'; Part I –Book I available at:

<http://archive.org/stream/treatiseofcelest12lapl#page/n3/mode/2up> [Accessed 3 July 2012]

- *The System of the World* (1830, NLI, UCC, RIA; also in TCC), from Pierre-Simon de Laplace; 'translated from the French, and elucidated with explanatory notes'; translator's pref.

- *A treatise of mechanics* (1842, NLI&UCC) from Siméon-Denis Poisson (1781-1840); UCC: with armorial bookplate of The Library of Queen's College, Cork

All three translations by Graves and Harte were adv. in the *Nation* by **Hodges and Smith**, 'Booksellers to the University, Dublin' on Nov 30, 1844

Haughton, Samuel (1821-1897) 'Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Geology in the University of Dublin' [DIB/ODNB]: *Essay on comparative petrology* (1859, NLI, TCD[2]) from Joseph [Marie-Élisabeth] Durocher (1817-1858[Rennes, Brittany]); 'translated from the "Annales des mines," vol. XI, 1857

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), 'Mrs. Cashel Hoey' [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982]

- *The day after death; or our future life according to science* (1872, not found) from Louis Figuier (1819, Montpellier-1894, Paris); Hoey's name not on t.p., cf. Edwards (1982: 47)

- *Medicine and the Mind (La Médecine de l'Esprit)* (1900, TCD&NUIG) from Maurice de Fleury (1860-1931); 'Stacy B. Collins, M.D. (U.S.A.)' is accredited with this translation; according to Edwards (1982: 47), Hoey was joint-translator with Dr. Collins, but Hoey's name does not appear on the title page

- *The Criminal Mind* (1901, TCD&NUIG), trans. anon, but according to Edwards (1982: 47), Hoey claims to be the translator in her private correspondence

Kelly, Walter Keating ‘Walter Keating Kelly, Esq., B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin’ (c1806, Ireland-1867, England) [no biog; there is a forum thread by his descendants at <http://genforum.genealogy.com/> (Accessed 25 August 2012); see also Houghton 1972]: *Popular lectures on astronomy* (1841, RIA) from François Arago (1786, Estagel, Catalan region-1853, Paris); item provenance: Rev. Maxwell H. Close, M.R.I.A. [DIB/ODNB]

Ramadge, Francis Hopkins (1793, Ireland-1867, England) [ODNB; see Agnew 2003]: *Treatise on Mediate Auscultation and on Diseases of the Lungs and Heart* (1846, not found) from René-Théophile-Hyacinthe Laënnec (1781-1826 [Brittany]); with translator’s annotations; ed. Theophilus Herbert

Sigerson, George (1836-1925), M.R.I.A. [DIB/PI/RICORSO]:

- *Lectures on the diseases of the nervous system: delivered at La Salpêtrière by J.M. Charcot, Professor in the Faculty of Medicine of Paris; Physician to La Salpêtrière...* [etc] (1877&1881TCD [First & Second Series]) from Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893); Series: The New Sydenham Society [London]; ‘translated ... by George Sigerson, M.D., Ch.M., Licentiate of the King and Queen’s College of Physicians of Ireland; Dean of the Faculty of Science, C.U.I., ...[etc]’

- ‘Lecture on certain phenomena of hysteria major, delivered at La Salpêtrière on November 17th, by Professor Charcot’, translated from Charcot, publ. in the *British Medical Journal*, Nov 30, 1878, p.789-791

Spillan, Daniel (1796/7, Ireland-1854, England) [DIB/ODNB]: *The clinique medicale; or reports of medical cases* (1836, RCPI) from Andral (1797, Paris-1876, Châteaufieux, Hautes-Alpes); ‘Condensed and translated by D. Spillan’; Kirkpatrick Collection

Townsend, Richard, A.B., M.D., M.R.I.A [no biog; see Agnew 2003] and **West, William**, A.M., M.D., M.R.I.A [no biog]: *A treatise on pathological anatomy* (1829-31, RCPI) from Gabriel Andral (1797, Paris-1876, Châteaufieux, Hautes-Alpes); vols. 1&2 available online at: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006292438> [Accessed 3 July 2012]

Wade, Walter (c.1740-1825) ‘Walter Wade, Esq. M.L.S. of the King and Queen’s College of Physicians in Ireland, &c &c &c’ [DIB/ODNB]: *Quercus, or oaks: from the French of Michaux, Histoire des chênes de l’Amerique septentrionale, with notes and an Appendix*

(1809, RCPI&RIA) from André Michaux (1746, France-1803, Madagascar); translator's pref. signed 'Dublin, December, 1808'

Warden, David Bailie (1772, Ireland-1845, France) [DIB/LI; see also a biobibliography by F. C. Haber in David Bailie Warden Papers (MS.871, POS 8443, NLI)]:

- 'Relation of an aerostatic voyage', bound with *Select Papers of the Belfast Literary Society* (1808, TCD; RIA; QCat) from Louis-Joseph Gay Lussac (1778-1850)

- *Historical Eulogium on Joseph Priestley, Read at the Public Sitting of the National Institute...* (1807) from Georges Cuvier (1769, Franche-Comté region-1832, Paris)

- *Tables of Logarithms* (1809) from Jean-François Callet (1744-1799?)

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

Ensor, Laura [poss. Irish; a relation of Frances Power Cobbe (DIB/ODNB)]: *Hypnotism* (1891, TCD; 1895, MDI,) from François-Victor Foveau de Courmelles (1862-1943)

8) Philology/ Literary History & Criticism

Best, Richard Irvine (1872-1959), M.R.I.A. [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology* (1903, 14 items: UCC[2], TCD, RIA, NLI[3], SPD[3], MDI, NUIG, KL, LICL), from Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville (1827, Lorraine region-1910, Paris); the translation appeared in the *United Irishman*. cf. pref.; various publishers: **O'Donoghue and Co., M.H. Gill and Son** (q.v.), **Hodges and Figgis**; RIA: Label of Osborn Bergin bequest [DIB/RICORSO]

Corkran, Louisa (sometimes spelt **Louise** or **Luisa**), née **Walsh(e)** (Bapt. 1818, Dublin) 'L. Corkran' [just a brief notice in Kirk 1891: 389; see 'Marriages' (1839), *FJ*, July 2, p.2; Irish Genealogy [Online], ID Record of what seems to be her Baptism: DU-RC-BA-606106 (Roman Catholic Church) and ID Record of Marriage with John Frazer Corkran: DU-CI-MA-34575 (Church of Ireland); see also Hart-Davis 1962: 75; 232]: 'Madame de Sévigné: translated from Sainte-Beuve's Portraits de Femmes' from Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804, Boulogne-sur-Mer -1869, Paris) in the *DUM*, Vol.87 June 1876

Hardiman, James (1782-1855), M.R.I.A [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI]: *A Statute of the fortieth year of King Edward III, enacted in a parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, before Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Tracts relating to Ireland* (13 items: 1843, RIA[3], UCC[2], UCD, TCD, NUIM, QCat, NLI, KCL, LICL, WMCL) author unknown, from a ms in the British Museum; in: *Tracts relating to Ireland printed for the Irish Archaeological Society Vol.2*; RIA: HAS Upton Bequest copy, formerly owned by Robert J. Graves [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI]; another copy owned by Thomas Moore [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI], both mbrs of the Society; available online at: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T300001-001/index.html> [Accessed 3 July 2012]

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982]: *Shelley: the man and the poet* (1888, TCD&UCC) from the French of Félix Rabbe (1840-1900); trans. anon, cf. Edwards (1982: 49)

Kelly, Walter Keating ‘Walter Keating Kelly, Esq., B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin’ (c1806, Ireland-1867, England) [no biog; there is a forum thread by his descendants at <http://genforum.genealogy.com/> (Accessed 25 August 2012); see also Houghton 1972]:

- *The Heptameron of Margaret, Queen of Navarre* (1855, ML) from Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, (1492-1549) ‘translated from the French, with a memoir of the author by Walter K. Kelly’; pref. signed ‘W.K.K.’; Series: Bohn's Extra Volume Vol. 7

- W. K. Kelly also published *Proverbs of all nations, compared, explained, and illustrated* (1859 [& repr.2002], TCD; 1870, NUIG), which include French-language proverbs in English translation by Kelly

Kennedy, Patrick (1800-1873) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI], essays with translated extracts, incl:

- ‘Glimpses of Brittany; or, Souvestre and Brittany’, *DUM*, Vol. 41, Mar 1863, pp. 286-301

- ‘Paul Féval, a Breton man of Letters’; *DUM*, Vol.63, Feb 1864

- ‘The folk books of France’, incl extracts from Charles Nisard (1808-1889); *DUM*, Vol.66, Nov 1865; 2nd part in 1866, Vol.67

Lynch, Hannah (1862, Dublin-1904, Paris) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *Mediaeval French literature* (1903, CCL, MDI, DLR, UCC), from the French of Gaston Paris (1839-1903); Series: The Temple primers

O'Hagan, John (1822-1890) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: *The Song of Roland* (1883, NLI, CCL, GMIT, LOCL), unknown author; verse translation based on the oldest surviving ms held at the Bodleian Library; 42-page translator's introduction; original dedication prefixed to 1st edn 'To the V. Rev. Mgr Charles W. Russell, President of St Patrick's College Maynooth' [i.e. Russell, Charles William (DIB/ODNB/PI)], signed '1879, Upper Fitzwilliam St., Dublin', followed by a note signalling that Russell has since passed away, signed 'April 1880'; adv. in the *IM*, Vol. 8 (87), Sep 1880; 1883 is the 2nd edn

Orpen, Goddard Henry (1852-1932), 'Barrister-at-Law' [DIB/RICORSO]: *The song of Dermot and the Earl: an Old French poem from the Carew manuscript no. 596 in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth palace; ed., with literal translation and notes, a facsimile and a map* (1892, MDI, NLI, RIA, SPD, NUIG, UCC, ML, UU, TCD, CACL, WMCL, WCL) from anon.; translator's pref, *Index locorum*, *Index nominum*, and glossary; RIA: bookplate of 'William Edward Kelly'; available online at: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T250001-001/index.html>

Note: Orpen wrote *Ireland under the Normans* (1911, SPD, MDI, TCD)

- **Percy, Thomas** (1729, England-1811, Ireland) 'Bishop Percy' [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: *Northern antiquities; or, An historical account of the manners, customs, religion and laws, maritime expeditions and discoveries, language and literature of the ancient Scandinavians (Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Icelanders) with incidental notices respecting our Saxon ancestors* (7 items: 1847, MDI, UCC[2], NUIG, UCD, UU, QCat), original title of 1770 edn: *Northern Antiquities: or, A description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes, and other Northern Nations; Including those of Our own Saxon Ancestors; With A Translation of the Edda, or System of Runic Mythology, and other Pieces, From the Ancient Islandic Tongue ...translated from Mons. Mallet's Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc, &c. ; with additional notes by the English Translator, and Goranson's Latin Version of the Edda* (1770, TCD, RIA, NLI, NUIM; 1809 reprint, TCD), dedicated 'To His Grace the Duke of Northumberland' (not in 1847 edn); from Paul-Henri Mallet (1730-1807 [Switzerland]); 1847 edn: 'new ed., rev. throughout, and considerably enlarged; with a translation of the Prose Edda from the original Norse text, and notes critical and explanatory by I. A. Blackwell, Esq.'; prefatory remarks: 'The Editor's pref.', 'Bishop Percy's pref.',

‘Remarks on Bishop Percy’s pref.’ ‘M. Mallet’s pref.’, and various additions by the Editor as well as ‘Abstract of the Eyrbyggja-Saga’ by Sir Walter Scott [ODNB]; Series: Bohn’s Antiquarian Library; UCC: Armorial bookplate of the **Library, Queen's College Cork**; the 1809 & partic. the 1847 edns were found in several 19th-c catalogues: Catalogue of the Library of the Late James Hardiman (1856), Catalogue of the Library of the late John O’Donovan (1867), Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the late Right Rev. William Reeves, ...Lord Bp of Down, Connor and Dromore, Psdt of the RIA, &c...(1892), Catalogue of the Lending Library and Reference Department, Limerick Free Public Library (1902)

Warden, David Bailie (1772, Ireland-1845, France) [DIB/LI; see also a biobibliography by F. C. Haber in David Bailie Warden Papers (MS.871, POS 8443, NLI)]:

- *Eulogium on Marcus Aurelius* (1808) from Antoine-Léonard Thomas (1732, Auvergne region-1785, Rhône-Alpes region)

Wilde, Jane Francesca, née Elgee (1821?-1896), aka ‘Speranza’, ‘Lady Wilde’, ‘Mrs. W. R. Wilde’ [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/TRASNABIO; see also M. Cronin 2002]: *The Wanderer and his Home* (1851, not found; title features in 1852 catalogue of Cork library); available at: [http://books.google.ie/books?id=AMAEAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=lamartine+The Wanderer+and+his+Home&hl=en&sa=X&ei=r4XpT5ioOsW6hAeCw6j7DA&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.ie/books?id=AMAEAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=lamartine+The+Wanderer+and+his+Home&hl=en&sa=X&ei=r4XpT5ioOsW6hAeCw6j7DA&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false) [Accessed 26 June 2012]

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

Ensor, Laura [poss. Irish; a relation of Frances Power Cobbe (DIB/ODNB)]: translations from Alphonse Daudet (1840, Nîmes, Provence-1897, Paris) incl. *Thirty years of Paris and of my literary life illustrated by Bieler, Montégut, Myrbach, Picard and Rossi* (1888&1896, TCD) and *Recollections of a literary man illustrated by Bieler, Montégut, Myrbach, and Rossi* (1889, TCD; 1902, UCC)

Ram, Helen ‘Mrs. Abel Ram’ [poss. Irish, though this speculation is only made on the basis of her (married) name, closely linked with a family of peers in the Wexford region]: *Literary Reminiscences* (1899, TCD) from Édouard Grenier (1819-1901 [Franche-Comté region]); ed. Richard Alexander Streatfeild

9) Travel

Croker, Thomas Crofton, et al (1798, Ireland-1854, England) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI] “‘edited by T. Crofton Croker, with notes, and illustrative extracts, contributed by James Roche, Francis Mahony and Thomas Wright, and the editor’, i.e. **James Roche** (1770-1853) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO/LI], **Francis Sylvester Mahony** (1804, Ireland-1866, France) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI], **Thomas Wright** (1810-1877) [ODNB]

The Tour of the French traveller M. de la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644 (9 items: 1837, NLI, HC/RIA[2], UCC, LHL, DCL[2], NUIG, QCat; also in TCC) from François de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz (1610?, Anjou region-1669?, Ispahan, Iran) [or 1623-1668 according to BNF]; dedication to Isaac D'Israeli [ODNB] and pref. by T.C.C; text and description available at: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100076/index.html> [Accessed 4 July 2012]

Frith, Henry (1840-1910) [no biog; wrote several adventure stories and works in the areas of travel literature, history of technology, science and discoveries, and palmistry]:

- *England, Scotland, & Ireland, a picturesque survey of the United Kingdom and its institutions, by P. Villars; tr. by Henry Frith; with six hundred illustrations* (1887, TCD&NLI) and *Scotland and Ireland: a picturesque survey* (1888, TCD, UL&UCC) from Paul Villars (1849-1935)

- *Public life in England* (1884, TCD) from ‘Philippe Daryl’, i.e. Paschal Grousset (1844, Corsica-1909, Paris); ‘translated by Henry Frith and revised by the author’; also relevant to History/Politics category

Griffith, Elizabeth (1727, Wales-1793, Ireland) ‘Mrs. Griffith(s)’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO] An 18th-c translator, but the following title was reprinted in the 19th century: *The true and surprising adventures, voyages, shipwreck and distresses, of Monsieur Pierre Viaud* (1800, DIX/NLI) from Jean-Gaspard Dubois-Fontanelle (1737-1812); printed in Dublin by **N. Kelly**; as the historical veracity of this work has been questioned, it could, accordingly, be considered as a work of fiction

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982]:

- *The Fayoum, or, Artists in Egypt* (1873, TCD) from Paul Lenoir (1826-1881); Hoey's name not on t.p., but the translations is attributed to her in the publisher's list at the end of the volume

