

# Translation, the French language and the United Irishmen (1792-1804).

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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 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

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Date 14 September 2005

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## Abstract

This thesis examines how language barriers were overcome in contacts between the United Irishmen and France from 1793 to 1804, drawing on relevant theoretical models on bilingualism, oral and written translation and sociolinguistics. The impressive lobbying of key Irish envoys, most notably Theobald Wolfe Tone, led to the Bantry expedition (1796) and Humbert's short-lived invasion of Mayo (1798), yet linguistic and communicative dimensions of this international chapter of Irish history have been overlooked. Key episodes, when translation and interpretation facilitated communication between English and French speakers, are identified. The translator's complex role as linguistic and cultural mediator is also demonstrated within the historic context of the times. Driven by circumstances to become ad hoc translators, the Irish in France fulfilled a purposeful activity in tense political and military settings. Because they also acted as advocates for their cause, emphasis is placed on the human agency at the heart of intercultural exchanges.

Tone's awareness of bilingualism as a consequence of exile is discussed through rich insights from his diary, many of which echo current studies on culture shock, adult second-language acquisition and natural translation. His collaboration with the Irish translators Nicholas Madgett, head of the French government's *Bureau de traduction*, and John Sullivan, is also discussed. Madgett and Sullivan translated propaganda throughout the most turbulent episode of the French Revolution, and their narrative sheds new light on the history of the profession. The thesis concludes with the final overtures made by Robert and Thomas Addis Emmet to Napoleon.

## List of Abbreviations and Short Forms

### MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

AAE	Archives des affaires étrangères (Paris)
AMH	Archives municipales du Havre (Le Havre)
AN	Archives nationales de France (Paris)
AP	Archives parlementaires (Paris)
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CPA	Correspondance politique, Angleterre, AAE (Paris)
CP E-U	Correspondance politique, Etats-Unis, AAE (Paris)
CP H	Correspondance politique, Hambourg, AAE (Paris)
SHA	Service historique de l'Armée de terre (Vincennes)
SHM	Service historique de la Marine (Vincennes)
M & D	Memoires et Documents historiques, AAE (Paris)
MR	Memoires et reconnaissances, SHA (Vincennes)
NAI	National Archives, Ireland (Dublin)
NLI	National Library of Ireland (Dublin)
PRONI	Public Record Office, Northern Ireland (Belfast)
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin

A complete list of manuscript sources will be found in the Bibliography

### PUBLISHED SOURCES

CN	Proces verbaux de la Convention nationale
DIB	Dictionary of Irish Biography, R I A (Dublin)
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford)
<i>FJ</i>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
<i>JP</i>	<i>Le Journal de Paris</i>
<i>NS</i>	<i>Northern Star</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>State Trials</i>
Tone I	Moody et al (eds ), 1998 <i>The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-1798</i> Volume I, Tone's career in Ireland to June 1795 Oxford Clarendon Press
Tone II	Moody et al (eds ), 2001 <i>The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-1798</i> Volume II America, France and Bantry Bay (August 1795 to December 1796) Oxford Clarendon Press
<i>Tone Life</i>	Bartlett, T , (ed ), 1998 <i>Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Memoirs, Journals and political writings compiled and arranged by William T W Tone, 1826</i> Dublin Lilliput

## CITATIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF THEOBALD WOLFE TONE

Citations from the writings of Tone are, for the years 1763 to 1796, taken from the *Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, Moody *et al*, (eds), Oxford Clarendon Press, Volume I (1998) 1763-June 1795, and Volume II (2001) August 1795 to December 1796. At the time of submission of this thesis, the third and final volume (covering the years 1797-8) of the *Writings* was not yet published. Therefore the source for those years is the *Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Memoirs, Journals and political writings compiled and arranged by William T W Tone, 1826*, Bartlett (ed), 1998. Dublin Lilliput.

In the first citation, these three works have been referenced as follows

- 1) Tone *Writings* I 1998 1
- 2) Tone *Writings* II 2001 1-2
- 3) Tone *Life* 1998 2

In subsequent citations, these works are referenced as in the above list of abbreviations for published sources above, i.e. Tone I, Tone II, and Tone *Life*, respectively.

## EDITORIAL PRACTICE

Citations from period texts have not been standardised, i.e. they are transcribed as per the original orthography, punctuation, and include the author's own emphasis such as dotted underlining to signal phrases which would be italicised in a printed text. Only blatant misspellings have been signalled with [sic]. Dates have been converted from the French revolutionary calendar to the Gregorian one.

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the contacts between the United Irishmen and revolutionary France from 1793 to 1804 from a sociolinguistic perspective, namely to investigate and discuss what measures were taken to overcome the inevitable language barriers between French and English speakers. A very significant international chapter of Ireland's history, this period has been comprehensively documented by Irish historiographers, and most notably in the authoritative works of Marianne Elliott whose *Partnership in Revolution* (1982), and *Wolfe Tone, Prophet of Irish Independence* (1989) provide the historical backdrop of this thesis. The motivation for this thesis is not to question historical fact, nor how historiographers have examined the political dimension of the contacts between France and Ireland throughout the 1790s (inter alia, Bartlett et al 2003, Elliott 1982, 1989, Gough & Dickson 1990, Keogh & Whelan 2001, Geoghegan 2002, O'Donnell 2003, Pakenham 1997, Swords 1985, 1989, 1997, 2001, Whelan 1996). Rather its focus is to discuss communicative patterns across language barriers, i.e. the linguistic and intercultural processes underlying the contacts, rather than the political outcome.

The current shift of emphasis in translation studies favours studies of the human agency at the heart of communicative exchanges across the language divide, rather than the linguistic and textual dimension of these processes. Therefore the thesis will document and assess the contribution of key individuals whose role as translator and/or interpreter was instrumental to the mediation process. These issues are frequently alluded to in two of the most significant primary sources for 1798, i.e. the substantial writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone, and the *Narrative* of Bishop Stock (Stock 1800, hereafter 1982,

Tone *Writings* 1998 I, *Writings* II 2001, III forthcoming, *Tone Life* 1998, ) Though expressing totally opposite political perspectives, both authors embed astutely-observed anecdotes on the various measures used to overcome language barriers, and specifically identify the individuals who willingly, or as reluctant participants in exceptional historical circumstances, took on the role of linguistic mediator

Numerous specialist works have redressed the general tendency in historiography to gloss over the contribution of translators and interpreters, by chronicling how linguistic mediators fulfilled a variety of useful tasks serving governments, military and diplomatic services, and on expeditions of exploration and conquest (Bowen et al 1995 245-77, in Delisle and Woodsworth (eds ) 1995, Delisle 1999 Karttunen 1994, Longley 1968, Roland 1999, Seleskovitch 1981, Skarsten 1964) Those pioneering authors, who have only recently embarked on the task of researching the history of translators and interpreters, all point to the vital role of lynchpin played by these polyglots, who “ served not only as witnesses but as participants in the unfolding of history ” (Bowen et al 1995 245) The instrumental function of translation throughout the centuries is underlined in their work, and though a relatively new area of interdisciplinary research, it is justified because

“However inconsistent the annals of history have been on the subject however piecemeal the record Whether they chose the profession or were chosen by it [translators and] interpreters have helped shape history ” (ibid)

Not only are studies of the lives and motivations of linguistic mediators an appropriate object of historical research, they can make a major contribution to our understanding of cultural change in historiography (Cronin 2005 38)

To demonstrate that translation, both written and oral, was a purposeful activity which helped shape the history of 1798, the thesis will address the following questions

- How instrumental and influential was the activity of translation, both written and oral in facilitating communication between key negotiators throughout the long decade of Franco-Irish relations?
- How did certain bilinguals, rather than others, come to be linguistic mediators, and what factors in their personal backgrounds and prior experience influenced their communicative role as translators and interpreters?
- Finally, given the essentially political nature of the context under study, to what extent did the multi-faceted roles fulfilled by translators and interpreters in 1798 extend to advocacy and influence the outcome of events?

Following a brief introduction which looks at translation history as a discipline which can inform the existing historiography of 1798, appropriate theoretical models on translation and interpreting will be overviewed in Chapter One. These will be prefaced by a discussion of bilingualism and adult crosslinguistic communication, complemented by overviews of language learning in the eighteenth century, and travel writing as an essential cultural reference for societal studies of that period. Chapter Two will document the history of the translation service within France's Ministry of External Relations from 1793-1796, when it was headed by an Irishman Nicholas Madgett. His personal and professional history, as well as that of his nephew John Sullivan, also a translator and later to become an aide to General Humbert in Mayo, will be examined by highlighting the political advocacy their work entailed. This will contextualise their valuable experience prior to the arrival in France of Theobald Wolfe Tone in 1796, and

the positive influence they had in his adjustment to an unfamiliar environment Chapter Three deals with Tone's difficulties with the French language the discussion is based on his astute observations on bilingualism which are most revealing on how communications were managed across the language divide Chapter Four examines data available on how language barriers were addressed by the military authorities, then portrays the linguistic mediators instrumental during Humbert's Mayo campaign, assessing the contribution of Henry O'Keane and the other Irish officers It also identifies Bishop Stock as a significant case study of a reluctant interpreter caught up in an armed conflict Chapter Five looks at the final phase of the United Irish presence in France and examines the contacts between Robert and Thomas Addis Emmet and Napoleon, concluding with the setting up of the ill-fated Irish Legion, and some observations by Miles Byrne on the experience of exile, and the linguistic assimilation that this entailed The conclusion will briefly assess some of the outcomes of the thesis as an interdisciplinary exercise which can inform both translation studies and the historiography of 1798, while suggesting areas for further research

## CHAPTER ONE

### History, bilingualism and translation

“He spoke English very imperfectly, and I French a great deal worse, however, we made a shift to understand one another,” (Tone II 337)

#### 1.1 ‘Making shifts’ Shifting the emphasis in the historiography of 1798 to define a role for translation

In August 22 1798, some 1,100 French troops landed at Kílcummin strand in North Mayo under the command of General Jean-Joseph Humbert. Despite the failure of his brief campaign, he would be remembered as “the first, the only French general to have skirmished with the English on their territory” during the unrelenting Franco-British conflict of 1793-1815 (DIB, forthcoming, SHA/482/GB/84<sup>d</sup>2e serie/Humbert). Humbert’s incursion was one of several invasion forces the French Directory despatched as part of their strategy to uphold the efforts of “un peuple genereux et trop longtems opprime pour secouer le joug de la domination britannique” (Guillon 1888 368, Elliott 1982). That the French had agreed to incorporate Ireland in their war strategy was largely the triumph of the persistent lobbying conducted by the United Irishmen, whose efforts to bring about an invasion are as prominent in the French archives for the period as the invasion attempts themselves (Elliott 1982 xiii). It is clear that throughout the 1790s French public opinion had warmed to the cause of Ireland and recognised it as an oppressed nation which had been denied its right to liberty, enthusiasm for ‘the Irish Revolution’ is reflected in the press as well as official documents or memoirs (Le Biez 1993 256-268). Yet when Tone arrived in France, the prestigious interlocutors he met represented a society which had known many upheavals, and there were still misconceptions about Ireland which need to be redressed, placing language and communication at the heart of his negotiations. Acknowledging the influence of the

scholarship of Patricia Palmer, the thesis will demonstrate how in such international contexts the experience of language difference was “part of the texture of the encounter” (2001, 2003 257) Palmer’s writings highlight an essential characteristic of the Tudor invasion of Ireland, namely that conquests mark the moment when “ the fortunes of two languages briefly intersect ” (Palmer 2001 1) Though her work examines the very different dynamic tensions of an earlier period, i e the use of language as a weapon of cultural conquest during Elizabethan expansion, many parallels can be drawn with the communicative dimension of Franco-Irish cooperation, and 1798

The extensive trawl of French archival material conducted by Elliott convinced her that “the most enduring strength” of the United Irishmen was the international dimension of their activities (1982 xiv-v, 371, 1989, 1990, 2003) With confidence and persistence, a handful of key individuals negotiated as equals with senior political and military figures in France One can easily link the relentless lobbying of the United Irishmen, and the measures taken in response by the French from 1792 to 1804 with Palmer’s description of the flurry of military and diplomatic activity which was the Elizabethan conquest

“ as much a highly developed communications exercise as a military ‘hurly-burly’ The [texts] hum with accounts of parleys, petitions, negotiations, spying, codebreaking, letters communication was so central to the enterprise ” (Palmer 2001 47)

Despite their ultimate failure to achieve Irish independence, Elliott concluded (1982 371) that the real strength of the United Irishmen was to be found outside Ireland, their most effective work performed beyond its shores But as Palmer (2001 49) aptly noted, “persuasion presupposes a shared language”, and that the Franco-Irish partnership implied interlingual exchanges, and that these were often hampered by language barriers, seems self-evident Though Elliott (1989 295) does occasionally refer to the

“language requirement” as an issue, it is a dimension generally overlooked in her otherwise thorough discussions. Palmer comprehensively shows how eyewitness narratives of the Tudor expansion, written “within earshot of the languages”, frequently “deny the materiality” of the original exchanges by denying the fact of translation itself (Palmer 2001: 1, 54). Yet contemporary sources are not silent on the issue, as both Tone and Stock recorded their own narratives ‘within earshot’ of the original exchanges between speakers of French, English and Irish. Not only do they comment on accommodations to language barriers, they provide many insights on their *own* participation in bilingual exchanges as participants and victims of circumstances. Palmer concludes that the presence and identity of the linguistic mediators who were instrumental to the communicative, and hence political process, were consistently “airbrushed from the colonial texts” (Palmer *ibid.* 55). Yet many translators and interpreters are identified by both Tone and Stock, as they not only had personal dealings with them but also fulfilled such roles. These references to linguistic mediation are substantiated in additional sources, such as official correspondence in the archives of the French ministry of foreign affairs, and those of the army and marine at Vincennes, thoroughly examined here.

Within days of arriving in Paris in February 1796, Tone was confronted in formal settings with language barriers and obliged to communicate through a mediator, having been instructed to do so by Delacroix, the Minister for External Relations. This was how Tone met Nicholas Madgett, whose brief as “Chef du Bureau de Traduction” in Delacroix’s department was complex as it involved acting as advisor on Irish affairs and overt political advocacy (AAE/Pers 1/47, 65, AN/AF/III/28/97/40-93, CPA/587-592, Elliott 1989: 287, Masson 1877, Tone II: 56). Tone would later meet Madgett’s

congenial nephew John Sullivan, also a translator in the Bureau, and known mostly as an aide de camp to Humbert in 1798 under the nom de guerre Laroche Sullivan's contribution is only modestly noted in the historiography of 1798, yet archival sources including his personal file at Vincennes reveal a hitherto-unknown complexity to his considerable activities as a translator and interpreter (AAE Pers 1/47, 65, AN/AF/III/28/97/40-93, CPA/588-9, SHA/2Y<sup>e</sup>/482/GB 84<sup>d</sup> 2e serie/Humbert, Masson 1877 366) The availability of this primary information, enhanced by personal insights from Tone, make the compilation of Sullivan's biography possible as a microstudy in the literature on 1798 (Tone II 143, 148, 150, 152-4, 156, 169) Against the background of the Terror, Madgett and Sullivan actively translated and disseminated French propaganda abroad, bringing the republic into the villages and coffee houses of the English-speaking world Their efforts deserve a place in Irish historiography

Stock (1982) too points to the intersecting fortunes of not two, but three languages in his narrative Unquestionably loyal to the Crown in his passive but firm resistance to the occupier, Stock embodies the unwilling eyewitness to history, those "temoins malgre eux", for whose record the French historian Marc Bloch (1974 60) was so grateful Such victims of circumstances, according to Bloch, often reservedly implied the true texture of events, driving the committed historian to dig further and elucidate that truth (ibid 60-2) Vividly depicting how Mayo "resounded with the loquacity of the Frenchmen", Stock weaves throughout his account incidences when linguistic mediators acted as critical links to communicative exchanges, and points to Irish officers acting as interpreters for the French Stock (ibid 8) only names one of "the Irish officers who came with the French" as interpreters for Humbert, i e Henry O'Keane, whose personal file in Vincennes confirms he signed as 'ô Keane' when in France (SHA 2Y<sup>e</sup>) Yet the

identities of the three others are well known, as they are John Sullivan, Bartholomew Teeling and Matthew Tone (DIB; Joannon 1998). Sources reveal little on Teeling and Tone, but they too deserve to be included with the other interpreters of 1798, as it is largely due to the linguistic dimension of their military role that they were despised by the Crown forces (Teeling 1972: 306 ).

Despite the availability of such contemporary sources, the full extent of the contribution of translators in shaping history is a particularly difficult one to reconstruct, due to the absence of dedicated and reliable records attesting to their activities (Bowen et al 1995: 245). Great philosophers with bilingual skills, starting with Cicero, have left for future generations a record of their efforts as literary translators, and that the status of the dragoman, or diplomatic interpreter, was a highly prestigious which could bestow the highest of honours on certain individuals, is not in doubt (Lewis 2004; Longley 1968: 2; Robinson 1997; Roland 1999). The recognition certain interpreters received has certainly helped to enhance the reputation of the profession, even when their role was a subaltern one. Often called upon to mediate in the shadows of great leaders, interpreters have also helped shape history as participants of major historical events such as the Paris Peace Treaty and the Nuremberg Trials (Bowen *ibid*; Gaiba 1998; Longley *ibid*).

However, accounts of the more prestigious settings requiring translations, be they written or oral, are of little assistance for those seeking to understand the complex role of humble linguistic mediators, called to a back office by the Comité de Salut public, or summoned as the clatter of Humbert's approaching troops became audible to the citizens of Killala. Anonymity usually surrounds the work of translators and interpreters, the former in particular; though their written work endures, they are physically removed from events and their translations often remain anonymous. The annals of history are

generally inconsistent in recording their past performances, but practitioners have also refrained from doing so, because this would breach expectations of impartiality and confidentiality and dishonour the trust placed in them (Thiery 1985) Where sources such as routine correspondence and diaries *do* leave some trace of how and why individuals chose the profession, or were chosen by it, these piecemeal records are “often only marginally or incidentally concerned” with translators or interpreters (Bowen et al 1995 245) Given that the physical presence of interpreters at exchanges involving at a minimum three individuals cannot be totally ignored, it is all the more surprising that this function is scarcely acknowledged, though Cronin deems that it is the evanescent nature of oral activity which (indirectly) has been conveniently exploited to sideline the contribution of interpreters (Bowen 1995 246, Cronin 2003 119) Discussing the shift in historical and cultural translations in Ireland through the eighteenth century where works *into* English became the norm, Cronin (1996 91-95) points to the figure of the translator, sometimes seen as a “shadowy retiring silent mediator” between two competing cultures Translators, he observes, can have motivations which “differ radically from those of their clients or sections of their target audience” and occupying a space between these two cultural regimes but also as advocates for a given cause, they occasionally find themselves objects of suspicion The scholarship of two significant authors in translation history, Anthony Pym (1998) and Jean Delisle (1981, 1999, 2001), provide relevant models applicable to the specific historical context of the United Irishmen in France Determining “the value of a past translator’s work in relation to the effects” the translation achieved should be the purpose of historical criticism, argues Pym (1998 5) By associating the transfer of key texts to social change, he points to how translators have at times been “effective social actors [in the ]power relations between social groups (ibid 5-6, 142), this can also apply

to the multi-faceted roles of the Irish officer-interpreters of the Mayo campaign, which included political advocacy. The linking of the human dimension of documents and the context in which translations are commissioned is also central to Delisle's (1999, 2001) approach, a view which will underpin the biographies of Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan in Chapter 2.

The task of the scholar in interpreting primary sources which deal with crosslinguistic communication is complex, as it must in a scholarly way counter caricatured generalisations on “linguistic fumbling, sign language, mispronunciations, mistakes [and] staggered exchanges mediated by an interpreter” (Palmer 2003: 257). The historian's responsibility is to faithfully transpose the records of the past into writing which generally reflects the socio-cultural models prevalent in their generation. Contextualising instances where great figures in history lose face due to communicative problems may seem to trivialise the complexity of face to face diplomacy. But a multidisciplinary approach, which broadens the international history of the United Irishmen by looking at social and communicative dimensions of their experience of exile, is not incompatible with the cultural turn in Irish historiography. Indeed no one has left on record a more eloquent and graphic testimony of the crosslinguistic dimension to face to face contacts than Theobald Wolfe Tone, and many of his insights are easily identified as central issues in applied linguistics, as argued in Chapter 3 (Kleinman 2004). His efforts at processing information out of, and into, French and English, just as an interpreter would, are at the heart of his legend, and begin with his minutely-recorded interviews with Carnot and Delacroix (Bartlett 1998: xxx, Elliott 1982: 77-87, 1989: 281-312, Gough 1990: 10, Swords 1989: 120-124). During these exchanges he compensated for his inadequate French by playing on the civility of his

interlocutors, strategically introducing his linguistic weakness from the start. Tone was indeed sensitive to how “The choreography of how one *enters* negotiations is inseparable from the substance of the issues” (Kissinger 1974: 111, my emphasis). Tone’s description of his own cognitive exertions to credibly negotiate the United Irish cause across the language divide is remarkably comparable to models of interpreting devised two centuries later (Gile 1990, 1995a, 1995b). Though Tone’s interlocutors were high-level figures, and the outcome of his endeavour successful, Palmer’s statement is apposite:

“Historians can cheerfully record the burden of a parley without wondering about the mechanics of precisely how it was conducted”  
(Palmer 2003: 257)

Yet as Palmer rightly points out, even for those adept at “all the tricks of *ars rhetorica* persuasion presupposes a shared language” (Palmer 2001: 47). Many parallels can be drawn between her arguments and Tone’s experiences. He made clear from the outset that his face-to-face dealings would be across the language barrier, meetings possibly marked by what Palmer (2003: *ibid*) calls “linguistic fumbling and staggered exchanges”, as epitomised in his groundbreaking meeting with Adet:

“He spoke English very imperfectly, and I French a great deal worse, however, we made a shift to understand one another” (Tone II: 337)

A possible explanation for the lack of interest by historians in foreign language competence is that it is assumed that prominent radicals were multilingual due to the generalised francophilia of the Enlightenment. That eighteenth-century Ireland was an enthusiastic participant in the widespread cosmopolitan culture which had gripped much of Europe is not disputed, as testified by the great interest manifested in French language, and philosophy, fashions, trends and manners (Gargett 1999, 2004, Gargett &

Sheridan 1999; Kennedy 2001; Keogh 1993; Sheridan 1999; 2003; Pittion 1976; Tillyard 1995; 1997; Whelan 1993). The perspectives of literary and cultural historians on the transmission of radicalism in Ireland are noteworthy, but while informing us on the sophisticated reading material available in Ireland, they often look to the two or three generations which *preceded* the United Irishmen. Given the stated importance of personal contacts, individual lobbying and assertiveness in face to face encounters, can we safely assume that the United Irishmen were representative of Enlightenment erudition, and consequently fluent speakers of French?

No one will dispute that Lord Edward FitzGerald spoke flawless French, was "...far more at home in Paris than the fastidious Tone..." and allied with his appealing personality and personal contacts was thus an assertive ambassador for Irish radicalism (Tillyard 1995; 1997: 189). Notwithstanding the impact of his early overtures to various French dignitaries in the winter of 1792-3, this thesis will look at the experiences of those who had not had his privileged upbringing, and took up where he left off. They often struggled because of their poor French and as a result occasionally called on mediators. If Irish *political* culture in particular was much imbued with the francophilia of the age, how could it be that the respected United Irishman, Dr. James Reynolds, declined to travel to France to "*converse* with the French Ministry, and *persuade* them", because he understood "not one word of the French language"? (*Trial of Rev. William Jackson* 1795: 34, my emphasis). Palmer's statement that persuasion presupposed a common language is pertinent here, and we immediately think of Tone, who responded to Bonaparte's curiosity by claiming to have only learned French after his arrival in France (*Tone Life*: 817). Yet Tone had been an avid reader from an early age, a onetime literary critic and a highly politicised individual. Tone's case therefore challenges this

silent assumption, namely that as a representative of the radical Irish elite, with the political francophilia of his generation and reared in the heart of the capital, he had escaped such a commonplace practice as learning French. Napoleon's query, it must be stressed, may have reflected more on the fact that he was Corsican, and French was not *his* mother tongue, than on Tone's ability. Napoleon had also avoided learning English, despite the fact that it was taught at the foundation at Brienne that he attended, and many military academies (Thompson 2001: 10).

Two of the most influential figures in Irish radicalism, George Washington and Tom Paine, were known not to understand, or speak French (Bell 1995, Keane 1995, Thomson 1991). Paine, who repeatedly reminded others that he hardly spoke French, was not prevented from participating in proceedings in the French Convention as a duly-elected member, and his case provides many insightful anecdotes on the corrective measures taken and his reliance on mediators (CPA/588/12, Jouve et al 1997: 75, Keane 1995, Thompson 1991). Paine's case merits a dedicated study, but is mentioned here because a simple explanation for his difficulties is consistently raised in the literature on second-language acquisition, which points to the crucial distinction between the four language skills, i.e. speaking, understanding, reading and writing (Ellis 1994). An individual capable of understanding aural speech, and reading basic texts, may experience much greater difficulty in composing a coherent and grammatical text intended for a native speaker. But of the four skills, speaking is a complex performative ability, and poses the most psychosocial problems for non-native speakers. Discussions of language competence must make this distinction, and interestingly, this differential is frequently mentioned in eighteenth-century observations. Marie de Bonneville, who frequently, along with her husband Nicholas (editor of the *Bien Informé*) assisted Paine

with translations, observed “he could not speak French, he could understand it tolerably well when spoken to him, and he understood it when on paper perfectly well” (Conway 1909 339, Thomson 1991 113)

The historiography of 1798 was considerably enriched with the voluminous writings which emerged from the bicentenary, and the editors of the *1798 A Bicentenary perspective* chose the intellectual roots of Irish radicalism as a cultural focus (Bartlett et al 2003) Notwithstanding the quality and breadth of scholarship reflected in the volume, one cannot fail to observe that opportunities for cross-fertilisation from other disciplines, such as language and intercultural studies, were not availed of (Beiner 2003) The bicentenary took place against the backdrop of an Ireland increasingly redefining itself as a multicultural society with a strong European identity, therefore the absence in the *Bicentenary* essays of scholarly perspectives from beyond the anglophone world was disappointing With the cultural turn prevalent in many academic disciplines, now encompassing translation studies and recognising interpreting as a leading area in cultural investigations of language contact, an interdisciplinary perspective can broaden our understanding of the international context of 1798 (Cronin 2002, 2005 38-9)

## 1.2 Overview of theoretical models of bilingualism

“Carnot is the man I want, and I hope the measures being given to his management is [sic] partly owing to my going directly to himself and to the discourse we had together, *malgre* my execrable jargon, which is neither French nor English (Tone II 151)

This section will present theoretical models related to bilingualism and cross-linguistic communication occurring when a spoken or written message is transferred out of one

language into a second, by an individual defined as a bilingual through regular use of two languages (Grosjean 1982: 1). Only models deemed relevant and appropriate to the historical context of this thesis have been chosen. Research in applied linguistics can inform this discussion of day to day, spontaneous communication involving semantic transfers and code switching from one language to another, known in the literature as natural bilingualism (Baetens-Beardmore 1982; Harris 1992; Hatim & Mason 1990: 31; Grosjean 1982; Shreve 1997; Singleton 1999: 31). Bilinguals from early childhood "develop...a specialised human predisposition [to engage in] natural translation...in everyday circumstances without special training for it" (Wadensjö 1998: 36). It is significant that Wadensjö (1998: 36-7; 46), an authority on community interpreting, underlined natural translation as fundamental to the debate on talk as a social activity. This is most insightful when observing the type of routine communications examined in this thesis.

Traditionally, translating and interpreting research has favoured literary texts and the prestigious contexts of high-level diplomacy, with little regard for routine and pragmatic bilingual exchanges linked to commerce, warfare or many other fields, evidently carried out since Antiquity (Kurz 1985, 1990, 1991). But the growing need for highly-skilled professional translators and interpreters in the second half of the twentieth century led to a shift in emphasis in translation studies. Most university programmes in translation, and all in interpreting, are vocational in nature, and designed to prepare language graduates for competitive careers as freelancers or in major institutions such as the European Union or the United Nations (Moser-Mercer 1993; Seleskovitch 1981; Snell-Hornby et al 1994). Therefore, bilingual subjects whose performance is discussed in case studies either have advanced levels of fluency in the relevant languages, or as

trainee students are *perfecting* this competence while acquiring strategic skills in written or oral translation (Barik 1971, 1994, Jones 1998) The literature on interpreting is slightly critical of “the so-called *natural bilingual* [with no] specific training and not in a position to translate or interpret with facility” (Baetens-Beardsmore 1982: 8) Natural bilinguals often “pick up two languages by force of circumstances”, i.e. at home or as a child with a “peregrinary upbringing” moving to and assimilating in a foreign community (Baetens-Beardsmore *ibid.*, Singleton 1999: 130)

These sociolinguistic factors adequately describe the circumstances of generations of Irish exiles to France. In writings on the cultural and intellectual dimension of Ireland in the second half of the eighteenth century, relatively little interest has been demonstrated in Franco-English bilingualism, except the noteworthy studies which infer that polyglossia was a skill needed for cultural and political crossfertilisation (Dickson 1987, Gargett & Sheridan 1999, Eagles 2000, O Gallchoir 2004, Whelan 1993, 1996) Yet multiculturalism and multilingualism had been a dominant feature of Irish Catholic culture, which over the centuries had maintained close links with Continental Europe due to the exodus of generations of Irish students and clerics to French universities and Irish colleges abroad (Ferte & Brockliss 1987, 2004, O'Connor (ed.) 2001, Swords 1989) Parallel to this was the very significant phenomenon of military migration which Shaw (quoted in Jeffery 1996: 94) described as the Irishman's propensity over centuries to “risk his life for France to escape from Ireland” (Kennedy 2001, O Conaill 2004) Finally, extensive foreign trade links were in the hands of Catholic families who could not purchase or lease land under the penal laws (Kennedy 2001: 24) Multilingual competence was therefore not only an intellectual feature of life among the privileged in Ireland, it was a condition of survival abroad as part of a pragmatic skillset

Classifications of bilingualism are complex, as the proficiency of individuals may vary considerably in the two languages, and across the four language skills, i.e. when reading writing, understanding and speaking (Baetens-Beardsmore 1982: 8). For Irish émigrés such as Madgett and Sullivan, assimilation into French society meant that they became totally fluent in French. Their case matches Baetens-Beardsmore's (1982: 9, 36) definition of a balanced bilingual's competence as "roughly equivalent...equated with equal native-like mastery of the two languages". In cases of children of mixed parentage, such as the many children of Irish officers married to French wives, bilingual skills may have varied. Where knowledge of the foreign parent's language may have been limited to passive understanding and basic conversation at home, the language of the native parent and the host society would have to be acquired fluently. Often called "asymmetrical bilinguals" (Baetens-Beardsmore: 36), the performance of such individuals in one language in written or spoken form is often marked by interference from the other language, but this phenomenon is not limited to those who are natural bilinguals from childhood. Period sources reveal that some dual nationals of mixed Irish-French parentage were sufficiently fluent in English and French to translate texts necessary to further the Franco-Irish alliance, despite the fact that they did not, apparently, speak both languages with equal facility. Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet had dealings with some of these second-generation Irish and comment on their bilingualism. These were Henry Clarke, Alexandre Dalton (who Miles Byrne claimed had never learned English) and his brother William, and Henri Shée, Clarke's uncle (Byrne II 1863: 238; Emmet 1915, I: 349; SHA/MR/1420/91; Tone II: 392, 394, 402). All officers, their bilingualism was instrumental to their military service, even if it was

not balanced. Other Irish émigrés, like Madgett and Sullivan, could be classified as “secondary bilinguals”, who acquire a second language in addition to their mother tongue through systematic instruction (Baetens-Beardsmore *ibid*). But regardless of personal family histories often involving emigration, learning foreign languages was a central part of eighteenth-century education even for those who never travelled, or did so mainly for leisure. Though the manner in which the Emmets, Tone and Byrne acquired French varied considerably due to their differing backgrounds, they all achieved considerable proficiency. To assess the bilingual competence of historical figures, the ideal type of data are observations recorded by others, such as the comments on Paine or Tone’s numerous asides on the bilingualism of those he encountered. As we also have traces of translation activity by these bilinguals, it is possible to discuss their performance based on reliable sources.

Communicative competence, one of the most significant paradigms to emerge from sociolinguistics first formulated by Gumperz & Hymes (1972), informs our appreciation of how certain individuals distinguish themselves in their interaction with others. Though this concept was initially formulated for studies of monoglots, a connection has been made with bilingualism and translation. Several authors underline how communicative competence allows individuals to converse effectively in culturally significant settings (Baetens-Beardsmore 1982: 38; Nida 1976: 78; Roy 2000: 24). This ability includes not only the ability to produce grammatical utterances, but also culturally appropriate phrases to request information, give praise, voice objections, etc., and even make jokes (Roy 2000: 24). With such a sound repertoire of communication strategies, individuals can thus compensate for breakdowns in communication (possibly due to a lack of fluency in another language), thanks to their knowledge of interactional

patterns, and conversational rules governing how speakers procure and relinquish turns (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991: 39). A considerable opportunity has been missed in applied linguistics as researchers have never studied the communicative performance of notable figures of the past and eighteenth-century journals and correspondence are rich with vivid descriptions of language behaviour. For example, that Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet, as seasoned political debaters *and* practising lawyers, had a heightened awareness of this 'procedural knowledge' in their mother tongue is not surprising. However, the type of bilingual communicative competence they required as United Irish envoys, pressing their case in an unfamiliar environment and a foreign tongue, was one which triggered anxiety even for such sophisticated individuals (Gudykunst & Kim 1992: 10; Tone II, *Life*; Emmet 1915 I). Because of the trust placed in them in their political role, both Tone and Emmet commented on their uncertainties providing interesting case studies which will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 5.

Another relevant perspective is found in studies on the maturational factors which complicate adult language acquisition, notably among business travellers or emigrants. (Bley-Vroman 1989, 1994; Gudykunst & Kim 1992: 360-1; Littlewood 1984: 66; Singleton 1999: 79). Adults are known to deploy particular efforts to facilitate socio-linguistic assimilation and to "increase the incidents of harmonious intercultural contacts", or merely survive in a foreign environment (Ward et al 2001:7, 233-5). In this regard, the frank testimonies of Tone and Miles Byrne merit greater attention as they can be interpreted through this recent research. There is every reason to believe that in the past, as today, some individuals succeeded in learning and usefully employing languages more than others. This differential success is defined today as one of the major conundrums in the field of second-language acquisition (Ellis 1994; Larsen-

Freeman & Long 1991: 153; Littlewood 1984). Research has identified some of the factors affecting this differential success, which include socio-psychological factors, personality and motivation to achieve a specific goal, and various learning and communication strategies (Ellis 1994: 536-8). Associating central concepts of applied linguistics to the language-learning experiences of the past may seem anachronistic, yet eighteenth-century sources abound with anecdotes proving that certain phenomena were as relevant in the past as they are today. For example, one biographer of Lord Nelson astutely discusses the Admiral's futile efforts and ultimate failure after years to learn French (Maffeo 2000: 136). Given the varied responsibilities of a commander which involved effective communication, i.e. as a "jack and master of all trades-intelligence officer", Nelson's monolingualism made him "dependent upon interpreters...the rest of his life" (ibid). This illustrates not only the differential success in polyglossia between individuals, but also links foreign-language ability as instrumental to the efficient performance of certain prestigious or purposeful roles.

Beyond casual communication, bilingualism is necessary for translation and interpretation, as underlined by Baetens Beardsmore (1982: 38), who states that the specific communicative competence of bilinguals:

"...covers not only the knowledge...of the formal code of a particular language, but also the social implications of choice within and across the language involved".

The competence to translate, be it in written or oral forms of language, is also recognised by Shreve (1997: 121) as a specialised form of competence which "emerges fully as a by-product of evolving bilingualism". Natural bilinguals routinely carry out a form of "rudimentary mediation" across two languages to assist third parties, in what Shreve (ibid) deems a sense-oriented and pragmatic bridging of communicative gaps. In the

past, as in today, as this thesis aims to demonstrate in a specific historical context, bilinguals were routinely associated with such rudimentary translation. While they were often not recognised as formal translators and interpreters, they none the less facilitated genuine mediating situations, and the term ‘linguistic mediators’ may be more appropriate for ad hoc settings (Lorscher 1995: 113-122, Shreve 1997: 120-136). One illustration is that of the Irish emigre officer O’Meara, whose path crossed Tone’s, and who inevitably had to mediate as part of his mission to train foreign deserters in the spring of 1796 (AF/III 358/d 1686, CPA 590, Debidour II 39, Elliott 1982: 274, Tone II 121). Another consideration is that in formal or informal, professional or unremunerated contexts, it is essential to correct the misconception that knowing two languages is sufficient to translate or interpret accurately (Kleinman 1999: 9, Seleskovitch 1981: 25). Because, as Steiner (1992: xiv) has so elegantly expressed it, “each human language maps the world differently”, reformulation is necessary, and a bilingual is not automatically

“ a born translator, who should have no problems mapping one language onto the other quickly and efficiently. Contrarily to popular opinion, translation has little to do with fluency: bilinguals range from being very poor to being very competent translators” (Grosjean 1982: 257)

Background knowledge in general or specialised areas is an essential complement to linguistic ability, enabling the linguistic mediator to draw on their expertise in certain areas (political, military, literary, etc), and make sense of texts or utterances to be translated (Hatim & Mason 1990: 35, Seleskovitch 1981: 32, Vinay & Darbelnet 1977). But while anyone can acquire this type of knowledge, a significant advantage bilinguals possess (either as a result of their background and/or further education), is a bicultural vision of the realities described by either of the two languages in question (Hatim &

Mason 1990 128) None would question the formulation by Katan (1999 10), in his pedagogical model that future

“translators, and interpreters in particular need to be well versed in the customs, habits and traditions of the two cultures they are mediating between”

Yet for many trainees and graduates, the intuition required to anticipate - and thus avoid - potential misunderstandings between two cultural representations is a phenomenon only introduced in early adulthood (Katan *ibid* 15) This is not the case for natural bilinguals or even those exiled in adulthood, in whom awareness of the values, expectations, references and connotations of the two cultures they have been exposed to defines (or redefines) their identity (Gudykunst & Sudweeks 1992 358-9, Hofstede 1992 89, Ward et al 2001 55) Ethnographical discussions of communicative events take into consideration predictable routines and gestures (both verbal and non-verbal), shared understandings and rules for interaction between participants and expectations of outcome These and a range of other factors, potentially create barriers to understanding, even in a monoglot setting (Saville-Troike 1982 134) When two languages are involved, bilinguals can evidently display their sensitivity to this dual, and complex, set of factors, even if admittedly they are not always competent to translate, for reasons further developed below

A further consideration emerging frequently in the literature on multiculturalism and the effects of culture shock in emigration is that of support networks, whereby settled members of a given ethnic group assist newly-arrived compatriots in adjusting to the host community (Ward et al 2001 233-254) Settled compatriots initially act as “ethnic confidants”, compensating for lack of information and knowledge about the host culture, bridging linguistic barriers, and providing situations to socialise in a familiar and re-

assuring environment (ibid 238) But for emigrants seeking to achieve specific goals, the professional and personal contacts of these ethnic confidants can prove vital Given the importance of freemasonry in political networks the 1790s, it is significant to note the existence of an Irish lodge of which Henry O'Keane was a member (Keogh 1993 182) The twentieth-century concept of 'networking' is easily transported back two centuries to the Irish community in Paris, as Swords (2001 196) eloquently demonstrates "The dynamic which helped the immigrant Irish community in Paris to survive and thrive was networking" Conflicts often arise among such ethnic support groups, and one is struck by the relevance of Sword's (1989 121) observation that Tone resented his dependence on "the Paris Irish", and "would have preferred not to have had to use [Madgett and Clarke] as mediators with French politicians" Sword's use of the term *mediator* is easily linked with the preceding discussion, as it is evident he meant linguistic, as well as cultural mediation Though by no means can we generically define all the bilinguals subjects in this thesis as emigrants, the point made by Ward et al (2001 235) that the psychological well-being of refugees is strongly linked to the language ability which fosters effective cross-cultural adaptation is apposite

Examination of bilingualism in this thesis is language-specific and only deals with written and oral exchanges into and out of French and English Studies by applied linguists and translation theorists look at language pairs, and the relative proximity or distance in terms of etymology, lexis, syntax and word order (Coughlin 1985, Guillemín-Flescher 1981, Seleskovitvch 1981, Vinay & Darbelnet 1958) French and English share a complex history of mutual influences, mostly lexical, which prompted the lexicographer Walter to refer to the love story between the languages, 'ou se mêlent attirance et interdits' (Singleton 1992, Walter 2001 11) The two languages share many

Latinate words with similar and often identical orthography, but not full equivalence of meaning. This leads to the problem of interference when bilinguals consciously or unconsciously ‘carry over’ a term into the other language (Kleinman 1999: 7-8, 16-19). Unlike the bilingual in informal settings, the professional translator or interpreter today is expected to develop and self-monitor what is known as the bilingual switch mechanism, and the French-English pair poses specific problems of literalism and interference precisely because of the similarity of the languages (Coughlin 1985).

Minor examples of interference can be found in casual utterances made by Theobald Wolfe Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet in their writings. When Tone (*Life*: 731) refers to his “*ancient* landlady” (my emphasis), presumably he meant his ‘former’ landlady, i.e. ‘*ancienne*’ in French, as at the time of writing he had moved to other lodgings. Having suffered the dual humiliation of owing rent to this “little *bossue*”, and her unsolicited advances, Tone misled readers to assume she was also elderly (Elliott 1989: 33). Thomas Addis Emmet, like Tone known for his eloquence and communicative competence in English, provided an interesting literalism in a letter to McNeven, stationed with the Irish Legion in Morlaix (Emmet 1915 I: 389). Emmet cynically comments on the futility of the Legion’s manoeuvres “at the bottom of Brittany” and while Morlaix is in a remote part of the province, it is in the north of the peninsula and Emmet was transferring the colloquialism ‘le fin *fond* de la Bretagne’. Such lexical interference in informal discourse has no political significance in the stated context of this thesis, but such literalisms may not occur as easily in Irish to English, or Irish to French transfers.

However, in the historical context under examination, it is certain that many protagonists in the Franco-Irish partnership were monoglots, though English and French were widely

spoken, the latter still the accepted language of diplomacy, as well as the linguistic medium of Francophilia and the intelligentsia (Fumaroli 2003; Longley 1968: 2-3; Walter 2001). Therefore, many political or military decision-makers in the Franco-British conflict were capable, at minimum, of understanding written texts or speech in the other language, and to do so autonomously without recourse to translators. For example, there is nothing astonishing in the correspondence between Castlereagh and Wickham, discussing papers seized from Humbert after Ballinamuck, to note that they had no difficulty in assessing the content of the French dispatches, though the Chief Secretary seemed to grasp the gist quicker than his under-secretary (PRO/HO/100/78/381-8).

### 1.3 Considerations on learning French and English in the eighteenth century.

1. "...do not forget the French dictionary, syntax, and grammar, all which are necessary at present as almost everybody in Belfast are [sic] learning French." (Mary Anne McCracken to her brother Henry in prison, May 1797, in Gray 1998: 55).

2. "My mother...a stranger in the land (of which she scarcely spoke the language)...drove to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Talleyrand-Périgord). She knew that he spoke English, and had been acquainted with my father..." (W.T.W. Tone, in Tone *Life* 1998: 886.).

3. "Il me faut parler anglois..." (Du Petit Thouars 1937: 156).

Despite the armed conflict which existed between France and Britain almost uninterruptedly for four decades, indeed perversely in many ways *because* of it, the French and English nations held a sincere and mutual admiration for each others' literary, political and scientific achievements. Thus each nation also strove to acquire the language of the other, for cultural as well as pragmatic reasons. French interest in Ireland arose out of the age's preoccupation with antiquarianism and philology,

reflected in both Coquebert de Montbret's and De La Tocnaye's journals which display their fascination with Irish (BNF MS NAF 20098 [Coquebert de Montbret], Conroy 2003 134, De La Tocnaye [1797]) Ethnographic information on Ireland was available to political strategists in France, i.e. Marcel's (1804) *Alphabet irlandais* and the creation of the Academie celtique in 1805 (de Certeau et al 1975 289) This led Whelan (2003 530) to speculate on how a French regime would have treated Irish culture, following a successful invasion However, never once in his Memorials or correspondence written in France does Tone speculate on how a gaelophone population would have responded to a French call to arms

Franco-British enthusiasm manifested itself in mutual crazes, encompassing fashion and games, but the passion for reading as a defining experience of the Enlightenment definitively broke down national barriers Interest lay not only in scientific and polemical works, but in romantic literature, and in Ireland a thriving book trade made available the titles in vogue (Kennedy 2004, Pollard 1989, Sheridan 2003) We are not surprised to find Thomas Russell quoting from Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise* and Tone referring to both *Gil Blas* and *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, among the most widely read French works of their generation (Kennedy 2001 47, TCD MS 868/1/86/206, Tone II) Conversely, Aristide du Petit Thouars, a French naval officer who befriended Tone on their transatlantic voyage in 1796, confirmed his nation's passion for the novels of Samuel Richardson (Du Petit Thouars 1937 31-2) Reading was an intensely emotional phenomenon due to the particular "double-voiced" narrative technique described by Bakhtin (1984 190), by which the reader appropriated the discourse of the characters and assimilated the adventures of protagonists (Waldron Neumann 1992 113-115) The epistolary structure of many works also established a direct relationship between author

and reader. Thus for French readers of English novels, being English felt familiar, and vice versa. In either French or English, the realism and appeal of Richardson's 'writing to the moment' was a genre of such influence that we see its mark in the journals and correspondence of the age. Tone's writings exemplify the textual and narrative styles of the age, partially explaining why they are such a rich source of socio-historic insights (Bartlett (ed.) 1998: xlvi, Kleinman 2003b). Lexical implications for both French and English of this mutual admiration were considerable. To 'take a French leave' translates as 'filer à l'anglaise', a 'French seam' is a 'couture à l'anglaise', and examples of such kind abound (Walter *ibid.*: 291). Historiography cannot ignore the intellectual and leisure pursuits of the period studied, as cultural references permeate the lives of individuals beyond their political actions.

To contextualise the impact of the French language in Ireland one must look to the seminal work of Kennedy (1994a, 1994b, 1999, 2001), whose thorough investigation of learning patterns in eighteenth-century Ireland are highly relevant to the contexts and individuals under discussion. French was undeniably the language of polite society and high-level diplomacy, but also a *lingua franca* at all levels, including trade, navigation, and crucially in military service, as many Irish exiles knew. The growth of popular and English-language literacy in Ireland in the 1790s has been described by Dickson (2000) as a revolution in itself, and the radical presses found a new and willing readership, resulting in the sharpening of political consciousness (O Ciosain 1997). Among the lower ranks of the population, the interest in chapbook versions of Enlightenment authors is highly significant (Whelan 1993: 269-96). But Kennedy states that her efforts to quantify knowledge of French in Ireland were complex, as studies on popular literacy generally focus only on elementary reading, in contrast to the hierarchy of skills among

the privileged (Daly & Dickson 1992, Kennedy 2001 23) This links back to the crucial issue of differentiating between the four language skills, a point implicit in Kennedy's statement as reading ability was the primary criteria to evaluate literacy. Indeed Whelan (1993 281) underlines how the United Irishmen strategically developed discourse genres which would "be permeable across the reading/speech divide", precisely because many followers of the movement could not read the polemical literature. While a humble socio-economic background did not prevent the average soldier or seaman from "picking up some French or Spanish" to *understand* and *speak* a foreign language, this most certainly did not mean they could *read* it (Oman 1946 54). However, competent bilinguals in the navy could prove they were valuable, as did John Sullivan, to 'examine', i.e. read and translate, papers seized from foreign vessels (AAE Pers 1/65/58r-v).

In private academies, and with tutors and governesses, the most privileged could attain advanced levels of reading and writing in French, and various biographies attest to this (Tillyard *ibid*, Todd 2000, 2003). Apart from the private tuition they received at home from the Marquise de Fontenay, the Emmets perfected their knowledge at Whyte's academy (Geoghegan 2002, Kleinman [forthcoming], O'Donnell 2003a 4, PRONI D 560/5, TAE 1915 II 26-30). But others were not as fortunate, and while William Drennan quotes Rousseau in the original, his sister Martha did not read French (Kennedy 2001 60). William Tone's reference (page 25 above) to his mother's dilemma at speaking no French is corroborated by his father's statements. This may not tally with our assumptions about Matilda's upbringing as the grand-daughter of "a rich old clergyman" in the heart of Dublin, her family affluent enough to send her brother to Trinity (Elliott 1989 37, *Tone Life* 723, 89, *Tone II* 272). Kennedy (*ibid* 36) states

that girls were taught French as a polite accomplishment, but evidently not in many middle class families, as Bishop Stock would comment on his wife and a French officer (Charost) "amusing themselves (as well as they could with two separate languages)" over a card game (Stock 1982: 50-1 ). The highly politicised Mary Anne McCracken no doubt had multiple motivations when writing to her brother Henry in prison in March of 1797, encouraging him to learn French:

"do not forget the French dictionary, syntax, and grammar, all which are necessary at present as almost everybody in Belfast are learning French." (Gray 1998: 55).

Given hopes were still high the Bantry effort would be renewed, Gray (ibid) adds that the motivation to learn French was not presumably "just for simple edification." Beyond the salons of the privileged, great emphasis was placed on pragmatic and vocational instruction as French was widely taught as a "career subject...to prepare students for the military, naval and mercantile professions" (Kennedy 2001: 36). Modern languages were essential for those wishing to join the diplomatic corps, and in expanding areas of scholarship such as history, geography, mathematics, engineering, 'natural science' and astronomy (Higman 1976a: 13; 100-108). French was evidently a necessary gateway by which the Catholic population could place sons in foreign service, the Church, or commerce. No discussion on the mediation required to overcome language barriers can overlook the recurrent theme in the various 1798 narratives of the polyglossia of priests and seminarians, as for generations of Catholic Irish, theological studies implied foreign travel. We are not surprised that Father James Coigly recounts how he was interrogated in English, French and Latin, and during the Mayo campaign both Henry O'Keane and Michael Gannon, ordained priests, acted as interpreters (Coigly 1798: 42; Hayes 1937). But the French invasion paradoxically highlighted the

multilingualism of Protestants too, as the experience of Bishop Stock, examined in Chapter 4, will demonstrate

Quantification of foreign-language acquisition is made even more problematic by the fact that French, German, Spanish and Italian were only introduced at Trinity in 1775 by the Provost Hely-Hutchinson, and were not part of the curriculum as we know it today until well into the nineteenth century (Higman 1976a 12, McDowell & Webb 1982 56-9, Kennedy 2001 32-35) The professorships were first established to provide a framework in the college for language learning, but only as a social accomplishment, as degree courses and exams were not introduced until the nineteenth century (Higman 1976a 12, Raraty 1966 53-72 Modern languages were not initially “ an academic discipline on a par with the classical languages” (Higman 1976a 13), and in practice, the tuition received was extra-curricular The professors were deemed no more than “licensed grinders” by McDowell & Webb (1982 57), and because students paid them directly out of their own pocket, no records were kept Though the identities of the professors are known, attempts to locate any such evidence traces linking students (i.e. Tone) to a particular language master in the Trinity College Muniments for this thesis were unfruitful

Trinity College Library had progressively acquired an impressive collection of books in French over the eighteenth-century, confirming knowledge of the language was a vital skill to expand scholarship (Higman 1976a) Paradoxically, tuition did not match this need until the chairs of modern languages were founded in 1776 (Higman 1976b) An interesting precursor of interdisciplinary scholarship was the practise for history professors in Cambridge and Oxford to supervise language-teaching for those scholars intended for the diplomat corps (Higman 1976a 13) That the nobility and gentry found

undesirable the “necessity of employing persons of foreign extraction to accompany their sons in travel” (ibid), possibly a symptom of the age’s Francophobia, also clearly points to a recurrent theme in this thesis, i.e. that mastery of a foreign language gave individuals the ability to function autonomously, and not only while on their Grand Tour (Higman ibid)

Emphasis on literary studies of francophilia has tended to overshadow the vocational usefulness of French, and Kennedy (2001: 24) underlines that Dublin, the second city in the kingdom, had strong trade links with the Continent, many in the hands of prosperous Catholics (2001: 24, 32). French progressively replaced Spanish as the second language in Portugal’s nautical and commercial schools, and contributed significantly to commercial terminology (Kennedy 2001: 25). Education was quite practical and career-oriented, and one contemporary noted that “young gentlemen designed for the mercantile line might attend to French as they will probably want (sic) in the course of business” (*Cork Gazette* 24 March 1792). In the thriving Irish merchant communities in France’s western seaports, and the major trading port of Bordeaux, many entrepreneurs employed Irish clerks, or ‘commis’, who could speak both English and French (Cullen and Butel 1980: 51-64, McLoughlin 1999: 120). For sons of the Catholic gentry

“ to be able to speak French was essential, and young men wishing to pursue a career in overseas trade learned French in the mercantile academies, or in France as part of their apprenticeship ” (Kennedy 1994: 29)

Pupils at Sisson Darling’s Mercantile Academy on Mabbott street - attended by Tone - were specifically taught practical career subjects such as bookkeeping, and not only French conversation, but translation too (Kennedy 1994: 138-9). Press advertisements encouraging prospective parents often included lists of premiums awarded to

outstanding pupils, and the *Freeman's Journal* of 15-17 April 1773 (Vol X n° 100 p 399 3, as Appendix 1 1 ) lists French under 'Polite accomplishments' It also states the schoolboy Tone received Premiums in Arithmetic, Reading, Grammar, English, and - somewhat uncharacteristically, 'explanation' under Catechism His name does not feature among those rewarded for French (*FJ* ibid) Conversely, the French travel writer Dutens (1794 11) reassures "ceux qui voyagent pour le commerce" that in England they would always find someone who spoke French "dans la maison de leurs correspondans presque tous les negocians et marchans cultivent cette langue", though French was not widespread among "les classes intermediaires"

The *anglomane* which had gripped France, and its corollary trend for language acquisition, may not have touched the less privileged in a country where regional language and dialects were still prevalent, and literacy not universal (Bell 1995, Bertaud 1979, de Certeau et al 2002, Rosenfeld 1999) Many of the political and military figures encountered by the monoglot Tom Paine, and Irish radicals, did not speak English (Keane 1995, Thomson 1991) Increasingly after 1793, both the army and the navy suffered from a lack of skilled and well-educated officers, many of whom (like Carnot and du Petit Thouars) would have learned English as part of their privileged backgrounds (Amson 1992, Du Petit Thouars 1937, De Fontenay 1982 466, Tone II 76) English was taught in the major military academies and was essential to those entering the navy, and du Petit Thouars's repeated trips to England were not only for leisure "il me faut parler anglais" (Du Petit Thouars 1937 156, Thompson 2000 9) Hoche and Humbert were examples of commoners who rose through the ranks to become generals Neither initially appears to have spoken English, though Humbert's lack of education has been grossly exaggerated (DIB, Jacotey 1980, SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>, 482 GB

84<sup>d</sup> 2e serie) Even Marc de Bombelles, a diplomat who travelled through Georges III's 'three kingdoms' was "quite unaffected by the anglomania sweeping France", and knew very little English before setting off on his tour (Woods 1992 176-77) Many Irish in France, including political activists, discovered the assets of bilingualism, and taught English to survive (Swords 1989 82) John Sullivan had taught English at the military academy at La Fleche, and the rolls of the Irish Legion state that William Corbett had previously taught English at the Prytanee at St Cyr (SHA/2Y<sup>e</sup>, X<sup>b</sup> 14) In 1800, William Duckett became an English teacher at the College St Barbe, then opened his own school, advertised his English classes in the *Monteur* as late as 1818, and wrote a *Nouvelle Grammaire anglaise* (Dreano 1998 108, Hayes 1949 76)

Despite the evidence that French was taught for vocational purposes, clerks and even upper servants often learning it for their careers, Kennedy does not suggest that it was known among lower socio-economic groups, still often illiterate or semi-literate (Kennedy 2001 61) Many pedagogical works do imply in their prefaces that self-instruction was commonplace, and several titles focus on oral French, namely Chambaud's *Art of speaking French* (1765), i.e. the 1784 edition of *Chambaud Improved* which featured conjugation exercises based on casual conversation Printed by Patrick Byrne (then on College Green), it was available to anyone calling into the bookseller, including polemical authors he published, most notably Theobald Wolfe Tone Chambaud's was indeed a popular title, as both Tone's fellow United Irishman, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and Horatio Nelson refer to it (Oman 1946 56, Rowan 1840 241) Because subscription lists were often not necessary for popular works, they are ruled out as a possible source of data, linking readers to titles However many prominent names, including United Irishmen, appear on the subscription list for

Sheehy's *Modern French Pronouncing Spelling Book, or Key to the French Language* (1798 xix-xxx, title page and p xxx as Appendix 1 2 a and Appendix 1 2 b respectively)

The author makes clear the purposefulness of the work in his preface

“ with the help of this book, an intelligent person of taste can attain the pronunciation of the French language, without the help of a master, and consequently teach himself the language ” (Sheehy 1798 xviii)

This autonomous method would certainly be appealing to anyone entertaining a clandestine interest in travelling to France. But some of the United Irish subscribers were relatively competent in French, therefore presumably they were financially supporting the author's endeavour, rather than answering a personal need. Among these are Thomas Addis Emmet, Lord Edward FitzGerald, William J McNeven and Henry Sheares, the degree of autonomy to communicate in French of Malachy Delaney and Archibald Hamilton Rowan is difficult to assess, though they were well travelled and their names are associated with manuscripts in French discussed in this thesis. A mysterious 'Hutton, Esq', Tone's occasional pseudonym, is listed on the last page of Sheehy's subscription list, under 'Additional names' (ibid xxx)

The most significant conclusion Kennedy (2001 164) draws in terms of this thesis is that participation in the cosmopolitan and francophile culture in Ireland must not be equated with francophilia, as “it did not necessarily require a knowledge of French” The sense of belonging to French political culture was facilitated by the fact that radical titles were widely available in Ireland, but very often in their *translated* versions (Whelan 1996 101-40). While many displayed a familiarity with the most popular polemical works of romantic fiction, we cannot always be sure that these were read in the original, and translated versions of the works cited by Tone were available very shortly after the publication of the original. As the librarian of the Linen Hall, Thomas

Russell had access to many works, and random quotations in French in his fragmented reading notes confirm he had reading ability (Quinn 2002: 117-123; TCD MS 868/1/86/143-65/264-5). Like many of his generation, Russell linked an interest in science to political reform and social improvement, so he monitored decrees linked to science passed by the French Convention, and followed the discoveries of the 'savants-voyageurs'. (Russell [1991]: 185; TCD MS 868/1/86-88/143-65/317). However, we must deduce from his lengthy quotations of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*, in *English*, that Russell had read it in the *translated* version, as copying these snippets from the original French would not have posed a problem for him, as demonstrated by an extract from Swift that he was intending to translate (TCD MS 868/1/206; 264-5).