- *Japan and the Japanese: illustrated* (1874, TCD) from Aimé Humbert (1819-1900); trans. 'Mrs. Cashel Hoey and edited by H. W. Bates [ODNB]'

- *Sahara and Lapland: travels in the African desert and the polar world* (1874, not found) from Eugène (Comte) Goblet d'Alviella ([Belgium] 1846-1925)

- *The Heart of Holland* (1880, TCD) from Henry Havard (1838-1921)

Quin, Michael Joseph (1796, Ireland-1843, France) [DIB/ODNB], alleged translator of: *Journey through Arabia Petraea, to Mount Sinai, and the excavated city of Petra, the Edom of the prophecies* (QCat; also in TCC) from Étienne de Laborde (1782-1865); translator's pref. signed 'London, 14th May, 1836'

Taylor, William Cooke (1800-1849) [DIB/ODNB/LI]: prob. translator of: *Travelling sketches in Egypt and Sinai, including a visit to Mount Horeb, and other localities of the Exodus: translated, corrected, and abridged from the French of Alexander Dumas by a Biblical student* (1839, not found) from Alexandre Dumas [*père*] (1802, Picardy region-1870, Normandy); pref. signed 'W.C.T., London, May 15, 1839'; this may be the work referred to as 'Dumas' Diary in the Holy Land' in *Accounts and lists of books of the Clare Reading Society* for 1843; available online at:

<http://www.archive.org/stream/travellingsketc00dumagoog#page/n8/mode/2up> [Accessed 4 August 2011]

Wilde, Jane Francesca, née Elgee (1821?-1896), aka 'Speranza', 'Lady Wilde', 'Mrs. W. R. Wilde' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/TRASNABIO; see also M. Cronin 2002]: *The Glacier Land* (1852, not found) from Alexandre Dumas [*père*] (1802, Picardy region-1870, Normandy); trans. as 'Mrs. W.R. Wilde, translator of "Pictures of the First French Revolution," "The Wanderer and his Home," "Sidonia," etc'; series 'The Bookcase' publ. Simms and M'Intyre (q.v.); available at:

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433066612171> [Accessed 26 June 2012]

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

‘an Irishman’ [poss. from County Cork]: *Rambles through Ireland; by a French emigrant; translated from the French of Monsieur De Latocnaye, by An Irishman* (6 items: 1798, DIX/NLI, HC/RIA, TCD[2], KL, WMCL; also in TCC) from Jacques-Louis de Latocnaye [or La Tocnaye] (1767, Nantes-1823); dedicated by de Latocnaye to ‘Earl Conyngham’; translator’s pref. and annotations (perhaps more extensive on the subject of Cork); WMCL: with Armorial bookplates of T.F. McNamara, front pastedown, and autographs, ‘Paul Maylor’ -- t.p. and p. [1]. B30 -- rear endleaf, verso

‘Kelly, M.T.’: [editor/translator?]: *Another China: Notes on the Celestial Empire as viewed by a Catholic bishop, by the Right Reverend Monseigneur Reynaud, C.M., Vicar Apostolic of the District of Tché-Kiang; with illustrations; edited by M. T. Kelly* (1897, CCL&MDI); accord. to the foreword, the editor aims at both English & Irish readers, and has added some material (including material relating to Ireland); ‘this little work is issued by the Arch-Confraternity of St-Joseph, Protector of the Souls in Purgatory. Any profits arising from the sale will be devoted to the education of St-Joseph’s Young Priests for China’; a brief review in the *IM*, Vol.25 (289), July 1897, p.389, refers to the editor as ‘Miss M.T. Kelly’; this work is also relevant to the category ‘Religion’

11) Miscellaneous/Arts & Crafts/ Art History

Campbell, Gertrude Elizabeth, née Blood [Lady Colin Campbell] (1857, Ireland?-1911, England) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]: *The Lady's Dressing-Room* (1892, not found) from (Baronne) Blanche Staffe (1845-1911); adv. in the *IT*, Oct 20, 1892, p.3

Corkran, Louisa (sometimes spelt Louise or Luisa), née Walsh(e) (Bapt.1818, Dublin)‘L. Corkran’ [just a brief notice in Kirk 1891: 389; see ‘Marriages’ (1839), *FJ*, July 2, p.2; Irish Genealogy [Online], ID Record of what seems to be her Baptism: DU-RC-BA-606106 (Roman Catholic Church) and ID Record of Marriage with John Frazer Corkran: DU-CI-MA-34575 (Church of Ireland); see also Hart-Davis 1962: 75; 232]: *Michelangelo, Leonardo Da Vinci, and Raphael* (1880, TCD) from Charles Clément (1821, Normandy-1887, Paris)

Hoey, Frances Sarah Cashel, née Johnston (1830, Ireland-1908, England), ‘Mrs. Cashel Hoey’ [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Edwards 1982]

Thorvaldsen: his life and works (1874, TCD) from Eugène Plon (1836-1895)

MacDermott, Martin (1823, Ireland-1905, England) ‘M. MacDermott, Esq, Architect’ [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: *An Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages* (1860), rev.& reissued as *Military Architecture* (1879&1907, TCD) from Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814, Paris-1879, Switzerland); Second ed (1879): preface by ‘John Henry Parker, C.B., F.S.A., &c’ [ODNB]

Maginn, William (1793, Ireland-1842, England) ‘Morgan O’Doherty’, ‘Tickler’, and poss. ‘F.L.’ [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI; see also Raffroidi 1980: 234-237]

- *Physiologie du goût* from [Jean] Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755, Belley, Bugey province-1826, Paris)

Stokes, Margaret M’Nair (1832-1900) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO; see also Ó Céirín and Ó Céirín 1996]: *Christian iconography: or, the history of Christian art in the Middle Ages, by the late Adolphe-Napoléon Didron translated from the French by E. J. Millington, and completed with additions and appendices by Margaret Stokes* (1886, TCD, [NUIG?]) from Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806-1867); with “Byzantine Guide to Painting”, translated into French from a Greek manuscript by Dr. Paul Durand, and from French into English by Margaret Stokes’

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

‘Hon. W. Hely Hutchinson’ [poss. Hon. Granville William Hely Hutchinson (1858-1906) who held the office of Justice of the Peace for County Tipperary, and whose ancestry includes several Earls of Donoughmore, Tipperary; another possibility is his brother Hon. Sir Walter Francis, b.1849]: *Charles Gounod; Autobiographical Reminiscences with Family Letters and Notes on Music* (1896, TCD) from Charles Gounod (1818-1893)

Sullivan, Michael John ‘M. J. Sullivan, Esq., Barrister at Law’: *The art of learning languages, restored to its natural principles; by M. Weiss, Professor of Languages, and of French and German Literature, late Professor at the Athenæum, Paris* (1817, NLI, HC/RIA&ML); long translator's pref, signed from ‘Dublin, June 30th, 1817’; dedication ‘To

his Excellency Earl Whitworth, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, &c., &c.’ i.e. **Charles Whitworth** [DIB/ODNB]; NLI: translator's presentation copy; printed for **William Figgis**, 37, Nassau-Street, by **Graisberry and Campbell** (q.v.)

12) Poetry

A short list of French-language authors relevant to this category is provided at the end of the present section.

Alexander, William (1824-1911) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO] and **Alexander, Cecil Frances [Fanny], née Humphreys** (1818–1895) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

- Their joint translations from Hugo can be found in W. Alexander’s collection entitled *St. Augustine's holiday and other poems* (1886, TCD, NLI, UU); TCD item signed on half-title ‘James C. Culwick, 1900’

- Cecil Frances Alexander was prob. the translator of ‘The travels of the leaf’ from Arnault, signed under ‘**Cecil**’ in the *DUM*, Vol.27, Feb 1846

Brenan, Joseph (1828, Ireland-1857, Louisiana) ‘J. B. Cork’ [DIB/PI/RICORSO]:

- ‘The Traveller’, author unnamed, the *Nation*, Sep 6, 1845, p.776

- “‘The Dying Poet’ – by Millivoye’ [sic, i.e. Millevoeye], *Cork Examiner*, Jan 21, 1846

Bristow, Amelia [PI, but O’Donoghue unhappily refers to Bristow as ‘an Ulsterman’]: in: *The maniac, a tale, or, a view of Bethlem hospital; and the merits of women, a poem from the French: with poetical pieces on various subjects, original and translated* (1810NLI, HC/RIA) includes fables from Claude-Joseph Dorat [‘The Dove and the Sparrow’, ‘The Ingot and the Iron Bar’ & ‘The Glow-worm’], ‘The Rural Sage’ from ‘Abbé de Lille’, i.e. Jacques Delille, and ‘The merits of women’ from Gabriel Legouvé; subscribers list

Cummins, Felix, ‘Abbé Cummins, ‘priest of the Religious Congregation of the Most Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Bach. of Theol. in Sorbonne, Prof. of Theol. in the Seminary of Picpus’ [no biog; see <http://www.sccpicpus.com/news.aspx?c=3&ln=en&id=856> (Accessed 8 June 2011), and *Finns Leinster Journal*, Vol.lxi, Dec 1, 1827, p.3]; Cummins is the author

of a language method aimed at French-speaking learners of English, *L'Abréviateur anglais, ou Méthode courte et facile pour apprendre cette langue, à l'usage des Français, par M. l'abbé Cummins* [1834, BNF]:

La Fontaine's Fables, translated into English verse by the Reverend Abbé Cummins, (not found in Ireland, see BNF) from Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695); printed in France in 1834; note that there are similar titles in Ireland's holdings, but trans. anon & with different imprints

Dalton, John Paul (1865-1912) [PI; see Conlon 1974: 24-27]

Dalton's *Poems original and translated* (1894, NLI&TCD), publ. in Cork by **Guy & Co.**, includes translations from Gresset ['Ode on the Golden Age'], Florian ['Death' and 'Country Life'], Hugo ['To a Young Girl'], Voltaire [untitled], Cerutti [The Serpent and the Bee'], Didier ['Autumn'], & several anon; his *Sarsfield at Limerick, and Other Poems* (1898, TCD), also publ. by Guy & Co., includes translations from Boileau ['On Homer'], Jean-Baptiste Rousseau ['How Inspiration Comes'], and two anon. ['The Dying Musician' and 'With a Present of some Flowers']

Davis, Thomas Osborne (1814-1845) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI]: 'The Exile', 'paraphrased from the French', taken from Lamennais's *Paroles d'un croyant* (unacknowledged); this translation can be found in *The poems of Thomas Davis* (1866), available in various Irish library holdings

Dowe, William (1815, Ireland-1891, U.S.) 'W.D.', 'Delta, Cork' [PI/RICORSO]

- numerous translations publ. in the 1840s, mostly in the *DUM* and the *Cork Examiner*, as well as other magazines [it is not completely certain that all translations signed 'W..D.' are his own]; Among these are translations from:

Lamartine ['First Love', *Dublin Monthly Magazine*, July-Dec 1842; 'A Picture' and 'Beauty', *DUM*, Vol.22, Aug & Nov 1843], Hugo ['The Fairy and the Peri', signed 'W.D.', *The Citizen, or Dublin Monthly Magazine*, Vol.III, 1841; 'Her Name', *DUM*, Aug 1843, signed 'Cork, 1842'; 'Orientale', *DUM*, 1843]; 'Madame Montaran', ['Venice', signed 'W.D.', *The Citizen, or Dublin Monthly Magazine*, Vol.III, 1841]

- see also Béranger Appendix

Drennan, William [Sr.] (1754-1820) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI]: 'Louvet's Hymn to Death' from Louvet de Couvray, and a transl. from anon., in *Fugitive pieces, in verse and prose* (1815, NLI, TCD, RIA, QCat, DCL), republished in *Glendalloch, and other poems, by the late dr. Drennan; with additional verses, by his sons* (see Drennan Jr.)

Drennan, William [Jr.] (1802-1873) [PI; see also ODNB for Drennan Sr.]

His translations can be found in *Glendalloch, and other poems, by the late dr. Drennan; with additional verses, by his sons* (1859, NLI, UCD, TCD, NUIG, NUIM, UU, Qcat, COL, DCL, LOCL). Among them are translations from:

- Hugo ['The Baby' and various untitled], Lamartine ['Bonaparte'], Lamennais ['Hymn to Poland'], Marot ['Rondeau'], Basselin, [untitled], Joseph-Étienne de Surville (or Clotilde de Vallon-Chalys de Surville) ['Verses to My First-Born'], Jacques de Cailly, ('Chevalier d'Aceilly') [various epigrams], 'Bernard' (unidentified), 'Mr. Lepee' (unidentified; title : 'The Soldier's Widow'), and various anon.

- see also Béranger Appendix

'Eva of the Nation', i.e. Mary Anne O'Doherty, née Kelly (1830, Ireland-1910, Australia), 'Eva' 'E.', 'Ella' [DIB/ODNB; see also Webb 1997]

- translations from Chateaubriand ['Home Song', the *Nation*, 6 Apr 1850]; Victor Hugo ['Expectation', *SFJ*, 27 Mar 1861; 'The Lady Fly', the *Nation*, 28 Mar 1857 and *SFJ*, 17 Apr 1861]; Lamartine ['Lines to a Poet', the *Nation*, 9 Aug 1845; 'The Dying Christian', *SFJ*, 31 July 1861]; some of her translations were included in *Poems by Eva of 'The Nation'* (various edns at NLI), originally published in San Francisco in 1877

- see also Béranger Appendix

Hyde, Douglas [Dubhglas De Híde] (1860-1949) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/TRASNABIO]

'The Burial of a Marionette', with facing French original, was translated by Hyde in 1889 from Henri Cazalis, aka 'Jean Lahor', but it may not have been publ. before 1943 (*Dánta éagramhla agus Béarla curtha ortha*)

Irwin, Thomas Caulfield (1823-1892), 'T.I.' [DIB/PI/RICORSO]

- 'La Marquesa de Mona', the *Irish People*, 25 June 1864, p.491, and 'Madrid', in 'Translation Traceries from the Classic and Continental Poets', *DUM*, Vol.66, Nov 1865, p.596, both from Alfred de Musset

- see also Béranger Appendix

Joyce, James (Augustine Aloysius) (1882, Ireland-1941, Switzerland)

[DIB/ODNB/RICORSO] : translation of Paul Verlaine's 'Chanson d'Automne' (c1900-1902), see *Poems and Exiles* (1992)

Kelly, Mary Anne O'Doherty, see 'Eva'

MacCarthy, Denis Florence (1817-1882) 'Desmond', 'D.F.M.C.', therefore poss. 'F.M.C.'

[DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

- translations from André Chénier [The Sick Youth. An Idyl'; 'The Young Captive. An Ode'; 'The Blind Old Man. An Idyl'; 'The Muses. An Elegy']; Casimir Delavigne ['Three Days of Christopher Columbus'; 'Expectation'; 'The Adieu']; (Madame) Desbordes-Valmore ['Evening']; Millevoye ['Truth']

These translations were published in various series entitled 'Flowers from Foreign Lands' (1845, the *Nation*), 'Sounds and echoes: poems and translations from Spanish, German and French' (Vol. XXXII, Dec1848 *DUM*, pp. 648-658), 'A September garland: translations of poetry from French, German, Italian, Spanish' (Vol. XXXIV, Sep1849, pp. 305-313). They can be found in *Ballads, poems, and lyrics, original and translated* (1850, NLI)

- see also Béranger Appendix

Mahony, Francis Sylvester (1804, Ireland-1866, France) 'Father Prout', 'Oliver Yorke'

[DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI]

Mahony's translations appeared in a series of essays on 'The Songs of France', first published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1834. There is also an article on 'Victor Hugo's Lyrical Poetry' and another on 'Burns and Béranger'. These essays were then published in *The reliques of Father Prout, late P.P. of Watergrasshill, in the county of Cork, Ireland*, also edited as *The works of Father Prout*, both available in most Irish libraries and in various editions; evidence of ownership appears, e.g., on WMCL copy: with school award label on front pastedown 'St. Catherine's Dominican Convent, Sion Hill awarded to Annie Egan

1891'; 'The Songs of France' were presented under a number of 'themes' such as 'Wine and War', 'Women and Wooden Shoes', 'Philosophy', 'Frogs and Free Trade'. There are translations from:

- Gresset ['*Ver-vert, the parrot*']; Delavigne ['The Dog of the three days. A Ballad, September 1831']; Victor Hugo ['The Veil, an Oriental Dialogue' and 'The Bride of the Cymbaleer. A Ballad']; Millevoye ['Pray for Me. A Ballad' and 'The Fall of the Leaves']; Pierre de Ronsard ['The Hour-Glass']; Lamartine ['Consolation']

- see also Béranger Appendix

Mangan, James Clarence (1803-1849) 'J.C.M.', 'M.' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI; valuable bibliographies in Chuto 1996 and Raftroidi 1972 or 1980]. Of Mangan's translations from French, the following may be named:

- 'Sonnet', from 'Laugier de Porchères' (or rather Arbaud de Porchères), signed 'Clarence', the *Dublin Satirist, or Weekly Magazine of Fashion and Literature*, vol.I, 22 March 1834, p.314

- 'The Marseillaise', signed 'J.C.M.', the *United Irishman*, no.6, 18 Mar 1848, p.89

- from 'Lafontaine' i.e. La Fontaine, 'The Old Man and the Youths' the *Irish Penny Journal*, Vol. 1 (26), Dec 26, 1840, p. 206, signed 'M'; first publ. as 'The Old Man and the Three Striplings' in *DUM*, Jan 1839; repr. in *Cork Examiner*, Dec 11, 1846

- from Lamartine: 'Man: addressed to Lord Byron', *DUM*, Vol.6, Dec 1835; several 'Harmonies', *Irish Monthly Magazine* (1845); 'Napoleon' [see Chuto 1996: 363-368] 'Farewell to my country', the *Nation*, Feb 12, 1848, p.105

- from anon: 'The Catacombs of St. Denis' [written in 1847, see Chuto 1996: 351-353]

- from 'Pauffin i.e. prob. Pauffin, Chéri (1801-1863)

- see also in the *DUM*: 'Lays of many lands, being translations from the German, Swiss, Swedish, Spanish, Danish, French and Irish, ...' (Vol. 30, Sep-Dec, 1847), 'Lays of many lands, ...' Nos. IV & V (Vol. 31, Jan-June 1848), and 'Lays of many lands: translations from German, Norwegian, Spanish, Dutch, French, Swedish, Serbian, Turkish, Persian...', Nos. VI & VII (Vol. 32, July-Nov, 1848)

Murray, Patrick Aloysius (1811-1882) [DIB/ODNB/PI]: unverified, but accord. to Corkery (1970: 5), Murray included translations from Lamartine in his *Prose and Verse* (1867)

‘Penttrill, [Mrs.] Frank’ i.e. **Mrs. William Rafferty, née Carew** [PI]:

- translation of Ronsard’s ‘Election de mon Sépulchre’, *IM*, Vol.12 (131), May 1884, p.254

- ‘Penttrill’ also contributed several versified legends incl. ‘The Washers of the Night – A Legend of Lower Brittany’, *IM*, Vol. 26, No. 306, Dec., 1898, pp.647-648, and ‘Our Lady of Stone – A Legend of Alsace’, *IM*, Vol. 24, No. 278, Aug., 1896, pp.407-409, though there are no indications of these being translations

Russell, Matthew, S.J. (1834-1912) ‘M.R.’ [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: verse translations from (Mgr.) François-Alexandre Roulet de La Bouillerie (1810-1882) in an essay entitled ‘A French Poet-Archishop, Francis de la Bouillerie’, *IM*, Vol.19 (214), Apr 1891, pp. 181-188

Sigerson, George (1836-1925) ‘Erionnah’ [DIB/PI/RICORSO]: ‘Pray for me!’ from Millevoeye, in ‘Poet’s Corner’, the *Nation*, Aug 14, 1858, p.794, re-published in Sigerson (1927) as ‘The Angelus’

Somers, B., née O’Reilly ‘Mrs. B. Somers’ [PI; see Ó Súilleabháin 1978]

Somers’s translations appeared in her anthology, *Selections from the modern poets of France, translated into English, with biographical notes* (1846, NLI[2], LCL), published by **Samuel J. Machen** in Dublin, and Churton in London. It was printed at the **University Press** by **M.H. Gill** (q.v.). One NLI item is a signed presentation copy from the translator, inscribed to her friend ‘Rev. O’Brien’, and with a bookplate of ‘J.R. O’Connell’; translator’s pref. & dedication to Maria Edgeworth; the dedication is signed ‘B. Somers, Roristown, County Meath’, suggesting that ‘B’ may be her own initial in this case

- the work comprises translations from Boileau [‘The Art of Poetry’], Guiraud [incl. ‘Le départ – The departure’], ‘Jean-Baptiste [sic] St Victor’, i.e. Jacques Bins de Saint-Victor [‘Rome’], Désaugiers [‘Morality – A Song’], Chateaubriand [incl. ‘An Elegy – On the death of Eliza Mercoeur’], Hugo [‘The Young Girl to her Little Sister’], Delavigne [‘Christian Greece; or, the Young Deacon’], Mennechet [Duché – a Tale’], Lamartine [incl. ‘The Prayer of Nature’, ‘Calabrian Peasant’s Song’, ‘Remembrance’], Fontan [‘The Pirate’s Song’], Soumet [two elegies, ‘The Foundling’ and ‘Christmas Night’], Mme D’Hautpoul [‘The

Violet'], 'Viollet Leduc', i.e. Viollet-le-Duc ['Count Orlov – A Russian Tradition'], Halévy ['Sleep of the Dying'], Mme Amable Tastu ['Death']

- see also Béranger Appendix

Starkey, William (1836-1918) [PI; see DIB for his son Seumas O'Sullivan]

Starkey's translations can be found in *Poems and translations* (1875, NLI, QCat). This collection contains translations from:

- Arnault ['The Leaf']; Hugo [The Island Maid', also published in the *DUM*, Vol.85, July 1875]; Chateaubriand ['The Exile']; Lamartine ['The Lake']

Synge, (Edmund) John Millington (1871-1909) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]:

Synge's translations from French were first publ. in *Poems and translations* (1909, NLI; also in Skelton's edn, 1961): from François Villon ['Prayer of the Old Woman', 'An Old Woman's Lamentations']; Colin Muset ['Colin Musset [sic], an Old Poet, complains to his Patron']

Tyrrell, George, S.J. (1861, Ireland-1909, England) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: Tyrrell's *Versions and perversions of Heine & others* (1909, NLI) include translations from Théophile Gautier ['L'Art']; Sully Prudhomme (pseud.) [four poems incl. 'Le Doute' and 'Âmes et Corps'] and Lamartine ['Ferrara: Tasso's Cell']

Waller, John Francis 'Jonathan Freke Slingsby' (c.1809, Ireland-1894, England) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]: 'Popular Chansons de France' trans. 'Jonathan Freke Slingsby' and 'addressed to Anthony Poplar', *DUM*, Vol.36, Sep 1850, incl. 'Malbrook/ 'Malbrough', pp.298-301; 'Au clair de la lune' / 'By the light of the moon', pp.301-302; 'Voyage de l'Amour et du temps' / 'Love and Time', p.302; 'Ménage de garçon' / 'Bachelor's fare', pp.303-304

Wilde, Jane Francesca, née Elgee (1821?, Ireland-1896, England) 'Speranza', 'Lady Wilde' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/TRASNABIO]: Speranza's 'Wanderings through European Literature' in *Poems* (1864) include a translation from Lamartine, 'The Fountain in the Forest'

Wilde, William Charles Kingsbury (1852, Ireland-1899, England) 'W.C.K.W.' [DIB/PI]: translations from Hugo in *Kottabos* in the 1870s, including 'Per Amica Silentia Lunae', 'Le Voile' (1874) and 'Ad Amicam Meam' (1877)

Unidentified Contributions/(near)Anonymous/Pseudonymous

Anon: ‘The lovers of Montmorency’ from Alfred de Vigny, *DUM*, Vol.22, Nov 1843, pp.525-527

Anon: ‘The Marseillaise Hymn’ from Rouget de Lisle, *The Irishman*, 24 Oct 1840, p.7 [possibly signed under the pseudonym ‘- Sun.’]; facing French & English versions

Anon: ‘Fables translated from the French’: ‘The Wolf and the Porcupine and ‘The Sun and Vapour’, author(s) not named, *Kennedy's British and Irish Catholic magazine*, Vol.I, no.1, p.44

Anon: ‘Translation of the Chant des [Girondins] or “Morir [sic; i.e. Mourir] pour la Patrie”, sung in A. Dumas’s play of “Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge” at the Theatre Historique’ (short verse, original author unidentified) from Alexandre Dumas [*père*], *Kerry Examiner and Munster General Observer*, Mar 10, 1848

Anon: ‘La Marseillaise’ from Rouget de Lisle, *Kerry Examiner and Munster General Observer*, Mar 29, 1848

Anon: ‘Napoleon’s Death-Bed’ (From the French) signed ‘P. Lebrun’, i.e. prob. from Pierre Lebrun (1785-1873), (*Belfast*) *Irishman*, Vol.III (156), May 24, 1822

Anon: ‘Ode. Napoleon’ from Casimir Delavigne, ‘For the Cork Examiner’, *Cork Examiner*, Oct 17, 1842

Anon: -many anon. translations from Victor Hugo in the *Cork Examiner* in 1842 (poss. by Dowe): ‘The Danube in Ire – Orientale’ May 27, ‘Leila – Spanish Romance’ June 3, ‘The Lyre and the Harp – To an infant poet’ July 6, ‘The Captive Maid’, Aug 5, ‘Expectation’, Aug 10, ‘The Cymbaleer’s Bride’ Oct 3, ‘The Legend of the Spectre-Nun’ Oct 21, ‘The Grand-mother’ Oct 31, some of which described as ‘Original Poetry’ (For the Cork Examiner)

‘C’: ‘La Marseillaise’ from Rouget de Lisle, *Catholic Guardian*, no.40, Oct 30, 1852, p.638

‘G.N.P.’: ‘The month of May’ from Charles Didier, *Young Ireland Magazine*, Vol.9, May 1875, p.101

‘H.D.R.’ ‘The Happy Man’ *Irish Penny Magazine*, Vol.II (6) Feb 5, 1842, pp.44-5

‘J.B.’: ‘Admirable Lines written by Mary, Queen of Scots on the Demise of her Royal Consort, Francis II, King of France’, French & English facing, translated ‘for the *British and Irish Catholic magazine*’ [*Kennedy’s*], Vol.I, no.3, Dec 1836, pp.120-121

‘L.N.F.’: ‘Guard us well’, from ‘Armand’ (unidentified), *Catholic Guardian*, no.1, 1852, p.10

‘M.E.M.’ [so far identified as M. E. Martin, ‘a lady’, and author of *Rathmore and its Traditions* (1880) in *PI*]: ‘The Prayer of the Poor’ from Lamartine, *DUM*, Vol.48, July 1856, p.84

List of French-language Poets

Arbaud de Porchères, François d' (1590-1640) [and not Laugier de Porchères]

Arnault, Antoine Vincent (1766, Paris-1834, Goderville, Normandy)

Basselin, Olivier (13..., Normandy-1418?)

Boileau, Nicolas (1636-1711 [Paris])

Cailly, Jacques de (1604-1673), pseud. ‘Chevalier d'Aceilly’

Cazalis, Henri (1840, France-1909, Switzerland), pseud. ‘Jean Lahor’

Cerutti, Joseph-Antoine-Joachim (1738, Piedmont region, Italy-1792, Paris)

Chateaubriand, François-René (Vicomte) de (1768, St-Malo, Brittany-1848, Paris)

Chénier, André (1762, Constantinople [Istanbul]-1794, Paris)

Delavigne, Casimir (1793, Normandy-1843, Rhône-Alpes region)

Delille, Jacques (1738, Auvergne region-1813, Paris)

Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine (1772-1827)

Desbordes-Valmore, Marceline (Madame) (1786, Douai, Romance Flanders-1859, Paris)

Didier, Charles (1805, Geneva, Switzerland-1864, Paris)

Dorat, Claude-Joseph (1734-1780)

Florian, Jean-Pierre Claris de (1755, Sauve, Occitan region-1794, Sceaux, Île-de-France region)

Fontan, Louis-Marie (1801, Lorient, Brittany-1839, Thiais, Île-de-France region)

Gautier, Théophile (1811, Tarbes, Gasconne region-1872, Île-de-France region)

Gresset, Jean-Baptiste-Louis, S.J. (1709-1777 [Amiens, Picardy region])

Guiraud, Alexandre (baron) (1788(Limoux, Occitania-1847, Paris)

Halévy, Léon (1802, Paris-1883, Saint-Germain-en-Laye)

Hautpoul, Madame d', i.e. Beaufort d'Hautpoul, Anne Marie de (1763-1837)

Hugo, Victor (1802, Besançon, Franche-Comté region-1885, Paris)

La Fontaine, Jean de (1621, Château-Thierry, Picardy region-1695, Paris)

Lamartine, Alphonse de (1790, Mâcon, Burgundy-1869, Paris)

Lamennais [or La Mennais], Félicité Robert de (1782, Saint-Malo, Brittany-1854, Paris)

Legouvé, Gabriel (1764, Paris-1812, Paris)

Louvet de Couvray, Jean-Baptiste (1760-1797)

Marot, Clément (1496, Cahors, Occitania-1544, Italy)

Mary, Queen of Scots [Mary Stewart] (1542, Scotland-1587, England)

Mennechet, Edouard (1794-1845)

Millevoye, Charles-Hubert (1782, Picardy region-1816, Paris)

Montaran (Madame), i.e. Marie-Constance-Albertine (baronne) de Montaran (1796-1870)

Muset, Colin (13th c) [sometimes misspelt as 'Colin Musset']

Musset, Alfred de (1810-1857 [Paris])

Pauffin, Chéri (1801-1863 [Ardennes Dept])

Ronsard, Pierre de (1524, Orléanais province -1585, Touraine province)

Rouget de Lisle, Claude Joseph (1760, Franche-Comté province -1836, Île-de-France region)

Rousseau, Jean-Baptiste (1670, France-1741, Belgium)

Saint-Victor, Jacques-Benjamin-Maximilien Bins (comte) de (1772, Haïti-1858, Paris)

Soumet, Alexandre (1788, Castelnaudary, Occitan region-1845, Paris)

Sully Prudhomme, pseud of René François Armand (Sully) Prudhomme (1839, Paris-1907, Île-de-France region)

Surville, Joseph Étienne de (1755-1798) or Surville, Marguerite-Éléonore Clotilde de Vallon-Chalys de

Tastu, Amable [née Sabine-Casimire-Amable Voïart] (1798, Lorraine region -1885, Île-de-France region)

Verlaine, Paul (1844, Metz, Lorraine region-1896, Paris)

Vigny, Alfred de (comte) de (1797, Loches, Indre-et-Loire -1863, Paris)

Villon, François (1431?-1463?)

Viollet-le-Duc, Emmanuel Louis Nicolas (1781, Paris-1857, Fontainebleau)

Voltaire, i.e. Arouet, François-Marie (1694-1778 [Paris])

A2: Publishers/Printers/Booksellers/ Circulating Libraries

Barlow, John, printer/bookseller, Bolton-street, Dublin [no biog; see Pollard 2000: 22]:
Historical and philosophical memoirs of Pius the sixth, and of his pontificate, down to the period of his retirement (1800, DCL&NUIM) from Jean-François (Baron) de Bourgoing (1748, Burgundy region-1811, Carlsbad, Bohemia); ‘printed for **H. Colbert, W. Porter** (q.v.), **J. Boyce, J. Rice and R.E. Mercier and Co.**’

Battersby, William Joseph (1794/5-1873), Bookseller/Printer/Stationer, 10, Essex-Bridge Dublin [DIB]

- *Practical instructions on the obligation and manner of keeping Lent* (c.1827, RIA; 1823, UCD) from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627, Dijon, Burgundy-1704, Paris); trans. anon.

- *Pastoral instruction of His Eminence Cardinal De Bonald, on the liberty of the church* (1846, HC/RIA, TCD, UCD, NUIM&DCL) trans. James Maher (q.v.), from Louis-Jacques-Maurice de Bonald; publ. by ‘William J. Battersby, Catholic, Bookseller, Printer, and Stationer, ... and sold by all Catholic Booksellers’

Note that various translations from French were advertised in Battersby's *Catholic Directory, Almanac and Registry of the Whole Catholic World*, including translations by the Christian Brothers (q.v.)

Bellew, Gerald, publisher/bookseller, 19, Grafton-Street, Dublin [no biog]:

- *Josephine: a tale for young ladies. From the French* (1852, NLI), anon author, trans. Mary Hackett

- *Meditations on divine love, or, A spiritual retreat of ten days on the love of God, as displayed in the great truths and mysteries of the Christian religion* (1856, MDI) from Vincent Huby, S.J. (1608-1693 [Brittany]), rev. ‘by a member of the Society of Jesus’; this may be a translation by John Laurenson, S.J. (see Oliver 1838: 117)

Bentham and Hardy, printers/booksellers, 3, Cecilia-street, Dublin; i.e. **Philip Dixon Hardy** (1794-1875) [DIB/PI/RICORSO] and the closest match for Bentham is **Christopher**

Bentham, 19, Eustace street, [no biog] who printed for the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland and for the Society of Friends

- *The French convert, or, the last moments of J.A. Cadiot, formerly minister of Gurat* (1828, NLI) from a Rev. A. Soulier; bound in Publications of the Religious Tract and Book Society for Ireland. Vol.IV

- Bentham also printed: *The shipwreck of the Alceste, an English frigate, in the Straits of Gaspar. Also, the shipwreck of the Medusa, a French frigate, on the coast of Africa; with observations and reflections thereon* (1820, NLI), the *Shipwreck of the Medusa* being from Jean-Baptiste Henri Savigny (1793-1843), Alexandre Corréard (1788-1857) and Charles-Marie Brédif (1786-1818); also printed by **Thomas I. White**, 149, Abbey-Street (1831) and by **J. Smyth**, 34, High-Street, Belfast (1846)

Blenkinsop, P., printer/bookseller, 129, Capel-street, Dublin [no biog; this may be Peter Blenkinsop, referred to by Devitt (1907, Online Catholic Encyclopedia) as a Catholic publisher who migrated from Dublin to the U.S., available at:

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02597a.htm> (Accessed 23 June 2012)]; *The siege of Dantzig, in 1813, by an officer of high rank, in the 30th Division of French infantry* (1815, NLI[2]) from Louis-Antoine-François de Marchangy (1782-1826); ‘translated from the original by a gentleman of this city’

Browne and Nolan, printers/publishers/booksellers, Nassau Street, Dublin, and Belfast and Cork [no biog]:

- *Let us go to the Holy Table: an appeal to Christians of every age and condition; by J.M. Lambert of the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament* (1893, NLI) trans. Fr. **W. Whitty** (q.v.), from Jean-Marie Lambert (1857-19..)

- *The soul of Jesus in his passion: meditations* (1904, NLI) trans. Agnes Wollaston, from Jacques-Marie Louis Monsabré, O.P. (1827-1907)

Bull, John, printer/publisher, Waterford [no biog.]:

- *Elizabeth; or, the exiles of Siberia: a tale founded on truth* (1809, WL&NLI) trans. anon, from Sophie Cottin, née Ristaud (1770-1807)

- *Fundamental Principles of Christian Faith; or, revelation supported by reason... The principal outlines from the French of Aymé* (1807, CCL&UCC) trans. Thomas Hearn (q.v.), prob. from Chanoine Albert Aymé; 'printed for the author by John Bull'; dedicated 'to **John Power**, R.C. Bishop of Waterford and Lismore'; UCC: Ex libris Patrick Canon Power

Burnside, Thomas, printer/circulating library keeper, Lower Liffey-Street, Dublin [no biog, see Pollard 2000: 65-66]: *The point of honor: A play, in three acts. Taken from the French, and performed with universal applause at the Theatre-Royal, Hay-Market* (5 items: 1800, NLI[DIX, J & Oke Collections]; TCD; SPD) from Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814) [unacknowledged on t.p.], trans. Charles Kemble [ODNB], 'printed by Thomas Burnside, for **P. Wogan** (q.v.), **J. Boyne**, **W. Porter** (q.v.), **W. Jones**, **J. Milliken**, **J. Halpen**, **A. Parker**, **J. Rice**, **G. Folingsby**, **B. Dornin**, **N. Kelly**, **P. Moore**, **T. Jackson**, **J. Whitworth**, **J. Stockdale** (q.v.), **J. Parry**, **J. Shea**, and **T. Codd**'(booksellers)

Catholic Book Society, Dublin and Belfast

- *An exposition of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in matters of controversy* (c1830, DIX/NLI) from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704); with adv. for books supplied by [Belfast] Catholic Book Society; printed by **Mairs**, Joy's Court, Belfast

- *The Christian Sanctified by the Lord's Prayer* (1830, TCD) from Abbé Jean-Nicolas Grou, S.J. (1731, France-1803, England); printed in Dublin by **J. Hanvey** for the Catholic Book Society

- *The soul on Calvary, meditating on the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and finding at the foot of the Cross consolation in her troubles; with prayers, practices, and examples on various subjects* (1840, TCD&CCL) trans. Robert Plowden, S.J. [England] from Abbé Barthélemy Baudrand, S.J. (1701-1787); TCD item: from the Library of the **Franciscan Friars**, Killiney

Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Company: adverts in the *Nation* for *The Pope considered in his relations with the Church, temporal sovereignties, separated churches and the cause of civilisation* (CCL), trans. Aeneas McDonell Dawson [Scotland] from Joseph de Maistre (1753, Savoy-1821, Italy)

Catholic Truth Society of Ireland (CTSI), Psdt: **Abp John Healy** (1841-1918)
[DIB/RICORSO]:

- *The parchment of the Morrish doctor* (c1910, NLI) trans. 'O. J. Shannon' from Emile Souvestre (1806, Morlaix, Brittany-1854, Paris)

- *Saint Joseph: his glories and his privileges*; 'translated and abridged from the French of Father Ambrose [sic] Potton, O.P.' (n.d. NLI) trans. anon, prob. from Louis Potton, O.P., name in religion 'le P. Marie-Ambroise'

Charles, J., printer/bookseller, 57, Mary-street, Dublin [no biog; see Pollard 2000: 103]: *Tekeli: or, The siege of Montgatz. A melo drama, in three acts, as performed with distinguished success at the Theatre Royal, Crow-Street; written by Theodore Edward Hook* (1813, NLI), adapt. Theodore Edward Hook [ODNB] and *Rugantino; or, The bravo of Venice: A romantic melo drama, in two acts, as performed at the Theatre-Royal Crow-street, with unbounded applause* (1814&[1820], NLI), adapt. Matthew Gregory Lewis [ODNB], the music by **Thomas Simpson [Tom] Cooke** (1782, Ireland-1848, England) [DIB/ODNB/LI], both plays from René-Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt (1773-1844) [though some sources attribute the original of *Rugantino* to Heinrich Zschokke]

Christie, J., printer, 16, Ross Lane, Dublin [no biog.]

- *Discourse on Universal History: in order to show the progress of religion, and the revolutions of empires, from the beginning of the world to the empire of Charlemagne* (1811, JC/NLI, CCL, TCD, GMIT, UCD, DCL) trans. unidentified (prob. by James Elphinston, 1st publ. in 1777); from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627, Dijon, Burgundy-1704, Paris)

- Two translations from Abbé René Aubert de Vertot, (1655, Bennetot, Normandy-1735, Paris): *History of the Revolution in Sweden* (1816, CCL) and *History of the Knights Hospitaliers of St John of Jerusalem, styled afterwards the Knights of Rhodes, and at the present, the Knights of Malta* (1818, CCL)

Clarke, Nicholas [& Sons], Printer/Bookseller/Stationer, 50, then 58, Great Britain Street, Dublin [no biog]: *The office of Holy Week according to the Roman missal and breviary; preceded by an explanation of its ceremonies and observances. To which are annexed pious reflections &c. for every day in Holy Week on the death and resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (1837&1843, TCD) from Rev. Jean Crasset, S.J. (1618, Dieppe, Normandy-1692, Paris), trans. anon; later edns (TCD, MDI, NLI) publ. by **Duffy** (q.v.); TCD: from the library of the **Franciscan Friars**, Killiney

Note that Clarke issued *A treatise on the supremacy of St. Peter; the extent of papal jurisdiction; the powers of patriarchs, primates, and metropolitans, and the source of Episcopal jurisdiction* (1817, HC/RIA) prob. an original Italian work by Alfonso Muzarelli (1749, Italy-1813, France), trans. 'from the French by the Rev. **J. Cunningham**, O. P.' [no biog], 'Printed for the translator'

Connor [or Conor], J. [John], printer/bookseller/stationer, Circulating-Library, Grand-Parade, Cork [no biog]:

- *The adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses* (1803&1811, NLI; 1803, UCC) from François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), reprint of an 18th-c translation, prob. by John Hawkesworth [ODNB]; UCC: MS note on final page 'Geo. Fuller.'

- *Paul and Virginia* (1805, NLI; 1806, UCC) trans. Helen Maria Williams [ODNB] from Bernardin de St Pierre (1737-1814); bound with other stories

Coyne, John, printer/bookseller 'to the General Society of the Christian Doctrine', 24, Cook Street, Dublin [no biog]:

- *The life of Princess Louisa, daughter of Louis XV, King of France: a Carmelite nun written originally in French...to which is added the life of M. Julia MacMahon* (1812, NLI, CCL) from Abbé Liévin-Bonaventure Proyart (1743?-1808) ed/trans. anon (poss. Irish, considering the added text on Irish Carmelite Julia MacMahon); printed and sold by John Coyne and **Andrew Conor**, Clarendon-Street; 1812 is the 3rd edn, 'carefully corrected and improved'; 32-page long subscription list; NLI: MS 'Mrs. Moore'

- *The holy court, being a comprehensive system of moral maxims, pious reflections, and historic examples; forming ... a complete library of rational entertainment, Catholic devotion, and Christian knowledge. In five parts...* (1815-1816, TCD[3], CCL&UCD; 1816-1826, NLI), a 17th c transl. by Sir Thomas Hawkins, assist. by Sir Basil Brooke [ODNB for both]; partly printed and published by **Thomas Foley**, Dublin; TCD: Copy A brought from the Carmelite Friars

- *Confidence in the mercy of God, for the consolation and encouragement of the timid, to which is added the difference between true and false happiness* (1826, NLI) trans. anon, from Bp/Abp Jean-Joseph Languet de Gergy (1677-1753)

- *A treatise on devotion for the souls in purgatory; with a series of practices for the month of November; translated from the French of the Ven H. M. Boudon* (1843, HC/RIA) trans. **anon** (poss. Irish) from Henri-Marie Boudon (1624-1702); 2nd edn

Coyne, Richard (1776/7-1856), publisher/printer/bookseller 'to the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth', Capel Street, Dublin [DIB]

- *Spiritual consolation, or, A treatise on interior peace*; 'interspersed with various instructions necessary for promoting the practice of solid piety, by the Authoress of the "Ursuline manual"' (1835, HC/RIA; 1840, CCL, TCD & DIX/NLI) trans. (prob.) **Mother Mary Borgia McCarthy** (q.v.): from Ambroise de Lombez, ie. Jean de La Peyrie (1708-1778 [Occitan region]); RIA ms inscription: 'James Sleoni September 26th 1848, city of Dublin; TCD: one item bought from the Franciscan Friars, Killiney, 1975

- *Historical catechism; containing a summary of the sacred history, and Christian doctrine; by Monsieur Fleury, ... newly translated from the French; in four parts* (1847, NLI) from Abbé Claude Fleury (1640-1723 [Paris]); trans. anon.

- *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* (1829, UCC, NUIG, DCL&UCD; 1836, TCD) trans. anon [poss. Levinus Brown, S.J., who translated this work in 1742, cf. ODNB] from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627, Dijon, Burgundy-1704, Paris)

Cross, Richard (1730s?-1809), printer/publisher/bookseller, Dublin [DIB; Pollard 2000: 137-8]: [also editor of the following title] *The interior Christian: in eight books* (1804, DCL, NLI&UL) from Jean Bernières de Louvigny's (1602-1659); the author's name does not appear on t.p. nor in the 'Author's Life' prefixed to the work, but it is acknowledged by the printer (Cross) in his 'Preface to this Edition'; also printed at Limerick by **J. and T. M'Auliffe**; List of subscribers, mostly from Munster and south Leinster areas, particularly Limerick and Kilkenny; DCL: MS signature on half title 'Edmond L. Walsh, Waterford, 1837' and stamp of **St John's College Library, Waterford** on back free endpaper

Direction of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland: *Elements of geometry: for the use of the Irish National Schools* (1848&1852, NLI) trans. anon, from Alexis Claude Clairaut (1713-1765); the 1852 edn was 'Sold by **W. Curry, Jun. and Co.**, Dublin; R. Groombridge and Sons, London; George Philip, Liverpool; Fraser and Co., Edinburgh; Armour and Ramsay, and Donoghue and Mantz, Montreal, Canada; and Chubb and Co., Halifax, Nova Scotia'

Dowling, V., bookseller (prob), Dublin: *The young exiles, or, Correspondence of some juvenile emigrants: a work intended for the entertainment and instruction of youth* (1799, PC/TCD) from ‘Madame de Genlis’, i.e. Stéphanie Félicité (Comtesse) de Genlis (1746-1830); ‘printed for V. Dowling and **J. Stockdale**’(q.v.)

Duffy, James (1808/9-1871), publisher/printer, 7 or 15, Wellington Quay, Dublin; also at 23, Anglesea-Street, 38, Westmoreland Street, 61 & 62 Great Strand Street and 70 Jervis Street, Dublin; and Paternoster Row, London [DIB, RICORSO]

- *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* (1845, NLI, CCL[2], NUIM) trans. anon [poss. Levinus Brown, S.J., who translated this work in 1742, cf. ODNB] from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627, Dijon, Burgundy-1704, Paris)

- *Lily of Israel, or, the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, translated from the French of the Abbé Gerbet; to which is added the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (n.d, NLI, DCL[2], WECL) from Anne-Albe-Cornélie de Beaurepaire, Ctesse Charles d'Hautefeuille (1789-1862) (pseud. 'Anna Marie') [commonly attributed to Olympe Philippe Gerbet]; advertised in *FJ*, Apr 28, 1873 in ‘Books for May’; *Nihil Obstat* C.P. Meehan [**Charles Patrick Meehan**, DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO] and *Imprimatur* Gulielmus J. Walsh, *Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas*, i.e. Abp **William J. Walsh** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *The liturgical year* (1867-1903, MDI&NUIM) from Dom Prosper Guéranger (1806-1875 [Sarthe Dept]); translated from the French by Laurence Shepherd, ‘Monk of the English-Benedictine Congregation’, and last 3 vols. tr. by ‘the Benedictines of Stanbrook’; this title features in the *IER*'s list of 'A 100 Good Books for Young Priests', V. xvii, 1896

- *The Origin of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart* (1887, not found) from ‘Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, i.e. Sainte Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (1647-1690), trans. anon but a review in *IM*, Vol.15 (171), p.537, describes the translator as ‘**the new Irish translator**’; adv. by Duffy in the *Nation*, Oct 8, 1887

- *A treatise on the love of God* (1852, UCC; 1852&1860, NLI; 1852, n.d. &1860, MDI) trans. **anon** (poss. Irish) from de Saint François de Sales (1567, Sales, Savoy-1622, Lyon); 1852 edn presented as ‘A new translation’; UCC: Ex libris Mercy Convent, Mallow

- *Life of St. Francis of Assisium* (CCL), trans. ‘**J. B. Murphy**’ [possibly Irish] from François-Émile Chavin de Malan (1814-1856)

- *On Purgatory, By a Father of the Society of Jesus...To which is added, The Fourteen Stations of the Holy Way of the Cross, by St. Alphonsus M. de Liguori* (1873, NLI[2]) from anon (poss. Étienne Binet, S.J., 1569-1639); translator’s pref. signed ‘**S.M.C.A**’ [prob. Irish]; *Nihil Obstat* of Edmundus O’Reilly, S.J., i.e. **Edmund Joseph O’Reilly** (1811, England-1878, Ireland) [DIB/ODNB] and *Imprimatur* of Paulus Card. Cullen, i.e. Card-Abp **Paul Cullen** (1803-1878) [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *Catechism of perseverance: an historical, doctrinal, moral, and liturgical exposition of the Catholic religion* ([1856] & 1872, NLI, 1860, CCL) trans. ‘**Rev. F. B. Jamison**’ [Francis Jamison B. (1801-1858), identity uncertain] from Abbé Joseph Gaume (1802-1879); features in the *IER*’s list of ‘A 100 Good Books for Young Priests’, V. xvii, 1896; later edns by **Gill & Son** (q.v.)