Consideration must also be given to 'naturalistic' language learning, i.e. prolonged interaction with native speakers in the "actual world of language use [where learning] occurs *through* communication" (Little et al 1994: 23). At early stages, learners develop passive 'listening performance' with native speakers, which can help increase specialised knowledge depending on the setting. This knowledge (vocabulary or useful phrases) can then be embedded into "sustained attempts at purposeful encounters with spoken language" (Rost 1990: 154). Unfortunately, native speakers do not always provide corrective feedback so as not to offend non-natives, so errors may go uncorrected. Many of Tone's anxieties can be explained by his efforts not being sufficiently acknowledged. Furthermore, it is ideal to have access to relevant and authentic reading material, "appropriate to the learner's needs, expectations and experience... and the realities of communication in the target language community." (Little et al 1994: 23). Newspapers and manuals are illustrations of authentic texts, "created to fulfill some social purpose in the language community" in which they were

produced (ibid) Tone frequently quotes French newspapers, and both he and Byrne read various military *Ordonnances* and cavalry regulations, with a specific goal to acquire military knowledge, in French

When adults learn, or perfect knowledge of a language as part of a broader life plan, autonomy is an influential factor, and is defined as a capacity for detachment, critical reflection and decision making (Little 1991: 4). This becomes evident in how an individual transfers what has been learned to wider contexts. In Tone's case, his writings reflected the immediacy and engagement with the reader of the literature of the age. This was one key to the triumph of his *Argument* (1794) and led to "a flood of populist polemical writing" which approximated the spoken voice (Whelan 1993: 280). Tone's correspondence in French shows how this ability, perfected in English, was transferred into another language. Adults often have defined for themselves precise vocational goals, and motivation is heightened if their aims can be achieved by an instrumental knowledge of a second language (Littlewood 1984: 57). A clear link can be drawn between perspectives in applied linguistics, which define the goal of 'communicative efficiency' in a target language community as a motivating factor for adult learners, and the experience of Tone in France (Little 1991: 27). However, acquiring lexical, syntactic and phonological knowledge of a language is not enough, and the model of communicative competence is also appropriate to this study of the United Irish communications abroad. Their requirements could be defined as

" a level of (mainly oral) communication skills needed to get along in, or cope with, the most common second language situations the learner is likely to face (Canale & Swain 1980: 9)

Individuals must also be equipped to fulfill a variety of social, psychological and discourse roles depending on the context and setting for their interaction with native

speakers Tone may have felt disadvantaged, from a linguistic standpoint, in his early dealings with Carnot, Delacroix, and Napoleon. It is evident though that the array of skills needed for public rhetoric, at the very heart of eighteenth-century education, were considerable assets in both his written and oral discourse. For Trinity scholars, mandatory reading included the *Lectures concerning Oratory* (1759), delivered in the college by John Lawson:

“You should, as much as possible, adapt yourself to the capacities of your audience: be perfectly clear, yet never tedious, unadorned, yet never insipid, close in reasoning, yet never obscure.” (Lawson 1795 Lecture 21 p 393)

In this regard, the education young men received was the same throughout Western Europe. O’Connell’s famous eloquence and powers of persuasion had been acquired at the college of St. Omer (Neville 2004: 254). Despite the language barrier of French, Irish negotiators could have easily engaged in rhetorical debates in Greek or Latin with their French interlocutors, many of whom would have had an almost identical education involving public declamation, exposition and argumentation. Like Robert Emmet and Tone, Carnot had excelled at debating, in Latin, as a schoolboy (De Fontenay 1982: 466, Carnot 1861-4 I: 82). Generally, the rhetorical structure of the memorials Tone and Emmet submitted to the Directory demonstrate an adherence to “the several parts which make up a perfect oration, namely the exordium, narration, proof and peroration” which Lawson reminded scholars was how Aristotle had stipulated words should be arranged (Lawson *ibid* Lecture 3: 44). Paradoxically, the most significant similarity between French and Irish education was translation, which anyone having attended school would have experienced at length as it was the principal method through which the Classics, and modern languages were taught.

#### 1.4. Eighteenth-century travel literature as a source of insights on language ability.

“...you'll find the names of things plaguily transmogrified all along the coast”. (Foote, 1795, I).

A major cultural consideration which is informative on attitudes to contemporary foreign-language competence in the late eighteenth-century is the phenomenon of travel writing, which Denby (2003: 99) states the Enlightenment 'devoured', not only as a manifestation of cultural relativity, but to satisfy a truly global curiosity about the world. It was the golden age of a multi-faceted genre, and innumerable narratives, accounts and advice to future travellers were compiled. These are today a rich source of information for historians, which Woods (1992: 171) believes has not been sufficiently tapped. The friendship which arose between Tone and du Petit Thouars is not surprising as both had been gripped since adolescence with an admiration for Cook's voyages, and “une soif d'aventures...portée au paroxysme” (Du Petit Thouars 1937: 14; Tone II: 278). When, in 1775, the provost of Trinity College, John Hely-Hutchinson, had established the professorships of Modern Languages, the “useful purpose” of the measure was to provide:

“...the means of enabling young gentlemen of Fortune to [be sent] abroad more capable of receiving Improvements from their Travels, when they are acquainted with the languages of the countries which they visit.” (*Account of some Regulations...Hely-Hutchinson [1775]*).

He could not have anticipated the type of grand tour former students such as Tone and the Emmet brothers were to make (Kleinman 2005 forthcoming). For those who remained at home, a vast choice of titles could permit '*dépaysement*' through reading and a sense of belonging to the unity of humankind (Denby *ibid*). Theatre audiences could also relate to the misfortunes of monoglot bungling tourists, whose intercultural contacts abroad provided much inspiration for amusement and self-mockery, when one

couldn't 'parley Francee (sic)' (Foote 1795 I) The farcical phraseology Foote used in his plays provided light relief from the pretentious side of the age's francophilia, and it is no coincidence that Tone emulates his characters within hours of setting foot in Le Havre (Tone 2001 43-44) Scholarly descriptions of culture shock following Oberg's seminal formulation (1960) provide useful insights into Tone's reactions to an unfamiliar environment, as they refer to a "buzzing confusion" in newly-arrived travellers, a phenomenon which emerges clearly from his diary passages for his first hours and days in France (Furnham & Bochner 1986 12-13) That this normal reaction in travellers was exacerbated by linguistic isolation and a form of 'communication shock' is also clear (Kleinman 2003) A recurring facet of travel accounts was the "participant observation", which Denby (2003 99-101) discusses in the light of Volney's representative experience Inevitably, travel accounts were "peppered with linguistic observations" on the traveller's dilemma of enforced interaction with others, in an unfamiliar idiom (Denby *ibid* 101) Introspection and self-examination of communicative behaviour are defined as the 'ultimate' contexts for study in research on second-language acquisition (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991 15) Travel writing, so influenced by the confessional genre of eighteenth-century writing, can provide insights on language behaviour Through prolonged encounters with polyglot speakers in the host country, travellers could improve their own competence, and allow future readers to gauge what is now defined as naturalistic language learning, as discussed above (Little 1995 25) Any mention of communicative competence is welcome, but we are not surprised to learn that, according to Marc de Bombelles, many of his privileged Irish hosts in county Kildare in 1784, i.e. the Duke of Leinster, Lord Edward FitzGerald, and Thomas Connolly, spoke excellent French (Woods 1992 177) Bombelle's enthusiasm must be weighed against the fact noted above that he admitted to knowing no English

before this trip (Dutens 1794, Woods *ibid*) This natural reflex is recurrent in travel accounts, and is one way of gauging the extent to which French was spoken in Ireland (Ní Chinneide 1974b 33)

Travel writings allowed readers to savour the personal experience of linguistic otherness of many travellers. Given Ireland's insularity, statements such as Coquebert de Montbret's (below) which express the views of a prestigious visitor and enthusiast are welcome. Apart from his official brief as Consul general for the French Département de la Marine et du Commerce in Dublin, described himself as " a foreign linguist anxious to improve his knowledge of the Irish language " (AAE/Pers 1ere serie 19, Ní Chinneide 1978 19, 21, 23). He also introduced an important ally, often recurring in travel accounts, i.e. a 'native informant' whose role as a cultural guide and interpreter was vital (Cronin 2001, 2002). But this particular contact has significant political implications as well as sociolinguistic ones, as the 'Mr McNevin of Aghrim,' Coquebert's 'willing mentor' in the Irish language, was none other than the prominent United Irishman William J. McNeven, returned from his medical studies on the continent during which he learned French and German (DIB, Ní Chinneide *ibid* 23). Following his later exile from Ireland, McNeven was to distinguish himself in directly lobbying senior French decision-makers, and his personal dealings with Hoche and Bonaparte. That his representations were facilitated by his free-flowing French is clear from his compositions (AN/AF/IV/1671/167-173, discussed in Chapter 5). This early encounter with Coquebert conversely confirms McNeven's competence in French, a factor crucial to his ability to act autonomously as a political lobbyist. Coquebert's interest in Irish history and literature, and his own efforts to engage in linguistic interaction by making " contacts with people of all creeds and classes ", meant that his

travel diaries were a far more revealing and accurate account of daily realities and cultural activity in Ireland than those of his contemporary Arthur Young (Ní Chinneide 1952 2, 1971 74, 1974a 376)

McNeven himself provided a useful, if indirect, reference to the autonomy that polyglossia could give an individual, in his *Ramble through Swisserland* (sic) *in the summer and autumn of 1802*. This account of his walking trip following his release from Fort George in Scotland is a little-known contribution to European travel literature, and illustrates how the human contacts mentioned in this genre of writing provide references on individual linguistic ability. The *Ramble* also broadens our appreciation of one of the key thinkers and strategists of the United Irishmen, who in enforced exile also engaged in popular Enlightenment pursuits such as ‘botanising’ (McNeven 1803). Early in the account, McNeven defines an obvious aspect of the context of his interactions in Switzerland, stating that “with a knowledge of the German and French languages I was able to dispense with a guide, and save nearly half the money I must have otherwise expended” (ibid 8)

Other informative sources clearly warn prospective travellers (of humbler social backgrounds than diplomats) that the language barrier would be an issue, as in the convivial advice offered by Dutens (1794). His *L'Ami des étrangers qui voyagent en Angleterre* (1794) took full advantage of the French *anglomanie* for all things English, which somewhat perversely had not diminished despite the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and intensified after 1783 (Du Petit Thouars 1937 19, Dutens 1794 3). This specifically included acquiring communicative ability

“Des lors le desir de voir cette île singuliere a redouble aux jardins et aux modes anglaises on a ajoute celui d'apprendre leur langue, et une

education n'est plus complete a Paris, si l'on n'y fait entrer un maître de langue anglaise" (Dutens 1794 2)

However, Dutens warns that many of his readers would not have had such luck, and not knowing English, "vous serez plus ou moins embarasse" (ibid 10) Relativism being the key to the experience of Enlightenment travel, he necessarily contrasts the competence in English of travellers with the degree to which they would encounter francophones among their hosts, stating that among the "premiere noblesse" this would not be a problem However

"dans les autres classes, tous lisent [le françois] plus ou moins, mais beaucoup d'hommes de merite et de femmes aimables du premier rang n'en parlent pas un mot, plusieurs qui l'entendent peu n'osent la parler c'est dans la classe intermediaire de la nation qu'on la parle le moins" (ibid 11-12)

Dutens' differentiation between the four language skills is a further demonstration of how vital it is to make this distinction when assessing linguistic competence His link between socioeconomic factors and polyglossia is also welcome, and finds resonance in 21st century language pedagogy, concerned with equipping learners for genuine exchanges in day to day contexts These eighteenth-century references are most useful to underpinning this examination of how United Irish-French communication were managed

## 1.5 Translation overview of theoretical models

“Lord Viscount Dillon was convinced that the United Irishmen had ‘paid interpreters in remote parts to translate for the ignorant’” (Whelan 1993: 278)

“Le Citoyen Sullivan interprete des prisonniers anglois est venu me voir il ecrivit a son oncle le citoyen Madgett interprete au Comite de Salut Public pour me faire transporter a Paris” (Account of A H Rowan, CPA/588/280)

This section will select relevant theoretical models in today’s literature on translation and interpretation, a field in academia having witnessed from the 1970s onwards considerable developments as an independent discipline (Baker 1997, Snell-Hornby 1995). Theoretical models distinguish between written and oral translation, because in many ways the processes and efforts required of translators and interpreters differ (Munday 2001: 4). In observations on interpreting, as in Dillon’s comment above, the verb *translate* is often used to describe the task of the interpreter, whereas a translator is rarely described as one who *interprets*. Today, many professionals work only in one of the two disciplines and do not feel competent to transfer to the other, while others regularly work in both. It is clear from the scattered, but consistent, references used here as sources that in the late eighteenth-century the titles *translator* and *interpreter* were often interchangeable, as bilinguals in certain settings were expected to do both. In Rowan’s statement above, John Sullivan and his uncle Nicholas Madgett are referred to as “interpreters”, though both signed their work as “traducteur”, and never *interprete* (AAE Pers 1/65/58, CPA/588/280). A contemporary of theirs at the *Bureau de traduction*, Cyprien Appia, signed one letter as “interprete au Bureau des relations exterieures”, yet all the references to the bureau indicate mainly written work for the employees (AN AF III/28/97, CPA 589: 244, as Appendix 1.3, Masson 1877: 366). Sullivan also described the particular type of field work he was sent on as a “mission

particuliere aupres des prisonniers de guerre anglais” (AAE Pers 1/65/58) This included ‘convincing’ prisoners of war to enlist in the Republic’s army and navy through rhetorical speeches on republicanism Evidently this entailed oral translation to facilitate communication between the potential ‘recruits’ and French officials

The letter by Appia referred to above perfectly illustrates how difficult it is to identify suitable theoretical models for an academic discussion on the history of translators and interpreters This is because in its few lines, he juxtaposes the fundamental tenet of translation, i e accuracy of transfer of meaning, with a personal demonstration of bias unfavourable to the original author of the text In showing how the linguistic task he was expected to fulfill for his superiors had an underlying political purpose, Appia contravened the ethical guidelines most practitioners must adhere to today Charged with reading the outgoing correspondence of Sir Sidney Smith, held in the Temple, Appia had judged it “a propos” to translate one item as literally as possible, as the contents were incriminating (CPA/ 589/244, Sparrow 2000 22, 103-4) This translation was forwarded to the senior civil servant so that the latter could judge for himself that Appia had done the right thing in not allowing the letters to be sent on The translator found the “expressions equivoques & a double entente avec des points de suspension” suspicious enough to justify ‘his own reserves’ (ibid) The section on the political advocacy of Madgett and Sullivan in Chapter 2 demonstrates that translators in the past were often expected to reflect the agenda, “norms values, beliefs and social representations which carry ideological force” of the institutions they served, openly displaying advocacy for one side (AIIC Code, Gentile 1996 et al 57-9, ITIA Code, Venuti 1998 29) Appia’s case shows how complex was the role of a government

translator as his work represented the institution he worked for during a most turbulent time in history.

Secondly, his reference to literalness confirms the view of a seasoned diplomatic interpreter, whose perspective would uphold many testimonials quoted throughout this thesis: "...for the official translator, elegance is of no significance, what matters is accuracy." (Lewis 2004: 30). Users of translated texts throughout the centuries have strong expectations of the accuracy requirement so bluntly defined by Lewis, therefore consideration must be given to the recurrent theme which has dominated translation theory until the mid-twentieth century. This is the 'literal' versus 'free' distinction first formulated by Cicero, whose maxim was not to translate:

*'verbum pro verbo'*, but keeping the same ideas and forms, the figures of thought of the original text, but in "a language which conforms [and preserves] the general style and force of the language". (Cicero 46 BC/1960: 364, in Munday 2001: 19; Robinson 1997: 7-10; Steiner 1992: 248).

Though exercising a major influence on translation theory until the mid twentieth century, the literal and free poles have been criticised by Steiner (1998) and other distinguished translation theoretists as a somewhat sterile debate based on vague and subjective criteria (Bassnett 1991:42, 134; Hatim & Mason 1990:5, Munday 2001: 19, 29; Steiner 1998: 290). The 'literal versus free' debate raged throughout the Renaissance and even in the late eighteenth century would have been familiar to both Irish and French schoolboys and scholars engaged in grammar-translation tasks. Translation theory had also been enriched by the highly-influential perspective of St. Jerome, whose seminal definition of the translator's strategy justified his "sensus pro senso" rendering of the Latin rendering of the Greek Septuagint Old Testament (St. Jerome 395/1997: 25, in Munday 2001: 18-20). Remaining faithful to the thrust of the

original text, in his case, was a protection against the charge of heresy. For the non-specialist, it must be stressed that well into the twentieth century the contribution of biblical translators has been significant and went well beyond their own specialist subject matter, encompassing technical aspects of textual transfer. Nida (1964) drew on his considerable experience in that field to develop a 'science' of translation, even laying the groundwork for contemporary morphology (Mounin 1976, Nida 1964, Nida & Taber 1969, Steiner 1992)

These traditional models of translation are precisely those which many scholars, of all faiths and both in Ireland and France, would have been introduced to throughout their studies. Self-assessments of strategy, though rare, are often found in translators' prefaces (e.g. Heaney's approach to *Beowulf*, 1999 x, or Elliott's to *The People's Armies* 1987 xiii-v) and can be informative (Munday 2001 32). One fine example of a preface reflecting both the legacy of St. Jerome and the place of French↔English translations in the historical narratives of the United Irishmen is given by J.P. Leonard (1858). As a Young Irelander, he was a perfect choice to translate into English the biography of Robert Emmet by Louise D'Haussonville, but Leonard's pledge of truth below echoes that of translators and interpreters throughout the centuries:

"As a translator, I have been careful to adhere faithfully to the Author's meaning, and have endeavoured to adhere to the style, as exactly as the differences of the two languages would allow (Leonard 1858 v)

Finally, the reference to the literal versus free debate as a means of qualitatively assessing translations is apposite in any discussion of the United Irish representations to France. It is widely recognised that Tone, Lewins, Robert Emmet and others *misrepresented* their case to the French, exaggerating the support the French would (and

did) receive following the invasions (Elliott 1990: 214-5). Despite the emphasis on the military dimension in much of the 1798 historiography, the ready availability of both Tone's highly influential memorials of 1796 *and* Madgett's renderings, no comparison has ever been made of the English and French versions to determine whether the fault lay with the translator, an often misrepresented individual fulfilling a complex role for his employers. The sole assessment on Madgett's translations of Tone's first and second memorials is influenced by this 'faithful versus free' paradigm, stating that they were, respectively, "very free" and "free", an assessment which will be discussed in Chapter 3.5 (Tone II: 61, 88).

The literalism debate implies correctness in the final translation, and not only semantically. Authors are aware that given the permanency of written language, their texts must be exact, and adhere to precise syntactic and orthographic rules (Bühler 1990: 537). This exactitude requirement also influences the approach of translators, and even more so writers composing in a language they are not fluent in, hence the anxiety Thomas Addis Emmet and Tone expressed at producing written texts in French (AN/AF/III 369/50; IV 1672/ 203v; NLI MS 705/25-6). Certainly translators have the possibility of revising successive drafts before delivering an assignment, unlike the interpreter who deals with dynamic and ephemeral speech, and whose self-corrections may be interpreted as a sign of incompetence (Bowen et al 1995; Petite 2004; Seleskovitch 1981).

A further influential model places the translators themselves at the heart of a communicative event between two cultures. Translations can only be understood in the specific socio-cultural context in which they are commissioned, and produced (Toury 1995: 93). This approach is less text-centred, and informed by sociolinguistic studies on

interpersonal relations, and communication in specific social settings (Anderson 1976 209, Hatim and Mason 1990 2, Roy 2000 23) Wadensjö (1998 30-31) has broadened this model for interpreting, as she sees the translator of both written and oral texts as a moral being seeking to remain faithful to the original meaning and intent of an author/speaker, while adhering to professional norms. Also influential is Nida's (1964 159) principle of dynamic equivalence, whereby the effect of a translation on its receptor audience must aim to achieve an equivalent response to the original text. The creative goal for translators should be "complete naturalness of expression" (Munday 2001 42, Nida 1964 164-6), while tailoring their target-language text to the linguistic needs, and cultural expectations of the receptor audience. Meaning though should take precedence over style, linking back to the fidelity in translation debate. Defining a 'good translation' as one which is adapted, and appropriate, for the intended readership was a concept fully familiar to the translators of the later eighteenth-century. Still highly influential was Cicero's theoretical justification of his renderings of the rhetorical speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes "in a language which conforms to our usage" (cited in Munday 2001 19, Robinson 1997 9). In transmitting the rhetorical intent of the speeches transcribed into *written* language, Cicero was more concerned with the impact of his words on the target audience than on literal accuracy (Robinson *ibid.* 9 n 6). This motif originating in Cicero survived through the centuries, and his work would have been as much a major reference for Tone and the Emmets throughout their schooling, as for their future French interlocutors, Carnot, Delacroix, and Napoleon. Rhetoric had a predominant place in their studies, and was linked to how texts were received by their audience, as discussed by Tytler in his *Essay on the principles of Translation* (1797). The merit of the original, Tytler states (1797 14, in Munday 2001 26, my emphasis), should be

“completely transfused into another language as to be as distinctly apprehended, and as strongly *felt* as by the original work”

Tyler’s principles may very well have been known to Madgett and Sullivan, also imbued with the writings of Cicero and St Jerome. As a former seminarian, Madgett would have been exposed to the Church’s preoccupation with free vs. literal renderings of the Bible, and Martin Luther’s defense that he rejected word-for-word renderings, and infused his translation of the Gospel with the idioms used by ordinary Germans (Ferte and Brockliss 2004: 43, Snell-Hornby 1995: 9). To make their work relevant to readers, translators must choose appropriate registers, and can only do this when sensitive to how societies and cultures use words and phrases. Translations target “specific audiences, for specific reasons and to accomplish specific goals” (Roy 2000: 23). This is highly relevant when considering the processes undergone in transferring Tone’s written exhortations from English to French, or the landing proclamations (French to English) in which the French generals appealed ‘directly’ to their Irish comrades in arms.

Discussing the work of translators of the past is easily underpinned by Nord’s (1997: 17-20) theory of purposeful translation as a form of interaction, by which “translators quite regularly do much more than translate texts”. Recent translation theory (Setton 1999) has placed an emphasis on pragmatics, and the realities of vocational requirements in the work place with a strong input from practitioners. As individuals with a bicultural vision of the world, translators are called upon to advise on expectations or outcomes in particular cross-cultural situations. This could include being involved in the initial genesis of a text, and being asked to voice an opinion as to the “acceptability and viability of the translation”, in terms of length, terminology or “ideological terms” (Nord 1987: 21, Vermeer 1989). Yet, however crucial the translator’s position is in assessing

the reception of the text for the target readership, as employees in institutions they are often overlooked in the process of initiating and commissioning translations. Translators in formal or institutionalised settings must be objective, and exercise judgement when taking on “ the role of mediator between different cultures, each of which has its own visions of reality, ideologies, and myths ” (Hatim and Mason 1990: 11, 236-7). In participating in a communicative transaction, translators (and interpreters) fulfil a complex range of roles, a highly significant one being what Nord (1997: 17) calls a “cross-cultural consultant”, who bridges the gap between different cultural communities. This overlaps with the role of ‘ethnic’ or ‘cultural’, informant’, whereby bilinguals/linguistic mediators are asked to explain, or “shed light on cultural issues” referred to in a source-language text or utterance (Colin & Morris 1996: 180).

Nord’s concept of translation as a purposeful activity is linked to the view that it is also a form of mediated and intentional interaction between given individuals, involved in a complex network of mutual relations. This also applies to interpreters, whose physical presence means to a certain extent they participate as equals in communicative exchanges. This model is highly relevant to the historical contexts examined throughout this thesis, in which translators often initiated a translation process, in contrast to today’s professional settings. They also rarely have contact with the original author of the text in the source language (Nord *ibid.*: 20). Those *initiating and/or commissioning* translations, e.g. “institutions [using a] text in order to convey a certain message” (*ibid.*: 21), define the purpose for which the text is needed in the target language with a clear target audience in mind. Yet it is the translator who is expected to be sensitive to the cultural specificity of a text, and to the factual and sociocultural background, expectations, sensitivity of this audience. Translators of both written and oral messages must

occasionally take the initiative of providing elaborations on culture-bound phenomenon in the texts they translate, if they anticipate the end user may not be familiar with them (Nord *ibid* 33, Vermeer 1989) To ensure the most positive reception of their work, translators will have to combine cultural considerations with linguistic ones, and aim for “invisibility”, i.e. concealing the act of translation by ensuring the text reads in the target language in a transparent and fluent style A translation should give the appearance of the original version, and the translator must avoid interference from the source language and excessive literalism by “minimising foreignness” (Munday 2001 146) This is not always possible, either because of the translator’s lack of experience or time pressures imposed on them But texts which are evidently translated because they adhere to the style and norms of the original language often read like “like the wrong side of a Turkish tapestry” (Lewis 2004 31) These have linguistic features embedded in them which can facilitate backtranslation if the original has been lost, or even provide clues to gauge the bilingualism of the translator How successful the reworking of the rhetoric of some of the French landing proclamations was into English is questionable, though maintaining the *otherness* did draw those reading them, or listening to them being read, into a closer relationship with the French generals

Evidently, translators’ strategies differ according to the nature of a particular work, and some authors employ the term of text typology to define a conceptual framework for the communicative intentions of a given text, within an overall rhetorical purpose (Hatim and Mason 1990 138, Nord 1997, Reiss 1976,1985) The application of a text typology is particularly useful in understanding the collaboration of Madgett and Tone on the First and Second Memorials, and will be developed in Chapter 3 But classifications of genres are often complex, as a given text could be deemed informative, as well as

expressive, and those authors admit certain texts are multifunctional, one illustration discussed here being the Emmet and Delaney memorial written for Napoleon (CPA 593/288-9, Chapter 5) The type of transfer processes involved for translations vital to the Franco-Irish partnership can also be understood in the light of Nord's theory of translation as a purposeful activity (Nord 1997), in particular her insightful discussion of the *skopos* theory of Reiss (2003) and Vermeer (1989), the very heart of which is the 'aim' or 'purpose' of a translation Translators practice a form of source-text analysis, and their instinct leads them to judge the intentionality of a text and the purpose of the translation, both of which determine appropriate strategies (Munday 78-9, Vermeer 1989/2000 221) The emphasis in this thesis will be on pragmatic aspects of translations, rather than literary ones, and therefore the translator's personal strategy is an important consideration Another essential theory interestingly points to the role of institutions as source-text producers, who use a text in order to convey a certain message to a target-text addressee as part of an overall function in bringing about change (Nord 1997 21) Nothing could more accurately describe the various forms of pro-French propaganda translated by Madgett, Sullivan and probably Duckett for clandestine distribution in England For such highly rhetorical texts, the translator must match the socio-political expectations of the target audience in order to maximise impact, often by lexical adjustments Having near-native fluency in the specific target-language they work into is essential, though some texts (the landing proclamations in particular) 'read' as translations, i.e. featuring infelicities and cumbersome styles which mirror the original, source-language version

That in the past translation was often undertaken by bilinguals as one of many functions within an institutional setting, because of an individual's expertise in a given area or as

part of a personal goal of self-enrichment is certain. To feed the intellectual hunger of the Enlightenment, the translators of the eighteenth century had no respite as the publishers of Europe thrived while meeting the demands of the new craze for reading (Cronin 1996, Denby 1994, Hunt 1996, Reddy 2001). It will be remembered that the roots of Diderot's *Encyclopedie* (1751-1772) were his translation of Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* (1727), commissioned by a French bookseller in 1746, and it was D'Alembert who had first introduced the concept of *anglomanie* (Walter 2001: 239-40). Given the absence two centuries ago of the quasi-immediacy of information transmission we enjoy today, the speed with which the press in Ireland, i.e. the *Northern Star* covered the proceedings of the Convention in Paris is remarkable. This process was instrumental in scaffolding 'the republic in the villages' of Ireland (Whelan 1993, 1996). One editorial note indicates debates in the *Assemblée nationale* reached their offices in Belfast in the original, though having found the renderings "in some British prints faithfully narrated, we have discontinued our translation for the present, making use of our communications with Paris, so as to correct a few errors, and supply some omissions to undeceive the public" (*NS* 1 September 1792). The use of the associated terms 'errors' and 'omissions' is mirrored in the extensive work of Barik (1971, 1994), an important reference in pedagogical models aiming to develop self-monitoring in novice interpreters (Kleinman 1999, Petite 2004).

In her comprehensive *Interpreters as Diplomats*, Roland (1999) demonstrates the complexity of the functions attributed to translator-interpreters in world politics throughout the centuries, often as advisors and generally "privy to the affairs of all and fully trusted by none" (*ibid.*: 53). Considerable powers were conferred on interpreters because distinguished figures in history (i.e. Nelson, Washington) were 'linguistically

bedevilled”, and often totally reliant on polyglot mediators. This applied to exchanges in obscure native-American languages as well as in the lingua franca of diplomacy, French (Bell 1999: 228, Maffeo 2000: 136-7, Roland *ibid.*: 53, 72, 77). But many others, in the service of their state, exploited to their advantage the independence which resulted from multilingualism, and throughout the Franco-Irish partnership examples abound of ‘diplomats as translators and / or interpreters’. Coquebert de Montbret, on his return to France, combined his competence in English and extensive observations on fishing and mineralogy gathered during his travels (Laboulais-Lesage 1997: 160). As editor of the Mining school’s *Journal des Mines*, he vowed to make available ‘often precious Memorials accumulated in boxes and not put to good use’, publishing extracts translated from foreign works, including an English study on cast iron and the copper mines of Anglesey. He also published his *Observations faites en Irlande* on a stratum of coal between two beds of basalt, and a *Notice* on the copper mines of Cronebane and Bally-Murtagh (*Journal des Mines* 1795 II n°8: 49, III n°16: 77-8). Edmond-Charles Genet, son of the last prestigious *secrétaire-interprète* of the Ancien régime, was at one stage dispatched to Berlin in part to collate and translate into French some of the many military *ordonnances*, i.e. infantry regulations, another highly popular genre which both Tone and Byrne read assiduously. Thus one sees that all bilinguals are potential translators, but only in certain circumstances will they discover how, and for what purpose, to develop this skill.

## 1.6 Special considerations on Interpreting

“Par son demeine latimer  
Que moi conta de lui l'estorie”  
(Chronicle of Dermot and the Earl, quoted in Cronin 2003: 124)

Many of the considerations on translation also apply to interpreting in the contexts considered. Both the models of translation as a purposeful activity, and that of the linguistic mediator taking on a complex role including cultural and political advocacy, are easily transferred to interpreter-mediated exchanges. However, it is self-evident that the main difference with written translation lies in the physical presence of the interpreter, an extremely influential factor in terms of the behaviour and expectations of all participants involved. Because of the specific psychodynamics of orality, Cronin (2002) argues that relations of power are omnipresent in the context and practice of interpreting, in particular in the politically sensitive contexts noted by Baker (1997). This will provide a most useful model to understand how the role of interpreter-officers in the Mayo campaign was perceived by those hostile to the French.

The type of interpreting considered in historical contexts is defined by several terms. One of the oldest titles in the West is that of *latimer*, derived from *latinarius*, i.e. one who translates into Latin, and used in the Domesday book to describe “a professional secretary and interpreter” (Picard, quoted in Cronin 2003: 124). Throughout centuries, interpreters worked closely with dignitaries and their brief was often political, transgressing linguistic boundaries and giving them prestige and authority (ibid.: 123). To bridge communication gaps be it during high-level parleys, casual conversations or during interviews and interrogations, they interpreted in a mode known today as *liaison* or bilateral interpreting. Generally a single bilingual mediator relays messages backwards and forwards out of and into the two languages of the respective

interlocutors. This mode is also known as consecutive, because the interpreter waits for the speaker to have finished an utterance before translating it. It is the standard format used in interviews, but also in court where the utterances of all participants must be fully heard for the process to be efficient. There are also instances of what is known as ‘chuchottage’, i.e. whispering, by which the interpreter sits very near the person requiring translation and provides a form of running commentary in the target language (Gentile et al. 1996: 26). When Paine’s biographer states he “often sat next to Danton” while the Convention was in session, it was because Danton, like Brissot and others helped him follow proceedings in the Convention by whispering a rendering into English (Jouve et al. 1997: 75, Keane 1995: 360). Transcripts of Paine’s speeches in the *Northern Star* feature no textual markers to indicate how he *participated*, though his interventions were translated into French in advance then read out by a fellow *Conventionnel*, some by François-Xavier Lanthenas, a member of the Lyon circle of Roland, others by Nicholas and Marie de Bonneville (Keane 1995: 368, Thomson 1991, Todd 2000: 210-5).

In terms of the sequencing of utterances, usually two languages were involved but there were evidently many situations during the French campaign in Mayo where communication gaps had to be bridged between three languages, i.e. French, English and Irish. While French correspondence are silent on the issue, we must not rule out the possibility that skills in Irish were also instrumental in restoring order in those prisoner of war depots in France where numerous Irish were held, among the ‘*prisonniers de guerre anglais*’, a fact worth mentioning though as stated beyond the scope of this thesis.

In the case of three languages a form of what is now called relay was probably used, by which not one but two turns are required to convey the message in a language understandable to all. Either the interpreter masters the three languages, as we presume

was the case for Henry O'Keane, or two interpreters are required. The relay system is also used when a given language is chosen as the lingua franca of communication, one unusual example being the use of Italian on Sir George Macartney's mission to China (Roebuck 1983: 218).

Further to the considerations on bilingualism stated above, a form of ad hoc interpreting is, and always has been, performed by unschooled bilinguals of all ages in diverse cultural contexts, traces going as far back as ancient Egypt (Buhler 1990: 536, Kurz 1985, 1990, 1991). In emigre communities, children assimilate quickly and are often delegated to liaise between older family members and the host community through their ability to translate and transfer brief oral messages from one language to another, in informal settings (Grosjean 1982). Informal oral translation is even recognised as a fundamental aspect of childhood bilingualism by the founder of modern interpreting theory, Danica Seleskovitch, who notes

“ on peut qualifier d'interpretes les enfants qui, sur les marches africains, servent d'intermediaires aux ethnies differentes, ils comprennent ce que veulent vendeurs et chalands, et savent le leur expliquer dans leurs langues reciproques (Seleskovitch 1981: 23) ”

A useful anecdote from the late eighteenth-century shows how the French royalist emigre community in Britain felt embarrassed and awkward at their forced circumstances, and was ill-equipped to cope with day to day living due to language barriers (Carpenter 1999: 48). This compounded their isolation, so their less inhibited children often took on the role of spokespersons, as less inhibited they usually learned to speak English quickly, and often better than their elders (Walsh 1862: 154). One returned exile laconically expressed the sociolinguistic consequences of this new,

enforced existence “ each of us rebelled against the language we refused to learn,”  
(Forneron 1884, in Bruce 1995 136)

Children even played a vital role in the prosperous trade in fashionable straw hats which the French emigres had developed, calling around shops in London to sell finished goods (Carpenter 1999 54, Walsh 1862 154) This anecdote leads us to speculate on how childhood bilingualism may have manifested itself among the Irish emigre communities scattered throughout France, whose survival was usually linked to either commercial or military concerns It will be seen throughout the chapters how bilinguals born into mixed or exiled French-Irish families, such as Colonel Shee, General Clarke, and the brothers Alexander and William Dalton, (the former in particular) were close associates of Theobald Wolfe Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet These binationals were specifically chosen by the French government to liaise with the United Irishmen for both political and evident linguistic reasons, even if their individual abilities in English may have varied Manuscripts confirm that at one stage or another, Clarke, Alexander Dalton and Shee were instrumental in some form of linguistic mediation, having carried out written translations Having spent their formative years in Irish regimental families concentrated in the barrack town of Landrecies, they inevitably lived in a linguistic environment where French, English, and in all likelihood some Irish were spoken (SHA/GD 7yd 852/ Dalton, Tone II 110, 310)

Both assertive or retiring bilinguals could be asked to act as a ‘go-between’ between interlocutors not sharing a common language Though not the oldest, but evidently one of the better French speakers, it was McKenna who had been singled out to act as the “spokesman” and interpreter for the Irish students during the interrogations and trials which arose out of the Champ de Mars incident of 1790 (Swords 1989 33) A more

romantic anecdote is given by du Petit Thouars, reminiscing on his service in Virginia in 1779 as an eighteen-year old enseign in the French marine, and the linguistic barriers hindering his courtship of the daughter of the family he was billeted with ashore (Du Petit Thouars 1937 31-2) He states “mon Américaine” was more receptive to his efforts to place every single English phrase he knew than her father and brother, yet he needed a fellow officer, Trecesson to intercede, as “mon *interprete* et confidant” Du Petit Thouars found they were like characters in Richardson’s *Clarissa*, and while courting the object of his affections in French had a certain cachet, he had difficulty convincing her that she was as enticing as any French woman, blaming his poor command of English Here too the art of persuasion was inextricably linked to command of a dedicated language Indeed travellers of all kinds inevitably call on bilinguals to act as mediators, and the latter often fulfill a broader cultural role which Cronin (2002) describes as a native informant Dutens (1794 4) assures his readers that in hotels of quality in England, “valets de place-interpretes” were available to assist This might loosely describe the position which one (presumably bilingual) French veteran of the 1796-9 campaigns had taken up at the Hotel de l’Europe in 1801 He was discovered by Catherine Wilmot and noted in her narrative when she was disconcerted to be shown to her bedchamber by three male members of staff, though she states “One had been a Soldier, and had invaded Ireland, but in the true malleability of the French spirit, had dwindled from a Hero to a fille de Chambre!” (Wilmot 1923 10)

In sharp contrast to these ad hoc bilingual exchanges, interpreting was also conducted as part of a formalised and rule-bound procedure, in public as well as in private The most relevant application to this discussion of the types of interpreter-mediated exchanges carried out two centuries ago in political and military settings is in fact relatively recent,

and is known as ‘community interpreting’ (Carr et al 1997, Gentile et al 1996, Pochhacker 1998 173, Roy 2003 32) This model examines face to face exchanges in legal, health and social services, including interviews in police stations and prisons, and all authors reinforce the social and active role of the interpreter (Roy *ibid* 32, Wadensjö 1995 115) Associated with the insights on natural bilingualism above, fundamental aspects of community interpreting combining oral translation processes with the evident psycholinguistic considerations of face to face exchanges can allow us to discuss the specific socio-historic settings of the 1790s in a way which would be recognisable to linguistic mediators such as John Sullivan or Henry O’Keane Firstly, one similarity is that the main participant (or interviewer) is often a representative of an institution, ‘either private or governmental’, and has initiated the process (Roy *ibid* 105) Therefore the protocols of that particular institution will prevail, and the mediator- interpreter is subservient to those rules, and today deemed to be “a neutral participant, one who does not take sides, offer opinions, or show bias” (*ibid*) More than one person representing this overarching institution may be present, and in tightly rule-bound institutions such as the judiciary or the military, the very act of wearing a specific uniform is a potent visual reminder of the authority invested in the main participants, e.g a judge or a high-ranking officer French revolutionary officials like the *representants en mission* Prieur de la Marne and Jean Bon St Andre (under whom Sullivan worked for a time) had special uniforms, and Tone noted the ones worn by Carnot and Delacroix, partially modelled on those of Greek and Roman civic dignitaries (Tone II 56, 76) While it is evident that as captains the four Irish officers serving under Humbert in Mayo wore French uniforms, it is also possible Sullivan wore one on his rounds among prisoners of war, consequently, if indirectly, conferring a special status on linguistic mediators The very presence of the interpreter will alter the “expectations

and assumptions” of how crosslinguistic exchanges will proceed, (Roy 2000 47), and the ‘dynamics of interaction will largely depend on the socio-cultural conventions’ (Wadensjo 1998 154) and the interpreter’s accommodation of context

What ethical behaviour were interpreters in the past expected to adhere to, and what were the expectations regarding their performance which participants and observers were entitled to have? The most visible of settings is court interpreting, in which interpreters must comply with specific ritual conditions while their presence “underscores” the communicative event (Roy *ibid* 47) Because judges must introduce and swear in interpreters, all those present in the courtroom are aware of their officialised participation in the judicial process, and how the oath transforms their role into one of a primary participant (Roy 29, 47) Furthermore, questions by judges or lawyers are often directed *at* the interpreter in order they elucidate an obscure culture-bound reference in a witness statement This role of ‘cultural informant’ has endured through centuries, and in court settings Colin & Morris (1996 180-1) make clear interpreters, while not speaking out of turn or ‘on their own initiative’, none the less feel duty bound to clarify certain points as *not* doing so would lead to misunderstandings and shed doubts on their reliability

It is highly likely that the court case of *Du Barre (sic) vs Livette* heard at the Guildhall in London on 27 July 1791 came to the attention of both Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet as practising barristers (170 ER 96 [Peake 108]) Despite the judge’s initial uncertainty, it set a significant precedent and is still cited today as the “touchstone for interpreter privilege” as it involved a third party introduced into client-attorney communications (Morris 1999 27, *Pratt vs Commissioners of Taxation* [2004] FCAFC 122 10, Colin & Morris 1996) The ‘action of trover for jewels’ had been initiated by Madame du Barry

following the theft of her sizeable collection of diamonds at Louveciennes, quickly recovered in London. The case would thus have been followed if only for the entertainment it would have provided the English legal fraternity and society at large. As a language barrier existed between the French defendant and his English attorney, an interpreter was summonsed, one Rimond. In a bizarre move, Rimond was called as a witness at the trial and unethically revealed details of what had been disclosed in the conversations between client and attorney. The defense duly argued that this evidence was inadmissible, leading the judge, Lord Kenyon, to make an important and expressive statement on the ethics expected of court interpreters. Confidentiality was expected from an interpreter, who was “the organ through which the prisoner conveyed information [which] ought to remain locked up in the bosoms of those to whom it was communicated” (Lord Kenyon, in Peake 96-97). The judgment setting the precedent reads as follows:

“An interpreter who is present at conversations between a foreigner and his attorney is bound to the same secrecy as the attorney himself, and ought not to divulge the facts confided to him after the cause for the purpose of which the confidence was placed is at an end” (170 ER 96 [Peake 108] 96)

The reason why Emmet and Tone may have noted this judgment is underlined by Garnham (1996: 93-116), as only one significant difference existed between Irish legal practice and the English system on which it was modeled in terms of assize trials (apart from the way in which grand juries operated). That was the occasional necessity of recourse to interpreters which, though neither required nor regulated by statute, had arisen out of necessity, “their tasks to translate the proceedings of court into Irish where necessary, and to render the testimony of Irish speaking witnesses into English”, in return for a modest sum (ibid: 93, 112). The role of interpreter was formalised through

their requirement to swear an oath in open court, attesting the veracity and accuracy of their renderings (Robinson MS 32/26) One would welcome confirmation that either Emmet or Tone had heard the testimony, and examined Irish-speaking witnesses, through an interpreter thus allowing them to experience the process at first hand It is also known that mediators were regularly required in landlord to tenant exchanges, the former not always being satisfied with the process due in all likelihood to the divided loyalties of the person chosen from among the Irish speakers to interpret Whitley Stokes, Tone's fellow student at Trinity and a United Irishman, stated that gentlemen in Connaught were motivated to "acquire the language, in order to deal with the peasantry without an interpreter" (Stokes 1806, in Kennedy 1994 17-24) Though in more informal settings, and among only a handful of willing participants, both Tone and Emmet would later point to the need for interpreting to further Franco-Irish communications for political and military purposes

Specific measures dealing with the treatment of foreigners were taken in France in the early 1790s, and provide a historical context for the professional experience of John Sullivan, whose modest place in the historiography of 1798 begins when as an interpreter he 'found' the United Irishman Archibald Hamilton Rowan languishing in a naval hospital In his *Autobiography* (1840 232) published half a century after the events, Rowan described Sullivan as an "inspector for all the prisoners of war", yet in a memorandum to the Comite de Salut public he states that Sullivan had interceded on his behalf as "interprete des prisonniers anglais pour la 13e division" (CPA/588/280) Sullivan's official status as an interpreter is confirmed in a Comite report for 1794, approving the pay rise he had requested (AN/AF/II/230) This report states he was needed in Brest "pour la traduction des papiers anglais qui se trouvent a bord des

prises”, a further illustration of the blurred distinctions between written and oral tasks (AN *ibid*)

In 1792, many speakers in the Convention supported a broad agenda to welcome all foreigners wishing to participate in the life of the nation (Rapport 2001 130-1) This cosmopolitan rhetoric extended to foreign soldiers who deserted or were taken prisoner and found themselves on French soil, and the decree of 4 May 1792 formally underlined their human rights stating that principles of justice and humanity would apply (*ibid* 163) One legislator, Charles Duval, objected that foreigners facing trial in France would not be treated as democratically as they would in England, and that upholding their rights was an exemplary manner of conducting a just war (Wahnich 1997 108) He evocatively described the plight of the “malheureux étranger”, the process of struggling alone to prove his innocence exacerbated by language barriers

“ les éclaircissements sont lents ou impossibles il est seul livré à lui-même au milieu de gens qui n’entendent pas sa langue, il n’a même pas d’interprète ” (quoted in Wahnich 1997 108)

Duval’s proposal to have interpreters made available to foreigners only led to draft legislation But on 29 October 1793, somewhat paradoxically given that the country was gripped by the Terror, xenophobia and unbridled suspicion of foreigners, an official decree was published and stipulated that the minister for war would appoint and remunerate interpreters for each depot holding foreign prisoners of war (AP 78 16) The question of ‘English’ prisoners of war i.e subjects of the King George III, constantly surfaces in the dealings of the United Irishmen in France, due to the possibility of ‘recruitment’ for French expeditions to the British isles among the substantial numbers of Irishmen among them It is presumably in the context of this decree that John

Sullivan was detached from his desk work at the Bureau de traduction, and his additional role of political advocate will be expanded in Chapter 2

A more detailed decree dealing with court interpreters at criminal tribunals passed two years later on 25 October 1795 may not have been implemented given the Convention was dissolved the next day (Collection generale des decrets rendus par l'AN 1789-1798 159) It may well have been intended to deal with trials involving speakers of many of France's regional languages and dialects, as well as with foreign detainees, as it refers to witnesses and accused not speaking 'la même langue ou le même idiôme' (ibid, Art CCCLXVIII) Whatever its application, the scant details it provides on interpreting are welcome, not only its stipulation that interpreters be at least twenty-five years of age, but especially its reference to a binding oath

“ le president du tribunal lui fait promettre de traduire fidelement, et suivant sa conscience, les discours a transmettre entre ceux qui parlent des langages differens ”(ibid)

Assertiveness and self-control would have to be exercised by the interpreter, as both the defendant and the public prosecutor were entitled to challenge them, and the possibility of them being called as a witness or among the jury completely contravenes 21st century practice (ibid, Art CCCLXIX) However, as references to oath are rare, this one imposing the ethical obligation on the interpreter to 'translate faithfully and according to his conscience', is welcome

A final consideration on how native speakers of foreign languages may have been recruited as interpreters, and indeed translators of written texts, emerges from the treatment of prisoners of war Foreigners were affected differently by the institutionalisation of suspicion throughout 1793 This was the case following the

decree of 1 August that year, calling for the arrest of all enemy subjects, though Rapport states an ability to contribute to the war effort was evidently welcome (Rapport 2001 149-150) He cites both military service and propaganda as essential fields where useful services could be provided by foreigners who by contributing relevant skills were exempt from the draconian measures, and the same applied to prisoners of war who had to earn their keep (ibid 249-51) Within the military, polyglots could be useful in several contexts as liaison officers, as detailed in chapter 2 Regrettably, nothing more is known of a Jacques Lepinet, aged 27 and imprisoned in the Irish College on 4 November 1793, who stated “English interpreter” as a profession, but as a bilingual he may have grasped at the opportunity to state a purposeful occupation (Swords 1989 249) This substantiates the view of translation historians such as Bowen that interpreters often took up the profession ‘as the occasion warranted’, or ‘were chosen by it’ due to the circumstances, making them to a certain extent victims of circumstances (Bowen et al 1995 247)

Despite the apparent recognition of interpreting as a profession, binding practitioners to an ethical code of conduct, cynicism is not uncommon among monoglots who were reliant on interpreters A most revealing anecdote is provided by Tom Paine and is set during the early contacts between Irish radicals and the Comite, just as Nicholas Madgett was beginning to assert his position Lieutenant Colonel Oswald, part of the White’s Hotel group, had been dispatched to Ireland to liaise with Edward FitzGerald and bring back fresh news on Irish readiness to take up arms (Elliott 1982 60-61) Forced to take a circuitous route back, Oswald incurred extra expenditure and appealed to Paine on his return in June of 1793 Paine was compromised by that stage, his every move watched Not surprisingly, to plead compensation for Oswald, he wrote to the

English-speaking Louis Otto, a former charge d'affaires to the United States and then head of the first political division of the *Departement des Relations exterieures* (Masson 244, 313) Paine relayed - in English - Oswald's dismay at his unsettled account, and his own anxiety at the affair "of a nature that cannot be made public" (CPA/588/12, Appendix 1 4) Preferring to call personally on Otto, Paine's paranoia and lack of autonomy is apparent

"As it is not proper that any interpreter should act in this business but a confidential person and as you are the most proper person to communicate between [Oswald] and the Minister, I wish you would undertake to forward the settlement of his accounts (CPA/588/12)"

Thus in a paradoxical reversal of Rolland's (1999) perspective, we see a further illustration of how communication barriers often led diplomats to act as interpreters, and Otto was later that summer to assist Paine again (Keane 1995 384-5) When the regicide president of the Convention Barere approached Paine in September about his thoughts on a constitution and a possible delegation to the United States to negotiate flour exports to France, the former suggested that Otto could act as a linguistic mediator in the negotiations (Keane *ibid*) Paine would jot his thoughts down on paper in English, and Otto would provide a written translation, because "responding through the interpreter would have been tedious and time-consuming" Keane's text does not make clear if the source of this negative judgement of liaison interpreting is to be found in a primary source consulted for the otherwise meticulous biography, i.e. Paine's own correspondence, or if this echoes the biographer's views However, Paine does show he felt hindered by the indirect channel of communication with Barere, whom he was anxious to please

“I am sorry that we cannot converse together, but if you could give me a rendez-vous, where I could see Mr Otto, I shall be happy and ready to be there” (Keane 1995 385)

Paine’s experiences merit a dedicated study of interest to the applied linguist in terms of distinguishing between the four language skills, and as a revealing chapter in the history of ad hoc interpreting. Given his close and long-standing connection with Madgett and other English and Irish radicals in Paris, Paine’s experience also provides a reliable and contemporaneous sociohistoric backdrop to contextualise language barriers and their overcoming. It is specifically because of Paine’s prominence, and his own sensitivity to his lack of autonomy, that so many anecdotes have survived providing sources for historians. This illustrates the need to define in so far as possible a methodology by which to identify, assemble and examine the sources available.

## 1.7 Methodology

The thesis will discuss communication patterns across language barriers, and more specifically assess the human agency underlying this process by concentrating on key linguistic mediators. Therefore, data will be mainly sought in relevant primary sources in French archives, to gauge the impact of language barriers on key communicative events which took place in France. It is hoped that from sources such as official and personal correspondence in administrative and military archives, decrees, proclamations and addresses, journals and diaries, revealing data will be elucidated on the array of issues linking bilingualism and translation (inter alia Archives des Affaires etrangeres Correspondance politique (Angleterre), Dossiers ‘personnel’, Memoires et documents, Archives nationales, Service historique de l’Armee, Service historique de la Marine, *Time Life*, I, II, III [forthcoming]). Information gleaned from these primary sources will

be weighed up against other information obtained in secondary sources, and data originating in personal observations on language will be discussed critically as it may not always be accurate or objective

A chronological-linear form has been adopted as it is the most appropriate structure for an historical study. Following a theoretical introduction, the four discursive chapters examine the overlap between key individuals and communicative events from 1793 to 1805. Covering the entire long decade of the French Revolution, this approach is similar to Rapport's (2001) in his *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France*, which chronologically charts the evolution of a sociopolitical theme - the treatment of foreigners - from 1789 to 1799. Secondly, the structuring of data must echo methodologies in applied linguistics and translation history, though opinions differ among academics as to which are the most appropriate and a recurring debate opposes theory and practice (Fraser 2001). One common method is to compile a corpus of the written texts translated in both the source and target languages, and to engage in a comparative and quantitative analysis of the linguistic processes underlying their translation. This however would have placed more emphasis on abstract theory and textual aspects of communication, whereas it is the performance of practitioners and the instrumentality of their human agency in communication which is the focus here. Therefore the methodological approach is principally informed by Delisle's theory that translation history must be descriptive, and evolve around the translators themselves, the historical contexts of their lives and motivations, and the circumstances in which their translations came about (1999: 1-6). By compiling what Delisle defines as biographical "*Portraits de Traducteurs*", and engaging in what Pym (1998: 4-5) views as descriptive translation history, this thesis will serve as a "humanistic study of human translators and

their social actions [to answer] all or part of the complex question ‘who translated what, how, where, when, for whom, and with what effect?’ This factual framework will facilitate a deeper critical study, to assess the way translations “help or hinder progress” at crucial times of historic change, and determine whether linguistic mediators “can be discovered as effective social actors establishing cooperation across power differentials” (Pym 1998 5-6, 126) Finally, Pym’s view (1998 5) that “historical criticism must assess the value of a past translator’s work in relation to the effects achieved in the past” is most appropriate for a study of 1798 and the Irish political campaign for change in France

## CHAPTER 2

### *“Traduire pour son temps”* Nicholas Madgett, John Sullivan and the Bureau de Traduction, 1793-1796

#### 2.1 Civil service translation a mere ‘instrumental function’?

Barely a week after his arrival in Paris in February 1796, Tone recorded orders passed on to him in person by the Minister for External Relations, Charles Delacroix

“the Directoire Executif [had instructed] that I go immediately to a gentleman whom he would give me a letter to, and as he spoke both languages perfectly and was confidential, that I should explain myself to him without reserve,” (Tone II 56)

Tone promptly met this gentleman, who was “delighted to see” him, but did not comment on their prior connection. This arose from the arrest and trial in Dublin of a French envoy from the Comite de Salut public, the Revd William Jackson in 1794-5. Tone’s contact did indeed speak French and English perfectly, as he was Nicholas Madgett, an Irishman who held the relatively privileged position as head of the Ministry’s translation service (AAE/Pers 1/47, AN/AF III/52-3/2<sup>B</sup>, Masson 1877 354, 366, 388, Tone [W ] 1826-94). Cited as the French connection in the proceedings of the trial for treason of the Rev William Jackson (1794-5), then in correspondence to the French authorities by the United Irishman Archibald Hamilton Rowan (also implicated in the case), Madgett had been active among exiled radicals in Paris, had a longstanding friendship with Tom Paine, and would play a strategic role in Tone’s dealings with the Directory (AAE/CPA/588 184-7, 265, 378, Alger 1898 684, Bartlett et al 2003 409, Blanc 1995, Boylan 1997 42, DIB, Elliott 1982 62-5, Elliott 1989 262, McDermott 1939 119, Trial of Rev William Jackson 1795 36, 68-9)

Madgett's complex role as *chef du Bureau de traduction* included that of general advisor on Irish affairs, which facilitated his active political advocacy for the cause of Irish independence. Equally involved was his nephew John Sullivan, also a *Bureau* translator, whose assistance was recorded with considerable empathy in both Archibald Hamilton Rowan's memoirs and Tone's journals (AAE/CPA/588-9, Rowan 1840, Tone II). He later served as aide to Humbert in Mayo in 1798 under the nom de guerre *Laroche*, and his overall contribution to the Irish cause in both civilian and military settings has been underestimated. This chapter will contextualise both Madgett and Sullivan's roles as exiled Irishmen working as translators under the watchful eye of the Comite and the Directory.