- other significant translations publ. by Duffy: *The history of Ireland, ancient and modern...*, trans. **Patrick O’Kelly** (q.v.) from Abbé MacGeoghegan; Duffy’s edn (1840s) announced as ‘MacGeoghegan’s National History of Ireland’ in the *Nation*; *Sermons of the Abbé Mac Carthy, S.J.,...* (1848, NLI&CCL), also as *Sermons for Sundays and festivals the Blessed Virgin, charity sermons, panegyrics of the saints, &c.* (4 items: 1868, NLI & MDI[2]; 1881, CCL) trans. **Mahony, C. [or D.]** (q.v.) from Rev. Nicolas Tuite de MacCarthy [or Mac Carthy], S.J. [Abbé de Lévignac]

Eaton, M & S, printers/publishers/stationers, 49, Dame-Street and 95, Grafton-Street, Dublin [no biog; mentioned in *The Industries of Dublin* (c1887), p.159]: *The Story of St. Benedict Joseph Labre* (1888, NLI, CCL&NUIM) trans. anon, from Léon Aubineau (1815, Vermont, Switzerland- 1891, Paris)

Exshaw, John (1753-1827), printer/ bookseller/stationer, 98, Grafton Street, Dublin [DIB]: *A vindication of the French emigrants, against the defamatory proclamation circulated under the name of An amnesty, 26th April, 1802, by Napoleon Buonaparte* (1803, NLI, TCD, HC/RIA, UCD, ML, QCat) from (poss.) Charles-Marie-Thérèse-Léon, (chevalier) de Tinseau d’Amondans de Gennes; trans. ‘**E.S.L.**’; ML: MS inscription ‘**T. Crofton Croke** [sic] 1837’

Fergusson, W., printer/bookseller, Grand-Parade, Cork [no biog]: *A series of meditations on devine love; or, a spiritual retreat of ten days on the love of God, as it is found displayed in ...*

the Christian religion (1819, TCD&NLI) from Vincent Huby, S.J. (1608-1693 [Brittany]); this may be a translation by John Laurenson, S.J. (cf. Oliver 1838: 117); Printer's dedication to '**John Murphy**, Bishop of Cork [DIB] and **William Coppinger** (q.v.), Bishop of Cloyne and Ross'

Fitzpatrick, Hugh (d. 1818), printer/bookseller, 4, Capel-Street, Dublin [DIB]:

- *The philosophical catechism: or, a collection of observations fit to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (1800, TCD, NUIM, NLI[2], DCL, CCL) from François Xavier de Feller (1735, Brussels, Belgium-1802, Ratisbonne, Germany), trans. Rev. J.P. Mulcaile (q.v.); long subscription list; TCD: with bookseller's ticket of H. Fitzpatrick

- *The school of Christ* (1801, NLI&TCD; 1801&1803, CCL) from Abbé Jean-Nicolas Grou, S.J. (1731-1803), trans. 'A. Clinton', aka Alexander Mackenzie (q.v.)

- *The concordat between His Holiness Pope Pius VII, and Bonaparte, Chief Consul to the French Republic: together with the speeches in full of Portalis, Simeon, Lucien Bonaparte, Jaucourt, and Bassaget; on presenting it to the legislative body; also, the bulls of Pope Pius VII. and other matters relative to the concordat* (1802, NLI, NUIM[2], HC/RIA); note: DCL item (1802 London edn, not Fitzpatrick's) comes from the working collection of pamphlets collected by **Denys Scully** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO], with annotations in pen by Scully, marking several passages on the proper spheres for temporal and spiritual authority, and armorial bookplate of **Richard Robert Madden** [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

Folds, William, printer, Gt Strand-Street [no biog; see Pollard 2000: 220]:

- *Amasis* (ML) trans. Edward Augustus Kendall, from Jacques-Henri Bernardin de St Pierre (1737-1814); 'printed by William Folds, for Messrs. **Burnet, P. Wogan** (q.v.), **W. Porter** (q.v.), **J. Moore, W. Jones, G. Folingsby, B. Dornin, N. Kelly, H. Fitzpatrick** (q.v.), and **R.E. Mercier**'; presented to the library by E.R. McClintock Dix [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO]

- *The language of reason; to which is affixed an extract from the thoughts of Mons. Pascal* (1802. DIX/NLI) from Louis-Antoine de Caraccioli (1719-1803) and Blaise Pascal (1623, Auvergne region-1662, Paris)

Fowler, John (F.), publisher/printer, 3, Crow Street, Dame Street, and 24, Temple Lane, Dublin [no biog; publisher of the *IER*]:

- several translations by **John P. Leonard** (q.v.), incl. *Sermon preached by Mgr. the Bishop of Orleans on behalf of the poor Catholics of Ireland* (1861, TCD, NLI, NUIG, LICL) from Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878), prob. joint transl. with **Rev. Patrick Lavelle** [DIB/ODNB/RICORSO], as well as **Rev. William H. Anderdon**'s (q.v.) own version of same sermon (1861, MDI&NUIM)

- *The Characters of True Devotion* (1896, CCL) trans. **Alexander Mackenzie**, S.J. (q.v.) from Abbé Jean-Nicolas Grou, S.J. (1731-1803)

Gill (formerly **McGlashan & Gill**, then **M.H. Gill**, later **Gill and Son**, publishers/ printers, 50, Upper Sackville Street, later O'Connell Street, Dublin; i.e. **James McGlashan** (d.1856) [no biog; publisher of the *DUM* & partner of **William Curry**, see Benson 2011], **Michael Henry Gill** (1794?-1879) & sons **Henry Joseph Gill** (1836-1903) & **Michael Joseph Gill** (1871?-1913) [DIB, RICORSO]; see also McIntosh 2011a

- *The child: or, advice on the training and education of children* (6 items: 1875, CCL, NUIM&UCC; 1875, 1877&1882, NLI; 1882, MDI) trans. **Kate Anderson** [unknown, poss. Irish] from Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878 [Rhône-Alpes region]); the title of the 3rd edn (1882) is: *The child by Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans* 'translated, with the author's permission, by Kate Anderson'; underneath publisher's name: 'All Rights Reserved'

- *Religion and mental culture in women* (1881, NLI) poss. trans. **Kate Anderson** [see above; the translator is referred to as 'Miss Anderson' in an *IM* review, Vol. 9 (99)] 'from Mgr Jean-Baptiste Landriot (1816, Burgundy region-1874, Champagne-Ardenne region); with an introductory letter 'by the Most Rev. Dr. MacCabe', i.e. prob. Card-Abp **Edward McCabe** (1816-1885) [ODNB/RICORSO]

- *Month of Mary, or, Practical meditations for each day of the month of May* (1884, NLI, MDI) and *Month of the Sacred Heart, or, Practical meditations for each day of the month of June* (1885, MDI) both trans. Laetitia Selwyn Oliver from Abbé Martin Berlioux; the latter title has a pref. by **Robert Carbery**, S.J. [no biog; on Carbery see *IM*, Vol. 33 (381), Mar 1905, pp.121-131]

- *The knout: a tale of Poland* (4 items: 1887, NLI; 1884, 1904[2], PC/TCD) from anon., trans. **Mary Anne Sadlier** (q.v.); originally publ. in the *New York Freeman's Journal*; printed and published by M.H. Gill & Son

- *Thoughts and teachings of Lacordaire* (1892, TCD; MDI [2]; NLI), trans. anon, from Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802, Burgundy region-1861, Sorèze, Occitan region), ed. Bernard Chocarne (1826, Dijon, Burgundy-1895, Corsica)

- *Catechism of perseverance: an historical, doctrinal, moral, and liturgical exposition of the Catholic religion* (1891-1893, NLI, CCL&UCD; 1905, MDI) trans. ‘**Rev. F. B. Jamison**’ [Francis Jamison B. (1801-1858), identity uncertain] from Joseph Gaume (1802-1879); features in the *IER*'s list of 'A 100 Good Books for Young Priests', V. xvii, 1896; UCD: from the collection of Monsignor Patrick Boylan, ie. prob. Patrick Joseph Boylan [DIB]

- Salesian translations [from St. François de Sales], incl. *An introduction to the devout life* (1885, TCD; c1902, MDI&NLI) trans. anon; the 1885 edn is a ‘New edition, carefully revised and compared with the latest French edition’, and bears the *Nihil Obstat* of **P. J. Tynan**, S.T.D. and *Imprimatur* of Eduardus Card. MacCabe (McCabe) Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas i.e. Card-Abp **Edward McCabe** (1816-1885) [ODNB/RICORSO]

- most translations of Catholic children’s literature by **Alice W. Chetwode** (q.v.), **Josephine Black** (q.v.) and **Clara Mulholland** (q.v.)

Goodwin, M. (& Co.), printer, Dublin [no biog. Pollard 2000: 243]:

- *Elizabeth; or, The exiles of Siberia: a tale; a new translation from the French* (1818, PC/TCD&NLI) trans. anon, from Sophie Cottin, née Ristaud (1770-1807); bound with other works

- *Elements of geometry: for the use of the Irish National Schools* (1833&1836, NLI) from Alexis Claude Clairaut (1713-1765)

Grace, Richard [& Sons], publisher/printer/bookseller, ‘Catholic Bookseller’... ‘to the R.C. Colleges of Ireland’, 45, Capel Street, or 3, Mary-Street, Dublin [no biog; see Pollard 2000: 248]

- *Elevation of the soul to God, by means of spiritual considerations and affections* (1833, NLI) trans. Robert Plowden, S.J. [England] from Abbé Barthélemy Baudrand, S.J. (1701-1787), rev/ed. **Francis Joseph L’Estrange** (q.v.); 1825 edn (NLI) printed by **Joseph C. Scully**, bookseller and publisher, 35, Ormond-Quay, Dublin

- *The edifying lives of the pious matrons, Mary E. Tricalet Le Boeuf and Mary Herinx Heliot; translated from the French of Abbe Carron, and revised by a Catholic priest. Also, the life of Mary Anne Pouillet; or, Sister Mary of St. Rose, from the same* (1833, NLI) trans. anon, rev. by ‘a Catholic priest’, from Abbé Guy-Toussaint-Julien Carron (1760, Rennes, Brittany-1821, Paris); with bookplate of ‘John Edward Walsh’
- *Devotion to the holy angels; translated from the French of the Venerable H.M. Boudon, Archdeacon of Evreux* (1837, HC/RIA) trans. **anon** (poss. Irish) from Henri-Marie Boudon (1624-1702); various religious Ms. annotations
- *Pious biography for young men: or, The virtuous scholars; translated from Les écoliers vertueux of M. l'abbé Carron* (1840, PC/TCD) trans. anon, from Abbé Carron
- *The education of daughters, by Archbishop Fenelon; translated from the latest and best French copy of M. L'abbé Rauzan, by M.B. To which are added Fenelon's epistle, character of antiope* (1841, NLI) from François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), ed. Abbé Jean-Baptiste de Rauzan (1757-1847); trans. M.B.’; ‘sold at the **Catholic Book Society** (q.v.), Essex-Bridge, Dublin; **P.J. O’Gorman**, Limerick; Jones, London; and all Catholic Booksellers’
- *The Christian teacher, comprising the Ven. de La Salle's Twelve Virtues of a Good Master, expounded by Brother Agatho [sic]* (1846, MDI&UCD), ‘in part translated by the Brothers of the Christian Schools’ i.e. the **Christian Brothers** (q.v.), from J-B. de La Salle, ‘Frère Agathon’ (i.e. Joseph Gonlieu), Claude Judde, S.J., Abbé Claude Fleury and Jean Crasset, S.J; 2nd edn; sold by [...London, ...Manchester, ...Liverpool], **Battersby** (q.v.), **Coyne** (q.v.), **Machen, Duffy** (q.v.), and **Bellew** (q.v.), Dublin; **O’Gorman** and **O’Brien**, Limerick; **Bradford and Co., Mulcahy, Dillon, O’Brien** and **Brehon**, Cork; and **Phelan**, Waterford
Graisberry and Campbell, printers, 10, Back-Lane, Dublin, printers to the Dublin Society; i.e. **Daniel Graisberry** (1777/8?-1822) [DIB] and **Richard Campbell** (no biog) [see Pollard 2000: 248-9]
- *Extracts from instructions for shepherds, and for owners of flocks* (1800, NLI) trans. anon, from Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton (1716, Montbard, Burgundy-1800, Paris); ‘Published by order of the Rt. Hon. the **Dublin Society**’

- *The art of learning languages, restored to its natural principles* (1817, HC/RIA, ML&NLI) from Mathias Weiss; trans. 'M. J. Sullivan' (q.v.); printed for **William Figgis**, 37, Nassau-Street, Dublin

Grant and Bolton, Dublin [no biog]: published or reissued all scientific translations listed above by **Henry Hickman Harte** (q.v.) and **Charles Graves** (q.v.) in the 1840s; they were printed at the **University Press**

Haly, James, printer/bookseller/stationer, North Main-street, Cork [no biog]:

- *A Journal of the occurances [sic] at the temple during the confinement of Louis XVI, King of France*; by M. Clery, the King's valet-de-chambre (1798, COCL) trans. R. C. Dallas, from Jean-Baptiste Cléry, i.e. Jean-Baptiste Cant Hanet (1759, France-1809, Austria); also printed/sold by **A. Edwards**, **M. Harris**, and **J. Connor** (q.v.); MS inscription on bookplate, 1802, award to 'John Lindsey, for best answer at an examination at the Rev. Patrick Halpin Hamilton's Classical and Mercantile Academy, Mary Street Cork'

- *The adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses* (1800&1801, NLI; 1800, NUIG) from François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), reprint of an 18th-c translation, poss. by John Hawkesworth [ODNB]; facing French & English texts; 'printed and sold by James Haly'

Haydock, Thomas (1772-1859), printer, 8, Lower Exchange Street, Dublin [ODNB; English-born, lived and worked in Dublin for several years]: *The life of St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, apostle of the Indies and Japan; written in French, by Father Dominick Bohours [sic], of the same society, translated into English, by John Dryden, Esq.* (1812, NLI, CCL, NUIM&UCC; 1834, DCL) trans. John Dryden [ODNB] from Abbé Dominique Bouhours (1628-1702 [Paris]), S.J; DCL: Stamp of Resid. S.F. Xav. I.H.S. Dublin on t.p.

Hennessy, John, printer, French-Church-Street Press, Cork [no biog]: *The polemic catechism of John James Scheffmacher, Quandum Lecturer of Controversial Theology in the Cathedral Church of Strasbourg; lately re-printed by the Charitable Book Society in France, and now respectfully offered to the good sense of his fellow-countrymen, in a translation, by their devoted servant, William Coppinger, Roman Catholic Bishop in the Diocese of Cloyne and Ross. An appendix: on the ancient religious and literary establishments in Ireland* (1830, NLI[3], TCD, RIA, UCC[3]) trans. **William Coppinger** (q.v.) from Johann Jakob Scheffmacher, S.J. (1688-1733 [Alsace region])

Hodgson, John ‘**John Hodgson’s Circulating Library**’, Belfast [no biog.] carried translations from:

- Germaine (baronne) de Staël-Holstein, née Anne Louise Germaine Necker (1766-1817), incl. *Delphine: a Novel* (1803, TCD) trans. anon

- Sophie Cottin, née Ristaud (1770-1807), incl. *Elizabeth; or, the exiles of Siberia: a tale founded on truth* (Catalogue: 1838, cf. *British Fiction 1800-1829* [Online]) trans. anon

- François-René (Vicomte) de Chateaubriand (1768, St-Malo, Brittany-1848, Paris), incl. *The Natchez; an Indian Tale* (1827, not found; cf. *British Fiction* [Online])

Holland, Denis (1826, Ireland-1872, U.S.), journalist [DIB/PI/RICORSO]: *Robert Emmet* (1858, NLI&RIA) from Louise [de Broglie, Comtesse] d’Haussonville (1818-1882), trans.

John P. Leonard (q.v.); publ. ‘at the "**Ulsterman**" office, and sold by all booksellers’ (sold by all **agents of the Irishman** in Dublin and around the country); ‘Word from the Publisher’ by Holland

Jackson, Thomas ‘**Jackson’s Circulating Library**’, bookseller/ circulating library/lottery office keeper, Dublin [no biog; see Pollard 2000: 315] carried translations such as:

- *The Saracen, or, Matilda and Malek Adhel, a crusade romance... with an historical introduction by J. Michaud, the French Editor* (not found; adv. in *FJ*, Dec 30, 1807) trans. anon, from Sophie Cottin, née Ristaud (1770-1807)

- *Corinna; or, Italy* (1807, TCD) trans. **D. Lawler** (q.v.) from Germaine (baronne) de Staël-Holstein, née Anne Louise Germaine Necker (1766-1817); adv. in *FJ*, Dec 30, 1807

Jones J. [John], printer/bookseller, 90, Bride-Street, Dublin [no biog; see Pollard 2000: 323]; the following titles were ‘printed for **the Methodist Book-room**, no.13, White-friar street, and sold at the **Methodist Preaching-houses** in Town and Country’:

- *The life of Francis Xavier* (1802, DIX/NLI) poss. trans. **an Irish Methodist translator**, from Abbé Dominique Bouhours (1628-1702); Bouhours’s name does not appear on t.p. but in the translator’s pref; MS ‘Comments’ signed: ‘Dublin 3/9/1916’

- *Conjectures concerning the nature of future happiness* (1802, RIA) from Charles Bonnet (1720-1793), an 18th-c translation by **John Wesley** [DIB/ODNB]; Signed and dated on t.p. verso 'Dublin, April 7, 1787' 'John Wesley'

Jones J. [John], printer/bookseller, 40 South Great George Street, Dublin [poss. same or from same family as the above-named; this John Jones printed & sold a sermon for the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews in 1811]

- *Elizabeth; or, the exiles of Siberia* (1831, NLI) trans. anon, from Sophie Cottin, née Ristaud (1770-1807)

- *Select translation of the beauties of Massillon* (1812, NLI, TCD&HC/RIA) trans. ‘Mrs West’, i.e. Jane West, née Iliffe [ODNB], from Jean-Baptiste Massillon (1663, Provence-1742, Auvergne)

M’Auliffe [or McAuliff], J. and T., printers, Limerick [no biog]: *The Interior Christian: in eight books* (1804, DCL) from Jean Bernières de Louvigny’s (1602-1659); MS signature of Edmond L. Walsh, Waterford, 1837 on half title; Stamp of St John’s College Library Waterford on back free endpaper; this translation was also printed/published/sold in Dublin by **Richard Cross** (q.v.) & **Catholic Book Depository** (in 1843)

McGlashan & Gill (see Gill)

Milliken, J. [John], bookseller, 32, Grafton Street, Dublin [no biog]:

- *A Journal of the occurrences at the temple during the confinement of Louis XVI, King of France, by M. Cléry, the King’s Valet-de-Chambre; translated from the original manuscript, by R. C. Dallas, Esq., Authors of Miscellaneous Writings, &c.* (1798, TCD) trans. Robert Charles Dallas [ODNB], from Jean-Baptiste Cléry (1759, France-1809, Austria); ‘printed for J. Milliken, & **J. Rice**’; From the Crofton Collection, with MS name ‘Thos. Foster, Dublin’

- *A speculative sketch of Europe; translated from the French of Monsieur Dumouriez; to which are prefixed strictures upon the chapter relative to Great Britain* (1798, NLI, HC/RIA, NUIM&UCD) from Charles-François Dumouriez (1739, France-1823, England); ‘Dublin: printed for **J. Moore**, and J. Milliken’

Milliken, Richard and Son, publisher/printer/bookseller, Grafton-Street, Dublin, ‘Booksellers to His Majesty’ [no biog.]: *The officer’s manual: military maxims of Napoleon* (1831, NLI) allegedly from Napoleon I (1769, Corsica -1821, St Helena), trans. Colonel D’Aguilar, ‘Deputy Adjutant General to the Troops serving in Ireland’, i.e. **George Charles D’Aguilar** (1784-1855) [ODNB]

Moore and Murphy, printers, 2, Champton Quay, Dublin [no biog]: *The path of perfection in religious life: a work intended for persons consecrated to God* (1862, CCL & MDI [2]), trans. **anon** (Irish translator), from Abbé Alexandre Leguay

Mullany, John, Publisher/Printer/Bookseller/Stationer, 1, Parliament Street and 4, Fleet-Street, Dublin [no biog]

- *The flowers of heaven, or, Examples of the Saints proposed to the imitation of Christians* (1860, MDI) from Abbé Mathieu Orsini (1802, Corsica-1875), trans. anon; also publ. by the Catholic Publishing & Bookselling Company, London; MS on t.p. 'Fr. O'Carroll', with a stamp 'Rev. D. F. O'Carroll, Parochus. Rush † 1898', another stamp with '† Holy Cross College Clonliffe'; adv. by **Richard Grace** (q.v.) in the *Nation*, Mar 16, 1844

- publisher of Battersby's (q.v.) *Catholic Directory, Almanac and Registry of the Whole Catholic World*, in which various translations from French were advertised, including translations by the **Christian Brothers** (q.v.)

O'Flanagan, T., printer, 26, Bachelor's-walk, Dublin [no biog]: first edn of *The history of Ireland, ancient and modern: taken from the most authentic records, and dedicated to the Irish Brigade* (1831-2, NLI, CCL, UCD, OCL; also in TCC) from Abbé James MacGeoghegan [or Mac Geoghegan] (1702, Ireland–1763, France), trans. **Patrick O'Kelly** (q.v.); publ. 'for the author of the translation'

Ponsonby, Edward, publisher, 116, Grafton Street, Dublin [no biog]; publisher of several translations for the **Intermediate Education Series**, notably those by '**E.M.**' (q.v.), incl: *Class book of French poetry for the young* (1898, NLI); Ponsonby's list of books for 1898 advertises 'literal translations' which have not been sighted during the present research, e.g. from *Jeanne D'Arc* (Lamartine) or *La jeune Sibérienne* (Xavier de Maistre)

Porter, William (1757-1841), printer/bookseller, Grafton-Street, Dublin [DIB; see also Pollard 2000]:

- *Studies of nature*, 'by James-Henry-Bernardin de Saint-Pierre' (1799, NLI; 1800, PC/TCD) trans. Henry Hunter [ODNB] from Bernardin de St Pierre (1737-1814); 'printed by William Porter, for **Pat. Wogan** (q.v.), and William Porter'; TCD: With MS. annotation 'David Simms' book'

- *The Indian cottage* (1800, PC/TCD) trans. Edward Augustus Kendall [ODNB] from Bernardin de St Pierre; item provenance: with bookplate of ‘Robert Montgomery, Convoy’ (Co. Donegal); with MS name of ‘Sam[ue]l Robbins’, dated 1809, on t.p., and MS name of ‘John [R]obbins Esq.’ on p.[iii]. MS annotations in Latin on verso of title, dated 1810, and on rear free endpaper indicating the owner was at the Royal School, Raphoe, Co. Donegal.

- *A new method of instruction for children from five to ten years old; including Moral Dialogues, The Children’s Island, a Tale, Thoughts and Maxims, Models of Composition in Writing for Children Ten or Twelve Years old; and a New Method of Teaching children to draw* (1800, DIX/NLI) from ‘Madame de Genlis’, i.e. Stéphanie Félicité (Comtesse) de Genlis (1746-1830), trans. anon; printed ‘for **P. Wogan**, W. Porter, and **T. Jackson**’

- *The looking-glass for the mind; or, intellectual mirror, being an elegant collection of the most delightful little stories, and interesting tales: chiefly translated from that much admired work, L’Ami des enfans, or, the children’s friend...* (1803, DIX/NLI) from Arnaud Berquin (1747-1791); prob. a reprint of an 18th-c translation; identity of translator uncertain though the name of a Richard Johnson, pseud. ‘J. Cooper’ is commonly suggested

- *Love in a blaze! A comic opera, in three acts; by Joseph Atkinson, ... As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Crow-Street, Dublin* (1800, NLI) adapt. **Joseph Atkinson** (q.v.), music by **John Andrew Stevenson**, from Joseph de La Font (1686-1725)

Powell, William, publisher, Dublin [no biog]: translations by the Christian Brothers, incl. *Christian politeness, chiefly from the "Civilité Chrétiénne" [sic] of the Ven. de la Salle* (1857, NLI & PC/TCD[2]) from Saint Jean-Baptiste de La Salle (1651-1719)

Sealy, Bryers and Walker, publishers, Dublin [no biog]: *Saint Francis of Assisi* (1880, TCD; n.d., CCL; c1900, NLI) trans. **R. F. O’Connor** (q.v.) from Léopold de Chérancé, O. M. C. (1838-1926); also publ. Burns and Oates, London

Simms and M’Intyre, printer/publisher, 26, Donegall Street, Belfast (and London) [no biog; see Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 2011: 224]:

- *The Chateau d’If: a romance* (1846, NLI&LHL) trans. Emma Hardy, from Alexandre Dumas [père] (1802, Picardy region-1870, Normandy); Series: The Parlour novelist; NLI: from the Library of Thomas George Wills Sandford and with his signature on the title-page

- *The Count of Monte Christo; in two vols; being a sequel to "The Chateau d'If."*, then as *The Count of Monte Christo; a romance; in three vols.* (1846, NLI; 1846&1847, TCD) trans. anon, from Alexandre Dumas [père]; NLI: From the Library of Thomas George Wills Sandford and with his signature on the title-page; TCD Copy A: Parlour novelist series, with MS name 'Elizabeth Gillard'; TCD Copy B: Parlour library series, with MS name 'William Gillard'
 - *Memoirs of a physician* (1847, TCD) trans. anon, from Alexandre Dumas [père]; Parlour library series; vol. 3 also contains *The two Marguerites*, trans. anon, from 'Madame Charles Reybaud', i.e. Henriette Reybaud, née Arnaud (1802-1871); with MS signature 'E. W. Kelly'
 - *The commander of Malta* (1846, NLI) trans. Adelbert Doisy [France?], from Eugène Sue (1804, Paris-1857, Annecy, Savoy) [though Dixon (2011: 75) writes that this was "a locally translated edition"]; Series: The Parlour novelist
 - *Consuelo* (1847, TCD&LHL) trans. anon, from Sand George [pseud., i.e. Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin Dudevant]; Parlour library series; LHL: Lavens Mathewson Ewart [Belfast]; TCD: E. Solomons and S. O'Sullivan Collection
 - *The parsonage* (1848, TCD&LHL) trans. anon, from Rodolphe Töpffer (1799-1846 [Switzerland]); Parlour library series; LHL: MS note on title page 'Charlotte Isabella Roe, June 20th/50'; TCD: with MS name 'Elizabeth Gillard', and bookseller's ticket of 'S. Hannaford, Totnes'
 - *Memoirs of my youth* (1849, JC/NLI&LHL; 1849, 1850&1851, CCL; 1852, UCC) trans. anon, from Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869); Series: The Parlour Library of Instruction; note that *The Wanderer and his Home* (1851) trans. Jane Francesca Wilde (q.v.) is described as 'being a continuation of "Memoirs of my youth"'; LHL: item provenance: 'Miss Lamb'; CCL: 1849 item bound with other works incl. *The Wanderer and His Home*
 - *An Autobiography...Birth till the Restoration of the Bourbons* (1850, CCL; 1849-54 &1853, UCD) from François-René (Vicomte) de Chateaubriand (1768, St-Malo, Brittany-1848, Paris); several vols. published between 1849 &1854
- Note: several of the above-mentioned translations from Dumas and Sue were listed in the *Catalogue of Books contained in The People's Library...Belfast* (1847)

Smyth, Joseph, printer, Belfast [no biog]:

- *The Indian cottage; or, a search after truth* (1845, NLI) trans. anon, from Bernardin de St Pierre (1737-1814)

- *The history of the tales of the fairies; newly done from the French ... Dedicated to the ladies of Ireland* (1834, TCD) from 'Madame d'Aulnoy' i.e. Marie-Catherine (Comtesse) d'Aulnoy (c1650-1705), trans. anon, poss. Irish considering the dedication, though earlier edns of this work were 'dedicated to the ladies of Great Britain'

South Mall Book Office [printer **F. Jackson**; no biog]: *Considerations on the Eucharist viewed as the generative Dogma of Catholic piety* (1839, MDI, NLI, NUIG) from Abbé/Bp. Olympe-Philippe Gerbet (1798, Jura-1864, Languedoc-Roussillon), transl. '**a Catholic clergyman**' (q.v.)

Stockdale, John (d. 1813), printer/bookseller, no. 62, Abbey-Street, Dublin [DIB]:

- *Buonaparte and Berthier's details of the expedition into Syria and Egypt. With an account of the siege of Acre, and battle of Aboukir* (1799, JC/NLI)

- *Marengo; or the campaign of Italy, by the army of reserve, under the command of the chief consul Bonaparte. Translated from the French, of Joseph Petit, ... With a map of the north-west part of Italy; ... to which is added, a biographical notice of the life and military actions of General Desaix. By C. Foudras* (1800&1801, NLI) from Joseph Petit and C.[Alexandre?] Foudras

- *Deaf and dumb: or, The orphan protected: an historical drama, in five acts; performed by Their Majesties servants of the Theatre royal, in Drury-lane. February 24th, 1801; taken from the French of M. Bouilly; and adapted to the English stage* (1801, DIX/NLI; TCD[2]) from Jean Nicolas Bouilly (1763-1842), trans. Thomas Holcroft [ODNB]; 'Printed by J. Stockdale, for **P. Wogan**'(q.v.), J. Moore, H. Colbert, **W. Porter** (q.v.), **J. Rice**, **B. Dornin**, **G. Folingsby**, **H. Parker**, **J. Stockdale**, **J. Parry**, and **J. Shea**; one item at TCD bears a bookplate of 'Gerald FitzGibbon'

- *La Bruyère the less: or, Characters and manners of the children of the present age, written for the use of children of twelve or thirteen years of age; with the exception of the last ten chapters, which apply to persons of more advanced years* (1801, PC/TCD) from Stéphanie

Félicité (Comtesse) de Genlis (1746-1830), trans. anon; 'printed by J. Stockdale; for **P. Wogan**(q.v.), **T. Jackson, J. Rice, C. Folingsby**, and J. Stockdale'

The Tract Association of Members of the Society of Friends, Dublin: *Directions for a holy life, and the attaining Christian perfection* (1839&1850, NLI) trans. **anon**, from François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715)

Turner, R., printer, '**Connaught Publ. Office**', Mohill [no biog]: *The portrait of Mary in Heaven*. 'A second ed., with preface, a letter to the **Rev. J.W. Evers**, P.P., and an address to the Roman Catholics of the parish of Mohill, by Mr. **John White**' (1852, NLI) trans. anon, from Napoléon Roussel (1805, Languedoc-Roussillon region-1878, Switzerland); White's pref. is written from Longford; 1st edn of this translation (1849, TCD) publ. in London, and the translator's pref. states that any profits arising from the sale 'will be given to that excellent Institution, "The Irish Reformation Society"'; it is therefore poss. that the translator was Irish

Tyrrell, Gerrard, 'Gerrard Tyrrell Circulating Library', 11 Lower Sackville Street, Dublin [no biog.] carried several translations, including:

- works trans. from Germaine (baronne) de Staël-Holstein, née Anne Louise Germaine Necker (1766-1817), e.g. *Corinna; or, Italy* (1807, TCD) trans. **D. Lawler** (q.v.)