The major upheavals of the French Revolution had subtle repercussions on the course of translation history, discussed in *Translators through History* (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 207-211). That work relates how major translation projects disseminated official decrees in France's regional languages, and spread French values and revolutionary principles throughout Europe. Though Madgett and his service are not mentioned, this was part of his brief, and it is said that translation "bureaus" were established in occupied territories, and transmitted everything from the Constitution and decrees, to civic chants and anthems, into the languages of France's neighbouring countries.

"Translation was carried out by the society producing the source texts, a situation associated with propaganda. If the traces of the translators have been covered over, is it not because translation was a mere cog in the dominant political machine, operating in the service of a state ideology?" (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 209)

But not all traces of translators serving the Revolution have been lost. Those of Madgett and Sullivan have survived and demonstrate how they served a political ideology both for the French republic and their homeland. *The Correspondance Politique Angleterre*

(CPA) series in the archives of France's Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 1793-6 not only includes many translations, but various manuscripts signed by the translators themselves, who unlike other members of their profession throughout the centuries, have *not* remained anonymous (CPA Vols 597-590)

The Ministry, then known as the *Departement des Relations Exterieurs* and at one time controlled by the *Comite*, commissioned, printed, and distributed abroad numerous translations. These ranged from polemical pamphlets by celebrated French parliamentarians, exhorting the support of English-speaking democrats, to seditious addresses, like those urging mutiny on sailors in His Majesty's navy. But Delisle and Woodsworth (1995: 207-211) ask

“Who actually translated? How were the translators recruited? the translations were probably carried out by teams working in *ad hoc* translation bureaux” (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 207-211)

This chapter will partially answer this question, confirming that the *Bureau* was in some regards run in an *ad hoc* manner, but in the context of its times, examining the desk work and field work of Madgett and Sullivan. This Irish influence in French foreign policy decision-making can be traced from Madgett's first letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lebrun, on 13 March 1793 (CPA 587/20) all through the crucial years 1795-6 (CPA 587-590). From the assertiveness with which the two Irish translators voiced opinions in correspondence or notes accompanying translations, it is easy to sense that their role extended far beyond one of linguistic mediation. This was also not deemed incompatible with their official positions. Apart from the extraordinary situation of Irish translators overseeing the dissemination, in the Anglophone world, of French revolutionary propaganda, the fact that they could further their own political ambitions in their workplace is also a rare case study in translation history. As staff translators,

their task may at first appear to have been principally a linguistic one. But a confident command of the political issues addressed in the various texts was necessary too, a fact somewhat overlooked by historians who “tend to attribute an instrumental function to the translator, which is at best of one simple transmission” (Delisle and Woodsworth *ibid* 207)

## 2.2 Historical context of the *Bureau de Traduction* 1793-1796 “*ces serviteurs modestes*”

“ qui s’est inquiète de ces premiers commis et de ces employés ne méritent-ils pas enfin une place dans l’histoire, ces serviteurs modestes de la France, qui ont défendu sa politique comme on défend un drapeau ?” (Masson 1877 xi)

The multiple roles assumed by both Madgett and Sullivan as civil servants can only be fully understood against the backdrop of the turbulent times they lived in, and the institutional framework in which the *Bureau* functioned. France’s revolutionary government was both bureaucratic and quick to change personnel, and portfolios spread across the various ministries at times overlapped. Translation had evidently been provided under the ancien régime, and though archives are not clear as to the motivations for setting up the particular *Bureau de traduction* Madgett and Sullivan worked in, many clues on how the service fitted into the overall “*rouages*” of France’s revolutionary administration are available from Masson’s *Le Département des Affaires étrangères pendant la Révolution 1787-1804* (1877 vii). A former official of the Ministry, Masson depicts with great empathy the day to day working life of his antecedents. Not only are Madgett and Sullivan cited in this comprehensive study (albeit briefly), several of Masson’s observations on the role of translators and

interpreters confirm the findings of key researchers in translation history (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995, Delisle 1999, Lewis 2004, Longley 1968, Masson 1877 354, 366, 388, Rolland 1999, Seleskovitch 1981) Regrettably, while the clues Masson gives are welcome, his sources cannot be verified nor further investigated as he provided no notes or archival references

The work of linguistic mediators in the past often overlapped with diplomatic practice, many translators rising from clerical positions to become secretaries or consuls in the diplomatic corps Today, rigid demarcations exist between translators and interpreters, and between them and other professions particularly those involving a political role such as the diplomatic corps This did not apply in the past, nor did the distinctions between those doing written and oral translation Masson consistently skips between the terms *traducteur* and *interprete*, and while this is irritating from a twenty-first century perspective which seeks to distinguish between the two skills, it merely reflects the historical reality examined The significant *bureau des traducteurs* which had flourished under the tenure of Genet, *secrtaire-interprete* for the ministries of foreign affairs, war and marine during the last decades of the ancien regime, had been reduced in 1787 (1877 42) Masson then explains, somewhat confusingly, that the *bureau des interpretes* then consisted of only nine employees, though this seems to indicate translators were often referred to as *interprete* From this it must not be deduced that translators engaged in diplomatic interpreting for the Ministry, as it is probable this task was entrusted to the more senior among them, and they did not leave their desks

Following a well-established international tradition, the office of diplomatic interpreter was handed down from father to son, and in 1782 Edmond-Charles Genet (later France's first ambassador to Philadelphia) returned from Berlin to replace his father (Longley

1968, Masson 1877 42, Rolland 1999) Part of Genet junior’s earlier brief had been to collate, and translate into French, military *ordonnances*, or infantry regulations, possibly those which both Tone and Byrne record having read assiduously (Tone II 137, 257) During the Seven Year’s War, Genet senior had set up an information service where translators trawled through English newspapers, compiling detailed reports on the enemy fleet and providing up to date reports which were more reliable, and less costly and problematic to compile, than by sending spies out on mission (Masson 42)

Another illustration is that of Jean-Daniel Kieffer, employed in turn as a German *secrétaire-interprete* to the King, and a translator by the Ministry Posted to Constantinople in 1796, he was also a professor of that language at the Collège de France and published his own translation of the Bible (Masson 1877 337-8) Others rose through the ranks of the diplomatic corps, published literary works or translations of important texts, some even writing pedagogical manuals for the languages they specialised in The fully bilingual agent and propagandist William Duckett (1768-1841), a former seminarian of the Irish College and signatory of the White’s Hotel address to the Convention, also turned to teaching (DIB, forthcoming, Dreano 1998) He became an English teacher at the College Ste Barbe in 1800, and published many works of poetry (Dreano 1998 108) Masson also cites the case of Baldwin, an employee of the Ministry’s *secrétaire-general*, suspected of spying and passing information to the English press, who none the less left behind “des livres de pedagogie estimes”, presumably of the English language (Masson 1877 337)

Leaders in charge of internal administration in the years 1792-5 were determined to replace former structures and work practices, but presumably the work of government translators may not have been that different before and after 1789, save for the nature

and ideology of the texts translated. The period from 1793 until the first Directory was installed in November 1795, a crucial time for Irish lobbying in France, was marked by a lack of continuity in terms of organisation, structures, personnel and policy (Masson 1877: 237-397). This makes an administrative chronology of the *Bureau* difficult to compile. A plan to suppress it and other services (due to budgetary constraints) in late 1796 led to employees writing to officials pleading to be kept on, and the letters of Madgett and Sullivan are informative as in them they recap their careers (AAE/Pers 1/47/83/65/58). Madgett had been continuously employed as *chef* in a translation service attached to the Comite, but forming “une division a part” (AAE/Pers 1/47/83). Sullivan recalls how “En 1793 j’entrai au bureau de traduction qu’on organisait alors a la marine et dont je formai le premier noyau avec le citoyen Madgett” (AAE/Pers 1/65/58). Therefore it appears the *Bureau* was initially connected to the Marine ministry before its transfer to External Relations (AAE/Pers 1/47, 65, CPA/ 587-590).

Despite gaps in archival references linking Madgett and translation after October 1796, his name resurfaces in information gleaned by Wickham as late as October 1803, indeed stating he was “long employed in the Marine Department” (PRO/HO/100/114/127). Sullivan also worked as an interpreter for English prisoners of war (many of whom were Irish), an activity clearly linked to France’s Atlantic ports, as did his role in translating documentation linked to seized goods following the taking of prizes (AAE/Pers 1/65/58-59). It was because he was posted in Dinan in that capacity that he had been called to Brest to process Archibald Hamilton Rowan’s release from prison (CPA 588/262-4, 267-9, 270, Hamilton 1840: 232, Tone II: 336). Madgett’s connection with the Marine is unclear, except that the missions dispatching agents abroad which he oversaw,

including the fatal Jackson affair, were sanctioned by the Minister of the Marine (CPA/587-8; SHM/GG<sup>1</sup>/67/32). Some proposals and submissions regarding invasions of various parts of the British isles seem to have been directly addressed to the Minister for Marine, or forwarded to him (AN/AFIII/186b). But evidently in times of war and peace, a translation service connected to sea trade and the navy would be useful in many regards. The 1786 Treaty of Commerce between France and England stipulated that captains of vessels were to use sworn interpreters (or “juré-interprète”) when interrogating prisoners (Treaty of 1786: Article 18, cited in CPA 585/68). Language barriers also had to be overcome when making out inventories of seized trade goods following the taking of prizes, a lucrative activity which intensified during wartime and the blockades this entailed (Gershoy 1962: 188-193; Thompson 2001: 225). Madgett and Sullivan had already survived a previous “épuration”, or staff cutback, in October 1795, which had also led to anxious employees writing to superiors to be kept on (AN/AFIII/288/97/40-93). In one of these, the name of another Irishman employed as a *Bureau* translator emerges, a ‘Delaney’, though he is never mentioned by his two compatriots. It is very likely that he was the John Delaney later to figure on lists of United Irish meetings in Paris, and whose skilful translations undertaken for Thomas Addis Emmet had so impressed Miles Byrne (Chapter 5).

On the eve of the Revolution, the department suffered from its overlapping layers of “bureaux intermédiaires”, so the system was streamlined, each division assigned its own translator, rather than having them centralised in one office (Masson 1877: 43). Around the time when Madgett was recruited, i.e. in the early months of 1793, the *Montagnard* faction had devised a logical plan for internal restructuring of the department. Though never fully implemented, the plan revealed contemporary perceptions of the role of

translation in the overall institutional structure. An interpreter's bureau was to be one of five central divisions within the department, and would include a major school for trainee diplomatic interpreters, or *jeunes de langues*, initially set up under Louis XIV (Degros 1984, Masson 1877 411-3, St Pierre 1995). This school would be divided into two classes, and in the section for Oriental languages the interpreters were expected to instruct the next generation. Venture de Paradis, before heading for Egypt as Napoleon's chief interpreter, had also supported this scheme (Degros 1984 80, Gaulmier 1950 24-5). In 1801, students included the son of the former Minister Lebrun, an ally of the Irish guillotined under the Terror, and a "Dillon", possibly a young Irishman related to the unfortunate Col. Arthur Dillon, also a victim of 1794 (Degros 87, Swords 1989 93).

There is little indication if the instruction to the *jeunes de langues* reflected any theoretical or pragmatic approaches to processes in interpreting and translation, as courses do today. It is likely conversational competence was the focus, and acquired through reading literature and grammar-translation type exercises. Cultural awareness of the destination countries would also have been stressed. As the classes were free, it would appear involvement in in-house training formed part of the translators' brief (Masson *ibid.* 239). Finally, part of the *Bureau's* brief under the 1793 plan included a careful trawl, or "depouillement" of the foreign press to identify and translate relevant extracts on attitudes to French policy, maintaining Genet's system. This would prove to be an essential service to the department in waging the propaganda war after 1793, and the press trawl was certainly part of Madgett and Sullivan's work and is reflected in archival references to holdings of extracts from English papers (AN/AF/III/58/228 + 229/I). The official publication service would have ensured dissemination of the substantial volume of translations of legal texts, including the Constitutions,

commissioned by the Convention to make new laws available in France's regional languages and in those of annexed territories to maintain law and order (Decrets de la Conv Nationale 6 nov 1792, 4 dec 1793, 21 juillet 1793, 14 sept 1793, CN 54, 400)

The *Bureau* was drawn into the upheavals which the Comite imposed on French administration in early 1794 to exercise stricter control. Having assumed the mantle of various portfolios linked to France's external relations, the Comite conceded the need to fill gaps in its practical knowledge. A "*bureau d'analyse*" was set up to draft analytical extracts and a historical precis of France's political and commercial interests in regards to "les autres peuples de l'univers", and not for the first, time forcibly requisitioned staff and re-deployed them in other services (Masson 339). In the process, the Department's translators were attached to the Comite on 21 April 1794 (AAE/Pers 1/47/85-6, 89, Masson 319, 322). Two memos by Madgett, (the first stating he was "charge" du Bureau de Traduction, the second as "chef"), confirm the translation service was for a time answerable to the Comite (AAE/Pers 1/47/85-6). After having tried several systems, the Comite decided to attach the *Bureau* to the Commissioner for External Relations (who had replaced the Minister for Foreign Affairs), the *chef de bureau* supervising the work of seven translators and having to provide regular reports. Further political upheavals would take place, but it appears this system was maintained until the setting up of the Directory (late 1795), which reinstated the office of Minister. From late 1795 through the crucial first six months of 1796, a sense of continuity - and self-confidence in his position - emerges from both Madgett's correspondence, and the manner in which Tone described his day to day contact with the *bureau* in early 1796.

Employees within the department from 1793 to 1795 could not but have felt the malevolent eye of the Comite on them, as it had created the office of "*surveillant*",

described by Masson as a type of in-house spy and who was to ensure employees were punctual and did not neglect their duties (Masson 309, 318-20) A certain Beaufort, former secretary to the Irish peer Count O'Kelly, was one victim of the '*surveillance*' At one stage working as a translator, he was dismissed in May 1795, "pour inexactitude dans son service"(Masson 340-3) The reason was, ironically, for poor attendance, and not for having *inexactly* rendered the *semantic* content of texts from one language to another, the most fundamental error in translation The "*surveillant*'s' daily attendance reports probably instilled a degree of terror among employees, and their daily schedule required their presence over twelve hours, from eight in the morning to two in the afternoon, then five in the evening to eight at night The long gap at midday was most convenient for Madgett and Sullivan to liaise with fellow United Irishmen around the city Certainly from Tone's descriptions one gets the impression he had easy access to them, and that both the *chef* and his nephew were free to come and go from the *Bureau*

Salaries are known for various ranks, but it is difficult to make comparisons with other professions, or to assess the status in society and quality of life of translators, due to the extremely turbulent currency fluctuations throughout these years Proportionately, one can compare Madgett's salary as a *chef*, at 4,000 to 6,000 livres per annum, as exactly half that of the *Commissaire* who was to act as a form of Minister for External Relations for some time under the CSP (Godechot 1993 426) A most welcome source of information is a Comite report for 30 December 1794, at which a request lodged by Sullivan to have his "traitement" as an interpreter increased from 300 livres to 350 livres per month was approved (AN/AF/II 230) Sullivan's annual salary would thus have totalled 4,200 livres, just slightly more than the lower end of the scale for a *chef de bureau* This sum was comparable to the "appointemens" of 4,000 livres per annum

decreed by the Directoire for Venture and Kieffer, two high-ranking *secrétaires-interpretes* appointed for diplomatic missions in March of 1796 (AN/AF/III/352/1628) However, Sullivan once pointed out to his minister, Delacroix, how precarious his existence had been at times

“Bien loin de gagner par les différentes places que j’ai occupées jusqu’ici, je n’ai fait qu’y essuyer des pertes Borné pendant la durée de ma mission aux chétifs appointemens de trois cent livres par mois, appointemens qu’on n’a portés à cinq cens qu’un mois avant mon rappel, je n’ai pu subsister qu’en faisant les plus grands sacrifices (AAE/Pers 1/65/58<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>, folio 58<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 2 1 )

Sullivan goes on to explain that to travel from Brest - where he had been stationed - to Paris in September of 1795, he was forced to sell most of his personal effects Given the dramatic depreciation of paper money, he explained that the 5900 livres in *assignats* given him as compensation only covered half of his losses (ibid) It is also known that employees of the department sold on supplies of paper, pens, and firewood officially supplied to them (Godechot 1993 428) The *assignats* had so dropped in value after 1794 in comparison to metallic currency that persistent complaints lodged by employees had led to a re-adjustment of their salaries (Masson 1877 349, Tome II 41) At one stage, employees then appeared to be earning comfortable sums which in fact were pitiful, and many were idle, depending on which division they were attached to One *Commissaire*, Miot, had decided to occupy his staff by having them translate “des ouvrages estimables relatifs aux arts et aux sciences,” the knowledge and enjoyment of which the French people had been deprived of, as they were written in foreign languages (Masson 1877 349) According to the terms of the decree to be issued by the Comite, once published at the departments’ expense, ownership of the copyright would then be transferred to the translator In Madgett’s will, he refers to “droits” related to an edition

of “Marlborough”, and possibly he had acquired royalties arising out of the translation of this work which has not been identified (AN/MC/I/733)

In his comprehensive history of the French civil service, Godechot (1993) explains that at this time no diplomas were required for candidates to government employment, though a fine handwriting was essential, an asset also identified in army recruitment notices (Aldridge 1967 64, Godechot 1993 428) Many clerks were wanting in general culture and education, says Godechot, yet their penmanship largely compensated for their often appalling orthography and syntax There are numerous illustrations of Sullivan’s clear hand, and as some of the texts are not translations but his own compositions, even in the brief memos his flawless and fluid French are impressive Madgett’s career does not appear to have suffered from his own dreadful handwriting, and his own minister Delacroix once admitted to Clarke that the translation of Tone’s memorials in French was in “[une] main tres difficile a lire” (AN/AF/III/186<sup>b</sup>) However, this becomes an advantage for researchers as Madgett’s characteristic scrawling is easily identified in manuscript collections, in sharp contrast with Sullivan’s fine penmanship This makes possible attribution of anonymous documents to them when the details match observations on the texts from third parties (Elliott 1989 456 n 29)

### 2.3 “Portraits de traducteurs” Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan

The recent shift in emphasis onto the human agency at the heart of communicative processes in theoretical models has highlighted the importance of translators’ biographies These “portraits de traducteurs”, according to Delisle (1999 1-6), are

essential in translation history, as only details of the circumstances surrounding and influencing the production of particular translations can enlighten us on the deeper motivations pushing the translator on. We have many vivid insights from Tone's diary for the spring of 1796 on the context in which he was assisted by Madgett and Sullivan. From this it emerges that Sullivan was congenial and efficient, whereas the depiction of Madgett is not particularly flattering. Criticism expressed at his outdated *modus operandi*, which involving running agents and subversion, somewhat underplays the extent to which such activities were an integral part of intelligence gathering at that time (Elliott 1982 1989 287-8, Sparrow 1999). However because of the linguistic dimension to this aspect of international relations, the result is a derogatory portrayal of translation, though this conforms to a pattern of portraying translators as shady and suspicious characters (Cronin 2003 125). To contextualise the experience Madgett and Sullivan had gained prior to Tone's arrival in France, the following section will present partial biographies, highlighting unpublished aspects of their lives and retracing relevant points of their careers, in so far as is possible from the scattered information available. Whatever reliable information has been located places Madgett and Sullivan at the heart of France's war effort from late 1793 onwards, and charts their survival through the Terror and their involvement as government translators. Personal histories of translators often reveal instances of unethical practices, but these can be explained in the light of the demands made on translators and their profession, and tensions between their personal initiatives and social necessities at fixed points in history (Delisle 1999 4-5). Following these biographies, some aspects of the political advocacy conducted by the two Irish translators, as well as linguistic dimensions to the work of the *Bureau* will be discussed.

2.3.1 Nicholas Madgett (1740s?-1813) “that maker of so many missions”

The confusion surrounding the existence of two Nicholas Madgetts has recently been rectified by Swords, but in the past had been somewhat problematic as the lesser-known cousin of the translator became an English agent (Castlereagh Corr I 397, Swords 1989 64 108, 1997 28, 42) The details on the Nicholas Madgett in the various archives used here as sources are consistent, and clearly distinguish between the translator and his cousin, the latter judged by Dublin Castle as someone who may be “of use” (DIB, Swords 1989, 1997 28, 42) Like his nephew Sullivan, records have not yet been identified on the precise place and date of birth of Nicholas Madgett, though it would appear he was born in Kinsale, ca 1740 in a family with Anglican roots (AN/III/52-3/2b, Hayes 1932 105-6, 1949, O’Connor 2003 182 ) From the diocese of Ardfert in Kerry, Madgett emigrated to France and graduated from the Irish College at Toulouse with a Doctorate in theology in 1764, then taking orders in 1767 (Brockliss & Ferte 2004 43, Swords 1989, 1997) While Tone may have justifiably thought Madgett’s views on Ireland were outdated given how long he had been exiled, his translator was highly-educated Having left the priesthood following the Assembly’s adoption of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790, Madgett came to Paris, established connections with the Irish College, and became active in the network of English-speaking radicals

Along with many of the increasingly politicised students of the Irish College, Madgett attended meetings of the Anglo-Irish *Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man* held twice a week at White’s Hotel (*Monteur* XV 58, Swords 1989 61, 66, Todd 2000 210) He was present at the celebrated banquet there on 18 November 1792 as he signed the address presented to the Convention on 28 November, in which ‘British’ and Irish

citizens, resident and domiciled in Paris, offered “...le tribut de leurs félicitations sur des évènements qui intéressent essentiellement tous les peuples qui aspirent à être libres.” (AN/C/241/ 28-11-1792). This confirms his inevitable interaction with early champions of the Irish cause, such as Edward FitzGerald and Tom Paine, but also a wider network of instrumental connections. These included the English radical John Hurford Stone, who signed the White’s Hotel address as president and whose business interests included the ‘English Press’ in Paris, and prominent women radicals such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Helen Maria Williams, both a writer and translator (Coquerel 1827: 68; DNB; Elliott 1982; Erdman 1986: 225-233; 305; Goodwin 1979: 425; Kennedy 2002: 88; Swords 1989: 67; 1997 Tillyard 1994, 1997; Todd 2000: 212-5; Woodward 1930: 74, 85). Bernard MacSheehy, the only Irishman to whom the title of military *secrétaire-interprète* for the campaigns of the decade can be attributed, also attended and signed, quite a political initiation for a young man of only seventeen (AN/C/241; SHA/2Y\*/MacSheehy ). Within weeks, FitzGerald and Paine, recognised during those months as “the political philosopher of Ireland’s coming revolution” and acting as advisor on Irish affairs to the Convention’s executive council, would devise a plan to establish links with Ireland in the hope of arming 40,000 men (Blanc 1995: 56; CPA/584/9-11; Elliott 1982: 59-60; ).

What Madgett’s occupation was at the time is not known. A connection with Barère de Vieuzac, president of the Convention at the time of the King’s trial and publisher of *Le Point du Jour*, is claimed by Blanc (1995: 56). He states that following the trial and execution of Louis XIV, Madgett had been asked to take over from Tom Paine and contribute reports on Irish affairs to the paper. Blanc’s work contains both exaggerations and factual errors, such as the incorrect archival reference for Madgett’s

will (Blanc 1995 56 AN/MC/X/11 6 1813, etc, correctly quoted by Swords 1997 43, i.e. AN/MC/I/733 13 4 1813) This sheds general doubts on Blanc's scholarship, but his suggestion that Madgett had earlier known Barere in Toulouse is quite plausible, as the latter was for a time a prominent barrister in the city, and they may have mixed in a *club patriotique* or a masonic lodge (Gershoy 1986, Mazauric 1993, Thomas 1989) Barere was indeed linked with British radicals in Paris, as in January 1793 he had been given honorary membership of the *Society for Constitutional Information* (PRO/TS/11/962/3508, Goodwin 1979 262) Tom Paine had worked closely with Barere on the constitutional drafting committee, but having spoken out against the regicide, his fall from grace was inevitable and he was sidelined (Keane 1995 364-7) For Madgett, experience as a journalist was a logical link to the propaganda dimension of his later job, and translators too not only have to research background information, but have to work to close deadlines and so develop speed in composition Having identified himself as an advisor on Irish affairs but also a productive propagandist familiar with the English press, Madgett would soon demonstrate his usefulness to Lebrun, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose own interest in Ireland was not coincidental Lebrun was not only a former priest but had been a student of the Irishman Richard Ferris in the (Irish) Collège de Montaigu, the latter a close friend of Madgett's, later executor of his will and one of the earliest French agents to Ireland (AN/MC/I/733, CPA/587/296-300, 588 15-18v, 14-20, Swords 1997 22-3) Like many politicians of the day, Lebrun ran his own paper, the *Journal General de l'Europe*, which had covered the Irish question from as early as 1791 (Le Biez 1993 257)

That personal connections like Lebrun, a former fellow cleric and for a time a highly influential Minister, were important in encouraging political allies is evident, as

underlined by Swords whose thorough research led him to conclude what we presume to be a modern concept, i.e. 'networking', aptly described the instrumental connections of the Irish in France (Masson 1877 258, Swords 1989 83, 1997 23, 2001) As Madgett's nephew Sullivan had acquired French citizenship through naturalisation in February 1793, having fulfilled the residency requirement and even acquired some property, it is safe to speculate his uncle did as well, though his will gives no indication of this (AN/MC I/733, SHA/ 2Y<sup>o</sup>/Sullivan)

What had been Madgett's experience as a linguistic mediator until then? It is not impossible that he had been one of the many people to assist Paine, whose experience of French political life at all levels is peppered with his continued reliance on translators and interpreters (Jouve et al 1997 75, Keane *ibid* 360-8) Despite there being no mention in their later correspondence with the French authorities of personal difficulties at the height of the Terror, it is likely that Madgett and Sullivan had been rounded up arising from various laws against foreigners, and temporarily held in custody As part of the overall effort to requisition useful labour of all kinds, intellectual as well as manual, they would have been asked what useful services - apart from a demonstration of their *civisme* - they could provide the republic in return for the permission to stay (Gershoy 1962 189, Rapport 2001 194) Prisoners of war were made to work for their upkeep, explains Rapport (*ibid*), and foreigners were allowed to remain in previously held bureaucratic positions

Translation of French Revolutionary propaganda into foreign languages, and its dissemination abroad, was a vital activity in the 'public relations exercise' the republic was engaged in beyond its borders Rapport (*ibid* 202 3) lists Madgett as one of the privileged foreigners to retain his position after the decree of 5 nivôse 1792 which

effectively sealed the fate of Thomas Paine, though it has not been possible to link this with other references. The testimonial of Delaney arising out of the 1795 cutbacks may provide the clue to how Madgett, Sullivan and possibly others came to be recruited as translators. Delaney had originally come to France in 1786, had studied surgery at the University of Paris until 1792, and been arrested under the Terror in 1793 (AN/AF/III/28/97/56, Swords 1989: 18). Delaney says he was released “en l’An II” (i.e. anytime from the 22 September 1793 to the same date in 1794), because he provided two “attestations civiques”, and had then joined the *Bureau*. Thus it appears that among the foreigners rounded up, some of the bilinguals had been asked if they were capable of translating and assisting the outward dissemination of France’s ideology, or they had volunteered this service themselves. Certainly this would appear to have been the case for Helen Maria Williams, a published author with an established reputation, whose case will be further discussed below.

When Madgett was formally appointed with the title of *chef de bureau* is unclear, no date was found in the official *Actes du Comité de Salut public* (Aulard 1900, Vol X, Elliott 1982: 61). However, one of the earliest items of correspondence linking Madgett with Lebrun is dated 13 March 1793, i.e. only weeks after the execution of Louis XVI on the 21st of January and the *Convention*’s declaration of war on Britain on 1 February (CPA/587/20<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>, folio 20<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 2.2). The outbreak of war was to intensify the affiliation with Irish radicals, and the possibility of a closer alliance which could foster separatism (Curtin 1994: 61). Though in his exchanges with Lebrun in the spring of 1793 Madgett does not yet allude to translators or a *Bureau*, it is clear he was established as an open advocate for the Irish cause (CPA 587/20, 43, 46). He first proposes to the Minister that a committee be set up in Paris composed of English exiles “d’un civisme

eprouve”, partially to protect the capital insofar as possible from English spies. He also suggests that the Minister of War send Irish patriots on a mission to their homeland to establish contacts with sympathetic newspaper editors and others with writing talents, “pour repandre les principes de la liberte et de l’egalite”(ibid). This was the genesis of the mission to send four Irish students back to Ireland, including Lewins, which never accomplished its purpose as the students were arrested in London (Elliott 1982 63, Swords 1989 108). Further missions to establish clandestine links between France and Ireland followed in quick succession, the equally unfruitful mission of the American Oswald, and the celebrated one of the Reverend William Jackson. Madgett’s pivotal role in the Jackson affair of 1794-5, which precipitated Tone’s exile, “could not have publicised [France’s] interest in Ireland to better effect” (Elliott 1982 66). By the time the Directory was installed, Madgett’s authority on Irish affairs had grown and was known to Dublin Castle (NAI/620/1/216). His influence would be instrumental in his collaboration with Tone, aspects of which are discussed in the following chapter.

Madgett’s activity with the United Irishmen in Paris post-1798 and his siding with the Tandy faction have been documented, and though the CP archives yield no further references connecting him with a translation activity, this does not mean he did not remain useful in some way (CPA/592/ 409-11, Elliott 1982 269, 1989 367). One isolated reference arises out of the naval mutinies of Portsmouth and Plymouth of April 1797, prompting Madgett to offer his “*Reflexions sur les causes secretes de la Revolte* ” to Delacroix (AN AF III/57/223). The 1803 reference (mentioned above), passed on to Wickham, describes Madgett in relatively favourable terms, i.e. as an “elderly man about sixty years of age. he is certainly very high in the confidence of the First Consul, and has always had a great deal to say in Irish affairs”

(PRO/HO/100/114/127<sup>f</sup>) No further evidence was found linking Madgett (in such a praiseworthy way) to Napoleon in the archival sources consulted for 1803-4. However, it appears Madgett was not only still “on very friendly terms” with Tom Paine, now back in America, but had an instrumental role in discussions on the American purchase of Louisiana (Keane 1995: 482). Prior to Monroe’s departure as envoy for Paris in early 1803, he had been “urged” by Paine to contact the Irishman, as he had “influence within the French government, was most knowledgeable about Louisiana and had been employed by the French Minister of Marine and Colonies to provide a report” on the subject (ibid). This brief is confirmed in Quigley’s *Examination* (1803), which states that several exiled Irishmen in France had been told in late 1802 of a grant for land and tools in Louisiana “from the French government thro’ the means of an Irishman believed to be Madgett who was employed in the Public Offices” (Emmet 1915 II: 306-7). No further biographical information is revealed in Madgett’s will, other than Sullivan’s death in San Domingo (AN/MC/I/733). Madgett himself lived on until his death on 9 March 1813, having thus outlived Tone, Sullivan, and many much younger men who had risked their lives for the Irish cause.

232 John Sullivan (ca. 1767-ca. 1801) “Natif d’Irlande et ennemi jure du gouvernement anglais”

Details on Sullivan’s life are scattered, but when collating the documents in his file at Vincennes with other data it appears he was born in Ireland ca. 1767, and emigrated to France ca. 1783 (then aged about sixteen) (AAE/Pers 1ere serie/65-58, AN/AF III/186b, SHA/2Y<sup>e</sup>/Sullivan). Possibly as a former student, he became a teacher of English at the military College in la Fleche (near Angers) in September 1785, then taught mathematics

until 1792 (SHA/2Y<sup>c</sup>/Sullivan) After this Sullivan, was employed as a substitute, which may indicate total fluency in French, if he was expected to teach all subjects

When Sullivan was captured after the French defeat at Ballinacree, his success at being repatriated has repeatedly been explained in the mysterious sociolinguistic allusion that he “escaped under the disguise of a Frenchman” (Tone W T W 1998 869) Yet his file at Vincennes confirms he had been naturalised a French citizen (SHA/2Y<sup>c</sup>/Sullivan) What is extraordinary is that Sullivan’s naturalisation was made official on 7 February 1793, i.e. within a week of France declaring war on Britain and for an Irish-born English subject was most timely (ibid) More significantly, a ‘Attestation’ of his *civisme* from the *Societe populaire de la Fleche*, dated 11 December 1793, states he had been a dedicated member (ibid) Sullivan’s early grounding in political agitation at a significant point in French history, facilitated by his ease of expression in French, is confirmed in this certificate

“il s’est toujours montre patriote, que dans tous les discours qu’il a prononce il a cherche a eclairer ses concitoyens et a alimenter le feu du patriotisme”

This natural propensity to ‘proselytise’ was no doubt perfected during the Vendee campaign, as Bertaud (1979 194-202) has demonstrated that a significant part of the citizen-soldier’s training was ideological, the army being an essential “ecole du jacobinisme” In September 1793, he was requisitioned for the *levee en masse* and served in the Vendee as a gunner, following which he was among the first to be hired as a translator in the *Bureau* headed by his uncle (AAE/Pers 1ere serie/65 58, 60) In fact Sullivan appears to have been Madgett’s first recruit, as he claimed he was “le plus ancien membre de mon bureau apres le chef” (AAE/Pers 1/65/60)

The family connection (presumably through a sister of Madgett's) has not been clarified, nor has it been possible to rule out that this John Sullivan was somehow affiliated to the *septembriseur* O'Sullivan, who 'aided' the reprehensible Carrier with the drownings at Nantes, or the latter's brother Charles (Hayes 1932 222-8, 280) However, Joannon's (1998 II) vague implication that they were one and the same cannot be correct, as at Carrier's trial, the Jean-Jacques O'Sullivan under examination stated he was born in Angers in 1748 (Tribunal Criminel Revolutionnaire (1795), Liste generale alphabetique, Procedure du Comite de Nantes c Joseph Carrier) The translator we are concerned with here is identified in his naturalisation certificate as "Jean O'Sullivan", but curiously the patronymic "O" is then dropped in all subsequent documents (AAE/AAE/Pers 1/65, SHA/2Y<sup>c</sup>/Sullivan) Some personal experience, connected to the Vendee region and the town of la Roche sur Yon, may explain Sullivan's choice of 'Laroche' as a *nom de guerre*

Sullivan's modest place in the historiography of 1798 begins when he is credited for having found Archibald Hamilton Rowan in a prison in Brest (CPA/588/262ff and above) What should further be emphasised is his deeper connection to the United Irish cause, which he proudly relates in the letter to Delacroix detailing his career, namely the efforts he had deployed " pour faire reussir le projet d'une descente en Irlande presente au comite de Salut public par Hamilton Rowan dont j'ai redige en françois les premiers memoires " (AAE/Pers 1/65 58v, my own emphasis) In effect what Sullivan describes as 'composing in French' probably describes him taking down in French various narratives orally transmitted to him, in English, by Rowan Apart from the account of Rowan's dramatic escape to France, and miscellaneous correspondence with the *Comite*, the most important of these texts is indeed what Sullivan describes as the

first *memoirs* of Rowan (CPA/588/ 262-4, 267-9, 274-80, 313-8) He could not have anticipated how significant the original used for his translation, the *Memoire sur l'Etat actuel de l'Irlande par Hamilton Roanne* (sic) dated Prairial II, ie May to June of 1794, was to become in the historiography of 1798 It is a version of the ill-fated *memorandum* prepared by Tone and Rowan for Jackson, a copy of which was made by Rowan and to Tone's horror passed on (Tone I 504-5)

Like his uncle, Sullivan's career as a translator is known partially through the eyes of Tone and his collaboration with him on key texts, as discussed in the following chapter Details on Sullivan's life after the Mayo campaign of 1798 and his return to France as an exchanged prisoner of war are incomplete, but most manuscripts confirm his wish to remain in the military and have his rank of captain confirmed (SHA 2Y<sup>e</sup>/Sullivan) His connection with Humbert was maintained, as two detailed plans for descents into England and Ireland submitted by the general to the ministry for war in the autumn of 1800 are in the Irishman's distinct hand (SHA/482 GB 84<sup>d</sup> 2e serie/ Humbert) Having sailed as an aide de camp under Humbert to San Domingo in November 1801, we know that Sullivan was still alive on 15 February 1802 because a letter from the general to his commander Leclerc is in the Irishman's distinct hand (Baeyens 1981 90ff) It is likely Sullivan died in the yellow fever epidemic which devastated the island, and his pension from the Marine department was passed on to his uncle (AN MC/I/733, Masson 1877 367)

#### 2.4 Linguistic aspects of the work of Bureau translators “much more than just translating”

The day to day ‘desk’ job of *Bureau* translators, certainly in its linguistic dimension, was probably comparable to that of translators today within international institutions or government information and press services, save for the subject matter. The case study of Madgett and Sullivan supports Nord’s theory of purposeful translation as a form of translational interaction, by which “translators quite regularly do much more than translate texts”, and often act as cultural consultants (Nord 1997: 17). Unlike others in their profession, often overlooked in the initiation and commission of translations, Madgett and Sullivan could voice their valued opinions on the “acceptability and viability” of translations on a variety of issues, ranging from “ideological terms” to length (Nord 1987: 21, Vermeer 1986: 276). We have illustrations of the discretion Madgett had in terms of editing, or summarising translations. One note to his minister Delacroix, dated 1 January 1796, i.e. as Tone was embarking on the *Jersey* for France, is one of many such items mentioning Irish affairs, in this case the “commissaires irlandais a Philadelphie” with whom Adet was engaged in strategic talks (CPA 589/ 116). Madgett explains that in the Bureau they were busy ‘copying’ extracts from the deliberations and resolutions of the Irish Catholics, and that this ‘important’ piece would soon be delivered to the “Citoyen Ministre”. By ‘copying’, he meant translating, and possibly summarising, extracts from English into French. Another text linked to negotiations arising from the “Traite de Commerce avec l’Angleterre”, (Jay’s Treaty which raised the question of British interference with America trading as a neutral in the Anglo-French war), was “un ouvrage de trop longue haleine” for Madgett to deliver it in time to his Minister, but he would pass on pertinent articles related to France (CPA 589/116).

A further theoretical viewpoint shows the role of institutions as producers of texts to be translated as part of an overall function in bringing about change (Nord 1997: 21). Nothing could more accurately describe the most significant brief overseen by Madgett in the *Bureau*, namely the pro-French propaganda translated for clandestine distribution in England, a brief which allowed him, Sullivan and others to engage in political advocacy for Ireland. For such highly rhetorical texts, translators must match the socio-political expectations of the target audience in order to maximise impact, often by adapting style and terminology. But to do this efficiently, translators must display considerable textual competence having first analysed the content of the original work, and Madgett and Sullivan emerge as fluent francophones from their written work. This competence akin to native speakers can be judged in spontaneous compositions as well as their translations. Adequately transferring the semantic content of an original text, and appropriately reproducing various types of language and register into the target language must be the overriding target (Campbell 1998: 11). Some illustrations below of the type of texts worked on by the Bureau or directly attributable to Madgett and Sullivan show the specialised knowledge they possessed, not only in terms of the linguistic processes, but the underlying ideology and rhetorical style of the polemical works.

*"A Candid and friendly address ..."*

A pamphlet entitled *A Candid and friendly address from the people of France to the people of England* (ca. spring of 1794) is an interesting illustration of the various factors which shed light on the process of political and polemical translation (CPA/ 588/225; 226). Both the French and English versions are extant, and though neither manuscript is marked as a translation nor bears the signature of a translator, the two versions must

have passed through the hands of *Bureau* translators as they are catalogued in the CPA volume covering the period 22 September 1793 to 22 September 1795 (CPA 588). Several clues indicate that the French version of the *Address* was originally commissioned and written with the express purpose of having it translated into English (CPA/588/226). Firstly, the target-language version in English appears as a printed pamphlet, whereas the French text is only handwritten, possibly because only a draft was necessary for printing. Secondly, the title in the original French is truncated, merely identifying it as an “*adresse des François au peuple anglois*” (CPA/588/226), whereas the English title is longer, and elegantly qualifies it as a “*candid and friendly*” (CPA 588/225) one. Here the translator opted for a strategic addition, adding the two adjectives before “*address*” to appeal to the empathy of the intended readership, and announcing it is a fraternal exhortation in the rhetorical style of the age. A competent translator thus avoids literalism and operates certain adjustments to adapt the text to linguistic norms of the target culture.

The following extracts from the ‘*address*’ have been segmented, and numbered in such a way as to illustrate how they were transferred. The original French text opens as follows:

- 1 a Jusqu’a quand
- 1 b braves et genereux concitoyens renonçant au titre glorieux d’un peuple libre
- 1 c vous laisserez vous conduire en aveugle a votre perte
- 1 d prodiguerez-vous votre sang pour forger des fers a une nation courageuse et opprimee
- 1 e qui veut sortir de son oppression
- 1 f en etablissant un gouvernement qui lui assure ses droits?/

There not being major differences between English and French word order, a possible target-language rendering could start as follows, mirroring the original succession of clauses

2 a how long

2 b Brave and generous fellow citizens, renouncing the glorious attributes of a free nation

2 c will you be blindly conducted towards your ruin (etc ,)

But the structure of the translation is adapted to be “functionally communicative for the receiver” (Munday 2001 77), as illustrated in the opening sentence This does not mirror the word order of the French, but stylishly reverses the clauses to begin by identifying the recipients of the message

3 “Brave and generous fellow citizens, how long will you be blindly conducted towards your ruin, renouncing the glorious attributes of a free nation, and spilling your blood to forge chains for a brave and oppressed people who seek redress in the construction of a well constituted government?” (CPA 588/225)

While the example of an infelicitous reformulation as in ‘2’ above may appear far-fetched, there are many illustrations in the textual legacy of 1798 of such inelegant French to English renderings, the landing proclamations providing several notable examples A further adjustment corrects the ‘distance’ in French between the temporal adverb “quand” and the delay in introducing the rhetorical question in French “vous laisserez-vous” In the English version the style is less convoluted and the proximity of the substantive “citizens” and the personal pronoun “you” makes the rhetorical question more direct and easily accessible to its addressee This is one illustration of how English is purported to be more concrete, as opposed to the more “eloquent style of French” which Tone had found hindered him in composing landing proclamations meant to be directly communicating the harangue of a French general to the people of Ireland

(Francis 1989; Tone II: 125; ). A lexical adjustment avoids the literal rendering of “peuple” as ‘people’ which would be awkward here in English. The original author in French (unidentified) knew the text was to be translated, though they did not opt for ‘nation’ and assumed the translator would make whatever necessary adaptations. The French verb “prodiguer” which here denotes an excessive and over-generous sacrifice, is simply rendered as “spill” in English, in a standard collocation with “blood”. The French author also breaches a stylistic rule by repeating “oppression” after “opprimée”, but the translator has avoided this pitfall, employing a more English-sounding, i.e. non-latin form, “to seek redress” which implies a break from oppression. However while the sentence in both versions is somewhat cumbersome, the alliteration of the initial syllable ‘con-’ in “construction”, and “constitution” produces a melodious effect. This text is a prime example of the type of propaganda which was in wide circulation at the time.

Further insights into the *Bureau's* role are provided in a revealing letter by Madgett, which lists titles of other major works of propaganda which passed through the translation service (AAE/Pers.1/47/85-6<sup>1</sup>, as Appendix 2.3.). Addressed by him to the Comité, and dated 15 April 1794, it is a request as “chargé du Bureau des traductions” for authorisation to have three titles printed. The date of this note is extremely significant, as France was then gripped by the officialised policy of Terror brutally handed down by the Comité, having only weeks before ‘purged’ the rival Hébertiste and Danton factions on the guillotine (Doyle 2001: 56-7).

Madgett includes an explanatory note for each piece to justify his request, leaving no doubt that he was both comfortable and expected to air his opinions. The first work was not a translation, but a significant polemical title, the reprint of Daniel Isaac Eaton’s

*Cathechism of Man* (1794), of which according to Madgett, practically the entire first print run had been seized by the English authorities, forcing the author to flee (AAE/Pers 1/47/85<sup>r</sup>) Now languishing in a prison at Dinan, the author had managed, according to Madgett, to have a copy sent to Paris where he and Robespierre had concurred that it was an essential item and should be re-printed (AAE/Pers 1/47 *ibid*) Eaton had been several times indicted for printing treasonable material in London, and was also a close associate of Tom Paine's, a further proof of the *Bureau's* place at the very heart of the propaganda war between France and Britain (ESTC TO 28890)

It must be stated at this point this list of translations (i.e. Appendix 2.3, as above), is in Sullivan's handwriting, and must have been written (or dictated) during his uncle's illness when the highly-influential Ysabeau (chief secretary of the Minister for External Relations' "secretariat intime") had charged the younger Irishman with running the *Bureau* (AAE Pers 1/65 58r-59<sup>v</sup>, see Appendix 2.1, Masson 1877 364-5) Sullivan had reminded Delacroix of this "temoignage tres flatteur[s]" which the Ministry had shown him in entrusting him with such a responsibility We do not know how long the replacement lasted, but that Sullivan was only aged ca 27 at the time, and this temporary appointment was made as the Terror was intensifying, is a considerable tribute to his experience Thus we can guess that it was probably Sullivan who had personally visited Eaton in prison in Dinan, as he had been stationed there as an interpreter for prisoners of war But he also reveals that in order to demonstrate "mon mepris et mon horreur pour le roi Georges et pour ses ministres", Sullivan had busied himself "a faire passer en Angleterre divers ecrits patriotiques" (AAE/Pers 1/65 58v) One may deduce that conveniently stationed he could oversee the loading of pamphlets onto ships at Dinan or other ports Finally, as Sullivan reminded Delacroix that he had

“en partie travaille moi-même” on various “écrits patriotiques” thus smuggled into England, one may conclude his brief included having a hand at writing propaganda himself. This note may have been dictated to Sullivan by his uncle, or the result of his personal initiative, therefore the views freely expressed in it will be deemed attributable to either one of the two translators.

The other works listed in ‘Madgett’s’ list are two of the most significant polemical works to emerge from that troubled spring of 1794, and vital background information is given regarding their translation, printing and distribution, including a qualitative assessment of one translator’s work, and the choice of titles. Most importantly, these items provide an extraordinary insight into the multiplicity of roles undertaken by translators, in terms of their views on the overall impact of the translational activity on the intended readership, within the specific context of the reigning political culture. Not surprisingly, the first item to be printed is the translation into English of a speech by Robespierre, which though only identified as ‘[le] discours sur la politique morale’ is the seminal *Sur les principes de la morale politique qui doivent guider la Convention nationale dans l’administration intérieure de la République*, delivered at the Convention sitting of 5 February 1794 (*Moniteur* 139: 401-408). At that time, opinion was split between those who wished to put an end to the Terror and those who wished to accelerate it, and Robespierre laconically argued for a ‘republican morality’ which would render France a virtuous nation, once ‘purged’ of its enemies (Gough 1999: 122, Hampson 1999: 169, Jordan 1999: 28-30, Linton 1999: 43-4). However the essential message of the speech, exploiting the age’s textual technique of simple but eloquent lexical polarities, favoured the republic’s virtues and miracles, as opposed to the monarchy’s vices and ridicule, and defined the Convention’s purpose to substitute “la

grandeur de l'homme à la petitesse des grands" etc., (*Moniteur* *ibid* : 402a). The text barely veils its advocacy of virtue and terror going hand in hand, and one can only wonder how sincere 'Madgett' was when claiming:

"...de tout ce qui a paru encore sur la révolution, le discours de Robespierre est ce qu'il y a de plus capable de faire sur le peuple anglois une profonde impression et de lui faire sentir l'imposture des feuilles ministérielles qui ont cherché jusqu'ici à faire croire que les français étaient de cannibales."(AAE/ Pers.1/ 47/85-6).

Thus Madgett-Sullivan freely voiced their views on the final impact of the commissioned translation on its English readership. What is most welcome from several points of view is how the actual *process* of translation is qualified, not only identifying the translator as a woman, in fact the celebrated English radical and *femme de lettres* Helen Maria Williams, but shedding more light on role assignment in the translational activity:

"Robespierre...a engagé la Citoyenne Williams anglaise, à le traduire...il n'existe dans aucune langue une traduction plus élégante, plus exacte, et plus dans le gout anglois" (*ibid*).

Thus the requirements of a successful translation could be honoured by the translator: stylistic register of a high quality, faithfulness in terms of transferring the original author's intention, and both in harmony with the sociolinguistic expectations and prevailing stylistic norms - or 'taste' - of the target language audience. But the Comité was also re-assured that the principles of "la citoyenne Williams...reconnue pour une des premières plumes de l'Angleterre" were beyond doubt. Not only had she demonstrated this through her famous work on the French Revolution, *Letters from France* (1795), but she had been granted infinitely honourable certificates of civism, duly prefacing the said work, and was thus totally devoted to France, the chief translator stated.

What has not been sufficiently emphasised is Williams' impressive record as a translator. Following Robespierre's decree of 10 October 1793, along with 250 other 'subjects' of the English crown (the Irish evidently included), Williams had been interned in the Luxembourg (Kennedy 2002 110-112). Despite immortalising for generations of readers her personal experience of terror and "the knife of the guillotine suspended over [her] head by a frail thread", it was in the extraordinary context of her detention in the Luxembourg that Williams worked on her translation of Bernardin de Saint Pierre's idyllic *Paul et Virgine* (1788), still widely read today (DNB, Kennedy 2002 110-112, 122-124, Rapport 2001 201, Todd 2000. 239, Williams 1795 I 174). The prominent British radical John Hurford Stone, said to be Williams' companion but also an acquaintance of Edward FitzGerald's and Tone's, had also been imprisoned. When released, Stone was requisitioned by an official order to make the printing business he had set up in Paris (ca. December 1793) available to the state and work as a "*libraire*", or bookseller (AN F7/4775/23, DNB, Erdman 1986 227, Rapport 2001, 201, *ST* XXV, 1212, 1223, 1224, Woodward 114). This might explain why he had asked to have English titles of interest sent to him in Paris to be translated and printed, and both a personal and business connection with Williams meant he could count on the services of a reputed authoress and translator (*ST* XXV 1223). The presence of Williams' name on the order list of April 1794, as the translator designated by Robespierre himself to make known to 'le peuple anglais' that the French were not 'cannibals', marks an extraordinary contrast to her own precarious situation in October of the previous year, and is an unusual episode in the history of translation in times of conflict.

The second speech mentioned in Madgett's note is Saint-Just's celebrated *Rapport sur les factions de l'étranger et sur la conjuration ourdie* [ ] delivered to the Convention

on 13 March 1794, just before the arrest of the Hebert faction who had been accused of complicity with foreign extremists (Schama 1989 816) Part of it had already been translated, but not by “la Citoyenne Williams”, avec une exactitude litterale qui ne laisse rien a desirer ” (AAE Pers 47/85v) Once Saint-Just’s work was known in England, the head of the translation service assured the Comite, “il peut y produire le plus grand bien”, as it was certain the English people would not delay much longer in rising Such works would enlighten them on their true interests, the translator explained, and the principles of the French Revolution, which many had so endeavoured to distort One must not rule out the possibility that either Madgett or Sullivan, had translated Saint-Just’s *Rapport*

The second note by Madgett (undated, and a clerk’s copy) confirms that translations into English of the speeches by Robespierre and Saint-Just had indeed been carried out, as were versions into Spanish and Italian (AAE/Pers 1/ 47/89<sup>r-v</sup>, as Appendix 2 4 ) The role of the head translator as a form of information officer is further demonstrated here, as he informs his superiors that printing of the target-language versions must proceed without delay to speed up distribution ‘in the countries for which they are intended’ But given the propaganda war, particular emphasis was placed on the texts intended for England

“Les traductions anglaises surtout celle de la Ce Williams [i.e Robespierre’s speech] feraient la plus vive impression en Angleterre Toute la correspondance anglaise prouve la verite de cette assertion ”  
(ibid)

Madgett goes on to suggest the works be printed at “l’imprimerie anglaise qui est actuellement etablie a Paris”, i.e Stone’s, stating his reasons Firstly, the English typesetters would only require “la paye ordinaire” for this order, whereas a French one

was likely to ask for double the fee when working on a language “qu’il n’entend pas” Of greater consequence was the fact that the typeface used would be a genuine English one, but the underlying purpose of the exercise was purely political

“d’ailleurs il [le caractere] ferais croire au Gouvernement que l’ouvrage est imprime dans le pays même, ce qui ferait trembler George et Pitt ”

Williams had an investment in this business as Madgett explained, and as she was not requesting a fee for her translation work, it was only proper “ses propres ouvrages” be printed “chez elle”, i.e. Stone’s English press (AAE/ Pers 1/ 47/89v) It is regrettable no insights into this aspect of Williams’s creativity or Stone’s involvement in translating propaganda are given in a recent biography, which lays much emphasis on literary works (Kennedy 2002) That the combined translation-printing service may have been forcibly requisitioned as a condition for the release of Stone and Williams during the Terror merits further investigation as a unique episode in translation history Regarding the English version of Robespierre’s speech, the standard practice of rendering translations ‘transparent’ means that contemporary versions do not include the translator’s name Nor is it known whether the translated *Report upon the Principles of Political Morality*, listed in the ESTC as printed in Philadelphia in 1794, was genuinely American Debates on the “mystery” surrounding the possibly false imprints of many pamphlets, and generally on the English press in Paris at the time, have not taken into account Madgett’s internal notes (Erdman 1986` 227-8, Stern 1980 316) The viewpoints of both Irish translators shed much light on the autonomy the Comite had given them in overseeing this process of disseminating French revolutionary propaganda in the Anglophone world

This notable role in outward circulation of French propaganda was connected to another key activity of the *Bureau*, its close monitoring of the English press and developments in Britain's policy on France. Translators demonstrated a heightened awareness of the importance of anti-French rhetorical invective, as they in turn would be charged with composing 'responses' back into English. The press extracts translated from English to French were intended as internal briefings for a much more restricted readership than the polemical pamphlets. From a linguistic point of view, the *dépouillage* work implied that *Bureau* translators would be expected to quickly produce a French summary of passages they deemed relevant, and with time this regular output would lead to the perfecting of their own compositional skills. It would also considerably broaden their political knowledge, and combined would give them highly instrumental skills when turned to their personal advocacy for the Irish cause. The two illustrations below demonstrate that a translator required far more than just bilingual skills to transfer information, but also a sharp awareness of polemics and the potency with which linguistic register was used to deliver a particular ideological message.

The first extract is not an anonymous translation, but a paraphrased memorandum based on the views of its 'author', i.e. Sullivan who only gives his surname and does not append the standard formula certifying the text's conformity to the original as his identity would be known to his readership (CPA/588/179). The date, 8 June 1794, is highly significant as two days later the infamous *Loi du 22 prairial* would inaugurate the Great Terror, and Sullivan's untempered views must be seen in that context (Doyle 2001: 58; Schama 1989: 836-9). Nor is his Anglophobia in any way veiled:

“Il n'y a rien de si bête et de si méchant que les absurdités monstrueuses dont est rempli le journal anglois The Times (les tems) [sic] et soudoyé par Pitt et ses agens.” (ibid).

Apart from the unnecessary and literal rendering of the name of the newspaper, Sullivan reformulated in confident and elegant French what he viewed as the 'silly and evil monstrous absurdities' which the 'ministerial' paper reported on. It 'claimed' the guillotine was operating incessantly from morning to evening, in part to reduce the number of hungry mouths which France could not feed as from north to south, the country was devastated by famine, misery and horrors. No less than a thousand Republican soldiers per day were passing into the enemy camp. Sullivan's text indicates he is directly communicating *his* view to the reader by explaining *he* has chosen a sampling of the (unidentified) author's unfounded claims: "Voici un échantillon de l'impartialité de cet écrivain." He employs conventions such as underlining words to signal they are quotations and would normally be in italics in a printed version. The extracts are in fact a harsh attack on the staunchly Jacobin Jeanbon Saint André, described as a 'sanguinary tyrant', who was head of the *Comité's* marine logistics. Sullivan may even have had personal dealings with him, and would have been aware that it had been Jeanbon Saint André who had authorised Jackson's mission to Ireland a few months earlier (Elliott 1982: 63). When Sullivan wrote this, the atrocities of the Terror were only just reaching their peak, and his subjectivity vis à vis the régime must be interpreted in part as a strategy of survival in extraordinarily tense circumstances.

The second illustration of a press extract is not signed but attributable to Sullivan, and the reformulation in French features noteworthy lexical features (CPA/589/29). It is identified as a 'translation of part of a speech by Pitt before the House of Commons', and the date (29 October 1795) easily signals it as a reaction to the fall of the Convention three days earlier, heralding the formation of the more orderly Executive Directory. Through the voice of the translator, one can 'backtranslate' and reconstruct

the distinctive lexis with which Pitt conveys his ‘inexpressable pleasure’ at seeing the unfortunate French people turn their back on barbarism, to ‘embrace the art of civilisation’ Noteworthy is Sullivan’s manner of conveying Pitt’s delight that the authors of the new governmental system declared their horror of the former regime, as they “[ ] detestent l’execrable jargon de cette metaphysique qui a cause tant de maux et de convulsions a la France” (ibid) Tone was fond of using terms such as ‘execrable’ and jargon’ when making self-deprecating assessments of his mediocre French Possibly he had shared light-hearted political discussions with Sullivan, with whom he was to form a warm friendship, borrowing the French renderings of Pitt’s discourse for his own self-mockery

### 2.5 The political advocacy of Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan “une mission particuliere”

By March 1793 Madgett had become a critical link between foreign radicals and the *Comite de Salut public*, and for the next two years was to control “a good deal of French intelligence gathering” (Elliott 1982: 62) Early correspondence with LeBrun confirms this, their exchanges eloquently framing Madgett’s political and linguistic usefulness with some of the stock metaphors of the age (CPA/587/20, 43) They discuss disquiet in England at the possible spread of “l’epidemie françoise”, and to counter preventative measures and denunciations in London of those professing sympathies with French republican ideals, Madgett suggests to the Minister that Irish ‘patriots’ be sent on a mission from France to their homeland This brings to the fore the crosslinguistic

dimension to France's propaganda war, as the "mission" would be to spread - in English - the said 'principles of liberty and equality' by joining forces with those of known writing talents in the English press. Madgett suggests *The Ledger* as a sympathetic newspaper, a previous editor being none other than William Jackson (DNB). Bilingualism was essential to coordinate this circle of agents, and Madgett probably translated, or oversaw translations of pertinent material (Elliott 1982: 60). One of these agents was Duckett, and though he never described himself as a translator, his skill and proficiency in researching background material and composing in both French and English implied translation competence. Any discussion of the bilingual linguistic skills necessary to the exchange of information between France and Irish radicals links at this time would be incomplete without reference to his ready pen, which merits a dedicated study (inter alia, AAE/Pers 1/25: 300-313, AN/AFIII/186b/859+860, F7, CPA/588/252, 589/131, 156-8, 592: 129-30, Dreano 1998: SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>, SHM). In a letter offering his services to the *Comite* to set up a gazette in America, Duckett proposes to diminish the influence of England on public opinion there, describing how the *Bureau de Traduction* had been 'specially charged' with making available to him French newspapers and periodicals in order that he judge " l'esprit public de la Nation, et en tirer parti dans ses ecrits " (AAE Pers 1/25/306r-v). Part of Duckett's functions appear to have been researching polemical debates in one language, then reformulating them into another, a recurrent pattern of linguistic work underpinning political advocacy.

Lebrun responded favourably to Madgett's proposal to set up a group in Paris of English 'revolutionaries', thanking the Irishman for his initiative.

"Vous y parlez le langage d'un vrai patriote et vous me donnez des renseignements qui prouvent à la fois vos lumières et votre civisme " (CPA 587/43)

This letter of 22 March 1793 is dated at a time when normal postal communications had ceased between France and Britain, as a Bill had forbidden 'traitorous' correspondence with His Majesty's enemies, making Jackson's blunder of addressing letters from Dublin to Madgett through the open post even more extraordinary (CPA/587/81) The English press was a vital source of factual and polemical information, and Madgett regularly received newspapers from Benjamin Beresford, conveniently operating as a merchant in the Hanseatic towns, who had business links with Rowan (his brother in law) and John Hurford Stone (Elliott 1989 448-9, n 8, Rowan 1840 45, 119, Nicholson 1943) In Paris, Tone appears to have had regular access to the English press, and recalled one melancholy day when having "got a parcel of English newspapers from Sullivan", he lay under a hedge in a field to read them (Tone II 203) The political dimension to the work of *Bureau* translators involved identifying material to be translated as illustrated in the 'extraits des papiers anglais du 12 mars' Madgett sent to Lebrun and a "Traduction pour le *Comite de Salut Public*" summarising Pitt's budget, other war-related measures and the above-mentioned Bill to prevent treasonable correspondence with France (CPA/587/27, 81)

The French needed regular updates on military developments, and one official deplored the lack of reliable intelligence on English ships and arms, recognising this was a consequence of the ban on communications (CPA/587/114) Monitoring the evolution of polemical arguments was necessary to fuel the thriving propaganda war between the two nations, and in this area both Madgett and Sullivan regularly make clear their voicing of opinion was both welcome and expected (Bell 1999) In a further illustration, Sullivan introduces his translation of an extract from the *Morning Chronicle* (25 August 1796) by justifying his choice

“Les observations suivantes sont tirees d’une feuille de Dublin Comme elles sont energiques et interessantes, elles méritent certainement dans les circonstances actuelles la plus serieuse attention” (AN/AFIII/229)

A further significant reference perfectly encapsulates the political advocacy which the head translator and his nephew were free to engage in. Another manuscript demonstrates this, though somewhat confusingly the text is introduced as a “compte rendu de l’adresse au Peuple d’Irlande *par* le citoyen Madgett Chef du Bureau de Traduction pres le Comite de salut Public” (CPA/588/480<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>v</sup>, my own emphasis, f 480<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 2.5). Confirmation of Madgett’s position is welcome, but it is not immediately clear if he was the author of the text, or was relaying, in French, a summarised translation of someone else’s work. The (undated) document is catalogued ca. late summer 1795 in the CPA volume, i.e. some eighteen months after he took up his position, and it stands out as a telling example of the complex personality of the *chef de bureau*. The content establishes its (Irish) author as an instigator of political agitation as the text targets Irish soldiers and sailors in foreign service. The stock rhetoric of the age is exploited to state its objective “veiller la haine du peuple irlandais contre l’Angleterre son eternel oppresseur”, invoking “les longs et douloureux tourmens le desir de briser les fers” (CPA/588/ 480). What is curious, but revealing, is how the importance of its creator is continuously signposted for the reader, as follows (my own emphasis) “*L’auteur* fixe l’attention de ses compatriotes. *Il* leur rappelle. *L’auteur* parait avoir atteint son but”. Texts such as addresses and proclamations follow a syntactic convention to create a direct line of communication between the known, designated ‘speaker’, i.e. Generals Hoche, Humbert, Hardy, and such printed harangues do not employ the first person or personal pronouns, with the possible exception of the republican *nous* embodying the French nation. In the *Compte rendu*, one political

argument embeds the author's overt stratagem for recognition, when he appeals to the Irish

“ rappeler chez eux au premier signal de leur genereuse insurrection tous leurs compatriotes marins et soldats de terre engages au service des differentes puissances et surtout des Anglais dont la Marine est *dit-il* presque toute composee d'Irlandais ” (CPA *ibid*)

When discussing this recurring motif in Franco-Irish strategy, i.e. the undermining of English naval power through a mutiny of Irish sailors, the bilingual historian Marianne Elliott confidently stated the “claims [were] Madgett's” (Elliott 1982 139) One can safely interpret the following as being his voice, albeit fulfilling his expected role to relay to his superiors his assessment of the text

“En tout l'*auteur* parait avoir atteint *son* but, et je ne doute nullement que *son* ouvrage ne produise tout l'effet qu'on doit en attendre (*ibid*, my own emphasis) ”

The shifting between the third and first persons, i.e. 'l'auteur son', 'je', then 'son' again, would appear to indicate that Madgett is describing the work of another, though this 'shiftiness' did not mislead Elliott

In terms of Madgett's role in the Jackson affair, it was he who had personally recommended the agent to the Minister for Marine (the sponsor of the mission), and who briefed that department with translations of the agent's memorials (Elliott 1982 63, SHM/GG<sup>1</sup>/67/32) The evidence, according to Elliott (1989 287) clearly demonstrated Madgett's capacity to engage in 'free-lancing', and she described him at the time of Tone's arrival in early 1796 as “that maker of so many past Irish missions” Madgett's name had appeared in the printed proceedings of Jackson's trial for treason, and not only as the named employee of the French government, to whom the accused had sent his last fatal updates through the post That Jackson's instructions had been drafted by Madgett

is evident from the odd signals contained on how the agent was to pose as someone seeking legal advice in Ireland. This was, purportedly, in order that a (certain) “Mr Madgett [ ] proceed for the recovery of his family fortune by hostile or pacific means ”(*Trial of Rev W Jackson 1795* 68)

The *chef du bureau de traduction* certainly ensured his name would go down in history, and one can only interpret as arrogant Madgett’s strategy in embedding his name in Jackson’s instructions, through this ‘coded’ allusion to Ireland’s struggle to ‘recover’ her freedom. So too does the manner in which he had designated other ‘actors’ in the instructions for the clandestine operation, evidence the trial lawyers had to elucidate from the seized documents

“Madgett in this letter means the Marine Minister in France. Mr Nicholas in this letter is used to denote the War Minister of France, and in some of the letters perhaps signifies France itself (ibid 36)

No attempt was made to cover up the identity of Jackson’s contact in France, i.e. Madgett, though Dublin Castle was no doubt pleased when it received confirmation there was indeed a well-connected Irish agitator in Paris of that name (Castlereagh Corr I 397-8). The desire for notoriety of the ‘maker’ of Jackson’s mission is evident, but Madgett’s strategy may have been quite machiavellian. It may have intended to confuse the English authorities and implicate his cousin (also Nicholas) the fervent anti-revolutionary who informed for the Foreign Office, and in June of 1793 had been “employed privately” in Ireland by Dublin Castle (Hayes 1932 206-7, 280, 284-6, Swords 1997 29-30)

The freedom Madgett was given to voice opinions is evident in a translator’s note similar to Appia’s evidence on Sir Sidney Smith, i.e. that monitoring the correspondence

of English prisoners was part of the *Bureau*'s brief. At the end of an English-to-French rendering of one of the numerous letters submitted by the English prisoner, James Tilly Matthews, to the authorities, Madgett appends the standard phrase which certifies his translation was "conforme a l'original" (CPA/588/84). However, he felt duty bound to signal to his superiors the apparent dementia of the unfortunate author:

"Conforme a l'original qui me parait ecrit par un homme qui a perdu la raison j'ai traduit il y a quelques mois une lettre du meme auteur, qui sans etre aussi extravagante que celle ci donnoit de fortes indications de demence Madgett" (ibid)

The animated manner in which Tone captured his frustration and annoyance with Madgett, the latter 'boggling' at delays in translating texts, carved a particular role out in the historiography of 1798 for the translator, in the process not portraying the profession in a positive light. Tone's outbursts have at times been taken too seriously, and Madgett's reputation is tainted by the hints of negligence in fulfilling his role for the "prophet of Irish independence" (Elliott 1989, Quinn 2000). One source (Greaves 1991: 84) goes so far as to elaborate on what Tone deems Madgett's slowness of age as "exasperating sloth", though conferring on the head of translation the most illustrious title posterity could imagine, i.e. Delacroix's 'under-secretary'. References to a heavy workload, and trouble meeting deadlines, would be recognisable to most translators, Madgett's poor health (due to gout) preventing him at times from going out to personally seek the Minister's orders (CPA/589/116). Inspired by Tone's cultivated fertile imagination, drawing on the stock characters in the fiction of the age, their quarrels resemble those immortalised by writers such as Cervantes and Sterne (Kleinman 2003b). Madgett appears virtually on a daily basis in the first month or so of Tone's French diaries, the latter's frequent criticisms stemming from his own impatience and resentment at his reliance on others. These are discussed in Chapter 3, but Tone's

attention to detail are the only direct insights available into the daily workings of the *Bureau*, and the stamp of its *chef*.

Oddly, Tone never mentions Madgett's official status as head translator, but confirms from the outset his strategic and advisory role. That a dedicated translation service existed is only indirectly alluded to by Tone, first when hinting to General Clarke on the reason (i.e. Madgett) for the delay in copying his memorials 'in the other *bureaux*', then when he first introduces Sullivan as Madgett's nephew, carrying some dispatches to "the *office* to be translated" (Tone II: 123; 143). Another reference to the 'office' (one of Tone's frequent literal transfers into French), acknowledges the official title of the service, when Madgett informs him "one of the clerks in his bureau" had told him of the (false) rumour that a French landing in Ireland had taken place (ibid :198). Tone only mentioned his name for the first time when telling Delacroix he "knew him by reputation and had a letter of introduction to him", presumably written by Rowan in Philadelphia (Tone II: 56). If Madgett is described in other narratives (more cautiously than Greaves 1991) as a government official or member of Ministry staff to whom Delacroix had delegated the Irish negotiations, it is partially because Tone commented on this role (Boylan 1997: 66; Elliott 1982: 79-80). Delacroix even assured him on one occasion: "Madgett was the only person whatsoever to whom he confided the affair;" (Tone II: 84). Madgett was delighted to meet Tone, and the two men engaged in a lengthy conversation on their 'business', i.e. French plans to mount an expedition to Ireland. Following a mutual briefing on Irish affairs (which comes across as congenial and constructive to the reader), they parted, agreeing it was: "necessary [we] should arrange all the information [we] possessed". The personal pronoun indicates the beginning of an intense collaboration on the influential *Memorials*, which culminated in

the Bantry expedition (Tone II 57-8) Yet Tone embedded in his account observations which alternate between markers of tensions and conflict, and the deep confidence and trust which grew between the two men

Because Tone called “on Madgett once a day to confer with him”, a close (if stormy) relationship grew between them (Tone II 59) Madgett appears to have been the only person Tone spent as much time with, and confided in as much, during those first crucial weeks in France Reassuringly, Madgett was also a regular source of information for Tone on the progress of plans for an Irish invasion “[he] tells me that the business is going forward everything is going on as well as possible” Continuously relaying updates and requests from Delacroix, Madgett came to embody the minister’s voice “[he] wants to know”, and “desires I would” do” (ibid II 107, 114, 125) Tone signals how the collaborative effort in planning the content of the influential memorials has progressed, syntactically, when Madgett, (“in high spirits”) tells of the *Directoire*’s determination to commit arms and troops to “our affair”, and that Delacroix required “our opinions” on the best landing point (ibid 114)

One of the most sensitive issues which Tone and Madgett clashed on was the vexed question of the French recruiting men for the expedition to Ireland among the disaffected ‘English’ prisoners of war, a substantial portion of which were Irish Tone’s depiction of his initial unease at this scheme, (also indicative of how naive he was then) also informs us on the nature of some of the ‘field work’ Madgett and Sullivan engaged in Evidently, only bilinguals could act as liaison interpreters between anglophone prisoners and the French authorities, a capacity Sullivan had worked in Exerting a non intimidating but firm political influence on prisoners would today contravene international convention guidelines The plan was introduced to Tone when Madgett

explained the “Government [ ] would first send *proper persons* among the Irish prisoners of war” (Tone II 70-1) to “apostolize”, and even Tone’s younger brother Matthew had been mentioned as someone who could be “very *serviceable* among the prisoners of war, both soldiers and seamen, being Irish” (ibid 73, my emphasis) Having little choice but to mature quickly as to some of the more unsavoury realities of military life, Tone employed excessive lexis to convey his cynicism at what he concluded was straightforward crimping on Madgett’s part

“[Madgett] is to go to Versailles, Compiègne, Guise, &c , &c , and to propagate the fath among the Irish soldiers and seamen This is his favorite scheme and is in my mind *damned nonsense* I surmise the real truth to be that it is a small matter of a job *a l’Irlandoise*, and that there is some cash to be touched &c , &c ,” (Tone II 121)

Tone makes further derogatory references to the “imps” and “ragamuffins” thus recruited, but he was shortly forced to ponder the question more seriously when writing a plan for fomenting an Irish *chouannerie* in Munster, when “renegades” and “blackguards” would be landed (Tone II 240) This question would arise again in the summer of 1798, and if Tone, while stationed in Brest, learned of the existence of “Madgett’s Legion”, it is not mentioned in his personal correspondence (Hayes 1950-1 142, Tone III forthcoming) The brevet for Madgett’s Legion (Hayes 1950-1 142, as Appendix 2 6 ) is in English, and states this mysterious “corps” was decreed in Orleans on August 27 1798, seemingly “by virtue of the powers delegated to” Madgett by the “secret committee of the Society of United Irishmen of Paris” Tone had been informed in July by the minister of Marine, Bruix, that the ‘animosity and hatred’ between the Irish “attaches au parti patriote”, and their English ‘co-detainees’ was escalating beyond control in the Orleans prisoner of war depot (SHA Tone, Tone III forthcoming) Therefore, “C” Smith, Adjutant general” was officially charged with coordinating

measures to separate those whose 'political opinions would expose them to the *fiureur* of others' It seems likely that Madgett's 'recruits' could only have been 'raised' among the Irish prisoners of war at Orleans, and Dublin Castle learned of this "tampering" with detainees (Castlereagh Corr I 397-8) This was not an uncommon practice in war at the time, though today it would be in total breach of the Geneva Convention (UNHCR) Possibly the phrases handwritten into the printed brevet are the only sample of Madgett's English

John Sullivan was to feature prominently in the various forms of support and involvement the Department of External relations was to extend to the United Irishmen, and there is a marked intensification of interest in Ireland in the *Correspondance politique* series (confirmed by numerous manuscripts) from 1795 onwards, the year of Tone's exile Dispatches from America in the *Correspondance politique Etats-Unis* include items translated on arrival by the *Bureau*, some signed by Sullivan, and in October 1795 Adet was to forward Tone's memorial (translated in Philadelphia) with a letter explaining his interview with 'Monsieur de Wolfe, patriote irlandais' (CP/E-U/ 45/ 3, CPA /89/ 23) Thus a second distinct phase of the *Bureau's* activity can be determined which would culminate with Tone's arrival in February of 1796 and the assiduous planning leading up to the Bantry expedition

When Tone was asked in Philadelphia by Adet (August 1795) to prepare a memoir on Ireland's grievances, he took up many of the points he had argued in that fated memoir written for Jackson a year earlier, assuming that the earlier version has reached the French government As underlined by Elliott (1982, 1989), it was through Rowan that a reworked version had indeed been delivered to the French in the spring of 1795, Sullivan's involvement now properly established (Elliott 1982 68, 1989 453) There is

uncertainty as to which of the two extant versions is closest to Tone's original, but Tone's distinctive style has been preserved in French archives, in a sense 'found' again in Sullivan's renderings of Rowan's memoirs (CPA/588/184-187<sup>v</sup>, 262-4<sup>f</sup>, 268-9<sup>v</sup>, 274-80) These versions catalogued in the *Correspondence politique* are not in Sullivan's distinct hand but are probably clerk's copies, and there is no reason to doubt his statement to Delacroix on this role in liaising for Rowan. The opening lines are unmistakably comparable to those of the English version cited at the Jackson trial "Les gouvernements d'Angleterre et d'Irlande n'ont aucun rapport ensemble, le gouvernement de l'un est national, celui de l'autre provincial" (CPA/588/184). Rowan's memorials to the Comite were followed up by audiences with influential figures including Robespierre and Jeanbon, who was eager to progress an Irish invasion (CPA/588/ 184-187<sup>v</sup>, 262-4<sup>f</sup>, 268-9<sup>v</sup>, 274-80, Elliott 1982: 68). Though the *coup d'etat* of Thermidor which led to the downfall of the Comite once again dashed Irish hopes, with Rowan sailing to America, Elliott (1982) maintains that "the documentation of this first United Irish approach to France was to play an important role in the revival of interest under the Directory and in the establishment of a permanent Irish mission in Paris" (Elliott 1982: 68). When Sullivan stressed to Delacroix that it was he who had 'drawn up in French' the early memoirs of 1794 which, *inter alia*, advised on an Irish invasion, i.e. October 1796, the French had already committed massive resources to the Bantry expedition, a process which had indeed begun with his own linguistic mediation on behalf of Rowan, an unacknowledged and significant party to the influential documentation identified above by Elliott. In any event Delacroix was also regularly appraised of Rowan's position by Madgett at the time of Tone's arrival in Paris, a further reason for Sullivan to remind the minister of his own role, which had also helped prepare the ground for Tone (CPA/589/111, 122).

As he grew to know and like John Sullivan, Tone may have learned more about the plight of the numerous Irish who having served in the English forces had been captured and were held in France among 'English' prisoners of war, through the latter's experience in that regard. Reciprocal agreements concerning conditions of detention, release and exchanges, existed between the French and English, and these cartels were printed in bilingual versions (Pope 1987: 103-4; SHM/FF1/33/V1 see Chapter 4 and Appendix 4.4). Sullivan may have been required to interpret among Anglophones to obtain strategic intelligence on English ship movements and armaments, though captives were generally not subjected to duress, cursory questioning being the norm (Maffeo 2000: 159). But once the Bantry preparations were underway, Tone would have known recruitment was also a central motivation of this 'apostolizing', Sullivan too confirming its methods. The latter unashamedly describes his own field work as follows to Delacroix, when explaining that shortly after his recruitment to the *Bureau*, "je partis pour la ci-devant Bretagne, chargé d'une mission particulière auprès des prisonniers de guerre" (AAE Pers.1/65: 58<sup>v</sup>). Particularly proud of this special assignment, he elaborates:

"Pour prouver que j'ai rempli cette mission avec succès, il suffira de dire qu'à Dinan plus de 200 de ces prisonniers m'ont offert de s'enrôler sur les vaisseaux de la République".

Sullivan was later to attempt this art of recruitment through rhetorical 'apostolising' in Mayo in 1798 (Hayes 1937: 279-80). It will be remembered that it was during this 'tour' that Sullivan also organised Rowan's release, the latter describing him as "interprète des prisonniers de guerre pour la 13<sup>e</sup> division", the position for which a pay raise had been requested (CPA/588/280). Rowan in his memoirs later refers to Sullivan as *inspector* for the prisoners (Rowan 1840: 232). Sullivan also explains that in Brest he

further demonstrated his usefulness by acting as a translator for the “*représentans du Peuple*”, ‘examining’ the papers (in English) of ships taken as prizes, i.e. translating them. This experience gained in 1794-5 was deemed a precious asset by the *chef du bureau de traduction*, who shortly before embarking on his own tour of ‘propagating the faith’, recommended his nephew to Delacroix as “une personne telle qu’il nous le faut pour aller endoctriner les matelots irlandais” (CPA/589/182). Whatever Tone thought of Madgett’s debauching of Irish prisoners, Delacroix indeed confirms to Clarke on 27 March that the translator was “absent par mon ordre”, and Dublin Castle was also to be informed of this ‘tampering’ with Irish prisoners (AN/AF/III/186b; Castlereagh Corr. I: 398).

As well as the political ‘business’, personal and family matters were discussed between Madgett and Tone, a further indication that despite diverging views on policy and strategy, trust was settling in between the two men. Tone’s total lack of experience in the military led to him seek advice on a potential commission, and Madgett appears sensitive in the narrative, raising Tone’s “own private feelings” and “dignity” in terms of the rank the French were likely to offer, which he assured would be ‘any rank [he] pleased.’ (Tone II: 142). Tone’s reliance on Madgett is further demonstrated when he calls on him to take a “serious walk” in the Tuileries, confiding in him that he wishes to send for his family in America and settle in France, but “begging his advice” on the possibility of a restoration of royalty and on the best possible property investment (Tone *ibid*: 189). This trust is further confirmed many months later, in a moving letter written by Tone to his wife Matilda from Brest, shortly before embarking for the Bantry expedition. He explains that since arriving in France he had “...had no communication whatsoever with Ireland [but had] seen the English papers pretty regularly by favour of

Madgett, who is in the Bureau of the Minister for Foreign Affairs” (ibid 406) More importantly, he instructs Matilda to write to Madgett upon her arrival at Le Havre, as it was he who would ensure Tone’s letters were forwarded to her under cover, a practice confirmed in their later correspondence (Tone II 409, Dickason, in Tone III forthcoming)

Tone never questioned the fact that both Madgett and Sullivan knew the *pave* of Paris (i.e. the local ways) far better than him, nor that he had to remain incognito “Madgett wishes to keep me out of sight as much as possible, which is very natural, and I am sure I am not angry with him for it’ (Tone II 115-6) He was left with little choice but to socialise among a very limited group of English speakers. But as long-term residents in France, Madgett and Sullivan also had valuable insights to share with him in the early months. Tone recognised he was a stranger to the intrigues and “wheels within wheels” of French politics, the very “rouages” referred to by Masson, which his two compatriots had learned to exploit to Ireland’s advantage. In the months to come, Tone grew accustomed to military life and demonstrated a range of ways he too could be *serviceable* to the Republic while progressing the Irish cause. The next chapter will discuss in more detail some translations he worked on with Madgett and Sullivan which are directly linked to the invasion plans for Bantry Bay.

## 2.6 Conclusion Translators, “In the service of two masters”

Like many Irish over the centuries, Madgett and Sullivan had settled in France and thanks to their education had so assimilated into the host culture that their competence in French (at least in writing) would have been virtually indistinguishable from that of

natives This was often to the detriment of their competence in their own mother tongue, be it English or Irish, and over the decades of emigration language loss had been recognised as a source of considerable concern among heads of Irish missions in France, notably the Abbé Edgeworth (Ferte 1987 566, and forthcoming) Tone would have spoken English with them, as there is no indication to the contrary, and had their English showed any signs of interference from French he characteristically would have signalled it That Madgett and Sullivan, as balanced bilinguals, had learned to exploit their linguistic competence to fulfil personal ambitions is clear

The type of linguistic mediation both Madgett and Sullivan engaged in as government translators was purposeful to the institution they served, but also instrumental to advancing the cause of Ireland Their official positions allowed them to fulfil a personal aim of political advocacy, circulating

“ information, knowledge and passions [working] discreetly in the *service of two masters*” (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995 frontispiece, my emphasis)

But their political careers, Madgett’s especially because it has been documented more than Sullivan’s, were tainted due to links with secret agents and agitation, but these must be viewed in the context of their times

The Madgett and Tone synergy is a well documented historical reality, and even with the latter’s exaggerated depictions it makes for a fascinating case study of a private collaboration between an author and translator which left its mark on the momentous events of 1796-8 Possibly this may explain how Madgett captured the imagination of the fiction writer Elizabeth Redfern, appearing (albeit briefly) in his own capacity in her first historical novel *The Music of the Spheres* (Redfern 2001 283) She may have been

inspired by Charles Lever (1855) having introduced Madgett in his *Maurice Tierney* (Hayes 1932: 105). Redfern's depiction of Madgett as a somewhat eccentric, but skilful French functionary must have been influenced by Tone's own portrayal of his struggle to get translations carried out, yet the latter though the more celebrated of the two Irishmen is not mentioned in the novel (Redfern 2001: 284). The plot centres on genuine historic events, namely the landing at Quiberon of a British-backed French Royalist force in June 1795, an episode which in France fuelled both a growing anglophobia and intensified plans for revenge, the sociopolitical backdrop for Tone's lobbying in the spring of 1796. Among the French plans were the stirring of peasant uprisings, or Vendée-style *chouanneries*, on English soil, the plan much favoured by Madgett and to which Tone was so vehemently opposed (Elliott 1982: 85-6).

In the novel, Redfern cleverly uses the no doubt genuine device of enlightened and fraternal bonds between English and French astronomy clubs as the front for clandestine correspondence. In this context, one of the protagonists (Laplace) calls on a 'Madgett' in Paris to translate coded messages from London intended to warn the French authorities of the Royalist plot. This choice seems natural, as Madgett is described as "an Irishman ...who worked for the French Admiralty as a translator of English documents and newspapers...the *ablest linguist* Laplace knew...which meant he could be *relied upon to convey all the precise nuances ...*" of the source-language document (Redfern 2001: 284, my own emphasis). Yet despite this admission of the linguist's ability, Laplace noted how Madgett seemed "harassed" and (like Tone) would be subject to the frustration of delay from the volatile translator: "It might be a few days before I get round to it,' Madgett muttered" (Redfern *ibid*: 283). But like Tone, the fictitious Laplace was to discover that once the complex and knowledgeable translator became

inspired by something, “a feverish excitement” would “take hold of him” (ibid) The Madgett in the novel was charged with decrypting an encoded message based on the brightness of certain stars, which he quickly discovered related to the Royalist expedition and unverified reports of its betrayal. Calling “brusquely” for a messenger (an adverb Tone easily could have employed), he has the note sent to a prominent member of the Convention, Redfern thus conveying to the reader Madgett’s direct line of communication with senior political figures, in the process confirming the political role as strategist and advisor which emerges from genuine period sources. The context of how he came about to hold such an important position within the “French Admiralty”, i.e. the Marine department, is astutely summarised by Redfern who again draws on historical fact when describing Laplace’s frustration at the slowness and temperamental nature of his translator:

“Irishmen - all eccentric and emotional. Everyone knew the Irishmen in Paris - and they lived here in considerable numbers at the moment - were here because they detested William Pitt’s English government. But the ones like Madgett were clever, and had their *uses*” (Redfern 2001: 284, my emphasis)

Though stereotypical depictions of the (so-called) Irish national character are never welcome, Redfern’s exploitation of what was a sociocultural reality of the troubled eighteenth century is certainly not malicious. It also hints at the possibility that Laplace’s private thoughts had been inspired by the novelist’s use as a source of a genuine manuscript relating the pragmatic conclusions passed on by Delacroix to the Directory (CPA 589/379). In May 1796, he recommended that no more Irish be sent as agents to England on fact-finding missions, as

“jusqu’au present la plupart de ceux qu’on a employes pour cette mission ont été des Irlandois dont les prejuges nationaux sont souvent a craindre dans la manière de voir les objets, et contres lesquels il

existe de la part des Anglais des preventions defavorables qui éloignent la confiance ”

In the novel, the complexities of Madgett's character are depicted in a manner so similar to Tone's it is likely that Redfern read the latter's diaries. What is more relevant is the succinct, but none the less complementary, description of how those commissioning translations come to recognise and appreciate the skill of the mediator on which they rely, an awareness possibly enhanced by the dynamic tensions inherent in the process. It is somewhat regrettable that such a sensitive appreciation of the role of the translator, effortlessly embedded in a work of fiction, should be absent from the scholarly historiography of 1798. Far from being the only polyglot among the assimilated Irish radicals, it was Madgett who for a combination of reasons was selected for an administrative position requiring multilingual skills, yet his status also gave him free rein to advance Ireland's cause from the very heart of French political decision making. The novelist Redfern accurately qualifies Madgett's usefulness in the eyes of the authorities, and in so doing astutely summarises the historical reality of how polyglossia became a means of survival for translators in precarious times.

While the political advocacy of Madgett and Sullivan emerges clearly from period sources, we have little indication as to any self-awareness they possessed of their power and influence as translators. We may never discover which of these three interdependent factors they personally valued most: their skill as linguistic mediators, their application of this skill to a remunerated occupation, or their status as exiled Irishmen turning France's anti-English war policy to their advantage? While most Irish emigres became functional bilinguals, Madgett and Sullivan had developed a particular linguistic skill which, when associated with other tasks, was indeed to prove useful and instrumental, and guaranteed their survival through the Terror. The overlapping

functions assigned to *Bureau* translators certainly resulted in its unusual brief, acutely described by Elliott who states Madgett's "office inevitably became the semi-official medium of communication between the French government and the disaffected British subjects" (Elliott 1982 62)

We gain some insights on Madgett's attitude to translation, beyond the political and purposeful, in a passionate plea to the Directory to have the *Bureau de Traduction* reinstated following its suppression, for financial reasons. Though undated, the letter probably dates from Talleyrand's appointment to replace Delacroix in July 1797, and it eloquently underlines the contribution to administration of both oral and written translation

"j'ai adresse au ministre actuel des Relations exterieurs quelques memoires ou je lui suggerois une moyen aussi simple que naturel de conserver cet etablissement [i.e. the *bureau*] dont il étoit d'ailleurs impossible de se passer. C'étoit de faire concourir aux frais de son etablissement tous ceux qui étoient déjà ou seroient désormais dans le cas d'y avoir recours généralement tous ceux qui auroient besoin de traducteurs et d'interpretes pour les langues etrangeres" (AAE/Pers 1/47/83-84')

Madgett pragmatically points out that translation services would always be required, proposes that a centralised translation service be made official by decree, and that it should be available not only to the authorities but to the general public. This would indicate that, throughout his career, he had come to identify the art of translation as a valuable cultural activity, but also as dignified profession which merited recognition. Now aged sixty, Madgett no longer had any means of subsistence, but seemed to imply that he would be ready to continue working in the government translation service that he was proposing. Confident that Delacroix would provide references, Madgett reminded the authorities that during the former's tenure in office, he had furnished with zeal

memorials on various subjects of the greatest importance, “et specialement celui sur l’Irlande” (ibid 83<sup>v</sup>) In the privileged position that so few translators over the centuries have found themselves in, Madgett reminded the authorities of his own strategic role in their political decision-making and his instrumentality in the production of Tone’s memorials on Ireland These had been circulated among ministers and generals, and “were much admired in France, both at the time and later” (Elliott 1989 291) That it was the *translated* version which was so well received was self-evident to Madgett, whose agency and influence in bringing about political change can now be recognised in the history of 1798

In his argument supporting the case for compiling biographies of translators, Delisle states these personal histories go beyond the restricted framework of the texts they translated They recreate the atmosphere of an epoch, and reflect the dominant ideology of the time in which they worked (Delisle 1999 4) These factors determine the circumstances for translations to occur, but more importantly raise the issue of what rapport linguistic mediators maintain with the society and the institutions that they serve Underlying tensions often exist between personal initiatives, and social necessity Translators are subject to the same constraints as authors, the works of which reflect contemporary realities, and Delisle’s (ibid) conclusion is both sensitive and appropriate to frame the contribution of Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan in the context of the times they lived in “il faut traduire pour son temps ”

## CHAPTER 3

### “ *veuillez excuser mon detestable françois* ” Theobald Wolfe Tone and the French language

#### 3.1 Tone's weakness in French as a leitmotif in his historiography

1 “Damn it rot it and sin it for me, that I cannot speak French! ’Oh, that I had given that time to the tongues that I have spent fencing and bear baiting ’” (Tone II 43)

2 “Buonaparte then asked me where I had learned to speak French? To which I replied that I had learned *the little* that I knew *since my arrival in France*, about twenty months ago” (Tone *Life* 817, my emphasis)

Theobald Wolfe Tone's difficulties with communicating in the French language, the subject of this chapter, are a recurrent theme in his richly detailed diaries. He regularly made observations and self-assessments on the issue, providing insights worth sociolinguistic investigation. Within a few days of setting foot on French soil at Havre de Grâce on 1 February 1796, he had laid the foundations of a significant facet of his future legend, namely that he embarked on his perilous mission not speaking French, the quotes above being only two of many such admissions. Yet within weeks, he was to successfully undertake negotiations with the French authorities which would lead to the massive military undertaking of the Bantry expedition. While a range of strategic factors influenced France's decision, Tone's ability to convince the most senior figures in power was also instrumental. But persuasion presupposes a common language, a view expressed by Palmer (2001: 49) and one of the underlying arguments of this thesis. Therefore, Tone's French could not have been as pitiable as he claims, and confusion has surrounded this vexed question which some historians have openly disagreed upon (Bartlett 1997, 1998: xliii).

The communicative processes underlying Tone's unofficial embassy do merit scrutiny, firstly because his account was written from the perspective of an active participant in significant historical events. Passages of his journals have what Bartlett (1998a: xlvi) deems a unique "quality of immediacy", making them an invaluable record of the revolutionary decade in both Ireland and France, and a "major, even indispensable contribution" to history. When one juxtaposes this availability of direct insights with the status of some of Tone's interlocutors, i.e. no less than Carnot, Hoche and Napoleon, the argument for further investigation is strengthened. While the political outcome of these interviews has been discussed by Irish historians, the communicative dimension has not. Therefore Palmer's critique (2003: 257) is most apposite, namely that historians have recorded parleys without "wondering about the mechanics" of how they were conducted. This chapter will examine Tone's initial shock and frustration at discovering how language barriers made him reliant on others, then discuss his growing awareness of how even his rudimentary bilingualism could be "of use" to French military plans (Tone II: 142). Arguing that his collaboration with Madgett and Sullivan was instrumental in the development of his own translation competence, the discussion will highlight Tone's eventual achievement of autonomy and his own usefulness as a translator, despite his continuous (subjective) criticisms on his French.

The first quotation above embeds the motif into his narrative while contextualising his interaction in the new environment. However, future readers of his diary, i.e. his wife Matilda, siblings, and one or two very close friends, would all have been familiar with the intimate details of his upbringing and education, and whether he was exaggerating the case that the Francophilia of the age had passed him by. With self-deprecating humour, Tone condemns his weakness, dramatically embellishing it by a phrase

(misquoted) from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. Though dated "some twenty months after his arrival in France", the second quotation above is one of the most significant of his comments, set against the extraordinary backdrop of his first meeting with Napoleon Bonaparte, on December 21, 1797. It is not surprising that in such a truly historical context, Tone's observation captured the imagination of readers of his diary, and has been readily accepted as a statement of fact by generations of historiographers.

Tone had been summoned to accompany the official United Irish negotiator, Edwin Lewins, to a strategic meeting with Bonaparte, recently appointed commander of the *Armée d'Angleterre*. Tone noted he accordingly "gave the *pas*" (i.e. precedence) to Lewins as 'our ambassador' (Tone *Life* 817). Little was exchanged with Bonaparte, but Tone could only have been pleased when the rising star of the French military turned to him, asking if indeed he was an adjutant general and, more significantly, where he had learned to speak French. All discussions of Tone's linguistic competence flow from his response to the question, asked, it must be noted, by a non-native speaker of French. Tone casually answered, as a statement of fact, that he had acquired the language informally *since* arriving in the country. But with his characteristic penchant for embellishment, he felt the impulse to elaborate, musing to himself as he left the meeting:

"As to my French, I am ignorant whether it was the purity or barbarism of my diction which drew his attention, and as I shall never inquire, it must remain as an historical doubt, to be investigated by the learned of future ages." (Tone *Life* 817-8)

This self-mockery embeds the assertion of his weakness even deeper in the consciousness of his readers, and all interpretations of his dealings with the French authorities, and experience of crosslinguistic communication, are measured against his

concession to the future emperor, Napoleon. Further comments would follow over the next two and a half years. Shortly before his last diary entry (20-30 June 1798), after doing his rounds as adjutant general while stationed at Havre, he would note

“I made myself understood at all the outposts, which is sufficient for my purpose but the difference of the language here is terribly against me” (ibid 850)

A primary source who corroborated Tone's view was his only surviving child, William, aged only seven at the time of his father's death in November 1798 (DIB). In his account of his father's capture, trial and death, William unequivocally states that when the *Hoche* was taken, his father (among the ship's officers) was not “recognized for some time, for he had completely *acquired* the language and appearance of a Frenchman” (Tone *Life* 872, my emphasis). As William had hardly known his father, Matilda must have provided this biographical detail, i.e. that Tone had not learned French *before* February 1796. We know Tone and Matilda had discussed the question of *her* lack of knowledge of the language, from a lengthy letter he wrote to her from Brest as the fleet was about to sail for Ireland. Alluding to her future, in the event he should “fall in the contest”, Tone conveyed his apprehensions “you will labour under insurmountable difficulties, from your ignorance of the language, customs and manners” (ibid 723). It is safe to conjecture that Tone's own ability to cope in the new environment would have been raised, from the moment he admitted to her that his intention, once they were settled in America, was to make preparations to travel on to France. One will also accept for the moment the veracity of Tone's reminder, volunteered in the intimacy of a letter to his wife written almost a year after his arrival, that he had come to France “knowing not a single soul, and scarcely a word of the language” (ibid 767).

Tone's 'feat' in convincing the French to mount an expedition has been recognised by numerous scholars and writers, and one early, unlikely admirer was Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, whose following observation was used as an epigraph in O'Faolain's 1937 *Autobiography*

'a most extraordinary man his history the most curious of those times With a hundred guineas in his pocket he went to Paris in order to overturn the British government in Ireland He asked for a large force, Lord Edward FitzGerald a small one They listened to Tone "

Another early commentator promptly reacting to the 1826 publication of Tone's writings cautiously said that he only had "a modest knowledge of the language" (Roche Fermoy 1828 203) The phrase was taken up a century later by Tone's first biographer (McDermott 1939 167) A common thread links all the praises of Tone's skills as an ad hoc informal diplomat, namely that he succeeded against all odds where others had failed The juxtaposition with FitzGerald is telling, as the latter had the benefit of both military experience and the highly useful networks of connections which arose out of an aristocratic upbringing Much more significant is the inference of a well-known fact, namely that FitzGerald was completely at ease amongst French society and spoke the language fluently (Tillyard 1997 24, 28-9, 133-154) Praise for Tone's success is frequently qualified - as by Wellesley above - by enumerating the impediments he faced, namely his lack of resources and connections In her seminal biography, the francophone scholar Elliott cautiously states that when he had first arrived in Paris, Tone had been "unsure" of his French, and had "preferred to negotiate with English-speaking officials", (Elliott 1989 287) Following the painstaking process of editing both Tone's journals and his correspondence, the editors of his *Writings* (Tone I, II, III [forthcoming]) concluded he "was not at first fluent" (Moody et al 2001 xiv) Because Tone was immediately referred to a

translator (Madgett), by Delacroix, McDermott concluded that this was due to the French official's "own ignorance of English", the comment introducing some relativism to Tone's competence in French (McDermott 1939 170) Given the political nature of his dealings, his obligation to maintain a false identity and uncertainties as to negotiating strategies were not helped by his reliance on others That this was a consequence of his monolingualism was signalled by Swords (1989 121), another francophone scholar, who notes that Tone "would have preferred not to have to use the Paris Irish as mediators with French politicians"

Tone's autonomous assessments on his competence range from lamentations and outbursts typical of the sentimentality which infused cultural works in his lifetime, to astutely-observed remarks on phenomena which two centuries later psycholinguists would discuss Apart from the value for historians wishing to better understand the 'mechanics of Tone's parleys', his is an all too rare case study of pragmatic language learning in a cultural and historical context

### 3.2 Tone's exile to America

The implications of Tone's involvement in the Jackson affair in 1794-5 have been well documented, this unfortunate series of events seen as the starting point of his 'accreditation with the French" (Bartlett 1998 xxvii, Elliott 1989 258, McDermott 1939 120-1) For the purposes of this discussion, one must recall the reservations expressed by Dr James Reynolds on his suitability to travel to France as a United Irish envoy cited in Chapter 1, namely that his inability to speak French would hinder the effectiveness of his embassy (*Trial of Rev William Jackson* 1795 34) Tone's

name was then put forward as a potential envoy, but he too declined, though no comment comparable to Reynolds' on linguistic competence was offered. He did eventually sail for America in June 1795 with his family, and a library of six hundred books, coincidentally aboard the *Cincinnati*, the ship on which Monroe had sailed to France to take up his posting as American ambassador in Paris. Tone, respected for his diffidence and efficiency, was not viewed by the authorities as a great threat. Although Dublin Castle had received information that his ultimate purpose in America was to sail on to France, they did not act (Elliott 1989: 259).

That Tone's life until leaving Ireland was metaphorically that of a "colonial outsider" has been discussed from a political perspective (Dunne 1982). However, significant insights on the sociolinguistic consequences of Tone's exile can be found in the literature on forced migration and culture shock arising from the upheavals of the twentieth century, and studies on voluntary travellers in business and tourism (Oldberg 1960, Furnham & Bochner 1986, Ward et al 2001). Tone's journalising, inspired by the self-justification and confessional nature of eighteenth century writing, is informative on the pragmatics of how exile was experienced, even if he admitted there were (factual) inaccuracies in his accounts (Tone II: 261). As Elliott (1989: 259) has concluded, "given a sense of mission he was to prove a secret diplomat of remarkable ability." The uncertainties and anxieties which emerge from his journals - predictable reactions in exiles - are frequently linked to the frustration of language and communication difficulties beyond his control.

In Philadelphia, Tone immediately contacted Reynolds (also in exile), as well as Archibald Hamilton Rowan who had sailed from France as 'James Thompson', an American merchant. It was Madgett who had been instrumental in securing the passport giving this false identity (Rowan 1840: 240-1, 259, 261). Together they

considered Tone's intention to travel on to France as soon as possible, in a process known as premigratory planning in discussions of emigration (Ward et al 2001). It is at this stage that the issue of Tone's poor French may have been mentioned, yet neither he nor Rowan alluded to it.

The earliest firm indication that we have of Tone's speaking French is his own description of his meeting in Philadelphia with Adet. His first formal overture to the French republic took place within a week of his arrival, ca. 5 August 1795. Tone's assessment of the encounter is succinct, but evocative. From it one can easily understand how generations of historians have misinterpreted the following as an indication that language barriers were overcome, (successfully), through awkward exchanges:

“He spoke English very imperfectly, and I French a great deal worse, however, we made a shift to understand one another” (Tone II 337)

To the sociolinguist it is noteworthy that Tone employs the term ‘shift’ to denote the adjustments each participant made to accommodate the other. Nearly two centuries later, Catford's seminal *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (1965) was introduced the central concept of translation shifts, an analytical model describing the linguistic changes which occur when transferring meanings from a source language to a target language (Catford 1965: 20, 2000: 141-7, Mundy 2001: 55-71). Though Tone's use of the term is casual, it describes a common behavioural pattern in crosslinguistic encounters recognisable to the layman. This amounts to the modification of verbal output, or conversational adjustments which are felt necessary to accommodate non-native speakers. In such modulated ‘foreigner-talk’, utterances are characteristically slower, composed of shorter and simpler segments, and often more lexically restricted (Singleton 1999: 48). Tone's narrative in no way conveys to the reader the notion

that this parley - one of the most significant in Irish history - was characterised like other encounters described by Palmer (2003: 257) by ‘fumbling pidgin phrases, mispronunciations and mistakes’. Yet when linked with his later quasi-dramatised accounts of his meetings with Carnot and the French minister Delacroix, and with the broader influence of popular entertainment which tends to depict such encounters as stereotypes, one can easily see how his exaggerated observations became part of his legend.

The meeting with Adet lays down a pattern which resurfaces in later descriptions of important encounters during which language barriers had to be overcome. Tone himself introduces a certain relativism by indicating the level of ability in English of his interlocutors, i.e. juxtaposing it with his own French. That Adet, originally a physician and chemist, was selected for such a crucial posting as “ministre plenipotentiaire de la Republique pres les Etats-Unis” with but an ‘imperfect’ command of conversational English seems odd (CPA 589/23<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>). If Adet’s English was limited to reading ability, this would not have equipped him for the cut and thrust of diplomatic negotiation. It is safer to assume that Tone’s assessment - recorded a year later in his autobiography - was not reliable. Adet himself may have translated some of the despatches sent back to Paris, possibly including Tone’s first memorial which ends with the standard phrase “pour traduction conforme” (CPA 589/130<sup>v</sup>). Later sources show that Adet did have competent English, because in 1797 he was one of the numerous bilingual French politicians to assist Tom Paine, having translated his “*Letter to the people of France, and the French Armies*” in October 1797 (Elliott 1989: 262, 452, Keane 1995: 435).

Had Tone met Adet’s predecessor, Edmond-Charles Genet, his initiation into crosslinguistic communication may have been very different. Genet had been a

translator and interpreter before his posting to Philadelphia in 1793 (Masson 1877: 42). With this experience, Genet would have anticipated Tone's linguistic hesitations and may have assertively imposed English as the *lingua franca* of the encounter, to simplify matters. Rowan and Tone had agreed that it was unwise for them to call on the French minister together, due to the presence of English agents in Philadelphia. However, had Rowan accompanied Tone, he may have acted as an ad hoc interpreter, or at least initiated the conversation in French as he had known Adet in Paris (Tone II: 337). This would have rendered Tone a passive onlooker in the crosslinguistic communication process, whereas alone with Adet he was an active participant, having to motivate himself to adhere to conversational protocol. In any event, Tone made a good impression on Adet as the report to Delacroix describing the encounter makes clear: "Ces ouvertures ont été faites au Ministre français dans les termes les plus propres à les faire accueillir favorablement." (CPA 589/120). Though Tone presented Adet with a letter of introduction from Rowan, he was apprehensive as to his absence of official accreditation from the United Irishmen (Tone I: 337). Adet was then shown three other documents, attesting to Tone's involvement with the Catholic Committee and the Belfast Volunteers. Having read these references, *in English*, Adet was satisfied they were acceptable credentials, and after obtaining a false passport, Tone set sail on the *Jersey* from Sandy Hook on 1 January 1796, the symbolic beginning for a new existence.

More information regarding Tone's stay in Philadelphia would be welcome, starting with confirmation that he and Matilda mixed with members of the substantial French community in the capital. William, when commenting on his mother appealing directly to Talleyrand (then Minister for Foreign Affairs) for more information on Tone's wound and capture in October of 1798, states "she knew he spoke English and

had been acquainted with my father in America” (Tone W [1826] 886) William misinterpreted passing comments in his father’s journals, i e that the latter had ‘seen’ Talleyrand in Philadelphia, whereas Tone states he was only introduced to Talleyrand in October 1797 (Tone *Life* 814) An elaborate *Fête du 10 août* was held in Philadelphia in 1794 to mark the anniversary of the French constitution, and the Tone family may have attended a similar one in 1795, and witnessed the procession, speeches, and indeed ‘seen’ the exiled Bishop of Autun (Benzaken 1997) Apart from United Irishmen known to him, Tone gives no indication he met radicals or polemicists, including French exiles from Santo Domingo and anti-slavery campaigners, or Constantin de Volney, recently arrived in Philadelphia (CP/E-U/2/80, Linebaugh 2003 3) However, the most significant mystery is that of the titles included in Tone’s substantial library which went missing in Philadelphia (Moody et al 1998 xxiii-iv, O’Reilly 1924) This may have included works *in* French, as well as highly useful pedagogical tools such as Chambaud or Sheehy’s Tone had promptly secured a bookseller on arrival, but could have easily acquired works in French in any of the numerous booksellers in Philadelphia catering for the francophone population (Tone II 17)

When Tone boarded the *Jersey* for France, he was travelling, (like Rowan before him), under the false identity of an American *negociant* (i e , merchant-trader) His passport had been issued in Philadelphia to one ‘James Smith’, in keeping with the bland neutrality of pseudonyms, and it was under this *nom de guerre* he was enlisted in July 1796 (AMH/PR I<sup>2</sup> 35/189 362, SHA/17y<sup>d</sup> 14 Gp/Tone) Tone only resumed his real identity two years later as the second (Lough Swilly) expedition was under way, explaining in his request that the “ circonstances difficiles qui m’avaient

amene en france m'avait force de deguiser (sic) ” (SHM/BB<sup>4</sup>/123/151, Tone III forthcoming)

Tone says virtually nothing of the transatlantic crossing, and one cannot underestimate his confusion at leaving his young family in America and sailing towards an uncertain and precarious future. With his “nine fellow passengers, all French”, he had to maintain a dual false identity in terms of profession and nationality (Tone II 341). France was at that time importing substantial quantities of flour and wheat from America, so Tone’s status as a *negociant* would not have raised suspicion, nor was it an occupation foreign to the milieu in which he had been brought up as the son of a coachmaker in Dublin. Posing as an American, however, raised the more serious issue of what inflection his spoken English should have had, even to a francophone ear not as likely to pick up on regional variations of English pronunciation as an anglophone one, an issue Tone had thought about (Tone II 354). The Frenchmen on the *Jersey* had been some time in America for a variety of reasons. Between them, they must have shared some knowledge of English, but they ‘outnumbered’ Tone, and given their destination, one can safely assume that the dominant language of conversation would have been French.

We know from Tone’s Paris diary that he maintained a friendship struck up with one of the passengers, Aristide Aubert du Petit Thouars, a *ci-devant* royalist and member of the *petite noblesse* who had served as an officer of the French Marine in both the American and French Revolutions (Tone II 101, Du Petit Thouars 1937, SHM CC7/778). Tone described him as a great original, and must have envied the Frenchman’s travels and adventures, which by 1796 had taken him to San Domingo, Egypt, back to North America, and on an aborted mission to search for the lost explorer La Perouse. Much more significantly, du Petit Thouars had regularly kept a diary, and these

memoirs are a compelling illustration of the immediacy and frankness which characterised much of the writing of the age (Du Petit Thouars 1937) Irish historiography is considerably enriched by the substantiation in these memoirs of the presence of an American passenger, first introduced into the narrative in early February, about a week after the men had landed at Havre de Grâce, and quickly identified as “mon bon American Smith” (ibid) 412)

Because Tone says so little concerning the transatlantic journey, we can be grateful for the Frenchman’s impulse to vividly record the roll of often mountainous waves, unfavourable winds, and extreme *ennui* on board, not helped by being amongst society du Petit Thouars says ‘one would have nothing in common with once dispersed’ (ibid 406) However due to the cramped quarters, and this enforced interaction du Petit Thouars describes, Tone would have had to make considerable efforts to communicate in French Du Petit Thouars escaped from ‘such dull company’ by reading, so we have some indication of titles in French passed around which Tone may have looked at, though not knowing how capable he was of absorbing them. Whatever views the men may have exchanged on the letters of Ninon de Lenclos, or *La Nouvelle Heloise*, Tone may have (privately) welcomed the opportunity on 17 January to comment on two particular choices of du Petit Thouars’s, as it had a strong Irish connection (ibid 406) The first is one of the more popular novels of the Abbe Prevost, *Le Doyen de Quillerme* of (1740), of which two rival English translations as *The Dean of Coleraine* appeared almost simultaneously in Dublin in 1742 (Sheridan G 1999 99) This sparked one of the more noteworthy and protracted debates in Western translation history, as the rival publishers called on their readership to judge the quality of the two renderings and ‘adjudicate questions of linguistic and cultural interpretation’, gripping the francophone intelligentsia of

Ireland in the process (ibid) One must not rule out the possibility that the copy on board the *Jersey* was Tone's, who may have wished to improve his French during the crossing whilst reading familiar subject matter

When du Petit Thouars had no more novels to read, he 'returned to China with lord Macartney', i.e. the account of Antrim-born Earl George Macartney's mission as first British ambassador to China of 1792-4 (Roebuck 1983) The copy of the *Narrative* read on board the *Jersey* (which du Petit Thouars does not state was his) may have been either of the two American editions of this account compiled by Aeneas Anderson and published in 1795 in both New York (T and J Swords for Roger Berry 1795) and Philadelphia (T Dobson 1795) Given that Macartney was a former Chief Secretary of Ireland, the book may indeed have been purchased by a curious Tone before leaving either one of those cities One can also wonder in what manner Tone participated in the 'celebration' to mark the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI (i.e. the 21st of January) Du Petit Thouars had noted that the unanimous eulogy pronounced on the occasion could not be suspect, as most were partisans of "cette triste revolution" (Du Petit Thouars ibid 407)

All that can be said of Tone's interaction with his fellow passengers is that he could safely volunteer the (accurate) information that this was his first trip to France He could then, possibly with self-mockery, test his limited ability in French, and offer the explanation that he was determined to acquire the language quickly upon arrival to fulfil his mercantile pursuits His fellow passengers may have been diplomatic, and not corrected his every error so as not to offend When language is acquired in this type of "naturalistic" or informal setting, learners cannot always self-assess the

effectiveness of their conversational skills, leading to uncertainties as to their true ability (Scarcella 1990 346-7)

### 3.3 'Vive le pain bis et la liberté!' Tone's mission to France

The records of France's border police and inland surveillance at Havre de Grâce confirm that a James Smith arrived at the port on "12 pluviôse an 4", i.e. the 1st of February 1796. As it is unlikely the only extant portraits of Tone were produced from life, the official description of the French authorities is most useful and confirms his adopted identity:

'James Smith, negociant citoyen des Etats-Unis d'Amérique arrive de New York en ce port le douze de ce mois, 30 ans, 5 pieds 4 pouces, cheveux et sourcils châtons, yeux bruns, nez aquilin, bouche moyenne, menton rond, visage oval et un peu grave, front bas, a declare aller a Paris (AMH/PR I<sup>2</sup> 35/n°18 362, Elliott 1989 27-8, Figgis & Rooney 2001 290-1)

Along with Tone, an 'Aristide Aubert', i.e. du Petit Thouars, and a Joseph Daucourt also disembarked and both were to feature in his diary. A mandatory declaration was submitted to the authorities by their hotel's landlord, confirming that the three men all registered in the same hotel (AMH/PR I<sup>2</sup> 61). Tone resumed his diary after a substantial gap and though his *logeur* was named Mahon and possibly of Irish extraction (not surprising in a thriving Channel port), his observations are limited to what du Petit Thouars would also comment on, namely that their "landlord was civil but dear as the Devil" (Tone II 40). Du Petit Thouars left the hotel in some difficulty because the landlord had 'masterfully fleeced' him, then referred to the assistance of an (as yet unnamed) "American qui m'avait pris en amitié pendant la

traversee” who offered to lend him 5 lous (Du Petit Thouars 1937 412) Possibly to promptly repay the debt, the two men met up again in Paris, and du Petit Thouars clearly acknowledges that he lunched and spent the day with “mon bon American Smith” (ibid 417, Tone II 101) The Frenchman, who had travelled in England and America, still believed two months after they had met that ‘Smith’ was indeed an American, possibly because the latter chose to only speak French

What is extraordinary is that Tone’s narrative for his first few days in France closely conforms to theoretical models of culture shock as laid down in the seminal work of Oberg (1960), beginning with an initial sense of elation and optimism. This is expressed in the toast he formulated to commemorate his first French breakfast of coarse brown bread, or ‘*pain bis*’ “Provoked with the Frenchmen grumbling at the bread, made a saying ‘*Vive le pain bis et la liberte!*’ (II 41) Tone’s journalising continues with short, giddy outbursts which characterise what is referred to as the “buzzing confusion” of culture shock, and like many sojourners he quickly became frustrated and confused, the phenomenon of language shock closing in on him. (Furnham & Bochner 1986 12-13, Hofstede 1996 209) His inability to communicate is spoken of with humour, but one quickly senses his disempowerment, and resentment of his dependence on Daucourt, the travelling companion “who will be absolutely necessary to me” when they reached Paris, because ‘Damn it and rot it and sin it for me that I cannot speak French!’ (II 43) Tone also experienced the inevitable “embarrassing predicaments” in public of new arrivals discussed by Ward et al (2001 55) and compounded by communication barriers

“A most blistering bill for our supper In great indignation and the more so because I could not scold in French Passion is eloquent but all my figures of speech were lost on the landlord ” (Tone II 46)

This “tourist-host encounter” Tone experienced at Magny en Vexin is identified as the most common contact required, i.e. the purchase of services or goods, but which usually only leads to brief and superficial interaction among participants of unequal social status (Ward et al 2001: 136). Though Tone’s frustration is justified, it must be said that whatever familiarity with French he had acquired, i.e. probably through reading and the more erudite forms of the language, would certainly not have equipped him for an oral exchange with the *aubergiste* at Magny. In February 1796, regional languages and dialects were still extremely prevalent as French had by no means imposed itself as a national language (Bell 1995, Bertaud 1990, de Certeau et al 1975, Rosenfeld 1999). Combined with the question of social hierarchies, whatever French Tone heard would certainly not be comparable to the level of language heard in a Dublin theatre, an Ascendancy salon or an animated celebration among fellow United Irishmen. However, reading and understanding certain types of texts one could anticipate the meaning of was not difficult, and two of Tone’s first translations are menus (Tone II: 46, 48).