- works trans. from Sophie Cottin, née Ristaud (1770-1807), e.g. *Malvina* (1803; not found; Catalogue: 1834, cf. British Fiction 1800-1829 [Online]) trans. **Elizabeth Gunning** [married name Plunkett; ODNB; Irish father and husband]

- *Adventures of a French serjeant, during his campaigns in Italy, Spain, Germany, Russia, &c., from 1805 to 1823. Written by himself* (1826, NLI) trans. anon, from Charles Ogé Barbaroux, (1792-1867) [& poss. Joseph Alexandre Lardier]

- *Hans of Iceland* (1825, TCD), trans. anon, from Victor Hugo (1802, Besançon, Franche-Comté region-1885, Paris)

Ward, Marcus, & Co. (1807-1847), publisher/printer/stationer, Royal Ulster Works [Dublin Road], Belfast, and London [DIB; see also McIntosh 2011b]

- *The little head of the family, from the French of Mdlle. Zénaïde Fleuriot* (1877, PC/TCD) from Zénaïde Fleuriot (1829, Saint-Brieuc, Brittany- 1890, Paris) trans. anon. [poss. Alice W. Chetwode (q.v.)]; school reward plate, printed by **Browne and Nolan** (q.v.), Dublin

Warren, C. M., publisher/printer, 21, Upper Ormond-Quay, Dublin [no biog]

- *History of the tales of the fairies: being a collection of entertaining stories translated from the French: dedicated to the ladies of Ireland* (4 items: 1849&c1850, NLI) from ‘Madame d’Aulnoy’ i.e. Marie-Catherine (Comtesse) d’Aulnoy (c1650-1705), trans. anon, poss. Irish considering the dedication, but earlier edns of this work were ‘dedicated to the ladies of Great Britain’; also printed by **A. Fox**, 4, Upper Bridge St, Dublin (1814, DIX/NLI)

- *The history of the Holy Bible, comprising the most remarkable events in the Old and New Testaments; interspersed with moral and instructive reflections, chiefly taken from the holy fathers* (1844, NLI) identities of both author & translator uncertain: poss. from Nicolas Fontaine (1625-1709) or Louis-Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (1613-1684), poss. trans. Joseph Reeve [ODNB]

- *Benjamin or, the pupil of the Christian Brothers* (c1851&1880, NLI; c1851, NUIG) from anon. (‘M.L***’, cf.BNF); trans. Mary Anne Sadlier (q.v.); includes publisher’s pref.

- *Devout entertainments on the holy sacrament of the altar* (1877, NLI) from Rev. Jean Crasset, S.J. (1618, Dieppe, Normandy-1692, Paris), trans. anon, ‘and revised by a Roman Catholic clergyman’; 3rd edn

Watson, William and Son, no. 7, Capel-Street, Dublin [no biog; see Pollard 2000: 595-596]: *Memoirs, illustrating the Antichristian conspiracy* (1798, NUIM, HC/RIA, TCD, CCL, DCL) from Abbé Augustin Barruel, S.J. (1741-1820); trans. Robert Clifford; RIA: MS inscription ‘Th. Omeara, Carlow 1846’ on t.p.

Wogan, Patrick (c.1740-1816), printer/bookseller, Dublin [DIB]: *Instruction of Youth in Christian Piety* (1813, NLI), by Rev. Charles Gobinet, D.D. also printed by **J. Coyne** (q.v.), 1828 (CCL) & **Duffy** (q.v.) (n.d, NLI, CCL&MDI); these may be new edns of an 18th-c. translation by Thomas Eyre [ODNB]; one copy held at Belvedere College by Rev. **James Aloysius Cullen**, S.J. [DIB], cf. Davison (1998: 46-47)

- Wogan printed/sold several translations in the area of education/children’s literature, including: *The looking-glass for the mind; or, Intellectual mirror. Being an elegant collection of the most delightful little stories and interesting tales; chiefly translated from that much admired work L’ami des enfans* (c1804, PC/TCD) prob. a reprint of an 18th-c translation; by Richard Johnson, pseud. ‘J. Cooper’, from Arnaud Berquin (1747-1791); and *The rival*

mothers, or Calumny (1801, TCD) from Stéphanie Félicité (Comtesse) de Genlis (1746-1830), trans. anon, was ‘printed for **G. Burnet, P. Wogan, H. Colbert, W. Porter** (q.v.), **J. Moore, W. Jones, J. Halpin, J. Rice, B. Dornin, G. Folingsby, J. Stockdale** (q.v.), **R.E. Mercier, and T. Jackson**’; this item has a bookplate of the Earl of Granard, i.e. (prob) George Forbes, 6th earl of Granard [DIB/ODNB]

Irish-American Publishers

D. & J. Sadlier, New York and Montreal, i.e. Tipperary-born brothers **Denis and James Sadlier**; **Mary Ann Sadlier** (q.v.) also played a part in the publishing process

- most of **Mary Ann Sadlier**’s translations, e.g. *Catholic anecdotes, or, The catechism in examples* (1867, MDI) from ‘Les frères des écoles chrétiennes’ (the Brothers of the Christian Schools)

Donahoe, Patrick, Boston: *Tragedy of Mahomet in: The green book or, Gleanings from the writing-desk of a literary agitator* (1849, NLI) trans. **John Cornelius O’Callaghan** (q.v.) from Voltaire, i.e. François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778 [Paris])

Murphy, John, Baltimore:

- *The Genius of Christianity; or, the Spirit and Beauty of the Christian Religion* (1856, CCL, NUIG, MDI, NUIM) trans. by Charles Ignatius White from François-René (Vicomte) de Chateaubriand (1768, St-Malo, Brittany-1848, Paris)

- *Ireland and France* (1899, NLI, UL) trans. **anon** (q.v.) from Alfred Duquet (1842-1916); dedicated by the translator ‘To the fast and firm friend and champion of the Irish race, **Patrick Ford** [DIB], Esq., Editor Irish World, New York’

A3: Some Other Interesting Items (Irish-owned but not published or translated in Ireland)

- **Sean O'Casey collection** (NLI), catalogued in 2012, containing books belonging to the Irish playwright and to his family. It contains works by Renan, Balzac, Zola and others, with, quite often, pencil markings around the texts.

- Other than those already mentioned, **Thomas Moore Collection** (RIA) comprises several works of religious controversy, such as *An Answer to the Rev. G.S. Faber's Difficulties of Romanism; by the Right Rev. J.F.M. Trevern, D.D. Bishop of Strasbourg, late Bp. of Aire, translated by the Rev. F.C. Husenbeth* (1828) trans. Frederick Charles Husenbeth [ODNB], from Jean-François-Marie Le Pape de Trevern (1754, Morlaix, Brittany-1842, Strasbourg, Alsace), and *The life of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambrai*, the contents of which were 'principally extracted' by Charles Butler [ODNB] from Louis François de Bausset (1748, Pondichéry, India- 1824, Paris), with an Ms. note from Butler regarding donation of book to Thomas Moore. The collection also contains *Travels of Anacharsis the younger in Greece, during the middle of the fourth century before the Christian æra ... In six volumes: and a seventh, in quarto, containing maps, plans, views, and coins, illustrative of the geography and antiquities of ancient Greece* (1817) trans. William Beaumont, from Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716, Cassis, Provence)-1795, Paris)

- From the **Crofton Collection** (TCD), mostly from the library of Christopher Henry Earbery, Dublin, whose sister married the Rev. Henry William Crofton, Co. Wicklow: *Life of Bonaparte, first consul of France, from his birth to the peace of Luneville. To which is added, an account of his remarkable actions, replies, speeches, and traits of character: with anecdotes of his different campaigns* (1802) from Louis Dubroca (1757-1834?); *New picture of Paris* (1800) trans. anon, from Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814), printed in Dublin by **N. Kelly**

Other NUIM items donated by the **Presentation Convent, Portlaoise** (2002) include:

- *The life of the Very Reverend Mother Madeleine Louise Sophie Barat, foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (1876) trans. by Lady Georgiana Fullerton [ODNB] and *The life of General de Sonis from his papers and correspondence* (1891) trans. by Lady

Herbert, i.e. Mary Elizabeth Herbert (Baroness) [ODNB], dedicated by the translator to 'General the Lord Ralph Kerr the Model of a Christian Soldier..', both from Abbé (Mgr) Louis Baunard (1828-1919)

- *Revelations of the Sacred Heart to Blessed Margaret Mary, and the history of her life* (c1890) trans. by "a Visitandine of Baltimore" [U.S.] and *The life of Saint Monica* (1896) trans. by 'Mrs Edward Hazeland', both from Mgr Emile Bougaud (1824-1888)

Others

- *A wife with two husbands: a melodrame, in three acts* (TCD) from René-Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt (1773-1844); this item has bookplate of John Bourke, 4th Earl of Mayo (1766-1849)

Appendix B (Béranger)

Anon. 'a strong and practised masculine hand': 'No more politics', *Nation*, 28 June 1845

Anon. 'a lady, more graceful and not less faithful to the original': 'Plus de politique', *Nation*, 12 Jul 1845

Anon. 'Prophecy concerning the Bourbons' 'Nostradamus, qui vit naître Henri Quatre, &c.', 'dedicated to that glorious old fellow...', *Nation*, 11 Mar 1848, p.171

Anon: 'The Garret / Air - "While History's Muse"', *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine*, July 1848, p.166

Anon: 'The Swallows', *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, No.36, May 10, 1862, p.575

Anon: 'La Gerontocratie, or, the Government of the Aged', *Belfast News-Letter*, no. 9552, Dec 23, 1828

Anon: 'Lines to Passy', *DUM*, Vol.62, July 1863

Anon: 'Chanson from Beranger', *DUM*, Vol.16, Nov 1840, p.505

Anon: 'Vous veillerez', *Belfast News-Letter*, no.10087, Feb 14, 1834

Anon:'My Coat', *Young Ireland Magazine*, Vol. I (1), 27 Mar 1875, p.9

Anon: 'The Prisoner of War - Translated from the French of Beranger for the Examiner'
Cork Examiner, 30 Dec 1842

Anon: 'Beggars – Beranger' (Translated for the Cork Examiner), *Cork Examiner*, 11 Jan 1843

Anon: 'The Hunter and the Milk Maid – Beranger' [Translated for the Cork Examiner]
Cork Examiner, 27 Jan 1843

Anon: 'The Gypsies – Beranger' [Translated for the Cork Examiner], *Cork Examiner*, 20 Feb 1843

Anon: ‘The Flight of Love – Beranger’ [Translated for the Cork Examiner], *Cork Examiner*, 1 Mar 1843

Anon: ‘Colin – Beranger’, *Cork Examiner*, 13 Mar 1843

Anon: ‘The Alchymist – From Beranger’ (For the Cork Examiner), *Cork Examiner*, 8 May 1843

Anon: ‘The Holy Alliance of the Nations – Beranger’ [From the French of Beranger for the Cork Examiner], *Cork Examiner*, 10 July 1843

Anon: ‘The Fourteenth of July – Beranger’ (For the Cork Examiner), *Cork Examiner*, 14 July 1843

Anon: ‘The Blind Mother – Beranger’ ‘Tout en filant votre lin, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, Nov 1844

Anon: ‘The Will-O-The-Wisps – Beranger’ ‘O nuit d’été, paix du village, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, Nov 1844

Anon: ‘The Wandering Outcast – Beranger’ (For the Cork Examiner) ‘Dans ce fossé cessons de vivre, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, 9 Dec 1844

Anon: ‘The Wandering Jew – Beranger’ [For the Cork Examiner.] ‘Chretien, au voyageur souffrant, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, 16 Dec 1844

Anon: ‘The Four Historic Ages – Beranger’ (For the Cork Examiner) ‘Societe, vieux et sombre edifice, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, 13 Jan 1845

Anon: ‘The Stolen Flask – Beranger’ [For the Cork Examiner.] ‘Sans bruit, dans ma retraite, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, 13 Jan 1845

Anon: ‘The Comet of 1832’ (For the Cork Examiner) ‘Dieu contre nous envoie une comete, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, 20 Jan 1845

Anon: ‘Time – Beranger’ (For the Cork Examiner) ‘Pres de la beaute que j’adore, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, 12 Feb 1845

Anon: ‘The Children of France – By Beranger’ (For the Cork Examiner) ‘Reine du monde, O France, O ma patrie, &c.’, *Cork Examiner*, 21 Feb 1845

Anon: 'The Fifth of May' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Des Espagnols m'ont pris sur leur navire, &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 3 Mar 1845

Anon: 'Overflowing Love – From Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Malgre la voix de la sagesse, &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 17 Mar 1845

Anon: 'Lafayette in America – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Republicanis [sic], quel cortege, s'avance? &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 25 Apr 1845

Anon: 'The Exiled Angel – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Je veux, pour toi, prendre un ton moins frivole, &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 2 May 1845

Anon: 'The Prisoners Fire – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Combien le feu tient douce compagnie [sic], &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 14 May 1845

Anon: 'The Dead Alive – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) "'Lorsque l'ennui penetre dans mon fort", &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 30 May 1845

Anon: 'My Little Corner – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Non, le monde ne peut me plaire, &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 20 June 1845

Anon: 'Fortune – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner), *Cork Examiner*, 2 July 1845

Anon: 'The Poor Woman – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Il neige, Il neige, et la, devant l'eglise, &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 16 July 1845

Anon: 'Bad Wine – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Benis sois tu vin detes lable [sic!], &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 15 Sep 1845

Anon: 'Cyprus Wine – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Chypre, ton vin qui rajeunit ma verve, &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 26 Sep 1845

Anon: 'My Old Coat – Beranger' (For the Cork Examiner) 'Sois-moi fidele, O pauvre habit que j'aime, &c.', *Cork Examiner*, 5 Dec 1845

Anon: 'Ode', part of a short art. titled 'Béranger's Last Lyric - on the Revolution', *Cork Examiner*, 7 Apr 1848

Anon: 'More Loves', *Irish People*, 20 Aug 1864, p.618-9

Anon: 'The Poor Woman', *Irish People*, 29 Oct 1864, p.778-9; Section: 'Poetry'

Banks, Percival Weldon (1805-1850) 'Morgan Rattler' [no biog; see ODNB for his brother, John Thomas Banks]: Translations of 'La Bonne vieille' and 'Le Grenier' in 'Of a philosopher, a patriot, a poet', *Fraser's magazine*, V.40, Nov 1849, pp.531-545

Barry, Michael Joseph (1817-1889) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

In: *Six songs of Béranger* (Book), privately printed at Dublin, 1871

'A World of Love', 'The Song of the Cossack', 'The Garret', 'Great Heaven, How Beautiful is She!', 'Bob Goodcheer', 'Rosette'

Beet [Beek?], John (signs from London): 'Mary Stuart's Farewell', *Weekly Irish Times*, Sep 10, 1892

'C.J.M.': 'The Old Flag', *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, Vol.1 (13), Nov 30, 1861, p.196

'D.L.': 'The Vagrant', *Nation*, Sep 6, 1845, p.776

De Burgh, Hubert (1845, Ireland-1877, England?) [PI; see 'The Late Hubert De Burgh' (1877), FJ, Oct 20, p.5, and 'What the World says' (1877), FJ, Oct 24, p.6]

- in: *Songs of Béranger* (Book), Dublin & London, 1870 'Jean de Paris'

'La Double Ivresse. A Fragment', 'La Fayette in America', 'The Carrier Pigeons of the Bourse', 'The Fourteenth of July - written in La Force', 'The Veteran', 'Cyprian Wine', 'Farewell to Glory' [also in *Kottabos*, First Series, 1874], 'The Two Grenadiers', 'The Relics', 'My Tomb', 'The Guardian Angel', 'The Comet of 1832', 'Happiness', 'The Snails', 'The Echoes', 'The Baptism of Voltaire'

- in *Kottabos*, First Series, 1874 : 'The Old Corporal', 'The Vivandière', 'The Old Vagabond'

- in *Kottabos*, Vol.2, 1877: 'Adieu, Chansons!', 'The Fly'

Dowe, William (1815-1891) 'Delta, Cork' 'W.D., Cork', etc; poss. translator of several anon. listed above [PI and (very short) RICORSO]

- 'Cyprus Wine', *Bentley's Miscellany*, Vol.5, Apr 1839, signed 'W.D., Cork' & in 'A Night with Beranger', *Sartain's union magazine of literature and art* (U.S.), Vols. 6-7, 1850, pp.218-226 (p.222)

- (poss.) signed under 'Rosemount. Delta': 'Les Etoiles qui filent (misspelt 'Les Etoiles que fileat') *Cork Examiner*, Vol.I, 24 Nov 1841, and 'To Marie in Prison', *Cork Examiner*, Vol.I, 15 Dec 1841
- 'L'Amite' [sic, prob. 'L'Amitié'] (From the French of Beranger - For the Cork Examiner), signed 'Delta', *Cork Examiner*, 30 March 1842
- 'Popular Recollections', *DUM* June 1843, Vol.xxi, No.cxxvi, p.658-660 [in 'A Polyglot Poesy' with translations from Anacreon, Dante, etc]; also found in the *Eclectic museum of foreign literature, science and art*, Vol.2, 1843
- 'The Dauphin "A Story from the French of Beranger"', *DUM*, Aug 1843 ['A few translations by William Dowe']
- in *DUM*, Nov 1843 ['Two or Three Translations by William Dowe']: 'The Death of Charlemagne' and 'Song of the Cossaque'
- in *DUM*, Feb 1844 ['Béranger and his songs (Part I)']: 'Brennus', 'The Old Standard', 'The Keys of Paradise', 'The Relics', 'The Independent Man', 'My Vocation', 'My Commonwealth', 'Jupiter', 'A Little King to a Little Duke'
- 'The Vintage' (as 'Delta, Cork'), *Nation*, Mar 30, 1844, p.392
- in *DUM*, June 1844 ['Béranger and his songs (Part II)']: 'The Maid of the People', 'The Garret' [repr. anonymously in the *Cork Examiner*, 16 Nov 1844], 'The Marquis of Carabas', 'The Village Fiddler', 'The King of Yvetot', 'Mary Stuart's Farewell', 'The infinitely Little', 'Louis XI, 'My Carnival of 1829', extract from 'Mon Petit Coin' ("his 'Little Corner'"), 'My Tomb' [& in 'A Night with Beranger' in *Sartain's union magazine of literature and art* (U.S.), Vols. 6-7, 1850, pp.218-226 (p.223, with the 1st line 'Moi bien portant, quoi, vous pensez d'avance.'], extract from 'Traité de Politique', 'Thirteen At Table', extract from 'Souvenirs d'Enfance', extract from 'Adieux à la Campagne' [& full as 'Adieu to the country' in 'A Night with Beranger' *Sartain*, pp.218-226 (p.221)], 'The Refusal'
- in *DUM*, Aug 1845 ['Songs from Béranger']: 'Adieu Chansons', 'Le Tailleur et la Fée' (The Tailor and the Fairy)
- in 'A Night with Beranger', *Sartain's union magazine of literature and art* (U.S.), Vols. 6-7, 1850, pp.218-226: 'Song of the Cossack - Viens mon coursier, noble ami du Cosaque, etc',

'The God of Boon Souls - Il est un Dieu: devant lui je m'incline, etc.', 'The Return to Native Land - Qu'il va lentement le navire, etc.', 'The Prisoner of War - 'Marie, enfin quitte l'ouvrage, etc.', 'The Gipsies - Soricers, bateleurs, ou filoux, & c.', 'The Orang-outangs 'Jadis si l'on en croit Esope, etc.', 'Detested Spring - Je la voyais de ma fenêtre, etc.', 'The Crown ' - Grace à la fève je suis roi, etc.'

Dowling, Bartholomew, c.1823-1863/ aka 'The Southern', 'Masque', 'D.' [PI and (very short) RICORSO; see Crowley 1892]: 'The Song of The Cossack' in Crowley 1892; publ. in *Monitor* (San Francisco), cf. Crowley, etc.

Drennan, William [Jr.] (1802-1873) [PI; see also ODNB for Drennan Sr.]

In *Glendalloch, and other poems, by the late dr. Drennan. With additional verses, by his sons [J.S. and W. Drennan. Ed. by W. Drennan.]* (Book), 1859: 'The Seal', 'Waterloo', 'The Imaginary Voyage', 'Rosette', 'Le Grenier', 'My Coat', 'The Devil's Death', 'Hang Spring!', 'Le Roi d'Yvetot', 'From Béranger' [untitled]

'E.M.': 'The Broken Violin', in: *Class book of french poetry for the young*, 1898 [also Appendix A, Education]

'Eva of the Nation', see **O'Doherty**

Ferguson, Samuel (Sir) (1810-1886) [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO; Ulster Biography (Online)]

In 'Songs After the French of Beranger', *Blackwood's*, Vol.XXXIII, May 1833: 'The Studies of the Ladies', 'My Lisette, she is No More!', 'The Doctor and The Patient' and 'The Little Brown Man'

'G.C.'

- 'Le maudit printemps', *DUM*, Vol.3, Jan 1834, p.62, repr. in the *Dublin Satirist, or Weekly Magazine of Fashion and Literature*, 7 Dec 1833 in a review of the [forthcoming] *DUM*, pp.318-319 or p.200?

- 'Les boxeurs ou L'Anglomanie', *DUM*, Vol.3, May 1834

- in 'Translations and Adaptations', *DUM*, Vol.2, Sep 1833 : 'Les infiniment petits ou la gérontocratie' and 'Monsieur Judas'

Glynn, Joseph (1865-1907), 'J.G.' [PI]: 'The Falling Stars (From Beranger.)', *Dublin Journal*, Aug 16, 1887, p.203

'H. Honeycomb' [an art. in the *Dublin Penny Satirist* mentions a 'Will Honeycomb']

- 'My Republic, *Dublin Penny Satirist*, 9 Jan 1835, No.ii, p.13

- My Vocation, *Dublin Penny Satirist*, 13 Feb 1835, No.vii, p.53

- My Burial, *Dublin Penny Satirist*, 20 Feb 1835, No.viii, p.60

- (prob. though not signed this time) 'The Children of France' *Dublin Penny Satirist*, 27 Feb 1835, No.ix, p.68

- 'The M.P. - 'Le Senateur.', *Dublin Penny Satirist*, 6 Mar 1835, No.x, p.77

- 'Oh! She is fair', *Dublin Penny Satirist*, 3 Apr 1835, No.xiv, p.109

- 'My Soul' *Dublin Penny Satirist*, 10 Apr 1835, No.xv, p.117

Halpine [Halpin], Charles Graham (1829, Ireland-1868, U.S.)

[DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI]

'Béranger to the Students - a paraphrase', in: *Baked meats of the funeral* (Book), 1866

'The Prisoner of War - Les Hirondelles', and 'The Morning Serenade - "Viens aux Champs"' in *Lyrics by the Letter H* (Book), 1854

Irwin, Thomas Caulfield (1823-1892) 'T.I.' [DIB/PI/RICORSO]

- 'The God of Good Souls', *Irish People*, 9 July 1864, p.523

- 'The Education of Girls - L'Education des Demoiselles, *Irish People*, 29 Oct 1864, p.778; Section: 'Poetry'

- 'My Neighbours; A Gossiping Song', *Irish People*, 26 Nov 1864, p.11; Section: 'Poetry'

- 'The Bohemians' *Irish People*, 10 Dec 1864, p.42-4

MacCarthy, Denis Florence (1817-1882) 'Desmond', 'D.F.M.C.', therefore poss. 'F.M.C.'

[DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

- 'Nature', *Nation*, Aug 24, p.747, & Aug 31, 1844

- (prob.) 'The Eagle and The Star', signed under 'F.M.C.', *Young Ireland*, 13 Jan 1877, vol. III (2), p.18 (title also seen advertised in the *Nation*, Jan 1877)

MacDermott, Martin (1823, Ireland-1905, England) 'M.McD' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

- 'The God of all good men', in 'The Songs of Pierre Jean de Béranger', Song No.I, *Cork Magazine*, Jan 1848, p.160

- 'An Imaginary Voyage', in 'The Songs of Pierre Jean de Béranger', Song No.II, *Cork Magazine*, Feb 1848, p.226

- 'Louis XI', in 'The Songs of Pierre Jean de Béranger', Song No.III, *Cork Magazine*, Mar 1848, p.275-6

- 'Ma Vocation', in 'The Songs of Pierre Jean de Béranger', Song No.IV, *Cork Magazine*, Apr 1848, p.368

- 'Red-Haired Jean', in 'The Songs of Pierre Jean de Béranger', No.V, *Cork Magazine*, May 1848, p.406-7

- 'The Prisoner of war', in 'The Songs of Pierre Jean de Béranger', Song No.VI, *Cork Magazine*, June 1848, p.496-7

Maginn, William (1793, Ireland-1842, England) 'Morgan O'Doherty', 'Tickler'

[DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI; see also Rafroidi 1980: 234-237]

- in *Béranger's poems... In the version of the best translators, Selected by William S. Walsh*, (Book), 1888 [prob. repr. from *Fraser's* or *Blackwood's*]: 'Brennus', 'The Holy Alliance', 'The Song Of The Cossack', 'The God of Honest People', 'The Carrier-Pigeon', 'The Tailor and The Fairy', 'The Dinner of Dionysius', 'Louis XI'

- 'Béranger's "Monsieur Judas" versified', in 'Noctes Ambrosianae', No.XLV, *Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol.xxvi, July 1829, p.129, with both French & translation, inserted in a conversation between 'O'Doherty', and other characters; also in *Miscellanies: Prose and Verse*, (Book) ed. R.W. Montagu, 1885; & repr. in the *Cork Examiner*, 13 Sept. 1841, as 'Blackwood's English Version of Beranger's "Monsieur Judas"'

- 'Roger Goodfellow - A song. To be sung to all sorry rascals', in 'Noctes Ambrosianae' No. LX, *Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol.V Feb 1832, p.276; inserted in a conversation between 'O'Doherty', 'Tickler' and other characters ('Tickler' is the character who sings the version)

Mahony, Francis Sylvester (Rev.) (1804, Ireland-1866, France) 'Father Prout', 'Oliver Yorke' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO/LI]

- in 'Songs of France', *Fraser's Magazine/ The Reliques of Father Prout* (see also Appendix A, Poetry)

'The Song of Brennus - Tune: "The Night before Larry"', 'The Song of the Cossack', 'The Dauphin's Birthday', 'The God of Béranger', 'The Carrier-Dove of Athens', 'The French Fiddler's Lamentation', 'The Dinner of Dionysius', 'Political Economy of the Gypsies [or Gipsies]', 'Shooting Stars' (also in the *Hull Packet* [England], Dec 1834 – Mahony not named, but ref. is made to art. in *Fraser's*), 'Popular Recollections of Bonaparte', 'Good Dry Lodgings', 'The Autobiography of P.J. de Béranger', 'The Angel of Poetry - to L.E.L.'

- [in *The Reliques* too] 'The Funeral of David the painter', *Young Ireland Magazine*, 14 Oct 1882, vol.8, no.41, p.648, and publ. as 'The Obsequies of David the painter - Ex-Member of the National Convention', in the *Dublin Journal*, Aug 16, 1887, p.200 (with an explicative note); 'The Garret of Beranger', *Nation*, Jan 1835 – publ. anon, and in the *Belfast Newsletter*, 1835

- [from *Fraser's Magazine/ The Reliques*] 'The Three-coloured Flag', appeared in the *Nation*, 1852 and *Young Ireland Magazine* (art. on Father Prout), Feb 1877, p.56

O'Doherty, Mary Anne, née Kelly (1830, Ireland-1910, Australia), aka '**Eva of the Nation**'; 'Eva' 'E.', 'Ella' [DIB/ODNB; see also Webb 1997 (repr. of Eva's translations at the end of Webb's thesis)]

- in the *Nation* (1856): 'Chant of the Cossack', 'The Plebeian' (22 Nov, p.200)

- in the *Nation*, May 21, p.600: 'My Republic'

- in *Sydney Freeman's Journal* (1861): 'So Be It', 'The Poor Woman', 'The Wandering Jew', 'The King of Yvetot', 'Old Vagrant', 'The Boxers; or, the Anglomania', 'The Niggers and the Puppets', 'If I Were a Little Bird', 'My Mission', 'Lisette'

O'Donoghue, David James (1866, England-1917, Ireland) [DIB/RICORSO]:

‘Reminiscences of Napoleon’, *Young Ireland Magazine*, 7 July 1888, vol.I (New Series), no.6, p.87

O'Hagan, John (1822-1890) 'Slíabh Cuillinn', prob. also 'Slievegullion'/'Slieve Gallion' [DIB/ODNB/PI/RICORSO]

- ‘Malgré la voix de la sagesse’ (as 'Slieve Gallion'), the *Nation*, Dec 30 1843; repr. in the *Tuam Herald*, Vol.VII, Jan 20, 1844, p.4

- ‘The Gallic Slaves’ (as 'Slievegullion'), the *Nation*, Oct 5, 1844, p.827

‘**Reilly, R.J.**’ [the closest match is a **Reilly, Robert James, M.D.**, see PI]: ‘Les Adieux de Marie Stuart’, *Weekly Irish Times*, Apr 10, 1886

Rowland, John Thomas, Esq. (1825?-1875) [PI/RICORSO]

In ‘Lecture on Béranger, the French Lyric Poet, delivered in the Drogheda Mechanics’ Institute, on Monday, February 8th, 1858... “Bras, tête, et cœur, tout était peuple en lui.” (printed at Drogheda, 1858)

‘Advice to the Belgians’, ‘The Good Frenchman’, ‘The Tailor and the Fairy’, ‘The Tomb of Manuel’, ‘My Tomb’, ‘He is not dead!’, a translated extract (possibly from ‘Roger Bontemps’), another untitled extract, identified as the first lines of ‘La Fortune’ (starts with ‘Rap, rap. Is this my brunette?’), ‘The Old Flag’ (but the text is not transcribed in the printed lecture); additionally, Rowland uses a translation by William Young, ‘The Fourteenth of July’

Somers, B., née O'Reilly ‘Mrs. B. Somers’ [PI; see Ó Súilleabháin 1978]

In *Selections from the Modern Poets of France* (Book), 1846 (See also Appendix A – Poetry)

‘Friendship – to my Friends, December 8th, 1822, being the anniversary of my condemnation by the Cour d’Assises’, ‘The Good Old Lady’, ‘Mary Stuart’s Adieu to France’, ‘Recollections of the People’, ‘St Helena – 5th May, 1821’

Starkey, William (1836-1918) [PI; see DIB for his son Seumas O’Sullivan]: ‘Napoleon’s Arab Steed’, in *Poems and translations* (Book), 1875, p.87-90

Townsend, John F., 'J.F.T' [unidentified]: ‘Rosette’, *Kottabos*, 1874

‘**W.R.C.**’: ‘The Holy Alliances of Peoples (After Beranger)’, *Irish People*, 15 Oct 1864, p.746-7, and ‘Nebuchod’nezzar: the Ox-king (After Beranger)’, *Irish People*, 17 Dec 1864, p.59

Additionally, there is a translation which has not been sighted, by ‘**N.H.**’, cf. the *Nation*, Feb 24, 1844, p.312: ‘Accepted’ contribution, but no title of translation is given & no indication of the issue in which it was to be publ. (should be some time after Feb 24 1844); on the other hand, a contribution by same (also a translation from Béranger), was ‘declined’ on April 13, 1844

Lastly, Irish-language translations from Béranger by An tAthair (Fr.) **Cathaoir Ó Braonáin** can be found in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, Mar-June 1908, as part of Ó Braonáin’s serialized essay on Béranger. A translation of ‘Le Roi d’Yvetot’ and a part-translation of ‘Mes jours gras’ were first published in *Freeman’s Journal*, 16 Jan 1908, p.10, following a lecture given by Ó Braonáin at the Rotunda ‘under the auspices of the Dublin Coisde Ceanntair of the Gaelic League’. The essays and translations are written in an older form of Gaelic language, and seem to include full texts and extracts from ‘Le Roi d’Yvetot’, ‘Le Marquis de Carabas’, ‘Treize à Table’, ‘Mes jours gras’, and others songs, the identification and discussion of which is now matter for a better-qualified hand.