Tone’s emphasis in the first days on the comfort of eating is also a phenomenon observed in travel accounts, especially in new arrivals as their interaction in the unfamiliar environment is hampered by linguistic isolation, hence the retreat into a more childlike world stressing basic comforts such as eating (Cronin 2001: 70). He managed to purchase fashionable Casimir breeches, though in such a thriving port any tailor would be wise to have an English-speaking *domestique* as did many hotels. Daucourt and he agreed that in Paris they would have to “keep close for a day or two until we get French clothes made”, as physical appearances as well as linguistic signs of foreignness were also an issue in assuming a false identity. Tone would later

discuss this issue with MacSheehy before his secret mission to Ireland (CPA 590/217-223, Tone II 49, 368)

Therefore several clues indicate that Tone was coping in French in a variety of contexts, including his regular, at times nightly visits to the theatre. These were probably as instrumental to his adjustment to conversational French, as they were to fulfilling his curiosity for cultural pursuits. The combined visual evidence of the gender, age, roles and costumes of the characters, and their interaction on stage, would significantly assist him in processing the linguistic input from the dialogue. Short quotes in French place Tone's grasping the action in context, as on 9 February when he found "excessively ridiculous" the tale of an "*amoureux de quinze ans* fitter to peg a top or play marbles than to go a sutoring", in love with "a fat woman of forty" (Tone II 44). He cynically 'responds' to the absurdity of her lines, sung in French, by quipping a translation into English: "*Lindor a seu (sic) me plaire*", she was easily pleased". Weeks later, he would comment on this effort at processing meanings in stage French, observing that he regularly went to the Opera "because I understand music, as yet, better than French" (Tone II 134). Apart from opera, many of the plays he saw were set to music, and he had enthused at the revolutionary symbolism of Fievue's *Les Rigueurs du Cloître* (1790), a political allegory whose protagonist *Lucile*, a "religieuse malgre elle", was saved from the rigours of convent life by the National Guard enforcing the decree abolishing monastic vows (JP 1790/242 988). Tone's difficulty in comprehending the lengthy and densely-worded monologues would be compensated by the lively arietta and short rhyming verses of only seven syllables, from which he may have retained snippets, as "poetry is easier and longer retained in the memory than prose" (Fievue 1790 II vi, *Tone Life* 777). He enjoyed discovering, in a "little theatre of the suburbs" (an anglicism for 'théâtre

des boulevards'?) Sheridan's *School for Scandal* "extremely well adapted to the French stage" (Tone II 185)

Tone's account of his coach journey to Paris is muted compared to the initial giddiness of his first hours in France, and reflects his upbringing as a child of the golden age of travel literature. His narrative adheres to what Woods (1992: 171) defines as the essential quality of the genre, i.e. the pace of the narrative is tempered by the horse-drawn carriage. This allowed travellers time to savour the countryside and Tone's observations are full of wonderment, but probably reflect an input of information from Daucourt, presumably in French, on, for example, the chateaux which were shut up and deserted, their masters guillotined or fled abroad (Tone II 45)

Despite his self-mocking description of his new role as 'minister plenipotentiary planning a revolution', Tone was to pursue his unofficial embassy with dogged determination upon arriving in Paris (Tone II 182, Elliott 1989: 304). His first official contact was the American ambassador James Monroe, and while discussing with him which members of the *Directoire* to approach, Tone continued the pattern of 'language positioning' he had started with Adet. Tone regularly made seemingly casual comments on whether French or English were chosen for certain encounters. Taken as a whole, these comments overtly address the issue of communication across language barriers as he experienced it, rather than rendering it monophonic, a narrative practice which makes discussions in translation history virtually impossible. Tone was evidently contrasting his own abilities with that of his interlocutors and anticipating the level of effort required for interaction, or signalling he simplified matters by asking "for someone who spoke English" (Tone II 53). Regardless of the personal abilities in French of Monroe (a Republican), he would certainly have been sympathetic to

Tone's insecurities, given the strict instruction his (Federalist) paymasters had issued before dispatching him to Paris

“no business of consequence should be carried on verbally or in writing but in your own language The minister of each nation has a right to use his own national tongue, and few men can confide in their exactness when they do business in a foreign one great care is necessary in the choice of interpreters, when they are resorted to ’  
(Hamilton 1903 8)

The caution expressed about interpreters is not flattering to the profession, and while not all diplomats could dispense with potentially untrustworthy intermediaries, the monolingualism imposed on them made it easier to monitor their dealings abroad Monroe's instructions help us contextualise the details of their conversations Tone decided to record “I mentioned Carnot of whose reputation we had long been appraised and who I understood spoke English. [Monroe] said nobody fitter and that La Revelliere-Lepeaux also spoke English” (Tone II 74) But the parleys Tone would hold with Carnot and Delacroix were informal diplomacy, which meant he would have to be self-reliant, and act as his own interpreter Another insight into the pragmatics of maintaining his false identity is provided when he comments on retrieving his passport from Monroe's secretary, who “smoked me for an Irishman directly” (Tone II 53) As Rousseau noted in the opening lines of his *Essai sur l'origine des langues* ‘Le langage distingue les nations entre elles, on ne connoit d’ou est un homme qu’apres qu’il a parle’ (Rousseau 1995 375) There is no mention in Tone's journals that he ever attempted a false American accent when speaking English to give further credence to his assumed nationality However it has often been noted that speaking French had the advantage of masking a ‘brogue’, and Tone's sense of urgency to speak French may partially have been due to the fact that this would make regional variations of English undetectable From this we deduce that to the ears of a (presumably American) functionary in Paris, the speech of the Dublin-born member of

the Protestant *bourgeoisie*, Trinity College graduate and practising barrister, might have had an Irish 'lilt' It is not surprising that Tone was apprehensive about casual socialising in Paris, knowing Paris was 'swarming with adventurers' and English spies often posing as Americans (Tone *Life* 773)

Tone would continue this 'language positioning' for some time, revealing he was uncomfortable with his subaltern linguistic status in his dealings with others Almost a year after his arrival, and despite his seniority as a brigadier general, he thus describes the sons of an Irish officer "two very fine lads are particularly civil and attentive to me I wish they could both speak English, which they do but very imperfectly" (Tone II 359) These were in fact William and Alexandre Dalton, who would have further contacts with Tone, his son William and Thomas Addis Emmet (Tone W [1826] 963, Chapter 5) A few weeks after meeting the young Daltons, Tone further noted "A young Frenchman applied to me today to be my adjoint but I do not know him, and he does not speak English another young lad, told me he was nominated to be my adjoint he does not speak English neither [sic] so I shall still be in difficulty" (Tone II 402) When embarking on the *Indomptable* for Bantry, Tone would note his captain, Bedout, was "remarkably civil and attentive, he is a Canadian and speaks very good English." (ibid 411)

Tone's mission was political one, and although he says little of day to day encounters necessary to purchase goods and services, i.e. the "tourist-host encounters" which often lead to linguistic problems, his eagerness to learn French would have led him to absorb useful terminology and phrases on any occasion (Ward et al 2001 136) The first book we know he purchased, a copy of the French Constitution and predictable reading for a lawyer and reformer, led him to engage with the charming wife of the bookseller, possibly the opportunity for him to note that the French language was "so

adapted for conversation” that the women “all appear to have wit” (Tone II 60, 182) He also had a keen ear for accents, and a flirtation in Bonn prompted him to comment on the “very pretty German French” uttered by the lady in question (Tone *Life* 812) Mocking his legal career in his own country, he attended a trial and was pleased he ‘understood every word” of the counsel’s speech, proof he says it was a good one (Tone II 146-7) Tone says (II 147) the judge addressed the jury “exactly in the language of English law”, further proof that familiar subject matter is easier to comprehend than the unfamiliar

#### 3.4 Self-interpreting in a ‘communicative pas de deux’ Tone’s overtures to Carnot and Delacroix

Tone recorded his lengthy interviews with prestigious interlocutors such as Monroe, Carnot, Delacroix, and Hoche from both the perspective of participant and chronicler. As the former, this would make his journalising somewhat subjective, but his accounts shed much light on the mechanics of parleys across the language divide as an essential dimension of historical events (Palmer 2003 257). The following discussion will examine Tone’s pivotal encounters with Carnot and Delacroix by showing that his assertiveness and motivation compensated for his uncertainty in speaking French. As no interpreter was present, Tone had to exert a level of cognitive effort that in turn fostered his autonomy. A sense of disempowerment emerges from Tone’s accounts as a newly-arrived and bewildered foreigner, and was addressed during the conversation with Monroe on the 23rd of February, during which Tone was urged to call on Carnot. Despite the frustration at his inability to interact with others in French as confidently as he would in English, and unsure of which language he would be

pleading his case in, Tone went the next day, “ in a fright to the Luxembourg, conning speeches in execrable French ” (Tone II 75) Across a wide range of contacts, foreigners with poor host-language ability will experience what are known as gate-keeping encounters. These occur when those in a dominant cultural grouping exercise relations of power, and determine whether others get access to a valued objective (Fairclough 1989 43-7). Tone’s narrative on his epic interview with Carnot is paced and staggered by his nervous anticipation of the most demanding communicative performance of his life, mirroring what Gudykunst (1998 22-3) describes as the “thresholds of anxiety” experienced before a challenging encounter.

“ Plucked up a spirit, as I drew near the Palace, and mounted the stairs like a lion. Went into the first bureau and demanded at once to see Carnot ” (Tone *ibid*)

The bewildered traveller, so easily intimidated by the *aubergiste* at Magny, was now the intrepid author of this account, written, it must be said, *after* the event. Tone then had to repeat his ‘demand with a courage truly heroic’, as the clerks initially responded by merely staring. Presumably he had either said something in English they had not understood, or an attempt in French had been unclear. Introduced into an antechamber, he then wrote “a line in English” to a gatekeeper, duly identified as a “*huissier*”, and successfully passed this crucial threshold when told he would have an audience (Tone *ibid* 76). Then “ the folding doors were thrown open” in a parody of the diplomatic ritual of fully opening doors for prestigious guests, and later Tone referred to Lewins as having “*les entrees libres*” (Tone *Life* 813). This important threshold in the struggle for Irish independence was graphically depicted in the *Rebellion* video episode dealing with Tone’s interview with Carnot (Dawson/RTE 1998). Tone did not wish to meet Carnot in a public audience and impatiently informed his “friend the *Huissier*” that he would return another day. He states this

was in “marvellous French”, a witticism to mask his nervousness, but marking a strategic switch into the dominant language. Whatever the quality of that utterance, Tone was informed that Carnot would see him, and he was shown into an inner apartment, where he allowed precedence to the handful of persons waiting. This allowed him time to “con my speech again”, drawing on his experience and impressive record in college debates. This ‘conning’ in fact corresponds to a strategic phase of foreign-language communication known as pre-articulatory planning, followed by crucial “self-monitoring” of utterances to redress errors, and progressively improve the quality of spoken speech (Schweda-Nicholson 1991: 46-7).

The verbs emphasised in the quotes below signal Tone’s acute awareness of the sequential nature of conversation known as turn-taking, a central paradigm in psycholinguistics with major implications in pedagogical models of liaison interpreting (Forrester 1996: 95-7, Roy 2000: 19). In monolingual exchanges, participants demonstrate their communicative competence by managing turns through patterns of agreement, disagreement, ‘floor-sharing’ or strategic interruption. It is evident that concepts so described by linguists in the 21st-century would be recognisable by anyone in 1796 engaged in acting, public debating, or courtroom exchanges, all of which Tone had experienced. In bilingual exchanges mediated by a competent liaison interpreter, the natural flow of discourse becomes what Wadensjö (1998: 152-4) eloquently refers to as a “communicative *pas de trois*”, as the interpreter must respect the natural dynamics between the main participants, and ensure a turn has ended before speaking the translated utterance. In Tone’s various accounts of important conversations, he signals the beginning of each turn with a verb, and though he uses the past tense and third person pronoun to denote reported speech, one could compare his accounts to a transcript of a recorded conversation, the most valued

source of data in applied linguistics The array of verbs employed by Tone convey the pace of the dialogue began→told→interrupted by saying→repeated→then said→answered→then returned to → added → assured → mentioned, etc

Tone mischievously juggled with status and power relations when he was finally presented, on his own, to Carnot In a dual recognition of the language issue, and gesturing to his interlocutor that he recognised his own subaltern position, Tone

1 “ **began** the discourse by saying, in horrible French, that I had been informed he spoke English [Carnot] **answered**, ‘A little, Sir, but I perceive you speak French, and if you please we will converse in that language ’ (Tone *ibid* 76, my emphasis)

The strategy chosen by Tone in entering negotiations gave Carnot the opportunity to “treat conventions in a cavalier way”, allowing “varying degrees of latitude” to the foreigner and “less powerful participant” (Fairclough 1989 47) Tone even went so far as to “pray” Carnot to stop him if he did not make himself understood, and possibly the ‘*grand organisateur de la victoire*’ graciously humoured him by responding that would probably not be necessary After a later interview in May, Carnot was to describe Tone in a letter to Delacroix as “cet Irlandais, qui a beaucoup d’esprit” (CPA 589/260)

Though this pattern of transcribing discussions also applied to those with Monroe, it is even more significant for hugely demanding meetings which took place in French as demonstrated in the encounter with Carnot, where twenty-five such turns are counted, and in a lengthier discussion with Delacroix three days later, when forty can be counted The following extract picks up the exchange with Carnot from the quotation above

2 “I **answered**, still in my jargon, that if he could have the patience to endure me I would endeavour I then **told** him I was an Irishman had been Secretary and Agent to the Catholics of that country, who were above 3,000,000 I **wished to communicate**

with him the actual state of Ireland He **stopped** me here to express a doubt as to the numbers being so great I **answered** a calculation had been made within these few years [by which] the people of Ireland amounted to 4,100,000 He **seemed** a little **surprised** at this ” (Tone II 76-7, my emphasis)

It must not be forgotten that for Tone, this was experienced as a bilingual encounter, even if conducted in French. Evidently his apologies for a standard of French he deemed ‘execrable’ were excessive, but whatever level of ability he had upon climbing the stairs of the Palais du Luxembourg it was tested to its extreme. Giles’ seminal Effort Model, formulated to help trainee interpreters understand the bilingual switch mechanism required of them, can also be useful to understand Tone’s autonomous efforts (Kleinman 1999: 29-30). Processing information from an incoming speech stream in a foreign language, and preparing adequate responses, is a complex procedure which Giles has defined under four ‘efforts’, some of which evidently occur in monolingual exchanges. However the model is also relevant to bilingual exchanges not involving an interpreter, and is relevant here. Firstly, one listens and analyses input in a ‘Comprehension effort’, followed by a short-term ‘Memory effort’ by which information is temporarily stored to be strategically placed in later utterances. Tone would have to analyse the overall message he was hearing, in French, by identifying recognisable words and phrases, appearing in a rule-governed word order with which he was familiar from reading (Cutler 2000-1: 1-23). Anything he did not understand would be ‘interpreted’ depending on the context, as well as the words immediately preceding and following the unclear passage. New or vaguely familiar words stored in memory, and later matched to feasible meanings, could be retrieved when needed (Cowan 2000/1: 128). In the initial stages of bilingualism, most notably in adult learners, this ‘decrypting’ process is facilitated by matching input with knowledge in the mother tongue, and for Tone this would have been a silent, internal switching of

codes from French into more familiar English. In Giles' model, the third 'Production Effort', the most problematic, has the interpreter uttering the translated version of what has been heard. It is likely Tone had initially planned some of his responses in English, and then silently translated them into French before articulating them. Tone was now inevitably engaged in a mental process known as the bilingual switch mechanism, which would soon become more and more natural to him, despite his poor self-perceptions (Coughlin 1985: 20).

As a further process of self-monitoring the quality of their renderings, interpreters rely on what are known as "feedback loops" (Schweda-Nicholson 1991: 49). If a participant responds appropriately and coherently to an utterance, i.e. because it has been understood it, this proves that the phrase was properly translated. In the exchange with Delacroix, Tone notes "I must say the minister appeared to concur most heartily in every word I uttered" (Tone II: 86). In reporting this last turn, Tone possibly indicates that he is monitoring Delacroix' paralinguistic reactions, i.e. the facial gestures or body language which would indicate approval. Carnot's reaction (quotation 2 above) to Tone's offering of demographic data is feedback that the two perfectly understood one another. However, Tone did not hesitate to seek assistance when he "was at a loss for a French word" (Tone *ibid.*: 77). Explaining that he had come to France "by the direction and concurrence of the men who *guided*" the Catholics and Dissenters, he was unsure of the French equivalent for the verb which he italicised. Carnot's reaction shows that he was indeed 'allowing some latitude', and further demonstrates the feedback loops of information were successful "seeing my embarrassment, he [Carnot] supplied me with [the word] which satisfied me clearly that he attended to and understood me)". If somewhat overplayed, this anecdote is noteworthy because Tone's inability to find a French

equivalent for what was most probably the word '*leader*' has still not been solved today, as francophone purists object to the regular use of the English word. Madgett and Sullivan were to opt for 'chefs, or 'meneurs' in their translations, and possibly Carnot had suggested 'dirigeants'. Tone himself signalled the end of the interview, as he had taken enough of Carnot's time " I then **rose** and took my leave", after flattering the Director he was "the very man of whom [the United Irishmen] had spoken" (ibid 78). Proof of Carnot's reputation in Ireland was confirmed by Tone "we all knew three years ago he could speak English, at which he did not seem displeased." Tone may have hoped to avoid the effort and embarrassment of speaking French, having presumed that the interview would have been in English. Yet when faced with the challenge, his performance was successful.

Tone's stratagem of humouring an interlocutor with a more prestigious status also surfaces in his detailed account of the meeting he had on 26 February with Delacroix (Tone II 83-86). The mood of an exchange between unequals is once again set by Tone with an opening apology "I **began** with **telling** the Minister that tho' I spoke execrable French, I would, with his permission, put his patience to a short trial." (ibid 83, my emphasis). This lengthy account is structured like the previous interview with Carnot, though this time close to forty verbs signpost turns. The passage has attracted some attention from scholars, as a segment in which Tone (again) played on his poor linguistic ability was actually deleted by his son William in the 1826 edition (Bartlett 1998: xliii). Delacroix's reaction (like Carnot's) to the "execrable French" he was hearing is not noted, and Tone continued

I then **told** him. I had finished a memorial on the actual state of Ireland delivered to Madgett [for translation] on the means to accomplish the great object of my mission, the separation of Ireland from England in alliance with France. Delacroix **interrupted** me here by saying substantially (for I do not pretend to quote his words, tho' I am perfectly clear as to their import) 'that I might

count on it, there was no object nearer the heart of the Executive Directory” (Tone II 83 my emphasis in bold)

The phrase underlined was deleted in the 1826 edition, (later restored in the 1998 and 2001 publications) presumably because William - and possibly Matilda - thought it denoted hesitation on Tone’s part, and suggested he had not understood everything being said (W T W T 1826 II,1 31) The deletion may have been justified, as much later in the dialogue Tone’s wily side emerges, when he strategically avoids answering (for the moment) Delacroix’s direct query on a crucial point (in fact discussed with Madgett three days earlier)

“The Minister then **asked** me what quantity of arms ammunition and money would I think sufficient? I therefore took advantage of my bad French and **mentioned** that I doubted my being able sufficiently to explain myself in conversation, but that he would find my opinions in the two memorials I had prepared, [i.e. in English]” (Tone II 85)

This exchange follows no less than seventeen turns in which not the slightest hesitation is denoted by Tone in following the dialogue, nor is there any signal of misunderstanding on the Minister’s part at something uttered in ‘bad French’ Tone only employs one French word in the account, quoting Delacroix’s offer of ‘ thirty pieces of cannon (*une trentaine*),’ possibly as a mental note to store this useful, lexical form in French as part of his ongoing acquisition (ibid) Once again, the English narrative of an elaborate exchange which took place in another language is of a remarkable standard, and one is reminded of this when Tone hesitates, then self-corrects, a phonological transcription of a surname The orthographic rendering of surnames often poses difficulties, and when Delacroix asked Tone if he knew a person who had been waiting in the antechamber, described by the minister as ‘ an Irish patriot named ‘Duchet’ [i.e. William Duckett] (as he pronounced it) ” Delacroix

must have stressed the final 't' incorrectly, as Duckett signed his original name and not the gallicised form transcribed by Tone. In further exasperation, Tone again wrote: "Who the Devil is ...Duchette, if his name be Duchette?", a correct transcription if the final 't' had been sounded, as the consonant would have to be doubled. This shows Tone was aware of the orthographic transfer of words in the mental lexicon and the basic rules of French phonology (Singleton 1999:46). Delacroix was of course referring to Duckett, who had submitted in early February two discussions on Ireland, including one on the vexed question of Irish sailors in the English Navy, for which he awaited the Minister's views that day (CPA 589/155-6; Dreano 1998: 29). Having also called on the minister on 26 February to discuss these, Duckett had feigned to hide behind an "*an English newspaper*" in the antechamber where Tone was also waiting and immediately antagonised the latter. Tone would have been considerably annoyed had he known then of Duckett's previous dealings with the Minister, and even more so by the eloquence of his written French (CPA 589/155-6). In Amsterdam, Tone would signal his general curiosity and willingness to learn accurate forms of foreign languages, and states he used a bilingual dictionary: "reached [...] Neuss or Neiss] for I am not yet sure of the orthography" (Tone *Life*: 748).

In both encounters, Tone would have shared with his interlocutors a common, presupposed "basis of conversational procedures, i.e. the socio-cultural practices which provide and establish the parameters of conversation" (Garman 1990: 116). Polite confrontations in debates and courtroom interaction would help develop a strategic skill known in psycholinguistics as affiliative interruption, by which one interrupts an interlocutor's flow despite not being in disagreement (ibid 1990:119). This denotes confidence and a sense of equality in an exchange, as in the interview

with Delacroix: "He then said...that we should have...twenty thousand stand of arms. I interrupted him to say, twenty thousand at least" (Tone II: 85). This explanatory interjection signals support and ratification of Delacroix's statement, and is to be contrasted with disaffiliative interruption arising from disagreement. A later similar pair shows Tone's growing assertiveness in his use of French. Delacroix stated he hoped the Irish would "manifest more gratitude and principle" than the Americans following France's intervention in the war of Independence. Tone responded:

"I interrupted him with great eagerness to assure him he would find us a different nation from America, and I took the opportunity to utter a short eulogium on the latter country in the strongest terms which contempt and indignation could supply. I became downright eloquent..." (ibid).

Fulfilling the role of his own translator in a 'self-interpreting' process, Tone would most certainly, after the audiences with Carnot and further lengthy exchanges with Delacroix, have seen his bilingualism progress considerably. This is further demonstrated by the extraordinary clarity of his accounts, in which lengthy segments of dialogue in French are reported in effortless English, with virtually no instances of French lexis, or word order, influencing or interfering with his writing. These reported interviews amount in a sense, to a full and felicitous written 'translation' of information retained from auditory input. One cannot close this discussion without listing other known skills of Tone's which could be transferred to his bilingual efforts, acquired through a succession and overlap of life experiences well known to those familiar with his historiography. First and foremost, he was politically motivated and sincerely committed to honour the trust placed in him, even if his occasional gesturing was later to be interpreted as flippancy (Elliott 1989: 309). Oratorical skills and debating in both the mother tongue, and Greek and Latin, were an integral part of eighteenth-century education, and not only had he excelled at these he shared this

background with both Carnot and Delacroix. Associated with this was an ability to throw and send a line, perfected during his foray into amateur dramatics. This would also have prepared Tone for the parry and thrust of the court room, and the “readiness for retort” which distinguished good lawyers such as his friend Thomas Addis Emmet (Emmet 1915 I: 520). Public debating and effectiveness as a barrister could only be successful if one was competent to listen and process the semantic content of lengthy chunks of speech, a skill central to the art of interpreting. So too are an above average capacity for short-term and strategic memory retention, and general background and cultural knowledge.

The final point is that Tone gained substantial experience in drawing up reports and minutes of meetings as an enthusiastic member and auditor of Trinity’s College Historical Society, and later a committed secretary to both the Society of United Irishmen and Catholic Committee. Study and practice of law also involved extensive reading of court transcripts of reported dialogue, and we are not surprised therefore at the detail in his written accounts (in English) of interviews held in French. All these factors helped him to manage his oral and written bilingualism, but a further significant step towards autonomy was to be his close collaboration with Madgett and Sullivan on various translations, examined in the following section.

### 3.5 Tone’s *First and Second Memorials* and their French translations as an intercultural communicative event

Within weeks of arriving in Paris, and while he was still adjusting to the various demands of his new environment, Tone composed two significant documents for the Directory, in response to Delacroix’s request for his views on the nature of political

dissent in Ireland. These are the *First* and *Second Memorials to the French government on the present state of Ireland*, Tone's original having survived (Tone II 61-70 and 88-97), as did Madgett's translations of them, i.e. the *Memoires sur l'Irlande traduit de l'anglais de Th W T* (AAE/CPA/589/162-8, 173-81). The latter are in parts barely legible, confirming comments previously discussed on the occasional illegibility of Madgett's work. Therefore the availability of contemporary copies, made to circulate the *Memorials* among senior political and military decision-makers, is welcome (AN/AF/III/186b, SHA/MR/1422/30 1-34, most of which is reprinted in Guillon 1888 449-466). Thanks to the clear penmanship of the (anonymous) clerks responsible, comparisons are possible between Tone's source-language version and the target-language translation.

The availability of these texts is enriched by additional insights available from French archives and Tone's diary on the motivations of the initiators, original author and translator, and the dynamics between them. What follows is only a brief discussion of the *Memorials*, though a detailed case study would be possible. Yet the perspectives selected below will demonstrate the place of translation as a purposeful activity in the historiography of Tone and 1798, and the influential role of linguistic mediators such as Madgett in crucial intercultural contacts.

When discussing the impact of Tone's message in these texts, historians have pointed to the tense context in which he wrote them which was marred by internal rivalries within the Directory, "party passions, personal ambitions and class conflict" (Elliott 1982 83, Moody et al 2001 xiii). This made his persuasive skills even more instrumental to the task of convincing the French to act decisively (Baeyens 1981 34, Bartlett 1998 xxxii-iii, Elliott 1982 81-93, 1989 291-3, Pakenham 1997 18). But within two months of Tone's submissions, the Directory had decisively shifted its

original plan for a strike at Ireland and not just a military diversion on England's flank. Their anti-British policy had been transformed into "un vaste dessein sur l'Irlande", which would trigger a political revolution and bring about the island's independence (Elliott 1982: 92, Hoche to the Directory, 18 June 1796, in Jacotey 1980: 97). Major preparations were under way by the summer for what was to be the ill-fated but massive expedition to Bantry Bay in December of 1796. The "precision and lack of emotionalism" in Tone's *Memorials*, and their "convincing exposition of the arguments in favour of a major thrust at Ireland", left a lasting impression on the various readers through whose hands they passed in the spring and early summer of 1796 (Elliott 1989: 291, Moody et al (eds) 2001: xvi). Tone had been more effective on paper, in English, than in his verbal representations which he claims he conducted in a version of the French language which was nothing but "execrable horrible jargon" (Tone II: 75, 79, 83, 106, 151).

While Tone's fluid style of writing easily engaged his readership, a crucial missing link has been overlooked in positively assessing the impact of the *Memorials* on the Directory. This is the unquestionable fact that it was the French version, i.e. Madgett's translation, which was circulated to the intended audience, a process which placed this particular translator in the enviable position of influencing the outcome of events. From the outset, Tone as the original author makes clear that Madgett had a distinct role in mediating between him and the Directory as Delacroix's advisor in Irish affairs as well as departmental translator. "He then desired me to prepare a memorial in form for the French executive as soon as possible which he would translate and have delivered without delay." (Tone II: 59). But tensions and delays quickly undermined the process, and Tone's frustrations with Madgett, referred to in Chapter 2, led to some of the most colourful outbursts to be identified in translation.

history As a published author with an honourable reputation, Tone probably felt a certain sense of disempowerment at taking such trouble to write texts in English which would only reach their French readership through a translator he initially regarded as “a mere commis” (Tone II 78)

One would also think that knowing his work might not even be read in English, Tone’s creative process would be undermined, but this is not the case as the *Memorials* are stylish and eloquent However, Tone did not simply write on his own and then deliver a final version to his translator, as the latter had a significant role in debating and assessing the content “Call on Madgett once a day to confer with him” (ibid) His views on Ireland, Tone thought, were outdated and at times misinformed due to his years of exile Yet he was challenged and stimulated by their lengthy and at times confrontational discussions on strategic issues and how to express them in the *Memorials* (ibid 58-9, 70-3) When Madgett informed him with some alarm that the French might only commit 2,000 troops, Tone “begged him to apprise the Minister” that this was way too low a figure, demonstrating the value of the former’s influence on Delacroix (ibid 71) The issue was raised again the next day, and Madgett agreed “in every word” that Tone’s grave concerns at the futility of sending such a small force must be made clear, and “desired [Tone] to insert part of it” in his submission to the Minister (ibid 73) This is one firm indication that though an advisor and advocate Madgett did not intend as translator to take the liberty himself of reinforcing a point in the French version about which the original author felt strongly Translators rarely have the privilege of discussing issues central to a text with the original author

Tone’s impatience at wanting the lobbying to progress was exacerbated by his reliance on a translator who suffered from recurring bouts of gout, and a “slowness of age”

that provoked Tone “excessively”, and even Delacroix had advised Tone to “expedite him” (ibid 97, 100) Not understanding the need for the translator to research background information, Tone raged “Hell, Hell? Madgett has lost two or three days in hunting for maps of Ireland”, and thought he would have “been much better employed in translating” (ibid 101) But Madgett knew Delacroix would be interested in much more than just the linguistic transfer from English to French, and he felt comfortable telling his minister, in briefing notes conveying progress on the Irish plan, that he had found in the “depot de la marine tout ce qu’il est possible de desirer en fait de cartes de terre et de mer relatives aux Isles Britanniques (CPA 589/182’ v, as Appendix 3 1) Translators consider that researching background information is part of their task (Gile 1993) Madgett then suggested (ibid) “j’ai pense au general Beurnonville” to head the expedition, whereas Tone implied it was *his* idea (Tone II 99-100) It is not surprising that historians have tended not to portray Madgett in a positive manner, though admittedly he was apparently seen to be “puffing up his own importance tongue wagging”, and possibly posing a security threat through careless talk (Elliott 1982 84-5) However this has distracted attention from the linguistic dimension of Madgett’s involvement, which was to deliver copies in French to Delacroix who would only then be in a position to discuss the content with Tone Madgett’s renderings have never been compared with Tone’s originals, save for two editorial notes in the scholarly edition of Tone’s writings Prefacing the reprint of the *Memorials*, these state that Madgett had produced “a very free French translation” of the first text, and a “free French translation” of the second (Writings II 61, 88) This implication that Madgett shifted Tone’s intended meaning merits greater scrutiny

Before contrasting the English and French versions, it must be said that Tone appears to have been reading briefing notes Madgett was drawing up, in French, for Delacroix (CPA 589 159-161) On 15 March they discussed the actual landing place of the expedition as Delacroix had requested their opinion in writing on this issue as a follow-up to the second memorial Tone (II 114) then states Madgett “reduced this to writing (in French)”, once again signalling the language of the communicative exchange though this was self-evident, then the two personally delivered the memorandum to the Minister Five days later, further clarification was sought on “our plan of conduct supposing the landing effected” and Tone adds (II 117) this “Madgett reduced to writing” Here he does not repeat the text was in French, nor that it was entitled *Etat politique de l’Irlande et dispositions des esprits dans le cas d’une invasion* (AAE/MD/53/240-3, 244-6) Significantly, when Tone noted (ibid) that not having a copy of this paper was of no consequence, as it “was short and nothing but a paraphrase of part of my last memorial”, it is clear that he had fully grasped the gist of the French version, which Madgett appears to have read back to him This also implies Tone was keeping copies of key texts finalised with Madgett before submission to Delacroix, and as verbatim copies these could only be in French Thus, over the days and weeks, Tone would be absorbing, as a form of learning ‘input’, versions in French of texts he had indirectly written, and with whose content and subject matter he was completely familiar Had Tone been given the opportunity to, he seems to have had at this stage sufficient command of reading French to monitor Madgett’s translations of the *Memorials* That said, and knowing Tone was painstaking in how he worded the texts, nowhere does *he* hint at concerns that the translations took liberties with his original meaning

Before looking at some illustrations of the linguistic dimension to Madgett's work, it is essential to see the translation process not only as purposeful activity, but also as a form of mediated intercultural communication (Nord 1997: 18). This model underlines the importance of translation in facilitating communicative interactions which have specific historical and cultural dimensions. These dimensions condition the verbal behaviour of those involved, who also may have expectations of how others will react to certain messages (ibid: 16). Furthermore, and even more relevant to the process underlying Tone's *Memorials*, Nord underlines that "the people or agents involved in the interaction have certain functions or roles. These roles are interconnected through a complex network of mutual relations" (ibid: 19-20). These theoretical considerations allow us to better understand the dynamic between Tone and Delacroix, with Madgett acting as lynchpin as illustrated above.

Existing texts are often chosen for translation at a later stage. The case of the *memorials* is an unusual case as Tone, the "source-text producer" (Nord 1997: 21) was aware from the outset that his composition would not only be translated into French, but adapted to the norms of the readership's political culture. Through his diary entries, it is possible to reconstruct his inner thoughts and motivations during the creative process, his attitudes to the other agents in the network, and shifts in their respective roles. Despite his ability to produce writings "with spontaneity, grace and ease", Tone expressed doubts as to his abilities considering what was at stake. "I never wanted the society, assistance, advice, comfort and direction of P.P. [Thomas Russell] half so much as at the moment I have a pretty serious business on my hands." (Tone II: 72). This anxiety regarding the political content of his writings was compounded by his having to remain 'incognito', but he frequently chose to blame his plight on language. "Am I not sincerely to be pitied here? I do not know a

soul! I cannot speak the language but with great difficulty I live in taverns, which I detest! [sic]" (ibid 135) Because the text type of the *Memorials* was essentially rhetorical, its style relied on exhortations to stir the emotions of the reader to act in a laudable manner. Tone had been steeped in such a conceptual framework since his early schooling in the classics, and honed such skills both in written and oral form while a student at Trinity College. Mastering the art of rhetoric in English, Latin and Greek, Tone was not quite ready to attempt written overtures in French. Therefore his closest ally was his translator, who apart from his competence as a bilingual, had a sound grasp of rhetoric due to his own academic background and a personal motivation to forward the arguments presented in the *Memorials*.

Madgett not only had his translation competence to contribute to the process, but his experience of dealing with French politicians. This led him to share his views in private with Tone and advise him in a way which would favourably influence the reception of the *Memorials*. The detail we have from Tone's diary makes clear that Madgett was genuinely committed to furthering the Irish cause, and his dual role as linguistic mediator and advocate is a further example of translators acting as intercultural advisors, and doing more than just translate.

Delacroix, as Minister for External Relations, can be deemed to be the commissioner who initiates "the translation process, and determines its course by defining the purpose for which the target text is needed" (Nord 1997: 20). The higher status of this commissioner would have implications for the manner in which the original author and translator approached their task. Both author and translator recognised the authority and prestigious role of the text commissioner, and their own subaltern status. For Tone, not only was his reputation and security in Paris at stake, but he felt he spoke on behalf of the United Irish movement with whom he had had no contact.

since leaving America. On a personal note, he recognised he had been well received by the minister and knew he would be having further interviews with him (even if struggling to communicate orally in French), therefore, his written submissions had to be credible. But Tone knew his views would be circulated by Delacroix to other key agents in the minister's network: decision-makers, especially Carnot as Director for War, would be appraised of Tone's strategy for Ireland, and one must not forget their first meeting, discussed in the previous section, took place as the *Memorials* were being written (Tone *ibid.* 75-78). Not only was Tone anxious to get the style and content of the texts right, he knew that he had to delegate part of the responsibility for the written work to Madgett, following this, he would have to elaborate himself on given points, face to face and in French, with prestigious interlocutors. This network of agents, their respective roles and expectations of one another are confirmed in a letter written by Tone to Delacroix (in English)

“In pursuance of your orders communicated to me by Citizen Madgett, I have delivered to him a memorial on the present state of Ireland and I request that if any point therein contained requires further elucidation, you may have the goodness to mention your doubts and I shall to the best of my power explain them.” (Tone II 80-81)

A further distinction is made between commissioner (the agent needing the text) and the initiator by Vermeer (1986: 274). The latter is then the person who requests the translator to produce the target-language text for a particular addressee, and Delacroix can be seen as *fulfilling* both these roles, though unusually he delegated that task to his translator, as illustrated in Tone's diary

“Madgett tells me he has the greatest expectation that our business will be taken up in the most serious manner. He then told me it was necessary we should arrange all the information we possessed and desired me to prepare a memorial in form for the French executive as soon as possible which he would translate and have delivered in without delay.” (Tone II 57-9)

Because of his status as a translator, Madgett was appointed by his minister to oversee the commission of producing the source-language text, but also in a way 'self-commissioned' himself to translate it because he doubled as an advisor on Irish affairs trusted by Delacroix. Madgett's authority to do so is confirmed in a following letter written to Delacroix on 19 February, in which he describes the context in which the process was conceived " je l'ai [Tone] engage a mettre toutes ses idees par ecrit afin que je puisse les traduire et vous les presenter " (CPA/589/154) Tone's frequent comments on the author-translator dynamic which emerged is quite rare in translation history

"Called on Madgett in order to explain to him He agreed with me in every word of the statement and desired me to insert part of it in my letter [i.e. the *Memorials*] to the Minister Quit Madgett, whom I believe *honest*, and whom I feel *weak* " (Tone II 73)

A central consideration to the manner in which Tone would compose, and his translator reformulate, was the stylistic genre of the text The referential focus was the political state of Ireland, its religious conflicts and radicalism, and most importantly the readiness of the population to support a French invasion force Factual information was needed to inform decision making, but was embedded into rhetorical passages in such a way as to persuade the reader to act accordingly, if convinced by the arguments and factual proof These features of the English text would have to be adequately transferred by the translator in order not to betray the author's original style and intention, as illustrated by the extracts below Thus the *Memorials* combine two functions of the text typology discussed by Nord (1997: 37), though this is not contradictory Firstly they are informative, as stated above, as their main function is to "inform the reader about phenomena in the real world" (ibid) The French authorities possessed many memorials and invasion plans about Ireland from a variety of sources, but were aware that some of their information was possibly

out of date, and even more worrying, provided by unreliable or subjective informants. According to Nord (ibid 38), the typology of an informative text renders stylistic considerations subordinate to its informative function.

However, the *Memorials* also conform (in Nord's discussion) to the definition of an expressive text, whereby "the informative aspect is complemented by an aesthetic component. The stylistic choices made by the author contribute to the meaning of the text, producing an aesthetic effect on the reader" (ibid). Eighteenth-century political discourse was grounded in classical rhetoric, and stylistic flourishes and exhortations would not be out of place in such a text, particularly in the French political discourse of the 1790s (France 2002, Roger 1990). In order to be faithful, the translation would have to reflect both the informative and expressive functions intended by the author.

The following parallel extracts have been selected to demonstrate the manner in which Madgett transferred key informative aspects of Tone's text. The French version used for the citations is taken from a very clear contemporary clerk's copy (SHA/MR/1422/30, pages 1 and 15 as Appendix 3.2) of Madgett's original (CPA 589/162-6, 173-81). This clerk's copy, catalogued in the French military archives, bears a certain significance in Irish history. Dated 21 June 1796, it is almost certainly the version forwarded to General Hoche following his appointment the previous day (ironically, Tone's birthday) as commander of the Irish expedition (SHA ibid, Elliott 1982: 93). When Tone finally met Hoche on 12 July, he proudly recorded the lengthy discussion he had engaged in with the general, who was pleased to meet "the author of the memorials which had been transmitted to him" as he had "one or more points" on which to consult him (Tone II: 233-4).

In his first *Memorial*, Tone's somewhat misleading denial of religious conflict in Ireland noted by Elliott (1982: 81) was outlined in the opening paragraphs, and he certainly knew how to flatter his readership by appealing to their emotive side. The union between Catholics and Dissenters he qualified as "Among the innumerable blessings procured to mankind by the French Revolution", one to which the French government should "earnestly entreat" their particular attention. It was this point, according to Tone "on which the emancipation of Ireland may eventually turn" (Tone II: 63). This entreaty Madgett rendered faithfully, if somewhat more reservedly, strategically choosing to 'secularise' the "blessings of the French Revolution" as "bienfaits" (SHA MR/1422/30: 4). Describing the "reconciliation des Catholiques avec les Presbyteriens" (though the term "Dissidens" is also used), Madgett then transferred Tone's emphasis as follows: "si jamais l'Irlande devient libre, c'est a [cet evenement] qu'elle sera redevable de son emancipation" (ibid). Following a lengthy exposition of how, after 1790, this enlightened union decisively came about, Tone once again exploited the emotive, the last phrase somewhat pushing his case to an extreme, though in his characteristic stylish manner:

"I beg leave to call the attention of the French government to this fact of the national union, which from my knowledge I affirm to be of importance equal to the rest. Catholics and Dissenters, the two great sects, whose mutual animosities have been the radical weakness of their country, are at length reconciled and the arms which have been so often imbrued in the blood of each other are now ready for the first time to be tuned in concert against the common enemy" (Tone II: 64).

In transferring this section, Madgett once again showed caution, and moderated Tone's effusiveness. Paradoxically, Madgett's French version is shorter and more direct than Tone's English, despite the latter recognising he could only emulate the style of gallic metaphors in his native language by writing "plain as a pikestaff" (ibid).

125) Yet the translation adapts the author's intentions without distorting or misrepresenting them.

“Je ne saurais assez insister aupres du gouvernement français sur la necessite de bien peser cette circonstance de la reunion des catholiques et des presbyteriens irlandais Liés d'interêts entre eux et abhorrant le joug de l'Angleterre, ils forment **plus des huit neuvièmes de la nation**” (SHA MR/1422/30 5-6, my emphasis)

The quantification of the political dynamic in Ireland which Madgett, for some unknown reason, thought was appropriate here, is in fact to be found further down in Tone's original (Tone II 70) Apart from the unexplainable error in dating the founding of the first United Irish club in 1792, where Tone evidently had it as 1791 having been at the heart of the event, Madgett did not inaccurately represent any other facts or figures This included a range of vital information for the French on the military force of Ireland, and the fact that the island

“furnished no less than 80,000 seamen two thirds of the English fleet are manned by Irishmen → “ce pays avait déjà fourni à la marine anglaise au moins 80,000 matelots les équipages des vaisseaux de guerre britanniques étaient pour les deux tiers, composés d'Irlandais” (Tone II 69, SHA/MR/1422/30 13-4)

Tone ends his first *Memorial* by recapping for the Directory the extent of Irish support they could expect for a French expeditionary force “all the Dissenters are disaffected to England, attached to France and **sufficiently** organized”, rendered almost literally by Madgett save for the “**completement** organise “as opposed to “sufficiently” (ibid 14, my emphasis) Tone's son William, when editing the *Life* (1826) years later, chose to replace the original “sufficiently” with “perfectly”, in a bizarre echo of Madgett's translation (Tone II 70, n 1) Tone then states that the Dissenters were allied to the 3,000,000 Catholics, who were as true to France as to Ireland, and that finally there was the certainty of a “sufficient harmony and cooperation between” the two bodies (ibid) This was elaborated on by Madgett, but

not in an exaggerated way: "un même esprit dirige leurs vues et leurs opérations" (SHA/MR/1422/30: 14). The first *Memorial* is signed Theobald Wolfe Tone, followed by "certifié conforme signé Madgett" (ibid: 15).

Having described the sociopolitical situation of Ireland in the first *Memorial*, Tone in his second *Memorial* submitted what he considered were the means required to bring about Ireland's separation from England and independence (Tone II: 88-97). These were firstly those measures to be taken by France, and secondly those "to be executed by the people of Ireland" (Tone II: 88). The first section supplied factual information on the minimum strength of the French army, i.e. three quarters of the force to be landed as near Dublin as possible with the balance near Belfast. This data was transferred faithfully in the translation (SHA/MR/1422/30: 15-6). Tone then goes into significant detail on various logistical issues ranging from quantifying the arms and ammunitions needed, to the cash needed to obtain supplies locally (Tone II: 90). Then are outlined the five types of proclamations needed to make clear "the object and intentions of the Republic", also dealt with almost literally by Madgett (SHA ibid: 19-20). Tones affirms a crucial point, namely that he was "perfectly satisfied" that whether 20,000 or 5,000 French troops landed, "the people at large...would flock to the Republican standard", and there would be "in a month's time...an army in Ireland of 200,000 men" (Tone II: 90). This assertion is rendered literally in the French version, i.e. "La foule de ceux qui voleraient se ranger sous l'étendard Républicain serait si grande...etc." (SHA ibid : 19).

We have one insight on the translation process from Madgett - who had been pressed to expedite the translation as quickly as possible - in a note to Delacroix (CPA 589/182). Stating that he had just received Tone's second "mémoire" which he was going

to deal with, (i.e. translate), he added that the first was “trop long pour que vous ayez le tems de le lire en entier” Therefore Madgett had added in the margins “le mot recapitulatif aux articles”, i.e. section sub-titles, which would make it easier for the minister to be “au fait” with the entire text “Population divisee en trois classes Protestans Dissidens leur reunion avec les Catholiques Catholiques Societes populaires des Dissidens [sic] et des Chefs Catholiques”, etc (SHA/MR/1422/30 1-9) The first person employed by the original author is also maintained in the translation, thus assuring the readership would directly and personally engage with the author’s intentions Apart from the section headings in the margins, an editorial strategy not leading to a shift in meaning, and the occasional divergence from the original in terms of paragraph breaks, the French version of the first text is almost a verbatim translation. Madgett chose to preface the French version of the second *Memorial* with a two-page “precis” which substantially summarises the section on the military logistics the French should consider, as presumably this was not a dimension the authorities especially needed Tone’s views on (SHA *ibid* 15-17) Then follows the entire second *Memorial* with so few adjustments by Madgett that it is very difficult to identify what linguistic shifts led to the conclusion it was a “free” translation Following further expositions of factual proof and data, Tone concludes by reverting back to an expressive and exhortative style, appealing to the anglophobia openly avowed by France, and Carnot in particular

I humbly submit that England is the implacable, inveterate, irreconcilable enemy of the [French] republic →L’Angleterre est l’ennemi invetere et implacable de la Republique française (Tone II 96, SHA *ibid* 29-30)

the Irish people are prepared and united, and want nothing but the means to begin in humbling to the dust a haughty and implacable

rival →Le Peuple Irlandais est entierement uni, il est prêt a s'insurger, et n'attend pour agir que d'en avoir les moyens [pour] abreuver d'humiliations une ennemie hautaine et irreconciliable (Tone II 96, SHA ibid 30)

Tone's (slightly overstated) assertions about confessional brotherhood, and the readiness of the people to rise with a French army at their backs, were certainly conveyed as per his original intentions. To conclude, the following random illustrations from the first *Memorial* illustrate how a dedicated study based on translation theory could address the historiographer's concerns about the accuracy of transferring influential texts.

These illustrations begin with showing the syntactic shifts made in the translation where a positive addition is made by inserting the verbal phrase *venir de* in the *passé immédiat*. Madgett also reversed the cause-effect statement in Tone's original structure "without liberty, there can be no justice".

Eager to emulate the glorious example of France, they [Protestants] saw at once that the only guide to liberty was justice [Tone II 64] →Eclaires par l'exemple glorieux que venait de leur donner la France, ils [les Protestants] comprirent que, sans la justice, il n'y a pas de véritable liberte (SHA ibid 5)

Tone's writings frequently make use of these lexical polarities, typical of the rhetorical language of the age. As semantic oppositions, the lexical pairs mirror social contradictions, and in expressing the opposition between realities and possibilities he signals the necessity to change the status quo (Plehn 1989: 271-274). French political discourse too would exploit this technique, a fact Madgett would be conscious of. Not only is the word order reversal of 'justice' and 'liberty' effective, but by introducing a comma Madgett mirrors the staggered pace a speaker in public would

use to great effect to reinforce the message, e.g. “without liberty [pause] there can be no justice”

In the next comparisons, Madgett selected words of a more inflammatory register than Tone's, but these lexical shifts in the translation are intended to reinforce the expressive dimension of the text and reflect French revolutionary discourse (France 2002, Roger 1990). In English, but even more so in French, political conditions were frequently described using words for physical feelings or emotions, as in the use of ‘gémir’ below. The second lexical shift in French seems to imply the Catholic Committee met *in defiance* of the Parliament and the Conventions Act which prevented it meeting in a representative capacity (Tone I 477, n 3). Why “members” or professions were transformed into the more equalising and republican “citoyens” is a mystery, and in the final phrase Madgett simply selects a word so frequently collocated with any allusion to England, i.e. “tyrannie”

whilst their Catholic brethren	→ tant que leurs frères catholiques
<b>remained</b> in slavery and oppression (Tone 64)	<b>gémiraient</b> dans l'esclavage et l'oppression (SHA <i>ibid</i> 5)
The Catholic Committee which sat repeatedly in the capital <b>at the same time</b> as the Parliament ( <i>ibid</i> 67)	→ ce corps s'est assemblé fréquemment à Dublin, <b>sous les yeux</b> du Parlement (SHA <i>ibid</i> 10)
the members of professions ( <i>ibid</i> )	→ les <b>citoyens</b> des quelques autres professions ( <i>ibid</i> )
the subversion of English usurpation ( <i>ibid</i> )	→ la destruction de la tyrannie anglaise ( <i>ibid</i> )

Another type of modulation is to reformulate an abstract form with a concrete one, or vice versa. Below Madgett makes a lexical addition (underlined), to reinforce Tone's arguments, and a metaphorical elaboration (forget = ensevelies dans l'oubli) slightly dramatises the depiction of the plight of the Catholics. Tone often indulged in

excessive flourishes, and though Madgett simplified some of these, here he did not

The result in French though does not betray Tone's style and intent

the leaders of the Catholics, whose cause and whose suffering were in a manner forgotten ⇒ les chefs des **malheureux** catholiques, dont la cause et les souffrances semblaient ensevelies dans l'oubli

The examples below may be deemed strategic omissions, in that Madgett intentionally left out information, or concepts, supplied by Tone. This may have been motivated by Madgett's concern not to push too forcefully certain arguments on which French decision-making rested. Where normally Tone was cautious and reserved, he appears in the phrase below to overstate the extent of support the French could expect from the Defenders in 1796, for which he was criticised in later years (Teeling 1838: 8)

The eyes of this **whole** body, which may be said, **almost without a figure, to be the people of Ireland**, are turned with the most anxious expectation to France for assistance and support (p. 67) → **Leurs** vœux et leurs espérances sont tournées vers la République française, de laquelle seule ils attendent secours et protection (SHA 10)

Only a detailed comparative analysis of the English and French versions could do justice to the translation process, and accurately convey the respective efforts of the author and translator, their personal motivations and their tangible actions. The discussion above on the complex networks of roles made clear that Madgett was expected by his superiors, and the institution he served, to act as advisor to Tone on the content of the *Memorials*, in parallel to the pragmatic act of transferring the result from one language to another.

Following the protracted process described above, Tone recorded that on March 11, he went to Delacroix and "had a long conversation" arising from the fact that the

minister had "read my memorials carefully" (Tone II: 104-107). The densely-worded account in his diary covers close to four pages, and the intensity and seriousness of the conversation can be sensed from the page-long length of the paragraphs with virtually no breaks. Furthermore, there is no allusion whatsoever by Tone that he had the slightest difficulty in handling such a crucial and challenging conversation in French, in total contrast to previous diary entries relating important interviews. That Madgett's translation had a potent effect on its intended readership, in the days and weeks to come, is evident. Delacroix immediately wished to see Tone to seek clarification on points of policy and strategy, but not on linguistic misunderstandings. Nowhere does Tone imply that he had to redress misconceptions or misunderstandings arising from an 'unfaithful' transfer of his meanings in the translations. That Madgett judged certain shifts and modulations appropriate confirms that translation does not stop at rewriting meaning, it is also a creative reinvention of the original (Delisle 2001: 216). In pointing to the complexity of finding suitable criteria by which historians can evaluate translations carried out in the past, Delisle (ibid: 210) is highly critical of the moralising implications of whether or not translations are 'faithful'. Translations replicate their own historicity in writing, and they textually reflect what can or cannot be said "à telle époque, dans telle société, telle civilisation" (ibid: 216). This aptly describes both Madgett's instinct as a translator, and motivations as a political advocate, when undertaking critical translations.

From this point onwards, and despite his frustration at French reticence to proceed, Tone was to progressively develop a sense of confidence in his dealings with the authorities, and increasingly develop a sense of autonomy in interacting in French. The complex challenges which his collaboration with Madgett in the *Memorials* had

involved, despite the frustrations at having to work through an intermediary and wait for translations, were also a political maturing process. This was furthered in the following weeks when Tone interacted with John Sullivan on the translation of two texts of far lesser impact than the *Memorials*, but for which the effort expended considerably helped Tone to gain control of a linguistic and political environment which had previously overwhelmed him. This final phase of Tone's adjustment to life and work in a bilingual environment, before the decisive moment of his enlistment as a French army officer, is discussed below.

### 3.6 Tone's collaboration with John Sullivan

This section will discuss Tone's work on two texts which were instrumental in his dealings with the French authorities in late April 1796, and which led him to work closely with John Sullivan as he translated them. The texts were much shorter than the *Memorials*, and did not have a direct bearing on the French government's views on mounting the expedition to Ireland. Yet the process involved in their composition and translation was beneficial to Tone, as the discussion below will demonstrate. These texts were a) the *Observations* (Tone II 158-160) Tone drafted in response to the *Instructions* (CPA 589/ 267-269) issued by the Directory for a confidential agent to be sent to Ireland, and translated by Sullivan (CPA 589/270-271'), and b) (unconnected to the preceding) the *Memorandum on the number and position of troops in Ireland* (Tone II 164-9), and Sullivan's translation of the same (CPA 589/233-7<sup>v</sup>). The *Observations* and *Memorandum* were translated by John Sullivan during an intense period of activity for Tone, now freed from his commitment to see

Madgett regularly as the *Memorials* had been delivered, and increasingly gaining in confidence. Tone openly acknowledged his appreciation of Sullivan's work, and recognised this synergy as a more positive experience of author-translator collaboration than with Madgett. Yet historians have paid little attention to Sullivan's overall contribution, despite Sullivan's insights on French political ideology, and practical military experience, which could inform his approach when working on a translation.

The two men had very possibly met before Tone's first diary entry to mention Sullivan, April 3 1796 (Tone II: 143). He is introduced as Madgett's nephew, carrying dispatches in Portuguese seized from a ship to the 'office' (i.e. the *Bureau de traduction*) to be translated. That same evening, they enjoyed walking in the Tuilleries and "talking red hot Irish politics" for two hours. Sullivan was four years younger and Tone found him "a good lad", and liked him "very well" (ibid). Tone later elaborated on their friendship in one anecdote which clearly shows the translator acting as an ethnic confidant. One day Sullivan informed Tone that he had heard in the Marine department that the minister, Dalbarade, was to take command of "our expedition" (ibid: 152). A "confidential person" had also told him he could expect "good news soon for *his* country", a noteworthy point which I have emphasised, as Sullivan's advocacy for the cause of Ireland was evident (to the unidentified observer) despite the fact that he was by then a naturalised French citizen. Tone appreciated the young translator's energetic assistance, particularly as it was Sullivan who brought him his "secondary intelligence". This implies Tone sought information independently of Madgett, and possibly confirmation or clarification of news he gathered himself, albeit by struggling in French. The social support offered by Sullivan was also clearly valued by Tone and helped him compensate for his "lack of information and

knowledge about the dominant culture<sup>33</sup> (Ward et al 2001: 240). In fact Sullivan had in his own capacity been linked to Tone's mission from an early stage due to his association with Rowan (Chapter 3). Before Tone's arrival, Sullivan had also translated various dispatches from Adet's French legation in Philadelphia, and may have worked on or discussed with Madgett the other items of correspondence passing through Delacroix's office related to the presence of Irish exiles there (CP E-U/ 45-6/3-3v, 10, 589-23-4, 94, 111-2, 116, 117-8, 120-1, 122, 128-30). Tone's lengthy letter to Delacroix of 26 February, confirming personal details on his exile, the motivation of his mission to Paris and the fact that as requested by the minister the *Memorials* had been written up and delivered to Madgett for translation, appears to have been translated by Sullivan (TCD MS 2050 1-2<sup>v</sup>, CPA 589/169<sup>f</sup>-170v, f 169<sup>f</sup> as Appendix 3.3). In his diary, Tone reflected that he found writing this letter "an awkward business", because he had to justify his mission to France despite having no direct credentials from leading radicals in Ireland, "very proper in an ambassador to frame his own credentials" (Tone II: 83). Thus Sullivan would have gained personal insights into Tone's anxieties and motivations through translating this letter, adding to the trust and understanding between them.

As work began on the *Memorials* in mid-February, Madgett had discussed with Tone the need to send "un agent affide" from France to Ireland, to bring back his accreditation from the United Irishmen, and appraise "les chefs en Irlande du secours qui va leur arriver" (CPA 589/159-161). An initial suggestion of Dominic Fitzsimons, a former priest and guardian of the Irish Capuchin monastery at Bar sur Aube, "raised Tone's anti-clerical hackles" as he admitted he had a "most violent dislike to letting any priest into the business at all" (Tone II: 114, Elliott *ibid*, Swords 1989: 91). When Tone eventually met Fitzsimons his concerns were heightened by an immediate

dislike of the man, deemed “a damned fool” and “bladdering idiot [sic]” who irritated Tone by “pinning himself” on him (Tone II: 142). While this episode has political undertones there may be a simple sociolinguistic explanation to Tone’s susceptibility and annoyance with Fitzsimons, who is quoted as having made this passing comment in the corridors of the *Bureau* on the dispatches Sullivan was delivering for translation:

“You will have fine fun making out what these Portuguese fellows say; are all those papers, pray *wrote in English?*” (ibid: 143).

In the next sentence, Tone ‘self-corrects’ his own infelicitous use of the simple past of the irregular verb to write, i.e. “wrote”, with the appropriate past participle “written”:

“The dispatches of the Portuguese Minister to the Governor of Rio Janeiro *written* in English! Oh Lord! Oh Lord!...I suppose he will **talk** Portuguese to the Irish by way of keeping the secret. Damn **him sempiternally!**” (ibid, my emphasis in bold).

It is likely given these uncharacteristic errors that Fitzsimons’s quip was uttered in French, and that Tone was having difficulty switching auditory input in French back in to English, specifically the vexed question for this language pair of transferring the past tenses of verbs (Vinay Darbelnet 1977:147). If Fitzsimons had uttered ‘ces papiers sont-ils *écrits* en anglais?’ (my emphasis) using the past participle of ‘*écrire*’, Tone appears to have automatically transposed this as the perfect tense, ‘ils ont écrits’, which translates as ‘they *wrote* those papers in English. Tone was not helped either by the polysemy in French of ‘*parler*’, which in English can be rendered by either ‘to talk’ or ‘to speak’(Singleton 1999: 179; Vinay Darbelnet: 1977: 71). The latter would have been the appropriate form to use above, i.e. ‘I suppose he will speak Portuguese to the Irish...’, instead of the infelicitous verbal phrase ‘to talk

Portuguese', and as these errors are completely uncharacteristic of Tone one may conclude he was flustered by the whole episode. These classic examples of French-English transfer problems, cross-linguistic influence and faulty lexical connections could be elaborated on, but are mentioned here because they seem to confirm the exchange (one of the most animated passages in the *Writings*) took place in French.

Fitzsimons, a long-term resident in France having occupied a position of responsibility at Bar sur Aube, would have been fluent in the language. Apart from genuine personal animosity, Tone would have resented the ease of communication in the dominant language of this fully bilingual "pretty devil of an agent" (Tone II 143). The agent finally selected, a Eugene Aherne, is described as a physician and though he had studied medicine in Edinburgh, he may have been the student of the same name registered in the Irish college in 1792 (Swords 1989: 18, 123, 145). Tone was to move to lodgings in the same house as Aherne, and described the latter - along with John Sullivan - as knowing the "pave" of Paris better than him, i.e. they had what Ward et al. (2001: 136) refer to in supportive emigre networks as "greater information about local customs, culture and resources" to share (Tone II 156).

The day Tone met Aherne, i.e. 9 April, he had discovered distressing reports in an English newspaper, passed on by Sullivan, of the arrests in Ireland in late March arising out of the passing of the Insurrection Act (Tone II 148, *Statutes* 17: 978-990). This had made the administration of oaths a capital felony, and Tone was filled with the "most sincere anxiety public and private" as to the fate of his close friend John Keogh, a leading United Irishman and prominent Catholic merchant whom Aherne was to have contacted when in Ireland. Frustrated at the authorities' delay in dispatching Aherne, and with news of the Insurrection Act making the need to act urgent, Tone pressed Sullivan to translate the article into French (Tone II 150,

CPA/589/226) With this translation duly delivered, and the original newspaper in English, Tone went to the English-speaking General Clarke, the influential head of the Directory's military *Cabinet historique et topographique* (Tone II 110, n 2) He urged Clarke to appraise Carnot of the implications of the *Principales dispositions du bill pour supprimer plus efficacement les assemblées seditieuses en Irlande* as made clear in the translation duly signed "certifié conforme Sullivan, traducteur" (CPA 589/226<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>, as Appendix 3 4) The original English press report Sullivan worked on has not been identified, therefore it is not possible to ascertain whether the opinionated phrase "Et tout cela sans jugement par jury!", repeated five times at the end of paragraphs outlining the draconian measures justices of the peace could take, was his own He also marked his text with underlining to signal disapproval of the measure by which "Toute femme vendant ou débitant des papiers seditieux ou non timbres peut être envoyée en prison pour y rester" (589/227<sup>r</sup>, emphasis as per original, *Statutes* 17 978-990, Article XXXII) Having Sullivan's translation in hand (swiftly done the day it was requested, i e 20 Germinal IV or 9 April 1796), allowed Tone to take immediate action, with relevant documentary evidence, in French, in his hand (Tone II 150) He was appreciative of the mediating action of the translator which facilitated his own communications, yet Sullivan's work is not acknowledged in the editorial notes of Tone's *Writings* (Tone II 150)

Finding a suitable agent for the mission to Ireland implied a "language requirement", and Elliott's allusion is welcome as it implies the person would have to carry out orders issued, in French, with key United Irishmen, in English (Elliott 1989 295-6) Aherne, when returning from an earlier mission to Scotland for the Comite de Salut public in the winter of 1793-4, had explained in French that he had submitted his report, in English, to Madgett who translated it for the Minister for External Relations

(AAE/Pers 1/270, undated) The fluency of this letter (requesting his fees) demonstrates Aherne had no difficulty with French, and it is not clear why he had written his report in English. Certainly by the time of his enlistment in the Irish Legion in 1803, Aherne was described in the officer role as speaking and writing French competently (SHA X<sup>h</sup>14). Therefore it appears that there was no need to translate into English the *Instructions* (CPA 589/267-269<sup>v</sup>, in French) issued to Aherne, and when Tone refers to a copy he made of them to compose his own *Observations* (Tone II 158-160, in English), he was speaking of a copy of the original, in French (TCD MS 2050/11-12<sup>v</sup>, f 11<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 3.5). This personal *Copie des Instructions donnees au Citoyen par le Ministre des relations exterieures* (TCD *ibid*) are thus the first known manuscript in Tone's hand in the French language, though his letter to Delacroix of 12 May is considered to be his earliest composition in French (II 180, editorial note, AN AF III/369/50). Routine tasks such as copying may not appear productive or challenging in terms of enhancing an individual's communicative competence in face to face interaction, but Tone would have turned this exercise into a useful one given his eagerness to advance his lobbying, and also his general curiosity about language.

For Tone, the experience of observing, while writing, how Irish realities well known to him were described in French, could help retain data referred to at a later stage. Copying a text was an autonomous exercise without the pressure of creativity, or the effort to search for appropriate lexis and syntax, so he could observe forms and phrases. In contrast to oral communication, no interlocutor awaited a response from him. Tone could mentally register unfamiliar lexis, word order and orthographic patterns of words and expressions he had heard in conversation. This process is known as grapheme-phoneme conversion, whereby auditory signals are matched with

their visual form (Singleton 1999: 184). Finally, Tone was fully familiar with the context and background information contained in the *Instructions*, having acted as “chief adviser” on the mission for several weeks and discussed its purpose and logistics at length with interested parties (Elliott 1982: 88). During a working dinner with Madgett “in the Elysian Fields”, Tone had cautioned Aherne against writing a syllable or carrying a single scrap of paper, stating he was to “commit to memory first, then burn”, any written information relating to contacts in Ireland (Tone II: 150). This need for secrecy is self-evident, but interestingly reveals the cognitive skills required for agents on such missions, namely a solid analytical memory to retain names and strategic information. With this in mind, researchers can be grateful that some confidential documents have been preserved in archives. Tone also indirectly alludes to the fact that Aherne would be carrying out in an anglophone environment the *Instructions*, issued in French. Delacroix eventually presented the text to Tone and Aherne on 20 April, reading out a draft (evidently in French, though this is not stated) which Tone had not the slightest difficulty reacting to:

“...there is a great deal of sad trash mixed with good sense...I see the instructions are written by Clarke, for I find in them his trash about monarchy, the noblesse and clergy... Only think of one of the articles...if Ireland continues devoted to the House of Stuart, one of that family will be found...Who the devil is this Pretender *in petto*?”  
(Tone II: 157).

Tone was unhappy enough to make “one or two observations” to Delacroix, who then handed the text to him so that he could put into writing such welcome comments, hence the *Observations* discussed below. The *Instructions* (summarised in an editorial note, Tone II: 158) are logically formulated in a sequence of relatively short, prescriptive phrases, and its structure in thematic paragraphs would have allowed Delacroix to read it out at a measured pace. In such a setting speech flow is slower

than spontaneous conversation (often peppered with difficult colloquialisms), and the Minister would have been conscious of the two men taking in its content (Kleinman 1999 36-7) Tone would have that much less difficulty comprehending the text on which he was commenting, familiarity and repetition assisting this process

This first sample of Tone's hand in French is remarkably clear of hesitations or words scored out, and follows the original punctuation and layout (TCD MS 2050/11-12<sup>v</sup>) Typically, he is inconsistent in marking diacritics, as in other samples of his French, mostly leaving them out altogether or making frequent errors (not in the original), such as 'examinera' and 'cherchera e connatre' The word "Defenders" is randomly capitalised throughout the copy, but the numerous terms which are cognate with English are correctly spelled and not 'anglicised', e.g. "cimentier" and "intrepides" There is only one unconscious transfer of an English term, i.e. " les porteurs de lettres devront ignorer leur *contents*" The only significant diversion is an odd use of an indirect article which looks like the Italian 'al', in the section describing how the Defenders should split the country up into *geographical areas of command*, and their boundaries The Down command, to include the whole county, is " borne *al* ouest par la riviere de Ban " and the Londonderry one " borne *al* est par la riviere (folio 12r) As an accomplished musician, Tone was familiar with Italian given the prominence of the language in scores and sheet music, but he may also have been careless and thinking of the truncated French article 'a l' ' which precedes vowels, as in 'a l'ouest or a l'est' Finally, his copy features no margin notes or queries, implying he understood it perfectly, a fact well demonstrated by his clearly formulated *Observations* (Tone II 159-160)

The *Instructions* perfectly demonstrate the proximity of French and English, as the text features a surprising number of cognate words. As underlined by Singleton (1999: 49), even someone with minimal knowledge can easily “access the gist of snippets” when reading a language close to one’s own. The following phrase illustrates such lexical counterparts, associated in the type of strong statement Tone would be anticipating to find in such a text, even if the non-cognate phrases (my emphasis) requires guesswork:

“Il importe que ces deux commandemens [*surtout soient données*] a des chefs intrepides et extremement intelligents”

Tone would also have acquired useful terminology, such as the following random examples:

- 1 “meneurs chefs du premier ordre”, (literally, ‘first line’ leaders, it will be recalled how Tone had struggled with this term in his conversation with Delacroix),
- 2 “prêter le serment d’usage” (to take the standard oath),
- 3 “mots d’ordre” (watchwords)

The term “fonctionnaires” was one of the Revolutions’ neologisms, and may have triggered Tone’s innate lexical curiosity, and he most certainly would have retained highly useful technical descriptions of a logistical nature, such as stockpiling food, sourcing horses for the cavalry, destroying strategic bridges, etc. This is a fine example of how reading and comprehending a genuine text is a motivating and purposeful exercise. Based on input which is appropriate to the learner’s needs, expectations and goals, it is more instructive because authentic, and “created to fulfil some social purpose in the language community in which it was produced” (Little 1994: 23).

Tone was evidently anxious to address certain points which needed rectifying for any French official reading the *Instructions*, as written expressions of their often

misplaced perceptions of Ireland could be more influential than casual comments in ephemeral conversation. Interestingly, these *Observations* which Tone composed in response to a text in French, bear absolutely no mark of interference from French, the English typical of his “plain as a pikestaff” approach to writing. The only exception is the use of “*chuefs* on both sides” (when describing the hoped-for alliance between Defenders and Presbyterians), where ‘leaders’ is employed in the *First Memorial* (Tone II 159, 68). Anxious to get them swiftly translated and approved, Tone admitted his *Observations* were very short “I barely mentioned what was necessary”, yet his characteristic style of effortless composition engaged the reader. As a random example, he diplomatically counters Clarke’s “sad trash” on the monarchy. He diversifies his lexical range, avoiding repetition of the word ‘royalty’ or the commonplace ‘monarchy’.

“As to the idea of Royalty, there is nobody in Ireland would entertain it for a moment. If there is a revolution there, it most assuredly will never terminate in kingly government.” (Tone II 159)

His categorical dismissal of a Stuart ‘pretender’ is equally firm, and leads to an extremely rare mention of the Irish language in his allusion to the derogatory sobriquet with which the last of ‘that race’ was saddled by the Catholics “in *their* language”, i.e. Seamus an Chaca (ibid 160).

Tone submitted his *Observations* to Madgett for translation on 22 April, but two days later was furious to discover the work had not been done, and the manuscript misplaced (Tone II 160, 162). When Madgett located it, Tone immediately gave it to Sullivan as he wanted to bring it to Delacroix the next day. Given the secrecy surrounding the mission he was outraged the text had gone missing, and was equally annoyed by the knowledge (probably passed on by Aherne or Sullivan) that Madgett

had drafted his own set of instructions for the mission “which he never shewed me” (ibid 154, CPA/589/221<sup>r v</sup>, as Appendix 3 6) However, Madgett had in fact mirrored Tone’s advice, adding that Aherne should start his trip “dans le midi de l’Irlande”, i.e. the south, as it was on that region the French had the least intelligence (CPA 589/221<sup>v</sup>) Even when limited by the working tools of the time, i.e. quill and paper, it is hard to believe that an experienced translator such as Madgett could not have found time to translate the *Observations*, which amount to just under 600 words Madgett did none the less trigger some memorable deprecations of an inefficient translator “Hell and the Devil! It would be a pretty paper to set afloat just now in Paris where there are for aught I know a thousand English spies” (Tone II 162) Tone chose French, “*Ah, je respire!*”, to express his relief when the manuscript was located and handed to Sullivan (ibid)

Sullivan’s French version of Tone’s *Observations* are a clearly formulated, faithful rendering of the original author’s intentions, any minor variations reflecting the translator’s personal initiative to adjust phrases or expressions to the target readership’s expectations (CPA 589/ 270-271) The text mirrors Tone’s sentence and paragraph breaks, and consistent with Sullivan’s characteristic precision, the words Defenders and Defenderisme are consistently capitalised throughout The passage driving home the crucial point that the Defenders, all Catholics, were *not led* by their priests is one illustration of how the target-language version adapts the original to meet the stylistic expectations of French That the Pope’s Legate in Ireland had even  
1 ‘fulminated a general excommunication from the altar’ (Tone II 163)

is translated with a verbal phrase intensified by the impact of a metaphorical action

2 “a lance de l’autel les foudres d’une excommunication” (CPA 589/270’)

Interestingly, in the second paragraph explaining the lack of influence of the ‘nobility’ over the Romish population, the qualifier ‘Catholiques’ is clearly added in superscript to the word ‘Nobles’ in another hand, not dissimilar to Madgett’s (CPA *ibid*) Even more noteworthy is a strategic elaboration by the translator in the paragraph dismissing a Stuart pretender and potential ‘kingly government’, in the phrase alluding to James II’s derogatory nickname Tone merely alludes to Irish as ‘their language’, i.e. that of the Catholics, but Sullivan’s embellishment (*italicised below*) possibly indicates the regret of a native speaker at the loss of *his* language in exile

“Sa memoire [i.e. James II’s] est méprisée on l’a même signalé par un sobriquet en *langue Irlandoise* qui designe le dernier terme de l’insulte et du mepris ” (*ibid* 70’)

A very rare anglicism in Sullivan’s work appears in the fourth sentence where the word order incorrectly mirrored the original English, where the adverb should *follow* the verb

- 1 ‘ their priests *even* refuse the sacraments ’ ⇒  
2 ‘ les prêtres *même* refusent les sacremens ’,

With Sullivan’s translation in hand, Tone was thus in a position to call on Delacroix with Aherne the next morning, and hand the minister a copy of the *Observations* he was anxious to communicate, in the minister’s own language The episode was a positive one for Tone, pleased that Delacroix “liked [his observations] very well”, i.e. Sullivan’s rendering Delacroix intended showing them to Carnot though after striking out ‘the stuff about royalty &c’, and Tone was thus pleased (Tone II 163) Despite having to go through intermediaries, Tone was growing in confidence and this impacted positively on his ability to proceed with his business in French, with his

characteristic flashes of humour and sentiment (Moore 1831) “I began to speak French like a nabob I astonished the Minister with a volubility of diction.” (Tone II 163)

Tone’s patience would have to ‘endure’ several weeks before the decree formalising the expedition was announced, but his next joint effort with Sullivan brought him closer to “the fulfilment of a lifelong ambition”, i.e. an officer’s commission and the boyhood dream of donning regimentals (Elliott 1989 306) Having been handed an English newspaper by Sullivan which listed the quarters of the army in Ireland for that year, Tone set about drafting a *Memorandum on the number and position of troops in Ireland*, compiling the data with commentary, and submitted this too to the translator (Tone II 164- 170) Not only was Tone’s linguistic confidence growing, as he thought it was “very prettily done not the case with all [his] productions”, but it was returned by Sullivan the very next day “admirably translated”, and duly signed “Sullivan Traducteur au departement des relations exterieures” (CPA/589/233<sup>r</sup>-5, f 233<sup>r</sup> and 235<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 3 7) Working on military matters evidently motivated Tone, who was eager to compensate for his lack of military experience, but though regularly deprecating his French he let drop this hint that he could assess an ‘admirable’ rendering of his work in French A copy was forwarded to General Hoche on the 26th of June, and when Tone had the pleasure of at last meeting him on 12 July was asked for a few points of clarification on the ‘memorials’ forwarded to the newly-appointed leader of the expedition By ‘memorials’ Hoche most certainly would have included Sullivan’s *Memoire sur le nombre et la distribution des troupes en Irlande* (CPA/589/233-237<sup>v</sup>)

In his translation, Sullivan presumes there is no need to elaborate on a culture-bound reality, i.e. the Fencibles, presumably because the specific target readership would

know this type of military information. But the French rendering of Tone's description of the "wretched appearance" of these 18 regiments is more vivid and unequivocal. Though the English adheres to Tone's chosen preferred genre, i.e. 'plain as a pikestaff', the polarity contrasting the older and younger troops is evocative. The translator strategically adapts the source text syntax, here conflating the images into one phrase, rather than following Tone's punctuation which segments the information. The effect in French is one of linked causalities and intensifies the depiction.

1 It is impossible to conceive the wretched appearance that those Fencibles make, a great majority of them are either old men past service, or boys not grown up to it. Most of those which I saw appeared much fitter for the hospital than the camp (Tone II 165)

2 Il est impossible de se faire une idée du triste spectacle que présentent ces régiments de Fencibles, composés pour la plupart ou de vieillards qui ont passés l'âge du service ou d'enfants qui n'y sont pas encore arrivés. Presque tous ceux que j'ai vus m'ont paru plus propres à l'hôpital qu'au camp (CPA/589/233')

Where Tone states he is 'sure they could not muster 500 men fit for the duties of active service', Sullivan makes a strategic addition by repeating this as "dans les 18 régiments", a form of signposting of factual data to assist the reader (ibid)

Following the troop listings, Tone provides a commentary, beginning with a brief allusion to the Irish Brigade, somewhat embellished in French and thus hinting at the translator's personal bias on the cowardice of officers of the Irish Brigade (CPA/589/237'). Tone dismisses the unfruitful recruitment campaign in Ireland conducted by officers of the Irish Brigade who had 'left the service of France', but his conclusion (cited below) is quite reserved. In a frank conversation with Clarke in March, Tone had revealed "in Ireland we had no great confidence' in these officers, the 'populace' condemning them as crimps (Tone II 130-1, )

1 The difficulty the officers of these corps have found in raising recruits marks very strongly the sentiments of the peasantry of Ireland (ibid 169)

Sullivan ends with a phrase implicit, but not present in Tone's original, his elaboration (italicised) deprecating of these Irish Brigade officers, and repeats for emphasis the phrase condemning them for having left the service of France

2 La difficulté qu'on eu les officiers a faire des recrues montre jusqu'a l'evidence l'esprit dont les paysans irlandais sont animes et combien ils sont *indignes de la lachete que ces officiers ont montrée en quittant le service de la Republique Française* (CPA 589/234<sup>v</sup>)

The reputation of the Irish Brigade had suffered from indiscipline and desertions after 1789, and the scant regard held for the officers of the Brigade, who albeit in difficult circumstances had accepted the King's pardon (Drennan 1999 574 147, Tone II 130) In fact Sullivan's barely veiled contempt is not a sign of a translator taking freedoms with the original author's intent and meaning, as revealed by Tone's record of his exchange on the subject with Clarke His statement (above), i.e. that little confidence was held in the officers of the Brigade, was qualified with these judgemental words (my emphasis) 'so many of them had either *deserted* or *betrayed* the French cause,' (Tone II 130) Possibly Tone had discussed this with Sullivan, who had passed his views on in his translation, though in the process appearing to exaggerate the original

Finally, an omission by Sullivan could be explained by either of two factors In discussing the crucial question of the landing place, Tone states that Ulster (rather than Connaught) should be the preferred option, as there the expedition was guaranteed "the most effectual and instantaneous support, a circumstance of infinite consequence when time is so precious," (ibid 169) This phrase is not in Sullivan's version, who also transferred Tone's use of ordinal numbers enumerating his arguments ("first secondly and lastly") as digits "1° parce que 2° parce que 3°

parce qu'en. ” (CPA 589/235<sup>v</sup>, as Appendix 3 7b) Either Sullivan was exercising his own judgment that Tone's insistence was not diplomatic, or he simply omitted a non-essential phrase to expedite the translation. As secondary as Sullivan's contribution may seem in translating these short texts, his work furthered Tone's lobbying and led to the latter's growing sense of autonomy and assertiveness in his direct dealings with prestigious French interlocutors, rather than reinforce his dependence on translators.

Concerned at the decree passed on 10 May arising out of Babeuf's *complot*, by which most foreigners and other categories of people were to be expelled from Paris or risk deportation, Tone wrote a “short note, in very pretty French”, to Delacroix requesting clarification (Rapport 2001 269, AN AF III/369/50, as Appendix 3 8, reprinted in Tone II 180-1). This is considered the earliest sample of Tone's own French, and as the letter features minor errors one can presume he did not seek help from either Madgett or Sullivan. As with later samples of his correspondence, which progressively displayed an eloquent fluency, the text is generally of a good standard though correct use of upper cases and accented vowels is erratic. The only syntactic error is an incorrect use of the auxiliary verb ‘avoir’ in the opening verbal phrase, “je m'ai fait l'honneur”, a possible interference from the English ‘I had the honour’. Selecting the correct verb to append to ‘respects’ proved unsuccessful, as ‘rendre mes respects’ slightly awkwardly borrows from the expression ‘rendre hommage’. The florid phrase “les droits que je me flatte d'avoir acquis sur votre protection” may have been borrowed from a printed guide to letter writing, and overall there is absolutely no need for Tone to end by begging pardon for his ‘jargon’, as follows ‘Ayez la bonte d'excuser mon detestable francois’. Conscious he may make embarrassing errors, Tone was also signalling a wish to adhere to polite usage and etiquette, his

“embarrassing predicament” once again being linked to linguistic difficulties (Furnham & Bochner 1986 205)

Tone received his commission as a *chef de brigade* in Hoche’s expeditionary force on 16 July 1796, just six months after his first meeting with the Minister for External Relations and Nicholas Madgett. This extraordinary achievement marks his passing into a final phase of adjustment, marked by confidence and satisfaction with his existence in the new society (Furnham & Bochner 1986 13). Despite his lack of prior service, Tone settled into military life with remarkable ease, revelling in the camaraderie of Hoche’s *suite* (Elliott 1989 313). Drawn to the gaiety and carelessness of military life, Tone’s negative self-assessments on his French became less frequent. A noteworthy milestone was the stopover in Montauban de Bretagne on the road to Brest, when he “lay awake half the night laughing and making execrable puns” with Hoche’s aide Privat, presumably in French (Tone II 358-9). Tone had always demonstrated a fondness for embedding ditties, quips and quotes in his discourse, and transferring this diversion into French would be an important factor in socialising.

Through his close contact with two experienced translators such as Madgett and Sullivan, Tone was exposed to translation as a purposeful communicative activity. Though a linguistic exercise he had been familiar with since his schooldays, he could now approach it with a different motivation, as he was dealing with authentic texts that had purpose and meaning, and a direct bearing on the successful outcome of his actions. Tone came to recognise that his rapidly improving level of bilingualism, even if not yet comparable to that of Madgett and Sullivan, could make a useful contribution to the communicative dimension of the French military expeditions, as the next chapter will illustrate. Within months of asking Delacroix to ‘pardon his

French', Tone would be engaged in written correspondence with fellow officers in carefully worded and elegant (if at times excessive) French, these tangible proofs of his ability totally contrasting with his own perceptions (Elliott 1989 306-7) Following Hoche's death, under whom he had served as "attache pour la partie de sa correspondance etrangere", Tone wrote to Napoleon Bonaparte offering his services, hoping the general would recognise his "utilite" as a bilingual secretary (TCD MS 2050/18, as Appendix 3 9 , NLI MS/705/25-6, TCD MS/2050, 3807, Tone III, forthcoming, SHA B11<sup>1</sup> , 17y<sup>d</sup> 14/Tone)

## CHAPTER 4

### Interpreting in the French campaigns of 1796 and 1798 “amidst [the] clamour and confusion of three languages”

1 “ as to rank I could be of use in the family of the *general en chef* speaking a little French, to interpret between him and the natives,” (Tone II 142)

2 “Tous les officiers destines pour l’expedition et les individus parlant la langue du pays ont ordre de se rendre a Brest ” (SHM BB4/123/170, Humbert to the Minister of the Marine, Paris 17 July 1798)

3 “The bishop laboured hard to pacify the malcontents, amidst darkness and clamour and *the confusion of three languages* Willing to do his best, he *interpreted* went from house to house in to the town ” (Stock 1982 35-6, my emphasis)

#### 4.1 “*quelques officiers parlant anglais employes avec avantage dans cette expédition*”

This chapter will focus on the various ways in which crosslinguistic communication issues were addressed during the planning and execution of the 1796 and 1798 expeditions to Ireland, given the inevitable barrier of language arising out of an international endeavour. Previous chapters have discussed translating and interpreting processes necessary to advance the political dimension of United Irish diplomacy, but occurring in an administrative context. Despondent at the slowness of the Directory to act, Tone gloomily mused to himself on 20 June 1796, his thirty-third birthday, that at his age “Alexander had conquered the world”, but he had convinced himself “our expedition will not take place (*if at all*) until the winter ” (Tone II 207). But the previous day, as he soon discovered, the Directory had formulated the long-awaited response to the carefully-rehearsed overtures of the United Irishmen, by officially notifying General Lazare Hoche they were entrusting him with the command of an

expedition to “ détacher l’Irlande de l’Angleterre rendre a un peuple genereux et mûr pour une revolution l’indépendance et la liberte qu’il appelle ” (Elliott 1982 92-3, 1989 297, SHA/11<sup>1</sup>) From that point onwards, various measures to address language barriers, and the role of individual mediators, would be subsumed into the overriding framework of military institutional practice In particular, Hoche had been informed “ le Directoire vous enverra quelques officiers parlant anglois qui pourront être employes avec avantage dans cette expedition” (SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>) This chapter will discuss data gleaned from French archives, even if these references, scattered through military and ministerial correspondence, indicate an *ad hoc* approach to translating and interpreting In this regard, they conform to a recurrent pattern in translation history, but do substantiate a clear - if often implicit, or ambiguously described - role for the Irish officers recruited (in part) as linguistic mediators This discussion is limited to the communication between French and English speakers, though Stock’s observation, cited above, points to the self-evident fact that the French invasion of Mayo was a conquest which marked the moment when the fortunes of not two, but three languages intersected, to paraphrase Palmer’s observation (Palmer 2001 1, in Chapter 1 p 5) Many of his observations are corroborated in another insightful primary source, the Diary kept by a fellow Protestant clergyman, the Revd James Little (1800)

There is no denying the predominance of the military dimension to the events of 1798, and most aptly Delisle and Woodsworth (1995) and Karttunen (1994), demonstrate that the services of translators and interpreter-guides have been sought since Antiquity to perform various functions in armed conflicts, exploration and invasions, tracing the earliest references back to Alexander the Great’s campaigns in Asia (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995 263) As stated in Chapter 1, a crucial link between multilingual

ability, autonomy, and the numerous skills required of senior military figures in terms of information and intelligence-gathering was made by Maffeo (2000 136-7) in his study of Nelson's complex role as a naval commander. The Directory's statement to Hoche, that he would be sent anglophone officers, shows the pragmatic and rather unsophisticated approach which would prevail during the campaigns.

The contributions of Captains Henry O'Keane and Bartholomew Teeling especially, and of John Sullivan and Matthew Tone too, who returned to their native land as Irish *aides de camp* to General Humbert, and provided a critical communicative link, reaches far beyond the political and military historiography of 1798 (inter alia, Kelly 1998, Murtagh 2003, Pakenham 1997). While the French embodied the foreign aid which O Buachalla (2003) states was 'a continuous theme in the prophetic message' of Gaelic poetry, these Irish officers personified the leaders needed to guide their recruits in the overthrow of the ascendancy and expulsion of the English (O Buachalla 2003 77-8). Humbert's initial success led to a short-lived reversal of 'leadership' roles, also evoked in Irish Jacobite poetry, and Teeling and Tone were ensured through the tragedy of their fate a hallowed status in the collective memory of the rebellion (Beiner 2001, Cronin 2003). Strategically placed in positions which exposed them to the enemy, they were to suffer the bitter resentment of the Crown forces outraged at their treason. Teeling's 'impertinent' abuse of the English language, in the service of his French masters, especially aroused the anger of his Crown captors (Hayes 1937 53, Jacotey 225, Sarrazin 1998 12, Teeling 1876 306-7, Woods, forthcoming).

While it failed militarily, Humbert's landing of a force of just over 1,000 men at Killala, and the havoc the presence of French troops created in that remote part of the country, represents a most extraordinary episode in European cultural history. As such, it merits

far more attention than the important, but functional, discussions contrasting Humbert's tactics and movements versus those of the Crown which neglect the human dimension to a unique chapter in Irish collective memory (Kelly 1998, Murtagh 2003, Pakenham 1997) Palmer described how 'conquests' triggered the natural impulse in a handful of eyewitnesses 'within earshot' of crosslinguistic communicative events, and chronicles of Mayo indeed allude to the tense triadic interaction between French, Irish (both cooperative and resistant), and the Crown forces (Palmer 2001 1, 47) These narratives vary between the occasionally triumphalist viewpoint of four French officers, whose accounts of their exploits are informative, if subjective and divergent (and written only upon their return to France), to the keenly-observed, raw and often touching depiction of conflict provided by two Anglican clergymen The latter are essential sources to reconstruct the intercultural dimension of the invasion (Joannon 1998 accounts of Sarrazin, Jobit and Fontaine, Little [1800], Stock 1982, SHA/B11<sup>2</sup> Thomas' account, Van Brock 1969-70)

Taken as a whole, these accounts feature many of the 'textual markers of exchanges across the language frontier' described by Palmer (2003), though the welcome explicitness with which Little and Stock depict mediation is to be contrasted with the standard occlusion of the language barrier by the French officers Stock in particular left behind what Grattan Freyer (1982) deems "the most vivid single account of how it felt to be on the scene at the time", for which, he adds, "Posterity may deem [itself] fortunate" (Grattan Freyer 1982 xvi) Typically though, the French accounts conform to the pattern identified by Palmer in denying 'the materiality of the language barrier', the standard technique of 'airbrushing' not only the presence of interpreters out of their narratives but in so doing denying them a role in later historiography (Palmer 2001 55-

6) Due to their intellectual advantage as polyglot, educated gentlemen, Stock and Little found themselves in the bizarre role of go-betweens and reluctant interpreters - a recurrent figure in the literature of conquest - and their accounts as active participants in intercultural exchange go far beyond a vindication of their dilemma, and are a precious record of sociolinguistic behaviour. Juxtaposed with the random references to language in French archival sources, these combined narratives of Ireland's 'last invasion' facilitate the arduous task of reconstruction in translation history.

4.2 The 'instrumentality' of soldiers speaking the same language 'undoubtedly convenient but not absolutely necessary'

Though the command of troops from varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds had always been a reality of military life, there could be no denying from an officer's point of view the 'instrumentality of men speaking the same language', a most evocative expression used by Colonel William Tate (AN/AF/III/186<sup>b</sup>/858/62-3). A veteran of the American war described by Hoche as 'un homme de tête, ancien militaire', Tate had offered to lead a force of undesirables and renegades to Bermuda and facilitate operations against Jamaica (AN/AF/III/186<sup>b</sup>/860). Writing – in English - to General Clarke in July 1796, Tate had stressed the geographical advantage of holding these strategic positions, and aptly pointed to the availability of men sharing a common language as a convenience "in warlike operations" (AN/AF/III/186<sup>b</sup>/858/62-3). This chapter will demonstrate the overall *instrumentality* of polyglot Irish officers in the French expeditions, an instrumentality which went well beyond their political motivations and local knowledge of a country France was about to invade, based on their

crucial ability to act as linguistic mediators. Tone, in discussing with Clarke the ideal candidate to act as *general en chef* for the Irish expedition, had succinctly formulated what would become the general pattern of crosslinguistic communication:

“He [Clarke] said it would be absolutely necessary the *general en chef* should speak English. I said it would undoubtedly be convenient, but not absolutely necessary” (Tone II 205-6)

Clarke thought finding an Irishman suited to the command would not be easy, but Tone retorted that public opinion would be swayed by a well-known French general leading the force (ibid). The names of four Irish emigres with considerable experience in the foreign regiments were offered by Clarke, but Tone convinced him a French general should head ‘the business’, and that these officers could serve under him, implying – though not clearly stating – that their presence as his aides would partially address the multilingual requirements of this and future expeditions. Clearly, most of the substantial number of Irish officers in France would have the linguistic skills to facilitate communication (including perhaps a knowledge of Irish maintained despite years of exile), and some manuscripts even list the languages spoken by various officers (AN/AF/III/186<sup>b</sup>/858, SHA/Xh14). It is evident that the authorities had not only recognised the need – so vital in a military context – to avoid linguistic misunderstandings and confusion, but sought to address this issue by placing polyglot individuals in key positions, even if they were not enlisted under the dedicated position of either *translator* or *interpreter*.

The consistent absence of the specific title of either *translator* or *interpreter* in enlistment and embarkation rolls relating to both the Bantry and Mayo expeditions is both disappointing and somewhat puzzling, given that not only did the formal status of *secrétaire-interprete* exist to serve the needs of diplomacy and the civil service, but also

appears to have been applied in the military (SHA/Y<sup>A</sup>222, B11<sup>1</sup>, B11<sup>2</sup> ) It was specifically as a *secrétaire-interprete* that the Irish-born Bernard MacSheehy, then aged only nineteen, had been appointed by the Comité de Salut public on 4 May 1794 to serve under General Felix for an aborted expedition to the West Indies (Hayes 1932 109, SHA/2Y<sup>e</sup>/MacSheehy, Van Brock 1972) Arrested like many students during the Terror, MacSheehy was released when he offered to serve, and it is evident that his bilingualism had been recognised as an asset MacSheehy was then assigned to Hoche as a *capitaine-adjoint* in June 1796, but apart from the initial 1794 appointment, no reference describing him as an *interpréter* for the Bantry expedition was found in his file That his career began as a *secrétaire-interprete* is confirmed in the commission issued to him as *Adjudant Commandant* issued by Bonaparte on 17 September 1803 (SHA *ibid*, as Appendix 4 1 ) MacSheehy had in fact been promoted to act as commander of the Irish Legion, which had been created in August but the existence of which was only made public in December (Bartlett [forthcoming], Gallaher 1993 30, Elliott 1982 330) MacSheehy's instrumentality as a bilingual with prior military experience as a professional translator seems evident, yet it is not mentioned in Gallaher's otherwise thorough and engaging history of the Legion (1993 30) This is probably because MacSheehy quickly emerged as someone unfit as a commander, yet the military perspective cannot be disassociated from his communicative competence

A significant illustration of MacSheehy's usefulness as a bilingual for this period is found in his well-known undercover mission to Ireland, undertaken in November 1796 to liaise with United Irish leaders (Elliott 1982 104-5, 1989 319-320 Swords 1989 125-8, Tone II 367-9, n4, Van Brock 1972, Woods 1973) Upon his return, MacSheehy produced his own report in flawless French, making reading of the more

fanciful passages (characteristic of his tendency for 'self-aggrandisement') even more enjoyable (AAE/MD/53 256-60, CPA 590 217-223, AN/AFIII/186b/860, Elliott 1989 319) Van Brock (1972 218) notes it was *natural* the account of the mission was in French, mirroring the general tendency to presume key protagonists could only have been francophone. The autonomy which an individual could enjoy in communicating without a mediator should not be underestimated, and MacSheehy would most certainly have been capable of supplementing information in French in an oral interview, including substantiating some of his exaggerated claims. The fact that MacSheehy had previously been given that formal title of *secrétaire-interprete* may explain an unsubstantiated comment by Baeyens (1981) in his biography of General Humbert, namely that the latter in preparations for Mayo

‘ songe a son interpretariat. Ce n'est pas une idee originale, Hoche y avait pense, et l'administration de la guerre *aurait pu y veiller* » (Baeyens 1981 50, my emphasis)

Presumably Baeyens, when stating that Hoche had made plans to have interpreters among his officer corps, was referring to MacSheehy's status as one of the general's *adjoints*, as well as other polyglot officers such as Tone. The title of interpreter is only mentioned once in the official record of MacSheehy's career (SHA/2Y<sup>c</sup>/MacSheehy). As a former diplomat, Baeyens has heightened awareness of interpretation as a *sine qua non* of intercultural communication processes, and so adopted his century's perspective when criticising the authorities for not taking proactive measures, in 1798, to address this aspect of the expedition.

Insights into interpersonal relations among the Irish serving the French are provided by Tone, who found MacSheehy's overconfident manner irritating but probably resented his prior military experience and fluency in French (Tone II 356, 368). When Tone (II

205-6) had assured Clarke that a bilingual force was not absolutely necessary, he had already given thought to the instrumentality of his own modest bilingualism and expressed to Madgett a wish to “be employed with advantage” under Hoche

“ as to rank I could be of use in the family of the *général en chef* speaking a little French, to interpret between him and the natives,” (Tone II 142)

Tone made a seemingly casual observation in January 1798 that is most useful for contextualising the role of *secrétaire-interprète* within a military setting. On this occasion, the diary comment was sparked by Tone’s satisfaction that Bonaparte had personally sought his opinion on a young Irishman named McKenna, who had ‘applied to be employed as his *secretary* and *interpreter*’ (Tone *Life* 819, my emphasis). That this position could be sought was a fact evidently known to competent bilingual candidates, otherwise McKenna would not have applied. He may very well have been the Thomas McKenna, student of the Irish College in Paris, who had many years earlier stood out as a spokesman and interpreter during the Champ de Mars incident of 1790, an incident made worse by a misunderstanding arising from language barriers (Swords 1989 33-4, 236). McKenna in fact sailed with the Bantry expedition and then served as adjutant to Napper Tandy on board the *Anacreon* in September 1798, probably fulfilling a linguistic function in both instances and possibly extending to knowledge of Irish in the second campaign, though this is not specified (Hayes 1949 183). Tandy’s initial request to the Minister for External Relations to serve the French republic in the projected expedition had had to be translated from the English, justifying the presence of McKenna as a younger, linguistically competent *adjoint* (CPA/592/138).

We may assume that the written dimension of the post of *secrétaire-interprète* must have simply been that of a *bilingual* secretary, competent to translate key documents

needed by a senior officer. This must have been the function Tone was appointed to fulfil for Hoche in the army of Sambre et Meuse, (mentioned in the letter to Bonaparte above, as Appendix 3 9) described in his own words as follows

“I learned in the minister’s bureau, that I am *designed* as the officer ‘*charged with the general’s foreign correspondence*’ That has a lofty sound!” (Tone *Life* 73, my emphasis)

Tone’s pleasure at the appointment clouded his linguistic judgment, as he (uncharacteristically) recorded a glaring gallicism in transliterating his task description, ‘backtranslated’ into French as ‘vous êtes *designé* en tant qu’officier *charge* de la correspondance étrangère du général.’ However there is no mention in any document in Tone’s personnel file in the Vincennes archives that this 1797 enlistment was one of a *secrétaire-interprète*, despite the fact that the position was one to which bilingual Irishmen could aspire (SHA/17y<sup>d</sup>14/Tone). This was an ideal posting for Tone, given his prior experience as a secretary, and personal exactness with regard to writing, copying and language in general. Despite the remarkable flourishes of his correspondence in French, he would express unwarranted and somewhat affected anxiety at his *written* French.

“Je ne sais pas, General, si vous saurez lire mon français, je l’écris si execrablement, mais si vous pouvez le déchiffrer.” (NLI MS 705/25-6)

Two months later, a shift in responsibility saw Tone charged with the ‘*Armement, équipement [sic] et habillement des troupes*’ and also immensely displeased to have MacSheehy as his aide (Tone *Life* 743). In a wily request to General Cherin, Tone claimed ‘ce citoyen ne me convient pas du tout, ayant moi même très peu d’expérience. J’ai besoin d’un adjoint qui, ayant l’habitude du travail et connaissant la routine des bureaux, pourra par ses lumières et son expérience suppléer à mes défauts.’

(TCD MS 2050/3) Tone did acknowledge MacSheehy's 'talents', but claimed '[il] manque absolument des connaissances indispensables dans un adjoint', and requested that Cherin name "un autre (sic) In his diary Tone was less diplomatic, and his views echo future criticisms of the commander of the Irish Legion

"Cherin has saddled me with MacSheehy, who is a sad blockhead the most insufferable coxcomb he pesters my life out the real pattern of a vulgar, impudent, ignorant Irish dunce with great pretensions"  
(*Life* 743, DIB forthcoming)

Unfortunately, we do not have a more objective view of what contribution the controversial MacSheehy may have made as a former *secrétaire*-interprete, reputed to have spoken several languages (DIB, forthcoming, Hayes 1932 109) At the time of this incident they were stationed in Cologne Part of the context of overseeing conquered territories identified by Delisle and Woodsworth (1995) inevitably led to crosslinguistic communication, and Tone may have had to engage with the locals to source provisions Given his fondness for lyrical music, he may have had some competence in German

One final illustration of the function of bilingual military aide and/or secretary-interpreter relates to Sullivan's role in that capacity under Humbert in Mayo in 1798 He had of course gained substantial experience as a salaried translator within a Government department, and his survival depended on the positive vetting of his output by superiors By an extraordinary coincidence, the first manuscript confirming Sullivan's association with Humbert as an official and non-official secretary is also the only known sample of his hand in English, and also perfectly illustrates the routine paperwork a *bilingual* secretary would perform in a 'conquered territory' In this case it is the passport issued to a Lieutenant James Mahony of the Kerry Militia, wounded by the insurgents after the

taking of Castlebar but recognised as an old acquaintance by one of Humbert's auxiliaries, and for whom permission was granted 'to pass freely and without molestation...to Galway as a prisoner of war on parole' (Hayes 1937: facing p. 52, as Appendix 4.2.). Possibly this official phraseology may have been dictated to Sullivan by Mahony himself, and interestingly the document is dated '12 fructidor' (i.e. 29 August) in defiant disregard of the Gregorian calendar used outside France's borders. Humbert's signature follows the formulaic 'Signed by the general in chief', and is easily identified through comparison with other manuscripts attributable to him (SHA/482 GB 2e série (84d)/Humbert).

The generalities discussed in the previous section serve as an introduction to defining a clearer framework within which polyglot officers demonstrated their *instrumentality* in a military setting. Despite the assertion by Baeyens (1981) that Hoche had 'seen to' his team of interpreters, official French correspondence and military records relating to the Bantry expedition do not stipulate bilingual officers were appointed as linguistic mediators (BB4/120-3; CPA/589, 590; SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>, 17y<sup>4</sup> 14/Tone; Elliott 1982). The terms 'translator' and 'interpreter' are not to be found, though this by no means implies that role was not recognised. The same silence applies to Humbert's hastily planned campaign of 1798 which, though a much smaller undertaking, is all the more surprising. Two years had elapsed which had certainly witnessed failures and lost opportunities, but had also revived the status of the Irish within the French political and military establishment, and connections both official and personal between French and Irish would have raised awareness of language barriers. Paradoxically, many officers of the Ancien Régime would have been more likely to speak, or at minimum understand, English. Drawn from the nobility as was du Petit Thouars, they had privileged

upbringings, attended military academies and were more widely-travelled than many of the *roturiers* (commoners) who would take their place

The ready availability of anglophones in France helped solve the problem of language barriers in the military, even if identifying suitable recruits raised other, political, issues. Two years after Carnot (SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>) had reassured Hoche that he would send him 'English-speaking officers', Humbert made a similar comment on his forthcoming expedition, recognising the need for officers with language skills " les officiers et individus parlant la langue du pays ont ordre de se rendre a Brest " (SHM BB4/123/170). The succinct, but ambiguous, allusion to a 'native language' has been, justifiably, interpreted by Beiner (2001: 279) as clearly referring to Humbert's eagerness "to find *Irish* speakers" (my emphasis), though Humbert himself never specifies this (SHM *ibid*). In fact, this crucial question of recruiting Irish speakers is equally absent from logistical discussions surrounding the Bantry expedition. Himself born in the Vosges, an eastern border region of France, part of which had only been re-annexed in 1766, and where regional dialects were still prevalent, Humbert was evidently sensitive to Ireland's bilingual status, and the remoteness of the region where he intended landing (Jacotey 1980: 11). Awareness of Ireland's cultural specificities would have been heightened as a result of befriending Irishmen due to his early interest in leading a descent somewhere in the British isles (Jacotey 1980, SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>). But as a seasoned soldier, Humbert was no stranger to the problem of commanding troops speaking a multiplicity of regional dialects and *patois*, a feature of the Republic's Army which mirrored the heterogeneous cultural makeup of French society (Bertaud 1979, 1990). This was to be one of the many weaknesses of his force in Mayo, 'cobbled together from

detachments who knew nothing of each other' and originating from the Languedoc, Normandy, the Massif Central, the Vosges, and Alsace (Bertaud 1990 223)

The question of just how these polyglot officers were to be found, and in what capacities they would be deployed, can be partially answered by collating miscellaneous references scattered through the archives. Insights are provided in two plans submitted in the course of 1796, the first by General Humbert and the second by an unknown cavalry officer, one Beaupre (SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>, 482 GB (84d)/ Humbert, AN/AF/III/186<sup>b</sup>/859). Together they constitute a starting point to formulate the context in which officers competent to interpret would operate. Both intended to contribute to the strategic planning for what would become the Bantry expedition and had offered their own services, and though neither seems to have been acknowledged, their views may very well have been taken into consideration by the authorities. The French military authorities had long been receiving unsolicited memoranda proposing schemes for invading the British Isles, and Ireland in particular (AAE/MD/53, Beresford de la Poer 1975, Elliott 1982, SHA/MR/501). Many of these linked military strategy with political and mercantile arguments, but these plans, Beaupre's in particular, reflected the views of experienced officers who adopted a very pragmatic approach to troop management in multicultural settings. The recruitment of polyglot officers was seen as vital for drilling the men and generally maintaining order and discipline, but Humbert and Beaupre also emphasised the key role they would play in making contact with the local population. It is precisely at that point of contact that linguistic mediators were needed because of the communicative process involved in 'making and keeping allies' identified by Delisle and Woodsworth (1995). That interface between the invading force and local leaders

would become a major issue and was eloquently reflected in eye-witness narratives of the Mayo campaign (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 265, Little 1800, Stock 1982)

Humbert had in the spring of 1796 responded to Carnot's anglophobia by submitting his own *Idees pour etablir une Chouannerie en Irlande*, which regrettably makes only indirect allusion to linguistic mediators (SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>, 482 GB (84d)/ Humbert, Jacotey 1980: 219-221). Humbert's plan does stipulate that only intelligent and literate officers should be placed at the head of companies, and details the prescribed behaviour following a landing of such *chefs* in terms of reconnaissance, lodging, provisions, and cooperation with the local inhabitants (Jacotey *ibid.*: 219-220). The success of such endeavours evidently depended on effective communication free of misunderstandings, but it is only half-way through the text, i.e. in the 13<sup>th</sup> article on spies, obtaining local intelligence and encouraging desertions among enemy troops that the usefulness of "militaires qui connaîtraient la langue anglaise" is mentioned (*ibid.*: 220). This indicates that for Humbert, the recruitment of anglophone officers was necessary, though he concludes by pointing out that all the *émigré* Irish could be persuaded that the cause France was defending was their own (*ibid.*: 221). This would be a fine opportunity for them to join and seek vengeance on the English, once again *implying*, if not specifically stating, that English-speakers would be part of the force.

In sharp contrast, Beaupre's commonsense submission to the Directory was very eloquent on the subject and constitutes a precious contribution to the arduous task of reconstructing translation history (AN/AF/III/186<sup>b</sup>/859). Beaupre, an experienced chef d'escadron attached to the suite of the 20th cavalry regiment, recognized the centrality of multilingual communication. Appropriately addressed to the bilingual General Clarke as head of the military section of the Directory, Beaupre's main purpose was to propose

for the planned 'invasion of England' that a dedicated corps of troops - part infantry, part cavalry - be raised which would be "entièrement composé d'hommes sachant parler anglais" (Beaupré, *ibid*). He supports his proposal by stating the evident '*utilité*' of such a corps from both a military and political perspective, his lexis echoing in French Tate's 'instrumentality'. Firstly, numerous Frenchmen forced to leave England harboured a desire for vengeance against the perfidious and corrupt government which had expelled them, and they spoke English. There were also in France many men with valuable experience who had served in the Irish regiments, as well as émigrés Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen, many of whom were 'proscrits ou émigrés de leurs pays'. Further, there were many "*Anglo-Américains*" also in France, consequently recruitment on French soil was not to be a problem.

After landing, one of the first tasks of these anglophone officers would be to enlist deserters and "naturels du pays" seeking to join up. Wearing their own distinctive uniform, members of the unit would be strategically spread out among the men to maximise surveillance, their vigilance thus preventing treason or plotting, presumably aided by their linguistic and cultural ability to monitor conversations and pick up on colloquialisms. However, the most important function stipulated was that of "éclaireurs", i.e. scout or guide, for any column, regiment, "demi-brigade" or reconnaissance patrols which may require their services. While the instrumentality of the polyglot scout-cum- native informant is frequently identified in narratives of exploration, and recurrent in translation history, it is most welcome to note Beaupré's juxtaposing it with the specific role of 'interprete' (*sic*) (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995; Karttunen 1994: xi). Significant too is the comparison between Beaupré's views and those of a bilingual officer who *did* serve in the Bantry campaign, none other than

Theobald Wolfe Tone The function of '*eclaireur*' had clearly captured his imagination as being directly relevant to his personal goals but also reflected his natural curiosity about language, and lexis in particular Tone first uses the word, embedded (in French) in a diary entry relating a discussion (in English) with General Clarke, and emphasised it by dotted underlining (Tone II 210) Discussing preparations for the expedition, Tone when asked by Clarke if he wished to form his own regiment, unveiled plans he had clearly given some thought to

“I should like very well to command two or three hundred [Irish] formed into a corps of hussars to serve with the advanced guard of the army not only as soldiers but as *eclaireurs* to insense the country people” (ibid, Tone’s emphasis)

Tone characteristically enjoyed using evocative French words such as *eclaireur* which were stored in his mental lexicon, and possibly he knew it was one of the decade’s neologisms, first used in an account of one of the Revolution’s earliest campaigns (1792) then becoming more widespread in narratives of Bonaparte’s foreign exploits after 1797 (*Ami du peuple* 29 Decembre 1792 7, Frey 1925 261) Later, writing in Brest, he uses it as the only French word in a lengthy entry recording Hoche and Admiral Villaret de Joyeuse speaking of the English ‘ who had also *eclaireurs* off the Ushant” (Tone II 365) The term may have been encountered through his diligent reading of various cavalry manuals and regulations that he ‘picked up dog cheap’ while ‘lounging in bookstalls’, but he may also have discussed the potential role for him with Madgett, or with those who had seen active service like Sullivan or even du Petit-Thouars But Tone’s qualification of the role of *eclaireur* as one sent to “insense” the locals is a further testimony to his skill as a writer to convey very specific meanings The verb ‘to insense’ is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary (1901, 1989) as only dialectical in usage after the seventeenth-century, being derived from the French

*ensenser* and signifying to ‘cause a person to understand or know something, to inform’ (OED 1989 Vol VII 1010) Tone’s use, in this context, most certainly depicts the scout as a liaison officer charged with a communicative task, and mirrors his own profile as one ‘necessary in [Hoche’s] communications with the people of Ireland’ and more specifically ‘of use to interpret between [him] and the natives’ (quoted above) However, what is even more extraordinary is that so unusual is Tone’s use of ‘insense’, that his is the sole example for the entire eighteenth-century quoted in the OED illustrating its contextual use (1901, 1989 *ibid*) Tone describes thus how information was imparted to Bonaparte in the celebrated interview of late December 1797 “Lewines *insensed* him [i.e. Bonaparte] a good deal on Irish affairs” (Tone *Life* 817, OED *ibid*) During the long wait for the Bantry expedition to set sail, Tone had ‘written out about thirty Irish airs for the band of my regiment’ and added he “must *insense* Hoche” on that score, the word once again italicised in the manuscript (Tone II 344)

As an avid theatre-goer, Tone might also have enjoyed the more light-hearted treatment of the bilingual scout as a critical link depicted in a charming stereotypical fashion, if he attended a performance of Mittie’s *Descente en Angleterre prophétique* (1797) (CPA/592/230-246) Following a successful landing on British soil, the French general leading an advance guard sends his “guide anglais”, i.e. presumably English-speaking’ to reconnoitre The latter’s English counterpart (offstage) overhears them and in a panic bleats “Oûsdere?” [Who’s there?], the French scout mischievously responding “Frend” (sic) The ‘prophétie’ concludes with the French welcoming their Scottish and Irish comrades in arms who rose to join forces with them (“Houra! Houra!”) It is interesting to note how the caricaturisation of scouts as linguistic mediators featured in popular entertainment and thus the public imagination (*ibid*)

Beaupre's submission concludes on a sociopolitical point, arguing that even if no expedition took place, the unit would 'occupy' English-speakers around France and would take care to weed out potential spies among the "Anglo-americains" He ends by offering his services to the Directory to command the corps, stating that he could speak and write the English language, and through frequent trips to England, Ireland and Scotland, he possessed the essential local knowledge of these places "necessaire pour faire la guerre" (Beaupre *ibid*) While his is the most detailed, it is worth noting similar applications by French officers to the Directory which imply they were 'unsolicited', i.e. not responding to a publicised call for military interpreters Unfortunately not enough is known about close contacts between the Paris-based United Irishmen and obscure Frenchmen such as the *chef de brigade* Beaupoils, writing to the Minister for External Relations expressing regret at the failure of Bantry (CPA/590/194) Beaupoils had wished to serve under Hoche, "auquel j'aurais pu être utile connaissant la langue, le genre, les coutumes du peuple chez lequel il allait", and claimed longstanding links of friendship with many 'patriotes Irlandois' whom he had known as a member of the *Societe des Amis des droits de l'homme* in 1793 These included the Sheares brothers, now reputable Dublin lawyers and "bons patriotes" whom he commended to the Minister In broadening his statement by citing his sociocultural knowledge of the Irish people, Beaupoils implies that basic competence in a language was not sufficient for meaningful intercultural contact, and echoes similar statements by others

Of further interest are two letters by a certain Lachaise, an infantry captain who wrote to the Minister for the Marine on the 'insurrection' in Ireland (i.e. summer of 1798), expressing the wish to serve in a French strike to assist what was certain to become a full-scale revolution (SHM/BBA/123/254) Not only did Lachaise, a veteran of the

American campaign, speak English, but having served three years in an Irish batallion (unspecified), he too was fully familiar with “lès mœurs et le caractere des Irlandois”, and had meditated on the advantages of a small force descending on the island with numerous “patriotes irlandois” (ibid) Seemingly well informed on conditions in the north, he recommended Donegal Bay or Lough Swilly as a landing point in a plan ‘matured’ through lengthy talks with an experienced and talented Irish seafarer who provided precious knowledge on Ireland’s coastal waters The latter is unidentified, but resembles other descriptions of Captain John Murphy, a United Irishman who despite years of clandestine activity liaising between Ireland and France did not know French, and was later to request Thomas Addis Emmet to act as his interpreter (AN/AF/IV/1672/2/216, CPA 592 411, Hayes 1937 17, 258-9)

Lachaise also mentioned the English prisoners of war in France, and more specifically the Irish among them whom he estimated at one quarter the overall figure (SHM/BBA/123/254) As demonstrated in the discussion of Madgett and Sullivan’s freedom to combine linguistic mediation with political advocacy while ‘recruiting’ among prisoners of war, the issue was topical and frequent references in contemporary French correspondence imply measures were taken to address the linguistic dimension of overseeing these ‘guests’ of the French nation (Chapter 2.4, CPA/589, 590 17, SHA B11<sup>1</sup>) Broadly speaking, the frequent manner in which ‘les prisonniers irlandois’ are distinguished from *English* prisoners of war (which as subjects of the British Crown, they were) is in itself revealing of how as a ‘people’ they were perceived by the French, something too readily overlooked by historians understandably influenced by the cynicism of the United Irishmen who subsequently doubted the sincerity of French motives More significant for the purpose of this thesis was the

official decree of 8 Brumaire II on the appointment of interpreters in prisoner of war depots, a role Sullivan may have assumed when acting as an ‘inspector’ on what he described as a “mission particuliere” (see Chapter 2) Apart from ensuring the process of due justice, the presence of eloquent bilinguals such as Sullivan facilitated the ‘proselytising’ necessary to encourage ‘Irish patriots’ to desert and join the French cause of ‘serving liberty’, as the Constitution prohibited the recruitment of foreigners as part of the just code on the treatment and exchange of prisoners of war (Rapport 2001 163, 215, 276)

Within a few days of Tone’s deprecating remarks on Madgett conducting pilgrimages to ‘propagate the faith among the Irish’ prisoners of war, the *Directoire* decreed the commissioning of an Irishman, the *chef de bataillon* Thomas O’Meara for the controversial task of overseeing the regrouping and training of foreign deserters at Peronne (AF/III 358/d 1686, 27 March 1796, also Debidour II 39, Tone II 121, Elliott 1982 274, Tone *Life* 526) Born in Dunkerque to an exiled Irish officer, with an impressive record in the Irish Brigades, O’Meara was well assimilated into French society and his overseeing role was evidently enhanced by his bilingualism In late August he was specifically commissioned to accompany *Irish* prisoners of war to the depot at la Guerche, himself sailing to Bantry on the *Eole* under Harty (Debidour III 461, Hayes 1949 243-4, SHA/B11<sup>1</sup> [*ordre d’embarquement*]) In one of his frequent exchanges with Clarke, O’Meara recommended his compatriot James Sweeney, an officer with a distinguished record in the French service who had been suspended from active duty in the xenophobic roundups of October 1793 (AN/AFIII/186<sup>b</sup>) Sweeney had since then been employed in the Blois camp ‘pour commander les prisonniers de guerre parlant l’anglais’, the ambiguity in this latter phrase to be contrasted with the

specificity of other documents clearly distinguishing the Irish among the anglophone prisoners (who may have included Scots, Welsh, Canadians or suspect Americans) Throughout the spring they were assembled from various depots in the northwest of France, marched via Beauvais (an important gathering point) to La Guerche under McDonagh, another Irish chef de bataillon specially summoned to supervise the column's progress (SHA/B11<sup>1</sup>, Hayes 1932: 48). He may be the same McDonagh, stationed in a regiment at La Rochelle, who enthusiastically lobbied for a French strike to assist his compatriots 'lift the yoke' of tyranny as early as March 1793 (CPA/587/9, Joannon, forthcoming). That the French authorities had political motivations in placing these Irishmen in such positions, and clearly trusted them more than other foreign anglophones who may have earned military recognition in France, is certain. However the self-evident advantage of these men's capacity to engage in linguistic mediation between the prisoners and whatever French servicemen (i.e. clerks keeping muster roles) they encountered should be stressed. Shortly before embarking for Bantry, Tone himself was ordered by Hoche to a prisoner camp at Pontanezen and to offer "their liberty to [those] willing to serve aboard the French fleet" (Tone II: 371). Evidently this implied Tone relaying the men's responses to his 'proselytising', in English, to the authorities back into French. His first experience among his compatriots in a leadership capacity was successful as he recruited sixty men, fifty of whom were Irishmen displaying a "careless gaiety", strongly marking "the national character". Tone had not shied, it must be added, from making "them drink heartily before they left the prison". Given the sophisticated register of language he had displayed in his written polemical works, and presumably during public United Irish debates, it is a pity there are no more insights into how he may have modulated his register of English when addressing these 'men of no property'.

On 21 September, Tone met Colonel Henri Shée, a “very agreeable” French-born Irish officer appointed as an ‘*agent civil*’ under General Hoche, whose wife and daughter would welcome and befriend Matilda and the Tone children on their arrival in Paris (Tone II 310, 317, III forthcoming) Having also been secretary to the late Philippe Egalite, former Duc d’Orleans, Shée’s considerable experience in the formalities of written French was to prove useful in his collaboration with Tone on various reports, addresses and proclamations linked to the informative and rhetorical dimension of the expedition, many of which they translated (Tone II 343-4, 375-396) Because they corresponded in English, they probably conversed in that language too, but it is likely Shée acted as a linguistic advisor, who could sympathetically deal with Tone’s lingering errors in French (Tone III forthcoming)

Tone describes one incident, where he acted as an interpreter at Shée’s request, though his role in translating is only inferred (Tone II 363) A ship from Liverpool had been seized and its crew bringing the alarming intelligence “that the revolution was effected in Ireland” while the French fleet still lay in wait at Brest, and Shée confirmed he had been ordered by Hoche to examine the captain, for which he “desired [Tone’s] assistance” (II 363) Shée was bilingual, and could easily relay the English captain’s questions back to Hoche, and Admiral Villaret de Joyeuse, present at the interview Possibly it had been decided that the presence of an interpreter would create an intimidating distance between the interviewee and the senior participants, but also that Tone could pick up on subtle nuances in English Tone gives no details of the linguistic dimension to the captain’s interview, and his record employs the traditional technique of ‘airbrushing’ the technicalities of translation He merely states “Our informer said ” and does not specify the relay back into French However, of the four ‘interrogators’,

only Tone possessed the cultural and political knowledge' necessary to assess the veracity of the interviewee's statements on the political situation in Ireland. He exploited his lawyer's experience at judging character, his keen ear for language, and the subaltern status of the interviewee to confidently conclude: "Altogether he lied and prevaricated so much that I do not pay the least attention to his story...in the first place, he set out with a lie, in saying he was American, for he was a Scotchman, with a broad accent." (II: 364-5). This episode can be seen as an initiation for Tone into bilateral interpreting, as he would have been required to relay back into French the answers provided in English by the interviewee.

His next task was even more fulfilling as he was directly asked by Hoche to render into English "orders and instructions" for Tate, to be sent on a "buccaneering party into England" with the infamous *Légion Noire* (BBA/103/33; Tone II: 397-9). Tone does not comment on linguistic aspects of the transfer process, or what level of effort he had to make to translate, save that the instructions were "incomparably well drawn", making clear he understood them. Regrettably, Tone's translation was not located in Tate's personal file at Vincennes (SHA/17y<sup>d</sup> 12/Tate). Once the Bantry expedition was under way, and until his capture in October 1798, Tone would work on writing, translating, and copying in both French and English various addresses and landing proclamations critical to inform the Irish of French intentions (Tone II: 420-2, 426, TCD MS 2050/15-16, 34-40r, in Tone III [forthcoming], SHA B11<sup>1</sup>, B11<sup>2</sup>). A comparative discussion of these texts would be too lengthy and cannot be entered into here, but it must be noted that Tone may have worked hastily copying sections already in English, as the French revolutionary rhetoric does not transfer well into English and does not read like Tone's other flowing compositions. One example is Hardy's 1798 proclamation, copies of

which were found on board the *Hoche* when Tone was captured (SHA/B11<sup>2</sup>) It is hard to believe that sections of Hardy's harangue to the United Irishmen are Tone's rendering into English

“Unhappy victims of the most execrable despotism, you who groan in hideous dungeons, where at every moment you are plunged by the ferocious cruelty of your English tyrants etc”

Yet a manuscript copy of the French original, in Tone's hand, is filed at Vincennes and indicates he may indeed have translated it (SHA/B11<sup>2</sup>) A case study of the various proclamations is made possible because, like Tone's *Memorials*, we not only have access to the source-language and target-language texts, but direct insights into the dramatic circumstances in which they were written and translated This is encapsulated by Tone's description, on 22 December 1796 on board the *Indomptable* which was anchored inside Bantry Bay, of having to rewrite and translate with Cherin proclamations left on another ship (Tone II 423) Cherin's French version of the address *To the People of Ireland* (needed as a record for the Directory), and Tone's English translation written in a firm and steady hand have been preserved at Vincennes (B11<sup>1</sup>, page 1 of each as Appendix 4.3) These are unique documents in both the history of 1798 and translation history

4.3 'quelques officiers parlant la langue du pays' O'Keane, Sullivan, Teeling and Tone

The preceding section discussed the generally ad hoc approach to the issue of translation which emerges from official French records linked to the military campaigns of 1796-8, despite the inevitability that senior officers, upon landing in Ireland, would encounter the “confusion of three languages” described by Stock (1982: 35) The unregulated

approach to interpreting in military settings is apparent from the spontaneity of the offers volunteered by bilinguals hoping to be recruited, and the absence of official texts stipulating procedures for officers working with interpreters. Certainly no official guidelines stipulating procedures and ethical behaviour for military interpreters have been located in the files at Vincennes linked to the French campaigns in Ireland (SHA B11<sup>1</sup>, B11<sup>2</sup>, personal files etc). Given that military protocol was as structured and tightly-disciplined as the diplomatic corps, it is surprising that no orders as specific as those issued to the American ambassador Monroe could be located (Hamilton 1903: 8, see Chapter 3, p. 153). Before even considering language barriers as a hindrance to communication, it is clear that in the context of military conflicts and invasions, the behaviour and decisions of officers as representatives of such a formidable institution as an army would take precedence over those of civilians. Even civilians enjoying a privileged status in their own society (e.g. members of parliament, magistrates or senior clerics), would have to show deference to senior military personnel. In contacts and conversations between these two groups, power relations would establish the parameters of discourse and regulate conversations (Forrester 1996: 116).

These considerations presume a common language of communication, yet individuals enjoying a privileged status in their society would, automatically, be at a disadvantage when having to interact with someone with whom one did *not* share a common language. For example, Hoche was widely admired by both Frenchmen and Irishmen; the fact that he had no English and had to rely on intermediaries did not diminish his reputation (Escande 1888). A situation such as the French invasion of Mayo implied tensions, fears, and divided loyalties between French and English soldiers on the one hand, and on the other civilians sympathetic or opposed to the French invasion. All

these relations were complicated by the fact that not two, but three languages dictated how communicative exchanges were to be managed. It has also been noted how military conflicts metaphorically place the two (at minimum), languages and cultures involved in conflict, heightening tensions to the point that in the case in question, speaking either English or French even in a routine conversation would become a partisan act (Laponce 1984: 77). Interpreter-mediated exchanges typically reinforce the status differential between individuals, and the Mayo context perfectly illustrates a setting in which interpreters, at a time of historic change have to accommodate to the temporal positioning of languages, and asymmetrical power relations (Cronin 2003: 120-2, 126, Gentile 1996: 17-8, 30).

When considering the roles of O'Keane, Sullivan, Teeling and Tone in the Mayo campaign, it must be stressed this was first and foremost the role of an aide de camp to the general, but with an added complexity. The great military theorist Von Clausewitz (1976, I: 17-8) underlined how senior officers must exercise quick judgment on contradictory and often unreliable information, and while never referring to the assessment of intelligence obtained across language barriers, he does stipulate that caution was needed when acting on intelligence obtained "in the thick of fighting itself". That the integrity and discipline of the four Irish aides serving Humbert was recognised by the French officer corps is certain, and while archival sources rarely, if ever, link these qualities to their role as linguistic mediators in the tense environment of the French occupation, one cannot disassociate the military function from the communicative one. An appropriate definition of their role would be the simple term of 'contact interpreting', often used to describe liaison interpreting, but also reflecting how officers obtain what is

called 'contact information' by sending their interpreters out to reconnoitre, in the thick of action (Carrias 1937, Gentile 1996 17)

Regrettably, Humbert's correspondence and official despatches, as well as the accounts of Fontaine, Jobit, Sarrazin and Thomas, do not refer to their experience of conducting military business through any of the four Irish officer-interpreters (Joannon 1998, SHA B11<sup>2</sup>, SHA/482 GB (84d)/Humbert) However, two overlapping perspectives, representing the views of a French officer and his reluctant English interviewee, thankfully provide some indication of how interpreter-mediated exchanges were managed by military authorities The first source is provided by Adjutant-General Cortez, who sailed under Savary in the disastrous expedition of late October 1798 intended to reinforce Humbert (Desbriere 1900-2 II 184-7, Elliott 1982 234-5 SHM BB4/123, Van Brock 1968) While anchored off Kildummin Strand, Cortez reported that a boat carrying 8 to 10 Irishmen came alongside, but

"having no interpreter, who could speak Irish, to question them, I was reduced to employing a hussar of the 12 regiment, who spoke English fairly well," (Cortez to Minister of War [Scherer] translated by Van Brock 1968 268)

The allusion to Irish as a crucial medium of communication in Mayo is welcome, as it is so rare in most narratives of 1798, but unfortunately cannot be expanded on here Evidently, any Irish speakers with poor English would have been at a disadvantage when having to explain themselves to Cortez through the French hussar However, despite his military rank, Cortez was equally at a disadvantage as he could not seemingly interrogate the men without calling on one of his polyglot officers This anecdote illustrates the ad hoc approach to language mediation, and the recurrent pattern of interrogators resorting to 'someone' bilingual close at hand As a result of editing

Captain Jobit's account of Humbert's expedition, Joannon (1998 52 n 33) concluded it was biased, confused and extremely unreliable. Jobit's casual comment that he encountered "plusieurs cavaliers anglais parlant tous tres bien français" probably reflects a commonplace reality throughout the French invasion (Jobit 1998 65). Yet we know that General Humbert specifically planned to have polyglots attached to his officer corps, with the advantage that unlike civilians they would be bound by military discipline. This reference by Cortez is highly useful to set the scene for the mediation conducted during the French occupation of Mayo given the absence of direct insights from Humbert, his officers or the four Irish captain-interpreters.

The second vital source of insight is provided by Captain Joseph Bull, a reluctant anglophone interviewee captured by Cortez off the coast of Killybegs. Having sailed out to the ships presumed to be British, he soon realised his error, but was "hailed in very good English" and ordered on board the *Concorde*, where "the Commodore", i.e. Captain Savary, and Cortez, interrogated him (Aldridge 1967 66). Bull's description of his interrogation during the Council of War that followed resembles a later one given by Miles Byrne (Chapter 5). It also matches the model formulated by Gentile et al (1996 52-3) which considers how the presence of an interpreter transforms a bilateral exchange between (at minimum) two participants, into a 'three-cornered' one. In any conversation, participants fulfil distinct roles linked to their status, and naturally have expectations as to how others will behave in accordance with their functions in the institutions they represent. It is self-evident that in such settings, uniforms also acted as visual reminders of rank and status, especially for the civilians caught up in the conflict. Thus we are not surprised that Bull states that it was Savary, as the most powerful

participant, who began the interview, and managed its progress by controlling the turns taken by speakers

Participants with shared experiences, i.e. those from similar backgrounds and/or belonging to the same profession, also have mutual expectations of each other's behaviour during an exchange, as well as sharing specialised knowledge which can help bridge linguistic understandings (Gentile *ibid* 19, 35-52) Bull's account makes clear that he expected to be treated fairly in accordance with his rank, and when it became obvious he would not be freed, he reminded Savary of the Cartel which regulated prisoner of war exchanges, citing a relevant clause (SHM FF1/33/V1, pages 6-7 as Appendix 4.4, Aldridge *ibid* 68-9) Familiarity with this Cartel (printed in a dual-language version to prevent misunderstandings and facilitate reference to it) was the type of contextual knowledge an interpreter would have to be familiar with to accurately convey meanings. While a military translator would be aware of the Cartel's significance and content, a bilingual civilian recruited on the spot might not, placing them out of the 'information loop'. Finally, Bull's casual observation that when he entered the cabin, "the Council was sitting" signals his recognition that his interrogators held the privileged status in the encounter. The positioning of participants is frequently cited as an essential issue in community interpreting, indicating hierarchies but also important for maintaining eye contact, a fact noted by Byrne too (Gentile *ibid* 23)

Bull, first noting he was "very minutely questioned" on the Crown forces in and near Killala, then introduces the essential lynchpin to communication, i.e. a third participant who by translating backwards and forwards becomes what Gentile et al (1996: 114) describe as the "conduit of discourse". Textual signposts, marking a) this role of

‘conduit’ of communication, and b) the implicit presence of an intermediary (through the definite article ‘the’) are emphasised below

“I not wishing to undeceive him, gave him to understand *by means of the* Interpreter that there was a force sufficient to repel any attempt ”  
(Aldridge *ibid* 67 my emphasis)

That Bull wrote ‘Interpreter’ with an upper case ‘I’ acknowledges a certain formality to the role. He too would (like Byrne), later have the opportunity to chat informally with “the person who had acted as Interpreter” on deck. He found him both amiable and informative, and noted his bilingualism was a functional consequence of war, as

“he had been for some time a prisoner in England there had learned a great deal of the English language. He spoke it much better than most foreigners ” (*ibid* 68)

The sense of disempowerment Bull felt as a captive was certainly exacerbated by “what little French” he had, adding “I had not so much of the French language to understand” a sailor’s cry (*ibid* 69). But as the latter probably used maritime jargon, uttered in unpolished French and possibly marked by a regional accent, it is not surprising that an officer of the Prince of Wales regiment could not decipher this colloquial version of the *lingua franca* of the Enlightenment (Bertaud 1990). Yet Bull’s brief depiction of the interpreter, through whom he was forced into ‘dialogue’ with his captors, is not resentful of this reliance and speaks more of a certain empathy between officers than of linguistic barriers.

A final consideration highlights the dynamic of interpreter-mediated exchange in military contexts, and that is the question of whether Savary genuinely needed to use a translator. His orders were unequivocal: he was to stop all pilot boats or fishermen, and *interrogate* the masters to obtain intelligence on the comparative forces of the

“Royalistes” and United Irishmen (AN/SHM BB4 123/14) To researchers in translation history, it is disappointing that this order does not allude to how language barriers were to be overcome, or what criteria to apply in selecting an interpreter Furthermore, Savary was instructed to interrogate key informants/witnesses in the presence of General Humbert and no one else, but to question them separately, in order to compare their “diverse depositions” (ibid) This strategy for assessing intelligence is perfectly logical from a military point of view, but from a communicative one seems to deny the presence of an interpreter While it is apparent from relevant manuscripts that Humbert did not (initially) speak or understand English, Savary’s case may have been different While evidently not an Irish speaker, he could not have totally ignored English either, as he had 42 years’ service at sea, having started as a cabin boy and risen through the ranks of the mercantile marine (Van Brock 1968 265-6)

One may conjecture that by imposing the presence of an interpreter, and thus appearing to act fairly to prevent misunderstandings based on language difference, senior officers like Savary were in fact intentionally *increasing* the distance between themselves and their interviewee This is supported by the crucial point made by Cronin (2003 134) in his discussion of the dealings of Hugh O’Neill and Elizabeth I, when the physical presence of the interpreter “established the difference of cultural and political distance” In military contexts, where hierarchical differentials between participants are based on rank and ‘invader-invaded’ and military-civilian distinctions, the decision by an officer to relay questions through a mediator would further ritualise a process, primarily based on protocol It would also reinforce the superior status of the main participant, somewhat intimidating the interviewee while conferring a mystical power on the interpreter too

These depictions appear “piecemeal and often only marginally or incidentally concerned” with translators or interpreters, but they contribute to reconstructing linguistic mediation in tense military settings (Bowen et al 1995: 245). The opposing perspectives of Cortez and Bull are particularly useful, because such insights are absent from the period sources linked to Humbert’s presence in Mayo, and in his own correspondence. Of the four Irish officers to have served in the French campaigns of 1798, files only exist at Vincennes for the two who survived, i.e. O’Keane and Sullivan (SHA/2Y<sup>e</sup> O’Keane, Sullivan). No files for Bartholomew Teeling or Matthew Tone were located at Vincennes, including searches using the various *noms de guerre* they were known to have used, i.e. Burke/Biron, and Brown/Smith respectively (Castlereagh 1848-53 I: 409), Joannon 1998: 47, SHA B11<sup>1</sup>, SHA 17y<sup>d</sup> 14, SHM 123, TCD Madden 872/873 Fullam’s Account, cited in Hayes: 279). A further complication is that while it is usually *four* Irish officers who are mentioned as having landed with the French, i.e. in Jobit’s *Journal de l’expédition d’Irlande* (1998: 36), Little (81-2) identifies them as “Teeling, Roche, Tone [and] one Kane”, but adds “& another whose name I never learned, but found from conversing with him that he was a man of ability”. This fifth officer has not been identified. Though both files on O’Keane and Sullivan contain items written by them (confirming, *inter alia*, O’Keane’s own orthography of his surname) or by the authorities who refer to their service, there are virtually no references to the overlap between military and communicative tasks. Sullivan was the only one of the four who could claim direct and valuable experience as a professional translator and interpreter-inspector for prisoners of war in his former employment of the Département des Relations Extérieures. Yet in letters he wrote upon his return to France seeking confirmation of his rank, including one to Talleyrand who had replaced Sullivan’s former employer Delacroix as Minister for External Relations, he refers to

himself merely as a 'capitaine aide de camp' to Humbert (AAE/Pers/1/65/62<sup>f</sup>) In a letter taking up Sullivan's case, Talleyrand uses the stock phrases of "devoeuement talens patriotisme" to qualify the young Irishman's assistance to Humbert, but never states he was valued as an interpreter (AAE *ibid* /64) Other items in Sullivan's file discussing his military status, including a testimonial by Humbert, also state he was a captain, with no further allusions (SHA/2Y<sup>e</sup>/Sullivan)

In O'Keane's file, there is no trace of his original commission from Humbert as an officer-interpreter confirming he was hired for the 1798 campaign in that capacity (SHA B11<sup>2</sup>, 482 GB (84<sup>d</sup>)/Humbert, 2Ye/O'Keane, *ibid* Sullivan, SHM/BB<sup>4</sup>/123/170) Somewhat ironically, Musgrave's (1801 546) cumbersome and literal rendering of O'Keane's commission, "found among his papers", is easily translated back into the peculiar style of French military correspondence and leaves no doubt as to its authenticity While O'Keane's fluency in English or Irish are not referred to, Humbert confirms it is "on account of [his] civism" that he has chosen "citizen Henry O'Keon [sic] to be employed in the quality of an interpreter" (*ibid*) As official titles, or even observations and assessments on the role of military interpreter were not found in these files, a further potential source of information was sought This was O'Keane's trilingual account of Humbert's expedition, which Miles Byrne claimed to have seen Hugh Ware diligently copying for McNeven (Beiner 2001 280, Byrne 1907 II 206-8, Hayes 1937 xxiii, 1949, 131-2) This narrative was neither in O'Keane's file at Vincennes, nor in Byrne's nor Ware's (SHA 2Y<sup>e</sup> O'Keane and Ware, 3Y<sup>F</sup> 49404 1ere série Byrne) Despite being enlisted in the Irish Legion in 1803, no file exists for McNeven, either under his real name or his earlier pseudonym 'Williams' (SHA *ibid*) Like Hayes (1937 xxiii), "One cannot but regret" the loss of O'Keane's manuscript,

and the insights this mysterious narrative may have provided in terms of O'Keane's complex role as a trilingual officer and native informant

This introduction to how data was identified is necessary, as (apart from Stock's *Narrative*) the two main sources for the Mayo campaign to be discussed, while engaging and colourful, are in their own ways "sometime inaccurate and mutually contradictory as well" (Hayes 1937 xxiii). The first is Hayes's engaging *The Last Invasion of Ireland* (1937), that author himself having used the second set of sources - the combined accounts of Sarrazin, Jobit and Fontaine - and as a result having commented on the contradictions in their accounts. While Hayes' own study is impressive, and still remains today the most comprehensive historical work on Humbert's campaign, regrettably a degree of unreliability also applies to his own work. This point is raised by Beiner (2001 125) in his thesis on the social memory of *Bliain na bhFrancach*, in which he supports a criticism quickly voiced upon the book's publication. According to Costello (1938 91, in Beiner 125-6), the value of the *Last Invasion* "would be immeasurably increased were the author to have indicated the exact sources of his manuscript material". Swords (1989 10) also acknowledges that while the work of Hayes is "eminently readable", it is poorly referenced. Beiner drew extensively on the work of Hayes as his thesis was rooted in folk history, but here the "varied lore [and] traditions gathered by the wayside" (Hayes 1937 xxv) will be treated with caution, though they include interesting perspectives on interpreters. Extracts from Hayes will be selected in a translator-centred way to distinguish the communicative dimension of the service of the four Irish officers serving Humbert from the military one, partially documented elsewhere (Kelly 1998, Pakenham 1997).

There can be no doubt that the figure of Henry O'Keane emerges from the vernacular historiography of 1798 as the officer-interpreter to have left the strongest imprint on social memory (Beiner 2001 272-283, Cronin 2003 134-8) Indeed of the four, O'Keane appears to have played the most prominent role, and been given considerable autonomy to recruit and organise He is also the only one mentioned by name in Stock's account, having remained in Killala after Humbert pushed on towards Ballina (Stock 47-8, 91, 101-2) A testimonial later written for O'Keane by Humbert confirms this, and while the general is glowing in his praise of O'Keane's bravery, intelligence and activity, he never once mentions the issue of his aide's trilingualism as an immeasurable asset (Joannon collection, as Appendix 4 5 )

O'Keane's competence was clearly recognised by Stock "Of the English tongue, he retained enough to be quite intelligible being also an expert in Irish as well as French" (Stock 1982 47) That O'Keane's Irish was indeed what Humbert had referred to as "la langue du pays" is most probable, as French military strategists must have known that landing with English-speaking officers in such a remote part of the island would not have been sufficient, as Cortez discovered The issue of translation only arises once contacts are established between the French forces and the local population, i.e. after O'Keane, as a native of Killala, had helped pilot the French ships along the coast and assisted with "la descente de mes frères d'armes" (SHA 2Y<sup>6</sup>) Then O'Keane refers to the 'recruiting' skills which were to ensure his legacy in local folk memory, by declaring he had "souleve tout le pays dans quelques heures", (evidently urging potential followers in both English and Irish), and organised a corps of 3,000 men of which Humbert made him chef In his own words, but in Sullivan's distinctive hand, Humbert later confirmed

he made O'Keane "Colonel de la Légion des habitans Irlandois qui avaient pris les armes avec nous" (Joannon *ibid* )

With the assistance of four other (presumably French) officers, O'Keane goes on to state he organises "civillement et militairement" the conquered part of the county. This could be understood as generally acting as a liaison officer between his French superiors and the locals, either potential soldiers, or cooperative or resistant civilians. Communications with the latter group would arise from a range of issues linked to the occupation, i.e. sourcing provisions and lodgings, maintaining order while preventing looting, and issuing written *laisser-passers* or passports (Hayes 1937: 52, Stock *ibid* 12). The DIB (forthcoming) qualifies O'Keane's capacity to bridge the gap, and clarifying misunderstandings both linguistic and cultural, as one which made him an "ideal liaison officer". In military settings this function is often crucial even in monolingual exchanges, but the link with O'Keane is most appropriate as the type of oral translation he performed in close contact is known as *liaison* interpreting (Gentile 1996). But apart from speaking three languages, O'Keane appears to have been adept at the type of 'proselytising' from which Tone initially recoiled, proving to be a formidable recruiter, one informant even referring to him as "head of the rebels in Killala" (PRO/HO/100/78/420, Deposition of Dease). A further confirmation of O'Keane's oratorical skills is confirmed by Little (1800: 81-2), who explains that

"One *Kane* was actively employed in haranguing the people who resorted to the French Camp, & assembled in crowds in its neighbourhood, persuading the young & active to enlist with them & all to assist & favour their enterprise" (emphasis as per original)

Hayes (1937: 8) presents O'Keane as Humbert's "official interpreter", a somewhat ambiguous term as we have seen it is absent from period records. It is not clear if this is

meant that he took precedence over Sullivan, Teeling and Tone, or simply that his military status made him an official intermediary between Humbert and the local population. The vagueness of French military records on such a staff position does not in anyway diminish O'Keane's actual role, but Hayes' comment can be seen as a reflection of his own background as a medical officer under General Richard Mulcahy in the 1916 Rising (DIB). Mulcahy (1958: 210) recalled his actions in the "rushed movement of contact-making", and it is clear Hayes empathised with this contact role which O'Keane fulfilled as an interpreter.

Teeling's name precedes that of O'Keane in the same passage and is only identified as an "aide de camp" to Humbert, though in laudatory terms (Hayes 1937: 8). Nor are Matthew Tone or John Sullivan attributed a role of linguistic mediator in the frequent references to them (*ibid.*, see Hayes index). While not diminishing O'Keane's ability and military experience, sources cited so far demonstrate that of the four men, Sullivan was by far the most experienced at both translating and interpreting. Furthermore, Hayes states O'Keane spoke French, Irish and English fluently - certainly making him a "valuable acquisition" for Humbert, whereas Stock (1982: 47) is more reserved on his English, and Byrne recalls that the lost narrative was in Latin, English and Irish (Byrne 1907 II: 206-8).

Probably the most evocative episode demonstrating O'Keane's potent effect on the locals is the incident following the hanging of Walsh after the French victory at Ballina, and Sarrazin's oration praising the honour of the unfortunate victim:

"The French commander then mounted a rostrum in the street, and addressing his soldiers and the townspeople, spoke noble words in praise of the dead insurgent" (Hayes: 31)

Hayes must have mainly drawn on local folklore to reconstruct this graphic episode, as Sarrazin (despite his general lack of modesty), does not even allude to the hanging nor his ceremonial praise of the martyred rebel (Sarrazin 1998: 8-9). Fontaine himself barely alludes to it, merely stating the 'indignation' which erupted among the men at such a "lâche assassinat", elegantly translated by Hayes (Fontaine 1998: 76; Hayes 1937: 31). However, despite these discrepancies, Hayes' brief depiction of O'Keane's rendering of a French oration is evocative in terms of an incident easily impressed on social memory. Furthermore, it is totally consistent with the practice of interpreting speeches in public and formal settings, the process emphasised below in italics:

*"When he had finished, Captain Henry O'Keane took his place and repeated in Irish the sentiments of the commander's address. The incident created much emotion among the soldiers and citizens."*  
(Hayes: 31).

This mode of interpreting is known as consecutive, because the interpreter must wait for the main speaker to be finished before uttering the translation (Jones 1998: 142; Longley 1968: 3; Seleskovitch 1981). The main speaker evidently takes precedence, and in most cases the interpreter stands a few paces behind them, their subaltern status perceptible to all. But to fulfil their assigned task, interpreters to a certain extent must also 'share the floor' with the main speaker, becoming "an official and integral part of the proceedings", and thus the main speaker's prestige often transfers onto the interpreter (Jones 1998: 142). Physically present and fulfilling a useful role which determines the success of the communicative event, consecutive interpreters become both participant in a ritual, and witness to historic events. Because of the immediacy of the occasion and anticipation of the audience, their expressions must flow spontaneously (Seleskovitch 1981: 31). Finally, in transferring the original speaker's intent, "sans le fausser ni le dépasser", the interpreter must adapt the textual metaphors to match the cultural

expectations of those awaiting the meaning in their own language (Seleskovitch *ibid*) Hayes mirrors many writers in translation theory, by stating that O'Keane repeated Sarrazin's *sentiments* in Irish, even appropriating Irish phrases to the French commander, though it is extremely unlikely the latter used culture-bound expressions such as "Mo sheacht ngradh annsoin thu!" (Hayes 30) Words take on specific meanings in a given socio-cultural context, and because interpreters appropriate the utterances of another, their instinct must guide them to 're-use' language to serve a new function appropriate to the context (Wadensjo 1998 39-40) Discussed in the light of interpreting theory, the scene depicted by Hayes demonstrates the potent effect O'Keane may genuinely have had on the local population in appropriating Sarrazin's place, to such an extent that he then refers to the oration as "O'Kane's address" (Hayes 1937 30)

Without the modern advantage of a second microphone placed a few paces behind Sarrazin, O'Keane would indeed have to *take his place* both physically, by coming to the front of the rostrum, and figuratively (Wadensjo 1998 41) Given that his was a generation accustomed to depictions of major political events on film and in photographs, Hayes may well have been influenced by press photographs of such a diplomatic or military ceremony where an interpreter was present Further discrepancies are that Jobit (1998 31) states the "malheureux" was hanged from his own door, and not on a detached rostrum, Hayes having thus turned the reprisal into a ritualised public execution One must also ponder how the English speakers took in either the French or Irish utterances, as it is not stated nor implied that Sarrazin spoke in English Despite these quibbles, the scenario depicted by Hayes in which interpreters - in this case O'Keane - became the conduit of discourse between the French and the local Irish is perfectly realistic and would by no means be unrecognisable to practitioners and

theoreticians of interpreting. It is likely many similar scenes occurred during the course of the French presence on Irish soil.

Hayes then goes on to paint a most evocative picture of Humbert's welcome at Ballina, complete with French and Irish flags, a Tree of Liberty and harmonious mingling of soldiers and civilians (Hayes 1937: 31). Yet again, the "notable figure" of O'Keane emerges from the narrative, moving "among the people" and urging them to "throw in their lot with the army of liberation". This passage includes a significant reference to the 'instrumentality' of his trilingualism, as he addresses the people "alternately in Irish and English" but also relays Humbert's assurances (in French) that reinforcements were on the way. It could be easily missed, as due to an editorial error it is omitted in the index heading for 'O'Kane' (Hayes 1937: 338). Further references are purely military, and lead up to O'Keane's arrest and courtmartial, following which he was eventually released, sent back to France, but banished from Ireland (ibid: 206). O'Keane's local knowledge, trilingualism and experiences abroad made a potent combination which led to his pre-eminent role, though it must be said the military functions of recruiting and organising were those most noted by observers whether sympathetic or not.

Apart from O'Keane, only Sullivan of the four officers was to survive and be exchanged as a prisoner of war, often explained with the somewhat metaphoric argument cited by William T.W. Tone (1998: 869) that he had "escaped under the disguise of a Frenchman". Hayes (1937: 299) quotes the *Freeman's Journal* of 15 September which confirms "La Roche...succeeded in establishing the fact of his nationality as a subject of France", and indeed Sullivan's file at Vincennes includes his naturalisation certificate (SHA 2Y<sup>o</sup>/Sullivan, Chapter 2: 94). Sullivan's role as a 'contact interpreter' can only be inferred as archival sources refer to the military dimensions of his service, and not his

communicative role (AAE/Pers 1/65, SHA 2Y<sup>e</sup>/Sullivan) Hayes (1937 51-2, 208) refers to Sullivan as going by the name of Byrne as well as Laroche, but this is not substantiated in official records or correspondence and (as explained below) indicates a confusion with Bartholomew Teeling, who had used Bourke as a pseudonym (SHA/17y<sup>d</sup> 14/Tone) Hayes (1937 279-80) reprints the narrative of Fullam, a Longford militia soldier taken prisoner by the French after Castlebar, in which a “Roche” (i.e. Laroche, or Sullivan) is depicted as ‘proselytising’ the virtues of enlistment in the French army to the prisoners. These he had ordered to fall into two separate ranks, segregating the Irish from the English, by which he meant the “Orangemen”. The type of inflammatory rhetoric attributed to “Roche” by Fullam brings to mind the descriptions of Sullivan’s “discours patriotiques” as veteran citizen-soldier of the Jacobin era, and in particular his “mission particuliere aupres des prisonniers de guerre”, i.e. the ‘apostolising’ Tone frowned upon as a recruitment tactic.

“He observed to the Irishmen that their country was long oppressed, that they were long slaves to the English, that their French brethren were come in order to break off the tyrannical yoke of England ”  
(Hayes *ibid.* 280)

However, two contemporary manuscripts confirm Sullivan was engaged in *both* routine translation and the ‘public relations’ exercise of recruitment through revolutionary rhetoric. The first is the passport issued to Mahony (as page 14 above, i.e. Appendix 4.2), the only known sample of Sullivan’s hand in English. The nature of the second manuscript, also in his distinct hand, does not surprise us, as it is a French version of an address by Humbert, *Aux Soldat Irlandois dans les armees Britanniques*, probably seized with the general’s papers after Ballinamuck (PRO/HO/100/82/123<sup>r v</sup>, 123<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 4.6). A few words have been scored out, and one can picture Humbert discussing the content as he dictated it to Sullivan, the latter having no doubt

substantially added his own linguistic, creative and political skills to those of his commanding officer. Once again, a comparative study between source-language and target-language versions would be possible, as the English version is also extant (PRO/HO/100/82/125<sup>r</sup> 126<sup>r</sup>, 125<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 4.6). It is ironic to note that this translation is not in Sullivan's hand, and as, according to Fullam (Hayes 1937: 280), he had asked who among his 'recruits' could write, one can imagine a reversal of roles and the translator dictating his English rendering to a subaltern.

Regrettably, we have no indication of Matthew Tone's communicative ability which could be compared with his brother's. The only solid reference to his 'instrumentality' is his own assessment, given in his deposition at the court martial which sealed his fate (TCD/8723/133<sup>v</sup> - 141<sup>v</sup>). Describing himself as an obscure individual, he could not "steadily look poverty in the face [so he] accepted a commission in the French army for bread" (ibid. f. 137<sup>r</sup>). As someone who had been out of Ireland for many years, he was neither consulted on the expedition nor had he promoted it. However, not having anything to offer in that regard, Matthew Tone did state that his "knowledge of *two* languages might induce and did induce those who planned the expedition to require my cooperation" (ibid. 137<sup>v</sup>, my emphasis). It is likely that apart from English, he was referring to French, and not Irish. While his brother Theobald, having had as the eldest the privilege of a sound education, claims he had not learned French, Matthew casually states that he 'knew' the language. Hayes (1937: 203-4) cites the slightly contemptuous way in which an English officer described Matthew Tone as a prisoner on his way to Dublin.

"Although but a year since he last went to France, he has very much the appearance of a Frenchman and has acquired a good deal of their gasconade."

The remark is interesting, as in uniting Matthew's treason and disloyalty to the British Crown with his political allegiance to France, a hint at a form of sociocultural symbiosis confers a foreign 'otherness' on Matthew, and distances him from his Irish origins. Informers were often to refer to key United Irish agents as speaking French like natives, implying their political actions rendered them no longer Irish (Higgins on Lewins).

More is known of the fourth officer, Bartholomew Teeling, though most of the observations by the French officers are of a military nature and shed little light on the theme of this discussion (Joannon 1989). As stated, some confusion surrounds his identity in the sources used by Hayes, as though it is known Biron was his nom de guerre in the French expedition, he occasionally appears in the *Last Invasion* as Byrne (TCD 873/13; Hayes: 51-2). The confusion is unfortunate, as one would like to connect specific incidents to each of the four Irish officers, in order to reconstruct as accurately as possible their respective narratives. A local recruit, Michael Burke, gave evidence at Teeling's trial and indirectly refers to linguistic mediation by stating that: "the French commander-in-chief had issued his order...principally through Mr. Teeling and the other gentlemen who spoke English" (*Dublin Magazine*, September 1798: 193).

One episode depicting Teeling in a capacity as a bilingual liaison officer, though difficult to substantiate with period sources, is evocatively described by Hayes, and must be mentioned (Hayes *ibid.*: 52-3). This is after Humbert had taken Castlebar and despatched Teeling to offer "honourable terms of capitulation" to Lake, commander of the British force (*ibid.*: 52). Though carrying a flag of truce, Teeling and his small escort were fired on, (one killed), and Teeling was taken prisoner in breach of military protocol. When received by Lake, Teeling offered Humbert's terms but was rebuffed. Hayes does not acknowledge his source as the account written by Charles Teeling (1876:

305-6), brother of Bartholomew, though he quotes it almost verbatim (Hayes *ibid* 52). In this version, Charles Teeling (1876: 306) specifies that Teeling addressed General Lake in English, the former then having “expressed his resentment for the language in which it was conveyed”. He reminded Teeling he was an Irishman and would be treated as a rebel, and asked why Humbert had selected him on this occasion (Teeling 1876: 306). Teeling’s reply implies he was acting as a bilingual liaison officer: “To convey to you, Sir, his proposal in a language which he presumes you understand” (*ibid*). Sarrazin’s account (1998: 12) as the earliest of the three sources to mention the episode may have been read by Teeling, and confirms that “Biron” had been sent as a “parlementaire”. Of the exchange, all Sarrazin says (*ibid*) is that upon his return, “Biron nous a rapporte que le lieutenant-general Lake avait trouve sa mission *tres impertinente*”, emphasis as per original. Jobit does not mention the incident, and Fontaine (1998: 77) only says “l’Irlandais Biron” had been sent by Humbert with the terms of surrender, but adds as a footnote a modest but moving epitaph to Teeling:

“Comme il avait partage nos dangers et notre gloire, il partagea nos fers, mais ayant ete reconnu il subit la mort [a Dublin]!”

#### 4.4 “Monsieur l’Evêque” Bishop Stock of Killala, witness, participant and interpreter chosen by history

As stated, that several narratives of the Mayo campaign have survived is most welcome, even if they diverge in their objectivity and possibly the reliability of their information. Ironically, it is the perspective of the besieged and passively resistant Protestant clergyman, Bishop Stock, which is most informative on how exchanges across the language divide were managed. His *Narrative* of 1800 (1982) is a fine example of the

type of chronicle discussed by Palmer (2001, 2003), featuring specific textual markers that signpost how language barriers were overcome and the human agency of mediators who fulfilled this role. Even if O'Keane is the only one of the Irish officers to be named, that the words *interpreter*, *interpreting*, and *interpretation* are mentioned close to a dozen times throughout Stock's account merits further investigation.

The following examples of the textual markers employed by Stock illustrate how he does not deny the multilingual quality of encounters, but intentionally embeds it in his chronicle as material to the events. A first example is provided when Captain Kirkwood, the magistrate, is examined by Humbert (Stock 1982: 8). Crucial verbs have been emphasised in the quotation below, to demonstrate the logical sequence by which interpreters manage crosslinguistic exchanges, with the implicit stages of the process elucidated between brackets.

“The queries were *interpreted* by some Irish officers who came with the French. Mr Kirkwood *answered* [i.e. in English, then interpreted into French] with such frankness and candour, that he gained the esteem [via the renderings into French of the interpreters] of the French general, who *told him* [ditto, but back into English] he was on his parole.” (Stock 1982: 8)

Stock composed his text anonymously, and refers throughout to “the bishop”, i.e. himself. In fact, apart from the quotation above and a further allusion to O'Keane's multilingualism, the majority of references to interpreting in the *Narrative* are to Stock's own intervention in that capacity, casting him as the quintessential witness to history (1982: 47). Very early in the account, Stock introduces himself indirectly as a reluctant mediator in somewhat pompous terms, though in the process unequivocally underlining for the reader how he transformed his misfortune, and rendered himself indispensable to the community.

“Very fortunately for his family, and indeed as it afterwards appeared, for the town and neighbourhood, the bishop was tolerantly fluent in the French language, having in his youth had the advantage of foreign travel” (Stock *ibid* 7)

Apart from his status as an establishment figure to be reckoned with, this cosmopolitanism singled him out as the invading general’s main interlocutor, the tone of the *Narrative* being set from the moment Humbert “marched into the castle yard” demanding to see “*Monsieur l’Evêque*” (*ibid* 6) The commander then made clear to the bishop they would all be treated with “respectful attention, and found time the same evening to engage in “a pretty long conversation” with Stock (*ibid* 7) Humbert’s ‘own’ respectful acknowledgment of Stock is virtually the only phrase in French to be found in the text, and marks the bishop’s barely-veiled superiority

But, as Pakenham (1997 295), has noted, Stock was indeed a prominent person to find in the half-ruined pile which was the episcopal castle of Killala, the town itself an unlikely choice to be “thrust into the mainstream of the revolution” Significantly, in underlining that Stock was a former Fellow of Trinity College and “distinguished scholar”, Pakenham (*ibid*) states he had translated the book of Job from the Hebrew, and spoke “fluent” (as opposed to ‘tolerable’) French This previous contact with Biblical translation, combined with the moral imperative of faithful witness of a man of the cloth, explains Stock’s frequent allusions to an implicit ethical code of truthfulness The bishop, “even where the matter of discourse made him shudder made it a point to interpret faithfully”, this point being specifically signposted for the reader as a bracketed clause (Stock 1982 55) Nowhere in any of the manuscripts linked to the four officers, including Sullivan who as a professional translator had been answerable to the institution he served, does this adherence to the principles of translation as faithful record appear

The very syntax of the *Narrative* elucidates the interconnectedness of the participants in the 'communicative pas de trois' which are interpreter-mediated exchanges, as described by Wadesnjo (1998) Firstly, various prepositions make clear that Humbert, and then Charost, could only make known their intentions to the Irish through Stock as a conduit, i.e. "by" their interpreter (Stock 1982: 51), or "through" the bishop (ibid.: 54) Exchanges between the French officers and Irish civilians could not take place without interpreters, and Stock's role as a civilian became associated with the institutional protocol of the military. But a pastoral dimension was linked to the linguistic role of mediator. Following his "strict examination" through the Irish officer-interpreters, the magistrate Kirkwood breached his parole, and left Killaloe (ibid.: 10). On his return, he "made his situation known to the bishop, who represented the business to the French officers" in such a way as to resolve the matter. More importantly, the reader is left in no doubt that despite finding himself in a precarious position, the bishop knew Humbert and his men "could not dispense with his presence, nor his assistance as an interpreter" (ibid.: 26). Indeed as the "principal inhabitant of Killaloe", Stock had a privileged status which was instrumental to the French as a prestigious spokesman who could strategically relay information to the local inhabitants, but also back to them due to his bilingualism (Pakenham ibid.: 304). Though visibly enjoying this bizarre but prestigious role as critical link between the general and the population, Stock also makes clear after Humbert's departure towards Ballina that Captain Charost (appointed "commandant" of Killaloe) also relied on his interpretation. Though most of the Catholic priests, "able to speak a little French from their foreign education" were evidently useful mediators because they had "an influence over their flocks", Stock implies Charost sensed their propensity for sedition and "opposition to the established government" rendered their translations unreliable (Stock ibid.: 63-4). Thus

“the commandant would not trust their interpretation if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could see the bishop”

Though Delisle (2001: 210) questions the moralistic overtones of the criteria by which translations are judged as faithful and truthful, Stock's integrity is explained by his status as a clergyman. Stock's commitment to prevent potentially explosive misunderstandings, even when circumstances led to “the risk of his own person”, extended once again to his eldest son Arthur, dispatched with Captain Boudet to find horses, as the latter “could effect nothing without an interpreter” (Stock *ibid.* 51, 70)

Displaying tact and diplomacy in his capacity as ‘official’ interpreter, Stock also had a keen sense of the often tense psychodynamics of conversation. Requested by Charost to be present at the examination of a prisoner taken by the French at Ballina “supposed to be of note”, Stock found himself in the presence of Major William Fortescue, member for Louth and heir to Lord Clermont (Pakenham 329, Stock *ibid.* 73-4). Not surprisingly, Fortescue was able to converse directly with Charost in French, and Stock thought it judicious to leave the room recognising his multi-faceted mediation was not required. Fortescue then switched to English to introduce himself to Stock, and proceeded to relay the scene he had witnessed at Granard of Humbert and his officers being escorted towards Dublin as prisoners of war. After some exchanges, during which Charost imparted “to the bishop, with an air of confidence in his honour and discretion” how sensitive this information would be to the locals, Stock naturally offered hospitality to Fortescue before his return to Ballina (Stock *ibid.* 75). Stock's astuteness is evident in how he punctuates this passage, signalling how he recognised Charost's dominant status in that particular exchange by switching back to the language of the military command.

“ the bishop speaking in French (that Charost might object, if he pleased) invited [Fortescue] to share bed and board with them at the castle ”

*Stock's Narrative* candidly portrays the various tensions which punctuated the French occupation of Killala while generally deploring the outbreak of rebellion through the island in 1798. Yet one cannot deny the chronicler enjoyed his unofficial 'recruitment' into military life, employing terminology such as his description of the French officers 'messing' with the bishop and his family. Predictably, social codes of honour prevailed over political allegiances, and neutralised some differences of language and culture between "honest men above the meanness of deceit" (ibid. 39). Confident that Humbert's early promise of respect would be adhered to, Stock enjoyed the interaction with the officers and watching "Mrs Stock and the commandant [Charost] amusing themselves at a party of picquet" (ibid. 50-1). Charost's implicit lack of English also reinforces his reliance on Stock.

Embedded in the *Narrative* are occasional light-hearted anecdotes of the interaction between the disciplined French and their local 'recruits', the "rebels" usually depicted in a condescending manner. One amusing passage is transcribed as a monophone one, i.e. Stock does not signal the message is relayed from French into English but establishes a direct rapport between Charost and the "rebels" among the "natives". Following Ballinamuck, and faced with the prospect of looting, he transcribes one of Charost's statements as follows, his own emphasis showing that he enjoyed translating the play on words:

"the commandant warned them that he would have no hand in incursions for pillage, 'he was *chef de brigade*,' he said, 'but not *chef de brigands*,' (ibid. 77)

That Stock was stimulated by the challenge his dilemma presented to him is evident, and his bilingualism allowed him to honourably fulfill both the clergyman and gentleman's sense of duty. His own description of the multi-faceted role of enforced civilian interpreter, 'chosen' by history (Bowen et al 1995: 274), is most eloquent:

The bishop laboured hard to pacify the malcontents, amidst darkness and clamour and *the confusion of three languages* scarce an hour in the day elapsed, in which the bishop was not importuned to lay some lamentation before the commandant. Willing to do his best, he *interpreted*, drew up petitions: he went from house to house in the town to enquire after abuses. [his health and appetite seemed to be improved by the extraordinary fatigue, nor did he ever in his life sleep better"] (Stock 1982: 35-6, my emphasis)

Stock's self-assessment on how he rose to the challenge echoes current theories on the paradoxical combination of exhaustion and motivation often experienced by interpreters, and how anxiety and minor stress can actually improve performance (Gentile 1996: 29, Gile 1990: 17, Moser-Mercer et al 1998: 47-9). Maintaining his primary role as spiritual mediator, Stock fulfilled what Gentile et al (1996: 29, 56-7) identify as behaviour requirements expected of someone in a recognised role, in this case the moral duty to act as a fair 'buffer' between conflicting cultural groups. This obligation to assist with conflict resolution was enhanced by Stock's additional role of linguistic mediator, but evidently presented major ethical problems given his political bias and lack of empathy with the rebel side (ibid: 57).

That the purposefulness of Stock's role as a linguistic - and hence political - mediator allowed him to maintain his dignity cannot be denied. The sense of purpose that this commission of interpreter conferred on him was one of the motivations for writing the *Narrative*. Yet a further link between the 'instrumental' polyglossia of priests (both Roman Catholic and Anglican) is confirmed in Little's narrative, who noted that Rev

Nixon, curate of Killala, “being able to speak French”, acted as “interpreter for me & others who understood not that language”, mediating between them and a French officer (Little 1800 89) Stock had expressed scorn at the “opposition to the established government” manifested by Catholic priests, whose translations, he hastened to add, were consequently unreliable (Stock *ibid* 63-4, above page 253) However, he could not avoid pointing to a self-evident link, namely that “from their foreign education being able to speak a little French [they had] an influence as *useful interpreters*” (Stock 1982 63, my emphasis) Irish society was fractured in 1798 according to political and confessional allegiances, and the polarisation between native resistance and English-imposed rule, yet Stock’s acknowledgment of the usefulness of priests as polyglot mediators associated him with republican Catholics as it also described his own role Because he was “well-versed in the customs, habits and traditions of the two cultures” he had been living with, Stock’s social role became even more pronounced when a third force entered the process, and required his mediation (Katan 1999 10) As two “country fellows” had observed to each other, “he makes us *hear one another*” (Stock *ibid* 79) In fact, Stock could not but admire O’Keane’s capacity to “render considerable service to his cause” (*ibid* 47) This view paradoxically echoed Humbert’s conclusion, namely that because of O’Keane’s intimate knowledge of the locality as a native informant, and his ability to bring about local insurgency in favour of the French “Il nous a ete particulièrement utile ” (Appendix 4 5)

The final days and hours of the French invasion of Mayo also brought to the fore the issue of language and communication barriers, but in a paradoxical way Many of the Crown officers understood and even spoke French, and could have picked up on errors

or distortions in any renderings translated by the Irish officers-interpreters. We can presume there is much truth in an observation passed on the recourse to translators by a fictional British naval commander, i.e. “French, we can manage for ourselves” (O’Brian 1992: 113-4). In his *Impartial Relation* (1799) of the French campaign, Captain Taylor appended not only the transcription of seized documents, in the original French, but their translations, which he had probably done himself in his capacity as Cornwallis’ military secretary (ibid.: 48-67).

Two sources linked to the Mayo campaign indicate that in contexts dominated by ritual and protocol, the participants ‘managed’ to communicate without intermediaries. The first is the print of Humbert’s surrender to Lake (and not Cornwallis, as in the incorrect caption accompanying the reproduction in Hayes 1937: f.152, as Appendix 4.7). This image has a certain symbolic significance for this thesis, as it depicts Humbert - alone - presenting his sword to Lake. Military protocol, the code of honour dictating the behaviour of officers, and the binding agreement of the *Cartel* for prisoner exchanges would regulate this encounter. In his narrative, Hayes (1937: 152-3) reproduces a verbal exchange between Lake and Humbert which ensued, suggested in Sarrazin’s account (1998: 21). Lake is reputed to have asked Humbert where he intended going with so few troops, and to the reply “A Dublin”, retorted “Il faut bien avoir la tête française pour concevoir une entreprise aussi audacieuse” (ibid.). The *audacious* nature of the enterprise was, in French, flattering to Humbert (and his *suite* of officers, i.e. Sarrazin). In English, it is rendered in a more contemptuous tone because it is reduced to the harebrained “project” of a Frenchman, a criticism unfairly levelled at Humbert for decades (DIB forthcoming, Hayes 1937: 153). Whether this exchange did or did not take place is irrelevant, as the point in citing it is that the exchange is

monolingual in both Sarrazin's and Haye's versions, pointing to the fact that no one acted as interpreter. It is likely that Lake or Humbert had sufficient grasp of the other's language to 'manage' the ritualistic handing over of the sword. Yet had an interpreter been required, his presence was neutralised in the monophone record, confirming Palmer's (2001: 55) assertion that interpreters are consistently "airbrushed" from narratives in colonial history, in this instance in the visual record.

A further insight is provided in the brief record left by the Earl of Ancram, relating how he escorted Humbert to the Pigeon House dock in Dublin before he embarked for Liverpool, his 'worth' according to the Cartel being sixty men for him as a "General de Division Commandant en Chef" (SHM/FF<sup>1</sup>/33/V, Bartlett 1991: 98-104). Little is exchanged between Ancram and Humbert, but it is fairly clear that the former spoke French, as the men discussed the campaign and exchanged casual comments on uniforms and horses. After "taking some refreshment and hearing a great deal of bad French" (ibid: 102), Humbert and his officers embarked. The detachment with which he and Ancram 'managed' to communicate marks a sharp contrast with the treatment of the Irish and the trials and executions which immediately followed Ballinamuck. Humbert it is true vigorously argued for Teeling's release, but unsuccessfully, and a week after Humbert sailed he was hanged. The French campaign in Mayo, seen from Palmer's perspective, is a unique episode in colonial history which brought to the fore the materiality of tense exchanges across the language divide. From the various narratives which emerged, the pivotal role of the interpreter emerges, as does the courage and purposefulness of the four Irish officers and their civilian counterpart, Bishop Stock.

## CHAPTER 5

### *'Irish prowess versus French promises'* Robert Emmet, Thomas Addis Emmet and the end of the United Irish lobby in France, (1800-1804)

1 "My reliance was more on Irish prowess, than on French promises" (McNeven 1807 218)

2 "Several memorials were prepared by E, drawn up in the usual language of the party here" (NAI/620/11/130/26)

#### 5.1 Robert Emmet's 1800 Memorial to Napoleon Bonaparte

Sometime in early 1799, as the United Irish organisation was undergoing restructuring, Robert Emmet increasingly assumed a major role in military planning, a central part of strategy being the assumption that another French invasion was imminent (Elliott 2003 32). A warrant was issued for Emmet's arrest, but he escaped and made his way to the continent with Malachy Delaney, arriving in Hamburg sometime in August 1800 (NAI 620/49/38). It is presumably there that they composed the memorial addressed to the French commander in Holland (Général Augereau), but ultimately intended for Napoleon Bonaparte, First consul since the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire in November, 1799 (CPA/593/288-9, Elliott 1982 275-6, Kleinman 2003a, forthcoming)

In September 1800, when the memorial was written, the archives of various French ministries contained numerous documents relating to the political situation in Ireland and various strategic and logistical treatises on planned incursions and invasions (AAE/MD 53, AN/AF/IV/1598, 1671). Two of these coincided with the Emmet/Delaney memorial, and had been submitted in October by General Humbert, and as they are in John Sullivan's hand they bear his direct influence (SHA/MR/1420/34/1-12, 42/1-4, f 1 of each as Appendix 5.1). These "*Reflexions sur l'utilité d'une descente*" argued that "l'Irlande demande une révolution à corps et à cris", and that the "Irlandois unis" in

France should be gathered to form an Irish Legion, while laconically stating the obvious advantages of such a measure “soutenir l’espoir de la Nation Irlandoise, ce qui ne peut qu’inquiéter nos ennemis” However, the document which clearly bears the signatures of Robert Emmet and Malachy Delaney is unique in many ways, and a vital resource for historians In later years, because of Napoleon having fuelled false hopes of an invasion to aid Ireland’s liberation, the French “became irrelevant to the development of [Emmet’s] legend” (Elliott 2003 103) This justifiable distancing from the Franco-Irish alliance has detracted scholarly interest from this manuscript

Firstly, in contrast to Tone, Emmet left behind so few papers that his legend as an heroic icon was easily constructed around the mystery of the unknown (Elliott 2003 133, Geoghegan 2002, O’Donnell 2003b x) Therefore the 1800 memorial is one of the rare samples of Emmet’s “strong, firm [hand] without blot, correction or erasure” (Elliott 2003 98, O’Donnell 2003a 125) Furthermore, as Dublin Castle was aware, Emmet had practised several handwritings and signatures, particularly when in France (McDonagh 1904 339, O’Donnell 2003b x) Despite these strategic skills to evade recognition, the memorial in French is indeed Emmet’s handwriting, and, eerily, is identical to one of the most significant manuscripts he left behind, namely his last letter written to Chief Secretary William Wickham, composed shortly before being led to the scaffold on 20 September 1803 (O’Donnell 2003a 55) From a historian’s perspective, the 1800 memorial is a tribute to the communicative abilities of the reformed United Irish movement, in that it succinctly and convincingly portrays the new pragmatic approach of the post-rebellion organisation to the French alliance (Elliott 1982 275) The 1800 memorial is especially interesting, because it is a sample of United Irish rhetoric in French, i e “the language [chosen by] these noble victims of revolution and oppression”

(Emmet 1915 II 26) While not detracting from the skills of Malachy Delaney, a former officer in the Austrian army and feared by Irish Chief secretary William Wickham as a man of ‘considerable talents’, the style of the French text indicates it was Emmet’s composition. Comparisons can be made with, *inter alia*, the 1803 *Manifesto of the Provisional Government* (Geoghegan 2002 100, *Manifesto* 288), as discussed below.

Emmet and Delaney argue their case in just over 1,000 words, and the text, dated using the revolutionary calendar (28 fructidor 8, i.e. 15 September), is addressed to the ‘*Citoyen Consul*’, thus complying with the conventions of French correspondence of the revolutionary era (CPA/593/288-9<sup>v</sup>, as Appendix 5.2 a, and my transcription as Appendix 5.2 b). Two annotations in different handwritings in the upper right-hand corner of the first folio confirm it was passed on from the Minister for External Relations (Talleyrand) to the “premier consul”, i.e. Bonaparte. The latter’s signature is clear and overwrites the first line of the text. The opening lines of the memorial immediately announce its purpose, an exhortative plea for assistance from the French nation: “Nous venons de la part de nos concitoyens de l’Irlande pour demander la cinquieme fois le secours de la Nation Française”(Appendix 5.2 b L 10-11). The authors go on to expose the factual proof underpinning their request, namely that the Union Bill passed earlier that year “n’a point adouci les mecontentements”(ibid L 17-18). They claim exaggerated figures for the United Irish movement - five hundred thousand - and assure the French that three times that amount would cooperate once the invasion took place (ibid L 23-27). Echoing Emmet’s later disavowal in his legendary speech from the dock of any servitude to France, the text makes clear the Irish intend to offer ‘ample compensation’ to the French for their assistance, and for previous expeditions (ibid L 37). Vowing the armed Irish would only take twenty days’ drilling to be worthy of fighting alongside the

French, the final part of this section ends with a somewhat impassioned, but forthright plea “est-ce que vous voulez nous abandonner?”(ibid L 41)

The next section provides factual data, vital proof of the worthiness of the plea for any decision-maker, namely the extent of Crown Forces the French are likely to encounter, though they truthfully admit accurate figures are hard to come by. Edwin Lewins was the official representative of the United Irishmen in Paris at that time, but Emmet and Delaney explain how they were directly mandated by the organisation’s executive to seek military assistance. Not wishing to waste the time of their interlocutors, they were to ask nothing else but to be given the chance to communicate face to face with General Augereau, and the “Premier Consul”(ibid L 74-5). Though Emmet and Delaney had been ordered to keep the strictest secrecy and even avoid communicating with their compatriots ‘here’ (i.e., Hamburg), the double agent Samuel Turner forwarded intelligence about them to Dublin Castle, confirming Emmet’s preponderant role in the communicative aspect of their mission. According to Turner, “Several memorials were prepared by E[mmet]” (NAI 620/11/130/26, 31-08-1803). Emmet and Delaney also requested passports to travel to France under false names, “afin que les malveillants de notre nation qui sont a Paris et payes par le gouvernement d’Angleterre ne reconnoisse point nos noms” (Appendix 5 2 b L 87-89). But despite these apprehensions, in a gesture greatly enhancing scholarship on Emmet, they signed with their real names. In swearing their commitment to their country and Bonaparte, the closing lines employ a religious allusion characteristic of Emmet’s other writings, underpinned by a blood sacrifice if required “nous jurons a la face du Ciel de repondre jusqu’a la derniere goutte de notre sang” (ibid L 92-3)

Very little is known of Malachy Delaney's early life, but it is not improbable he was competent in French as he had been an officer in the Austrian army. However, much more is known of Robert Emmet's early education, typical of any son of a well-established Protestant family, his father being a doctor of some renown and appointed state physician in 1783 (Elliott 2003, Geoghegan 2002). The Emmets had retained a Marquise Gabrielle de Fontenay, a French emigre who had settled in Ireland, to tutor the children, also becoming a lifelong friend. Letters to her in French to her from both Robert and Thomas Addis (albeit written in adulthood after both had sojourned in France), were said to have been of a very high standard (Emmet 1915 II 26, PRONI D560/5, Diary of John Martin). Not only was French spoken in the Emmet household, but from an early age Robert distinguished himself in many academic disciplines, honing oratorical skills in particular as an adolescent first in Whyte's Academy, then in Trinity College (Geoghegan 2002 66). These multiple skills would have easily transferred to enhance Emmet's already advanced level of competence in French. This is significant in order to ascertain what degree of self-assurance and autonomy he would have possessed, if and when he had to engage in face to face interaction with senior French officials.

Given Emmet's refined linguistic skills, it is surprising to note occasional lexical and syntactic errors embedded in the otherwise elegant prose of the French memorial. With one exception, these do not in any way mislead the reader, nor possibly convey an impression of incompetence in the author which could shed doubts over other abilities such as that of planning and leading an insurrection. These errors are quite basic, some attributable to an anglophone making interlingual transfers, and they convey a sense of 'otherness' in the author's voice, confirming that the memorial - in otherwise flawless French - was indeed written by a non-native.

Lexical errors arising from the proximity of French and English often involve what are known as false friends of the translator, or *faux-amis*, i.e. lexis which in both languages shares common etymology and lexical form. However, over centuries of linguistic evolution, these words often took on divergent meanings, leading to semantic confusion as they appear, but are not, cognates (Vinay & Darbelnet 1977: 71).

Orthographic *faux-amis* make up the most common error in the memorial, as in:

1. *connection* (for *connexion*),
2. *personelle* (where French doubles the consonant /n/),
3. *existence*, spelled with an /a/ like the adjective *existante*, rather than with /e/ for the substantive,
4. *déliverance*. Though spelled correctly in the second sentence of the text, i.e. without the /e/ in the second syllable as in English, the /e/ is clearly struck out further on in the manuscript, signifying the author's evident hesitation.
5. *passport* is spelled as in English three times, omitting the final /e/ of the verbal prefix compounded to 'port',
6. The final /e/ is also omitted in *compatriots*,

Semantic *faux-amis* lead to potential confusion for the reader, as in the selection of the substantive *épreuve* (Appendix 5.2.b: L.26), no doubt resulting from its proximity with the English lexical item *proof*:

“Cinq cent mille hommes ont été compris dans l'organisation de l'Union irlandaise, l'entrée actuelle de ce nombre ...est une épreuve d'une telle universalité de la (sic) sentiment qui environne ce corps...” (ibid: 23-6).

The sentence intends to convey the idea that the high numbers having joined the ranks of the United Irishman (five hundred thousand, an exaggeration) despite cruel and constant persecution, are a *demonstration* of the feelings motivating that body (my own emphasis); however the author has predictably confused *preuve* (the equivalent for *proof*), with

*épreuve*, due to initial syllable recognition, the latter being polysemantic in French, but by the late eighteenth century primarily employed to convey the meaning of an ordeal (Robert 2002 929-30)

Certain errors made by subjects in a non-native language are attributable to intralingual processes, which demonstrate that they have observed and internalised rules and patterns in the target language in question. In order to compensate for a deficiency, most frequently ignorance of a particular word or expression familiar in the native language, non-natives frequently coin new words which appear to conform to the rules of the language in question. As a form of communication strategy, gaps are bridged to complete a phrase in the hope of making as meaningful a statement in the foreign language as in the native one (Bialystok 1990, Singleton 1999 179). However, this initiative often leads to errors. Emmet's memorial displays such examples of neologisms, i.e. new words which have been created based on the subject's awareness of morphological rules in French.

5 *certainte* is a direct productive transfer of the English substantive *certainty*, here used as a noun, and formed by appending the substantive/nominal suffix /te/ to the existing French adjective *certain*.

Examples of similar - and correct - constructions already familiar to the author would be the noun *honnêtete* derived from a similar construction of *honnête* + *te*, or *citoyennete*, but Emmet's strategy is equally justified by the existence of the cognate English equivalent *certainty*. Though the correct French selection would have been *certitude*, the sentence in the memorial is perfectly coherent. A final innovative coinage further demonstrates Emmet's strategic competence in terms of bridging lexical gaps, where the transfer of a verb of movement in English poses problems.

6 “[ ] nous attendons ses [Bonaparte’s] ordres pour *voiler* auprès de lui” Appendix 5 2 b L 90)

Where in English such verbs are frequently formed using the technical medium responsible for the movement, as in *to sail* where the substantive */sail/* becomes the verb, French phrasal verbs of displacement often employ more complex and indirect forms, appending a noun to a preceding verb. Edwin Lewins had employed the appropriate form “mettre a la voile” in a submission to the Directory the previous year, whereas Thomas Addis Emmet, in his later dealings with the minister for War, would opt for “faire voile” (AN/AF/III/58/228/2/24, AN/AF/1672/2/204). In coining “voiler” from the French substantive ‘voile’ (a sail), Emmet has applied a French word formation rule used for other lexical items, as in the verb ‘guillotiner’, derived from the implement to which the verbal suffix is appended. However, the reader can in no way be misled as to Emmet’s intentions to travel to France for a meeting with Bonaparte. More surprising, given the overall sophistication of the prose of this text, is the very basic gender error “de la sentiment”, where ‘de’ and the feminine singular article ‘la’ are used instead of the masculine ‘du’. Also typical of English speakers is the omission of the definite article ‘le’ before a title, e.g., “nous esperons que [le] general Augereau voudra bien”. Also problematic for anglophone learners of French is the formation of the perfect tense, as verbs using the auxiliary ‘to have’ in English do not always use *avoir* in French. Through a process of ‘backtranslation’, the phrase

7 “ des troupes qui *n’ont* jamais *sorti* (sic) du royaume” Appendix 5 2 b L 54-5),

is a direct transfer of the English ‘troops which *have* never *left* the kingdom’. The French verb *sortir*, when not followed by a direct object, is governed by the auxiliary ‘être’. Finally, the memorial features an orthographic error quite common even among

native speakers of French, explained by the polysemy of the correct and incorrect forms: “les expéditions qu’on a envoyé [sic]” (Appendix 5.2.b : L.37). The correct form should mark the gender and plural as follows: ‘les expéditions qu’on a envoyées’, though to the ear both forms sound the same. As signalled in the discussion on Bonaparte’s query about Tone’s French, it is ironic to note the presence of such common errors in a text addressed to this formidable figure in European history who never fully mastered the French language, but who may have noted with amusement minor discrepancies in the discourse of the Irish he encountered.

From internal correspondence between the French authorities (through whose hands it passed), it is evident that from the stylistic delivery of the 1800 memorial Robert Emmet emerges as “a single-minded negotiator with talents as a military tactician, at least on paper” (Elliott 2003:3). But this text, though essentially a functional act of communication, serves a far greater role in terms of assessing the crosslinguistic discourse of the United Irishmen. Emmet and Delaney knew that the rhetorical style of the text was necessary to achieve its persuasive function, supported by credible ‘data’, i.e. factual and numerical proof of their arguments. Communicative skills acquired through the classical education of the age could be transferred from one language to another, Emmet demonstrating how adept he was at this. A key part of his formal learning would have been the treatises of Aristotle on rhetoric, and Cicero’s *De Oratore*, particularly useful to anyone destined for the bar or the pulpit. But at the core of Emmet’s legend are the transcendent oratorical skills he had displayed as one of the most memorable debaters of Trinity’s College Historical Society (Geoghean 2002: 75). Mandatory reading for the otherwise introverted and unassuming Emmet would have included the celebrated *Lectures concerning Oratory* (1759), delivered in the college by John Lawson. Possibly

Emmet remembered one of the rules recommended by Lawson, when planning his composition to Napoleon

“You should, as much as possible, adapt yourself to the capacities of your audience be perfectly clear, yet never tedious, unadorned, yet never insipid, close in reasoning, yet never obscure ” (Lawson 1795/21 393)

However, the art of oratory was also founded on the pivotal arrangement of the basic parts of the speech, and the memorial to a certain extent replicates this essential structure. The first third of the text opens by clearly announcing to the reader its purpose - to seek French military assistance, for the last time. The appeal to emotion is not uncommon in this type of discourse to stimulate the reader to laudable action, and the rhetorical question establishes a communicative interaction between the sender and the recipient (expected to respond) “voulez-vous nous abandonner?” (Appendix 5.2 b L 41). Such a request is underpinned by the honesty of the sender’s motivations, and innate truthfulness.

“nous nous fions a la franchise de notre representation et de nos demandes par cette verite, nous demandons votre secours ” (ibid L 14-16)

Other stylistic effects - central to the appeal of polemical texts read out in public - were triadic structures and repetition of key phrases to maximise impact.

“*Nous vous offrons encore ces hommes. Nous les offrons, sans avoir le moindre doute de leur succes. Nous vous offrons davantage, de cette partie de la nation. Nous vous offrons la force reunie. Nous vous offrons la compensation ample. Nous vous offrons deux cent mille braves irlandais*” (l 28-9, 36-8, my emphasis)

We find this again in the second paragraph of the *Manifesto to the Provisional Government*, addressed to the ‘People of Ireland’, where the verb ‘show’ is repeated four times “*You will show to the world you will show to the people of England you will show them*”, etc (Geoghegan 2002 288, my emphasis)

Finally, the strategic alliance was cemented by a common anglophobia, and it is no doubt metaphorical flourishes such as the following one which had prompted the informer Samuel Turner to allude to the memorials prepared by “E, drawn up in the usual language of the party here”, presumably referring to Emmet’s inflammatory rhetoric, and not his French (NAI 620/11/130/26, 31-08-1803)

“ deux cent mille braves irlandois dignes de combattre de cote de l’armée Françoise et d’extorquer la paix du Monde dans le coeur de l’Angleterre (Appendix 5 2 b L 39-41, my emphasis)

The belligerent metaphor of ripping peace from England’s very life force is an early echo of the dramatic appeal in the opening phrase of the *Manifesto*

“ the only satisfactory proof of your mdependence your *wresting* it from England with *your hands*” (Geoghegan 2002 288, my emphasis)

that same image reiterated in Emmet’s speech from the dock (Elliott 1982 314) This discursive style merely reflected the propaganda of the time, and the bilingual and skilful William Duckett had deemed such political communicative techniques “l’arme la plus terrible dont on puisse se servir pour nuire a ce gouvernement [i.e. England]” (AAE/25/306)

By using such virulent and anglophobic lexis, Emmet was aware his discursive style would, as today’s psycholinguistics would put it, trigger favourable reception in his target audience, even if French rhetorical discourse was, in 1800, increasingly distanced from the *jacobinisme* of a decade earlier (Forrester 1996 171, Negrel & Sermain 2002) Given the context in which the memorial was written, its authors replicated in French a particular *genre* of writing, namely the war propaganda of the period The 1800

memorial, as one of the earliest examples of Emmet's inflammatory rhetoric, illustrates phrases which inspired the cult of Emmet's heroic sacrifice, later to become a central motif in republican nationalism. This was true most notably for Pearse who claimed that, based on the texts Emmet did leave behind, "...one must march to freedom through bloodshed" (Elliott 2003: 205). Though the 1800 memorial could not have been read by anyone in Ireland, it concludes with such a pledge, i.e. to shed the last drop of blood for Ireland, in a further manifestation of the legacy of the United Irishmen, but in French (Appendix 5.2 b: L. 92).

## 5.2. Robert Emmet's mission to France, and "cette conversation.."

Notwithstanding the importance of the 1800 Memorial as a significant contribution to interpreting Emmet's political philosophy and legend, the purpose of the document was primarily functional. According to Turner, a Dublin Castle informer on the continent, Emmet and Delaney travelled to France accompanied by General Augereau himself, the secret information characteristically exaggerating the facts (NAI/620/11/130/20). Turner claimed the general quit his post as commander of the French-controlled territory in Holland, as the mission was of so much importance that he personally escorted Emmet and Delaney to Paris "where he introduced them to the First Consul" (ibid). The mythic meeting between Emmet and Napoleon has not been substantiated in period archives, yet what is known of this United Irish mission to France merits some scrutiny, despite its ultimate failure.

The coming to power of Napoleon Bonaparte following the *coup d'Etat* of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799) and his proclamation as First Consul (24 December 1799) mark a

significant turning point in the relations between the United Irishmen and France. Disillusionment spread after the peace of Amiens, and Emmet would have spoken of French willingness “to deliver up the United Irishmen, tied neck and heels, to England” (Elliott 2003: 37; Madden iii: 1846: 25). The Consulate increasingly distanced itself from France's republican ideology, and only entertained Irish hopes of an invasion for its own strategic purposes. (Elliott 1982: 277; Quinn 2002: 231-5). Interestingly, a somewhat tenuous connection is made between language ability, political allegiance and social interaction, as some historians imply that despite being competent in the French language, Emmet felt so alienated from the new régime that he preferred to mix with anglophones (Geoghegan 2002: 104; Quinn 2002: ). This stems from the caricatured reports by the numerous spies and informers, who played on stereotyping national characters and alluded to the confused allegiances of the early 1800s. However the stay in France of both Robert and Thomas Addis Emmet was very different from that of Tone's, as from their privileged upbringing, and lack of financial worry, they mixed with the intellectual élite in Paris. Their interests encompassed literary circles as well, and Thomas Russell formed a close friendship with John Delaney, the former Bureau translator and now a member of the Paris United Irish committee, known as “a young man of talent and accomplished scholar” (Byrne 1863 iii:169; CPA/592/ 411). John Delaney was also later to carry out translations for Emmet's older brother Thomas Addis, discussed below.

Robert Emmet, Malachy Delaney and possibly John Grey (i.e. “le troisième...compatriot [sic]” mentioned in the memorial) travelled to Paris sometime between November 1800 and early January 1801, and they may have been the three Irishmen giving pseudonyms, and referred to by Fouché, the Minister of Police, in a letter to Talleyrand signalling their arrival (CPA/592/82). The facts as described by Fouché seem more plausible than

Turner's, as on entering France, these men had requested permission to go to the capital specifically to see the First Consul (ibid) It seems likely they were listened to, and came to Fouché's attention, because of a reference letter from Augereau vouching for their characters Certainly two of them, presumably Emmet and Delaney, were deemed sufficiently important to be received by Talleyrand, then minister for External Relations This is confirmed by Talleyrand's report to the First Consul (CPA/594/150<sup>f</sup>, Appendix 5 3 ) praising the two Irishmen and the impressive memorial they had delivered (Kleinman 2003a)

This second "memoire" would appear to be a different text from the one submitted in September 1800, judging by the way Talleyrand describes its structure and content Firstly, Emmet and Delaney seem to request an invasion of 30,000 troops in three landing points, factual information which varies with the earlier memorial Talleyrand then employs the following turn of phrase to describe how Emmet and Delaney portray the existing English forces in Ireland, an evocative image which is not in the first text "[des] Irlandais recrutes de force, ou volontairement enroles pour apprendre la guerre et la faire ensuite a leurs maîtres" (CPA/594/150<sup>f</sup>, Appendix 5 3 ) Despite cynicism among the United Irishmen as to the sincerity of the interest the French were then manifesting in their cause, Talleyrand's overall impression seems genuine "Le memoire des deux Irlandais est tres bien fait, net, precis, et noblement ecrit" (ibid) Talleyrand was ordered by Napoleon (ibid) to have the two Irishmen liaise with the commander of the Armee de l'Ouest, a general Bernadotte to whom the memorial was also forwarded as he had been selected to lead the Irish expedition However, Bernadotte's letter acknowledging receipt is puzzling, as he thanks the minister for the attached memoire, adding " je l'examinerai avec soin, des qu'il sera traduit, " (CPA/594/150<sup>v</sup> my emphasis) This second memorial,

which according to Bernadotte would have been written in English, has not been located, and in the absence of any peripheral information it is difficult to understand why Emmet and Delaney would have chosen not to write it in French. It is equally surprising that the French general, intended to plan a major assault on England or Ireland, did not appear to have reading knowledge of English. If indeed in English, it certainly impressed Talleyrand, who as discussed spoke English, and could not but have remembered his meetings with Tone, and his widow Matilda, when reading this renewed United Irish effort. Therefore the phrases cited may be Talleyrand's translation into French, but what is interesting to note are the verbs he uses which signpost a rhetorical structure, i.e. "le memoire presente prouve expose"

It is following these events that the legendary meeting between Emmet and Buonaparte is reputed to have taken place. One of Emmet's earliest biographies was in fact researched and written in Paris by Louise Comtesse d'Haussonville (1858), a grand-daughter of the celebrated and controversial *salonniere* Madame de Stael. She remembers as a young girl meeting Emmet, and how his energy was expressed in his melancholy features. Deeply inspired by her subject, she states she had trawled in vain through French archives in a desperate search for what would have been " *cette conversation* entre le grand Bonaparte et [le] jeune enthousiaste irlandais" (d'Haussonville 1858: 88, my emphasis). No trace was found either in the archival sources consulted for this thesis, and Elliott (2003: 34) is certainly very reserved on the question, underlining that in the process of inventing a nation, there is much selective memory and tendency to error-ridden historiography. Emmet and Delaney had in the memorial anticipated that even a chance to 'merely communicate' with the First Consul may be turned down, as their request to do so concludes with the phrase ' *si ce n'est impropre*' i.e. improper (CPA/593/288-9).

That Napoleon ordered his Minister for External Relations to liaise with these praiseworthy, but after all unaccredited secret Irish ‘diplomats’, and put them in contact with a leading military figure, was in itself impressive. After the events of July 1803, he would clearly state that senior members of his government were to be put ‘at the disposal’ of Thomas Addis Emmet and other United Irish leaders in France, but it would be untimely to grant them a *personal* audience (Corr de Napoléon 7-8 450/6994)

To the nationalist imagination, Robert Emmet is depicted in Reigh’s 1895 print (Appendix 5.4, O’Donnell 2003a 55) as a formidable interlocutor, who despite the ultimate failure of his efforts, had been received with dignity by the French leader, seemingly on his own as Malachy Delaney is virtually ‘airbrushed’ out of history. Certainly in keeping with Palmer’s pursuit of the true materiality of crucial political exchanges conducted across language barriers, one can say that Emmet *would* have conducted his face to face negotiations in a skilful and credible manner, and without the need of an interpreter. He would have impressed the First Consul and his entourage with some of his characteristic turns of phrase preserved for future generations in the 1800 Memorial, and in their own language.

### 5.3 Thomas Addis Emmet and the last negotiations between the United Irishmen and France (1803-1804)

Thomas Addis Emmet had agreed to replace William Henry Hamilton as leader of the United Irish committee in Paris, but was increasingly embittered by the French government’s corruption and mercenary attitude towards the Irish. Despite growing

disillusion and factionalism among the United Irishmen, Emmet was to engage in the last significant talks on a French-led invasion of Ireland. In some ways this forms the natural - and somewhat tragic - ending of an extraordinary process which had blossomed in the garden of the older Emmet at Rathfarnham back in 1795, with his fellow United Irishmen Thomas Russell and Theobald Wolfe Tone. The last dealings between the United Irishmen and France's military elite also tied into the rapidly emerging and romanticised legend surrounding the tragic fate of Robert Emmet. Public sympathy in France to the cause of Ireland had been somewhat revived by the publication in *Le Moniteur* of his speech (18 nivôse an 12, 7 January 1804). This is echoed in the preface to a lengthy poetic tribute by Pierre-François Tissot published in Paris in 1804 and entitled *Les Trois conjures d'Irlande, ou l'ombre d'Emmet* (Quinn 2003 231, Woods 1990 99n). That another French invasion of Ireland was never to take place must not distract from Tissot's engaging justification of his elegiac work:

“Tout le monde connaît les nobles efforts des Irlandais dans leur lutte contre la tyrannie. Le moment où se prépare une expédition qui doit affranchir leur patrie et le monde entier du despotisme de l'Angleterre, m'a paru favorable pour célébrer et exciter le courage de ce peuple généreux, tel est le but du faible essai que j'offre au public” (Tissot 1804 2)

The diary Thomas Addis Emmet kept during his relatively short stay in France (May 1803-4) provides rich personal insights into the negotiations he conducted. Apart from the *Memoirs* of Miles Byrne published in 1863 (also discussed below), Emmet's writings are the only substantial contemporary account of Irish involvement in this crucial episode in the history of Western Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte had after all made it known he would attack Britain 'wherever her flag floated', and French military strategy concentrated much of its efforts on their invasion scheme (Cookson 2003, Thompson

2001: 225). Despite the failure of Robert Emmet's rising, within days Bonaparte addressed the following, unequivocal, words to his minister for the Marine, Decrès:

“les affaires d'Irlande ...font sentir l'importance d'avoir des conférences particulières avec les chefs des Irlandais Unis qui sont à Paris. Vous pouvez leur dire ...que le gouvernement s'engage à ne pas faire la paix avec l'Angleterre tant que l'indépendance de l'Irlande ne soit constatée ...”(20 thermidor XI/ 8 August 1803: Corresp. Vol. 8:6994).

By late summer, Thomas Addis Emmet was liaising regularly with officials in the Ministry for War, and felt the need to keep a diary to justify his actions on behalf of his countrymen. His journal, essentially a pragmatic record of his political decisions and interaction with both the French government and the Irish community in France, would not at first glance seem a likely source of introspective observations, as are Tone's revealing journals. Yet in a somewhat tragic turn of events, Emmet's account of his direct negotiations with the French in 1803-4 closely mirrors that of Tone's in the spring of 1796 in its approach and subject matter. Though linked to the ultimate failure of the United Irish movement, the very existence of this narrative marks a deeply symbolic closure to an extraordinary process, planned and discussed by the two men in 1795.

Emmet's diary was written for pragmatic purposes, yet it is a revealing commentary of his experience with linguistic barriers as part of strained interpersonal relations, compounded by his personal despondency. His succinct entries convey personal judgements and sharp observations on not only his other writings of the time, but people these were addressed to, and the face to face interaction he also had with them. His personal and political anxieties, triggered by the effort required to overcome language barriers in tense communicative settings, were clearly compounded by a preoccupation with maintaining the secrecy of certain transactions, and thus a reticence to put in writing sensitive data which, if leaked, would lead to rumour-mongering among the Irish in Paris. Arising from

this, Emmet records occasional requests for face to face meetings, making it possible in the discussion below to juxtapose issues arising from *both* oral and written crosslinguistic communication. This will give a more comprehensive and realistic depiction of the linguistic behaviour of the main participants in these historic events, and the dynamics governing the acts of communication involved.

The discussion will be enhanced by examining two significant manuscripts of Emmet's written in French at that time, one to Napoleon Bonaparte (AN/AFIV/1672/2/ 209-216', folios 209' and 216' as Appendix 5.5.) and the second to Alexandre Berthier, Minister for War (AN/AF1672/2/203-8, folios 203<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 5.6.) - and insights he provides in these on his innermost thoughts and feelings at the moment of their composition. Virtually unknown to Irish historians, these lengthy letters are emotional, but powerful and eloquent arguments on Ireland's situation as a strategic bargaining chip between France and England. As these will reveal, his uncertainties were exacerbated by his occasional reliance on linguistic mediators to translate compositions into French or rewrite them, and a recurrent theme in his diary are his regular, and frequently tense, dealings with his main bilingual interlocutor, adjutant-general Alexandre Dalton, aide-de-camp to the minister for War, Alexandre Berthier.

Emmet's interaction with Dalton cannot be examined without setting it in the context of a perplexing observation made by Miles Byrne, who had met Dalton on at least one occasion. Though the son of an Irish officer, Dalton apparently, "did not speak English", Byrne implying in the preceding clause that the logical explanation for Dalton's monolingualism was that he "was born in France" (Byrne II 1863: 238). Though linguistic abilities are generally rarely mentioned in 1798 history which has rendered many exchanges monophone, Dalton's case was taken up from Byrne - and thus perpetuated as

an historical fact - by two further sources, the first major historian of the United Irishmen, R R Madden, then the editor of Emmet's diary, his grandson and namesake T A Emmet (Emmet 1915, Madden 1843-5, ) The following biographical footnote by the latter on Dalton, appended to the diary entry in which Emmet first mentions him, not only maintains this misinformation, but incorrectly elaborates on easily verifiable factual data "†Dalton, Colonel, afterwards adjutant general in the French Army Son of an Irishman, born in Paris and *never learned to speak English*" (Emmet 1915 I 340, my own emphasis) The syntax itself of this paraphrase of Byrne's comment implies a somewhat tenuous causality between being French-born and not knowing English Though biographical details concerning the Dalton family are easily available, they provide little or no direct information on their linguistic abilities Alexandre Dalton (1776-1859) was in fact not born in Paris but in Brive (Corrèze) to an exiled Irish officer, William Dalton, and a French mother, Marie-Louise Coilliot (SHA/GD 7yd 852/Dalton) He was to lead a brilliant military career, much of which is documented in his extensive file in the French military archives in which, somewhat paradoxically, not a single manuscript makes any mention of bilingualism, or competence in English, as an asset to his career What is more revealing is that his godfather - one Alexandre Geoghegan - had an Irish patronym, and his godmother Marie-Constance Helene Dalton was possibly a sister or paternal aunt, leading to the speculation that among the Franco-Irish community in which he spent his childhood some English, and even Irish, would have been spoken, read or understood (ibid) As a boy, he may have lived in one of the many barracks in France attached to an Irish regiment, where several generations of expatriates would have lived side by side, their interaction characterised by various types of bilingualism

Both Alexandre and his older brother, James William (born in Ireland), had served from adolescence in Berwick's Irish regiment in France, and such an early military career would have brought them into contact with a wide range of bmnationals, or descendants of Wild Geese families. They also served as aides to General Hoche during the Bantry expedition of 1796, and en route to Brest met Tone, who records their meeting as follows

“Two very fine lads of the name of Dalton, nephews of Col[one]ll Shee and sons of an Irish officer, are of our party and are particularly civil and attentive to me. I wish they could both speak English, which they do but very imperfectly.” (Tone II 359, see Chapter 3)

Tone's comment on the seemingly poor communicative ability in English of the Dalton brothers is discussed in Chapter 3 in the light of his own uncertainties, but is informative here as it sheds some doubt over Byrne's own comment, unfortunately taken up in subsequent narratives by authors who had never met Dalton. As enthusiastic adolescents in an informal setting, but also as aides to France's greatest general, they did not hold back from attempting to speak English with Tone. Possibly later in Alexandre's career, he consciously chose as a senior officer to avoid addressing subalterns in English, a language he had never mastered. While saying little, Tone's casual observation does confirm that the Daltons had evidently acquired some English, though possibly as a result of their childhood environment as opposed to formal learning. Tone also states that the Dalton brothers were 'nephews of Col[one]ll Shee' whose role as a linguistic mediator is discussed in Chapter 3. To further demonstrate the complex web of connections in the Irish community in France, Shee was also the uncle of General Henri Clarke (cf Chapter 3), both families having been stationed at Landrecies in French Flanders (Tone II 110, 310, 359)

By a bizarre coincidence, a letter by William Duckett, dated the very same day as Tone's diary entry above (i.e. 23 October 1796) and addressed to James William Dalton, is written in English (AN AF III 186/b/860). Duckett's writings demonstrate his near-native fluency and remarkable eloquence in French, therefore it seems odd he would have chosen to address the older Dalton in English, particularly as the textual style of the letter does not imply he had met the addressee in person (if so, establishing like Tone that he 'spoke English but very imperfectly'). While this anecdote may seem somewhat peripheral to the discussion on Alexandre Dalton, it demonstrates the difficulty of establishing historically credible 'language ability profiles'. Dalton's roots evidently made him useful to his superiors, as formulated in a letter from Napoleon confirming to one General Régnier on 20 January 1804 that the Irish leaders in Paris "ont ici des conférences fréquentes par le canal de Dalton, Irlandais d'origine." (Corr. de Napoléon Vol 9: 7338.). It is within this formally recognised role that his interaction with Thomas Addis Emmet took place.

Thomas Addis Emmet opens the account of his negotiations with the French government on 30 May 1803, by explaining that "a Col. Dalton" called on him to convey the express information from Berthier that the French government were determined to send an expeditionary force to Ireland (Emmet 1915 I: 340). The expedition would not be ready until November, but they wished for Emmet to convey this intelligence to his 'friends' in Ireland, and in so doing clearly state France's position; this would be to separate Ireland from England, but then leave her free to determine her own government. Emmet's interaction was to take place against the backdrop of clearly-stated intentions, and his involvement was to be with the most senior decision makers. He emphasises that Dalton had been sent in an *official* capacity, the latter's role established from the outset as a

political and strategic liaison. Interestingly, Emmet also frames the complexity of his interaction with Dalton, whom he describes as being “of Irish parentage [having] previously cultivated my acquaintance, as I plainly saw, from political motives” (ibid). The reader is left in no doubt as to the fact that the relationship was tense and not entirely based on mutual trust, and Emmet makes clear that his cynicism led him, during his lengthy discussions on policy with Dalton, to hold back certain views on the true mood in Ireland, namely on France’s true intentions. He also self-defines to Dalton in unequivocal terms the seriousness of his role and the responsibility invested in him, namely that his “future conduct with the French government should be guided by the instructions [he] should receive from home,” (ibid 341). In this, their first formal discussion, both participants perceived uncertainty as to the other’s future behaviour in further communications. A useful model for contextualising the psychodynamics of such tense dealings is the discussion of communicating with strangers by Gudykunst, Kim et al (1992) which defines the anticipation of negative outcomes of a certain communicative process as a function of anxiety (Gudykunst, Kim et al 1992: 4). Yet in the days and weeks ahead, Emmet was to demonstrate considerable assertiveness in his fulfilment of this role which he clearly deemed to be one of a credible interlocutor with the French and not a subaltern, including some frank and fairly bold statements made in writing to Napoleon Bonaparte.

In total contrast to Tone, Emmet does not at the beginning of his diary relating his mission give the slightest indication whatsoever of how he perceived the standard of his competence in the French language. This is probably due to the fact that he was in fact quite fluent, and did not - initially - see the need to make any observations in that regard. Given his privileged birth as the son of a wealthy doctor and future state physician, and as

a typical child of the Enlightenment, Thomas Addis was an avid reader whose erudition would have encompassed the literature and culture of the age, as well as the political and legal writings necessary for him to become one of Ireland's most prominent lawyers (ANB 1999 vol. 7: 501). According to both R.R. Madden and T.A. Emmet (his grandson), Emmet had 'frequently' visited Paris as a young man (Madden 1860 iii: 32; Emmet 1915: I 376). Beyond cultural considerations, Emmet had initially qualified in medicine in Edinburgh in 1784 before turning to the law, and the historian R.R. Madden states he himself had acquired two of his textbooks, in Latin and French, both having 'ample notes sufficient to fill a small-sized volume [...] in the language of each work' (Madden 1860 iii: 28). Finally, a passing comment, made by Robert Emmet in a letter to a relation, does give some indication of his elder's brother's competence. Writing about their reunion in Amsterdam in August 1802, Robert explains their intention to then set out for Bruxelles, where it was likely "...Tom will remain...to practise the children in French" (NAI 620/12/146/30). Though we presume both Thomas Addis Emmet and William James McNeven had very competent French, we note their names on the subscription list for Sheehy's *Spelling Book* (1798, Appendix 1.2.). A former student of Trinity, Sheehy was like Emmet a member of the Honorable society of King's Inns, and if the latter's French was advanced, possibly he subscribed merely to support his friend's endeavour, or as a useful title to add to the family library.

Unlike Tone's accounts of his meetings with Delacroix and Carnot, Thomas Addis Emmet does not explicitly state in which language he and Dalton conversed. Their exchanges are usually summarised and recorded in the diary as direct conversational speech, and not indirect reporting. Though the diary entries are generally brief, they are structured like a verbatim report, making them in this regard very similar to Tone's, and

in so doing preserving the immediacy of human interaction during these key political encounters. As both Emmet and Tone were practising lawyers, they had acute analytical listening skills and ability to memorise and respond to lengthy chunks of incoming speech, and they occasionally structured sections of their diaries relating conversations - which had taken place in French - almost like court transcripts. In two specific examples, Emmet even replicates the dialogues by abbreviating the speakers' name and laying out the sequence of exchanges, as follows

1 Friday, June 3rd, called by appointment on Dalton, when nearly the following conversation took place

D [Dalton] Well sir, Genl Massena will be happy to see you-

E [Emmet] I shall be charmed to see Genl Massena, but my wish is to see the First Consul

D Why the negotiations are still going on (Emmet 1915 I 345)

2 Minister [Berthier]- "Who refused you?"

Emmet-"It came to me delivered by Mr Dalton"

M - "But Mr Dalton could do nothing except from me"

E - "I desired my application, Citizen Minister, [ ] etc (ibid 354)

However, apart from the fact that the Tone and Emmet journals were partially intended as a record of their actions, this technique allows the researcher to feel almost like a third, silent witness. Though Emmet has more of a tendency to summarise his accounts, some of the conversations are recorded in detail and, like Tone, he signposts the turns taken in his exchanges with Dalton as the following extracts illustrate, the chunks beginning with the standard format of subject pronoun + verb, emphasised below

*"He requested me to communicate this intelligence. I asked what would be the force, and he answered about twenty-five thousand men. I replied to all this. He again spoke to me about ...", etc (Emmet 1915 I 340-1, my emphasis)*

This is only a brief example taken from the first exchange between the two men, and as Emmet writes entirely in English, it is not until July that he gives any indication of speaking French during his face to face communications. In fact this arises in the course of his first interview with Berthier on 19 July, and from then on the record of conversations will regularly feature embedded chunks of French. Though the first instance is extremely brief, the casual quote in French leads to the conclusion that it had been determined as the language of Emmet's exchanges with both Berthier and Dalton, as illustrated by the following examples (with my own emphasis)

1 "When I [Emmet] came to the part that said Ireland should be at liberty to choose her own government, "Undoubtedly", said he [Berthier], '*c'est tout simple*, we wish to do England all the harm we can. I mentioned "*mes fonctions (sic) aupres du gouvernement*" (ibid 354, emphasis as per original)

It is not until a diary entry for the 13th of August that Emmet directly quotes an utterance by Dalton, and though in his record English is the dominant language, he makes clear they conversed in French

2 "But says Dalton, "*Comme vous êtes chef reconnu vous devriez être un peu despotique avec les Irlandais*" On which I smiled and told him I hoped I should never be despotic over any one (ibid 360)

3 "I asked him if he seriously thought the expedition could be ready in two months, -he assured me that before Vendemiaire I should see it so, "*Marine et tout*"? "*tout, tout*" (ibid 362)

4 *D* said he knew with certainty that in a short time I should see a "*belle reunion de vaisseaux*" (ibid 363)

There is nothing surprising in the fact that French would have been the appointed language for Emmet's exchanges with Dalton, and more specifically the minister Berthier, though this was informal diplomacy, conventions would dictate that the language chosen be that of the host country and the more senior participants in the encounter, unless of course one of the interlocutors was not competent enough to do so. Certainly at a very early stage Emmet reveals a firm intention to directly 'solicit an interview with the Chief Consul', i.e. Napoleon Bonaparte, and while no observation is passed on the language issue in this otherwise lengthy and deeply introspective diary entry, one can conclude that he felt his French was up to the task. Exactly one month after Emmet's first formal discussion with Dalton, he met Pat Gallagher who had just been sent from the Dublin rebel leadership to convey fresh orders, including a direct application for money, arms, ammunition and officers by Emmet to Bonaparte. So sensitive was the information on the mood in Ireland, and Emmet's distrust of ambitious and self-serving generals, that he was,

“determined to hold no communication with them on the subject, but speak to the Chief Consul himself determined to make him the only depository of my country's secret” (ibid 343)

Emmet's preoccupation with the link between direct bilateral contacts with certain individuals - be it in private correspondence or face to face meetings - and his concern for secrecy will surface again during his time in Paris, as it has a direct bearing on his occasional reliance on linguistic mediators. A further complexity is his reluctance to confine certain thoughts to the permanency of print, thus forcing him to engage in oral interaction, the preferred and less problematic option. Security issues are clearly framed during a discussion with Dalton over fears that the secrecy of the planned expedition to

Ireland would be undermined, given the abundance of English spies in Bordeaux, Emmet is solemnly assured

“ that not a word in writing has passed on the subject [ ] and that every arrangement respecting it has been made by word of mouth between the First Consul and the General [Augereau] himself” (ibid 369)

This recognition of the conflict between the permanency of the written word, and the ephemeral nature of the spoken, is most welcome in any sociolinguistic discussion examining the four language skills and, more specifically, how individual bilinguals may demonstrate varying ability in them. It is not impossible that a tacit agreement had been reached between Emmet and Dalton, who met regularly and in relatively informal settings, by which if the Irishman felt the need he could write to Dalton in English. Despite the frequency of their meetings, the two men often wrote to each other, and interestingly the first use of French in Emmet’s diary is in fact a substantial chunk in that language, directly quoted from a letter Dalton had sent

“This morning received a letter from Dalton and which speaking of the different matters in my letter says “il n’y a encore aucune solution definitive sur les objets des diverses notes, que j’ai remises, et dont vous avez connaissance, j’attends, presque certain que le retour du 1er Consul achevera notre affaire” (ibid 350)

There is no indication of what language Emmet wrote to Dalton in, and possibly a brief letter written in December in English, requesting the release of a fellow United Irishman held prisoner of war, was for his intention as the diary entries for that time indicate the two men frequently discussed such matters, or General Harty’s (SHA/Xh16<sup>d</sup>). It was most probably *not* addressed to Berthier, to whom Emmet was to send within three days a lengthy memorial on the planned invasion of Ireland, duly beginning with the following (formal) address, “A Son Excellence le Ministre de la Guerre ” (AN/AF IV/1672/2/203-

8, Appendix 5.5.). Possibly the note in English was intended for a General Harty, described by Emmet as ‘an Irishman by birth and a cousin to Dalton’, the latter having introduced the two men on 1 June (ibid:344). Emmet was frequently to meet Harty with other Irishmen, and not always in the presence of Dalton, and this ‘fellow countryman’ was also present at his first interview with the minister for War. One cannot rule out the possibility they preferred to speak in English when not in the company of French speakers of a higher status. The extract in French from Dalton’s letter is the only such lengthy one in Emmet’s diary (whose intended readership was most certainly anglophone), and apart from the occasional embedding of a foreign phrase which confers a certain authenticity, the substance of the text is in English.

However because Emmet was recording numerous and frequent conversations in French, his decision to confine them to print in English involved a constant mental switch mechanism from one language to another, reformulating in his mother tongue utterances he had processed from French, elucidating meanings in an automatic, but none the less demanding, process of decoding. The instinctive reactions of one of Ireland’s most successful lawyers were beneficial in such complex parleys, as Emmet reveals during a tense discussion with Dalton:

“He then endeavoured by some *leading questions* to come at the nature of my information and the source from which I derived it, asking whether a large expedition would be necessary, but I took care to give no satisfactory answer.” (ibid 345, my emphasis).

The fact that he occasionally recorded turntaking in conversations also displayed that he was consciously monitoring them, confirming research to emerge nearly two centuries later on what was to be termed ‘discourse competence’ in second-language acquisition.

One has no indication of Emmet's interaction with French society in the course of his daily life, but as he was considerably well-off, and appears to have had both lodgings in Paris and a house where his family resided outside St Germain en Laye, he most probably dealt with a variety of administrative matters involving written and oral acts of communication. Emmet does not make a single mention of any literary or cultural pursuits or interests, or *salons* he attended, which would give some further indication of his affinities with French society. Some of the Irish seeking enlistment in the planned expedition wrote directly in English to French military authorities, but others may have preferred to take measures and correspond in French (Dowdall to Hullot, 16 December 1803 SHA/2C/461/ 9538). However there are also several indications that Emmet himself sought assistance with written French, and in particular commissioning translations into French.

His awareness of the complexity of translation is revealed in an interesting observation, the first of several clues pointing to his reliance on Dalton as a linguistic mediator. Emmet had been seeking a face to face interview with Berthier, and on June 15 Dalton duly reported that he had, on Emmet's behalf "given a written note to the Minister at War, stating my demands with a *literal translation* of my credentials" (Emmet 1915 I 349). Presumably Emmet himself had been given the opportunity to peruse the rendering into the target-language of his credentials, and thus assessed how Dalton had (understandably) adopted a pragmatic approach to transferring a text which, after all, had no literary merit requiring stylistic reformulation. His passing observation is none the less noteworthy, in that he displayed an awareness of the complexity of translation, possibly arising from his own difficulties with performing this recurrent task of the bilingual

Following this anecdote there are further references to Dalton carrying out translations into French for Emmet, but only one is to be found in the French archives, a lengthy invasion plan submitted in January 1804 and discussed below (SHA/MR/1420 91, Appendix 5 4) But did Emmet occasionally rely on Dalton for purely linguistic reasons? There may be several explanations, one being that as the strategic and political intermediary between the United Irishmen and the French authorities, Dalton offered this service to be more directly involved in Emmet's transactions, and ensure he was cognisant of all developments This is certainly one way of interpreting the following incident from which also emerges a very interesting revelation, very welcome for the purposes of this thesis

“In the course of our conversation he suggested to me to give an account of Swiney's mission and offered to translate it I shall set about it directly, but I sha'n't ask him to translate it I will do it myself and address it to the Minister of War ” (Emmet 1915 I 373)

It is noteworthy that Dalton *offers* to translate the narrative given by Swiney, who had been dispatched in late September 1803 by the French on a clandestine mission to Ireland to assess the readiness there for another uprising This offer of assistance - linguistic in appearance - would presumably not have come about had Emmet not previously admitted to Dalton a sense of reluctance on approaching written tasks directly in French, but there was an added, strategic, dimension After Dalton's offer to help as linguistic mediator, Emmet adds ‘I am sure he does it because he thinks matters are coming to a crisis [i.e. in Ireland]’ Dalton's genuine offer for assistance to speed up the process of informing Berthier was also possibly self-serving, in that in so doing he would keep himself in the ‘information loop’ But once Emmet turns to the task himself, his problem becomes clear as he confesses in the very next diary entry “My letter to the Minister for War is not yet

finished, writing French is a slow business.” (ibid). Emmet found the exactitude of written language more demanding than discourse, and it is easy to imagine him struggling with syntax and lexical selection to ensure the surface forms of his text would have maximum impact. Such a frank admission contrasts with the historian’s image of a man of his maturity and erudition, but allows for a more realistic depiction of the uncertainties triggered by foreign language use. Yet despite his apprehensions, acting autonomously was of prime importance to Emmet, as formulated above where he stresses he will write out Swiney’s narrative *himself*. Two of the most significant texts - in political terms - he composed during this crucial time also enhance our understanding of the linguistic processes involved.

The first of these is a memorial addressed to the *Premier Consul* and dated 7 September 1803 (AN/AFIV1672/2/209-16, folios 209’ and 216’ as Appendix 5.5.). The handwriting and signature are identical to two other manuscripts by Thomas Addis Emmet, the short note in English mentioned and another political memorial (in French) addressed to Berthier. Emmet states in his diary for 24 August to 7 September that rumours had been circulating of an armistice with England, and accordingly he prepared “a memorial for Bonaparte, calculated to meet the possibility of negotiation and urging the utmost possible speed [...] as a preliminary to sending the promised arms” to Ireland. (Emmet 1915 I: 364). It is written as a bilateral communication between himself as ‘nommé Ministre et Agent des Irlandais Unis auprès du Gouvernement Français’ and the *Premier Consul*, Emmet rather functionally referring to himself throughout the text as ‘le sous-signé’ and never employing the first person. His journal entries discussing the political context of this memorial do not state any third party assistance with the preparation of this text, but possibly it is the same one referred to by Miles Byrne.

Byrne was a veteran of '98, and had been a leader of Robert Emmet's rebellion of July 1803. Following its failure, the younger Emmet had dispatched Byrne to France to escape arrest, and liaise with Thomas Addis to accelerate French assistance (Byrne 1906 I 285-6, Elliott 1982 315). Byrne states that upon his arrival in Paris, he was met by William McNeven and Alexandre Dalton, who brought him to Thomas Addis Emmet. Emmet having been informed that the First Consul had requested he prepare "as soon as possible, a detailed report on the present state of Ireland and that it would be well if this document were furnished the next morning early", the three Irishmen set off for Emmet's lodgings. After dinner the three retired to his study "to commence the report required", Byrne providing vital new information on the state of Ireland (Emmet I 368). Most interestingly for the purposes of this discussion, he adds, "McNeven writing with great facility [ ] Mr Emmet having lately been chosen by the Irish refugees in France to represent them with the First Consul, he was the more anxious to have this document *carefully made out*" (Byrne *Memoirs* (extracts) in Emmet 1915 I 368, my own emphasis). Byrne also specifies it was written in Emmet's residence in the rue du Cherche Midi, certainly the address provided by Emmet below his signature and the date, '20th (sic) Fructidor 11', i.e. 7 September 1803 (AN/AFIV1672/2/216<sup>r</sup>, Appendix 55).

Both Emmet and Byrne's narratives feature discrepancies and may not be entirely accurate, for differing reasons. Emmet states on more than one occasion that as he frequently travelled to and from town, he did not always "take a correct diary" and often needed to "bring forward [his] arrears" (Emmet 1915 I 364, 375). In Byrne's case, his *Memoirs* (1863) were written several decades after the events he witnessed had taken place, and consequently a certain degree of caution has to be exercised in terms of how precise or objective his recollections are. Emmet's diary records Byrne's arrival in Paris

as the 17th of September, a full ten days after the date on the memorial to the First Consul, and the entry makes no mention whatsoever of a memorial prepared that same night under the circumstances described by Byrne. However, given the long-standing and close friendship between McNeven and Emmet, and regular comments in the diary implying the latter occasionally acted with a certain degree of autonomy in dealings with the French, there is indeed every possibility that McNeven did assist Emmet in planning important written communications. More importantly, he was more than linguistically and intellectually equipped to do so.

McNeven had studied medicine on the continent, and had previously been sent to France as a secret envoy in 1797. Other texts on Ireland either signed by him or connected with him are assertively written in eloquent French (AN AF IV/1671/2/167-173, CPA 601 54). As stated, he confirms in his little known *Ramble through Swisserland* (sic) *in the summer and autumn of 1802* that his fluency in French and German had enabled him to dispense with a guide, a useful reference indirectly implying autonomy in his dealings with others. It will be assumed that in order to prepare 'a carefully made out text' as observed by Byrne, Emmet did have recourse to his trusted ally McNeven, whose collaborative authorship is implicit in the 7 September text. In it Emmet passionately argues the case for France to take swift action, and apart from the awkward expression 'dans ce moment', which appears twice, the style is very fluent and complex (AN/AFIV1672/2/209-16). The author certainly does not refrain from reminding Bonaparte of the verbal commitments he has made vis a vis Ireland, as the word 'promesse' appears no less than six times. It is worth pointing out that a similar assertiveness had been displayed in a letter written by McNeven to Bonaparte in January of that year, the tone of which is described by one historian as 'obsequious, quite at odds

with his private contempt for the First Consul' (CPA 601: 54; Elliott 2003: 42). But a sociolinguistic perspective will consider stylistic considerations, and it is not difficult to establish a connection between McNeven's brief but florid and forthright letter and the longer, and in parts audacious memorial signed by Emmet. The opening paragraph of the January letter, signed 'Guillaume Jacques McNeven' is sufficient to not only confirm that he did have a masterful command of French, allowing him to express himself without hindrance or clumsiness, but that he could engage in the barely-veiled cynicism of the following:

"Permettez a un individu obscur la liberté dont il s'avise d'écrire au premier homme de son siècle; mais comme j'entrevois une carrière des plus brillantes pour vous, et des plus utiles au bonheur du genre humain, que vous seul pouvez frayer, j'ambitionne en vous portant l'hommage de mon dévouement et de mon admiration, d'avoir la permission de vous exposer des intérêts qui tiennent à votre gloire, au bien être de vos états. J'avoue aussi que les intérêts de l'Irlande ma patrie y entrent pour quelque chose. Effectivement c'est la confiance qu'inspire votre vaste génie qui fait que je cherche à attirer vos regards sur le triste état de mon pays." (CPA 601:54).

Apart from the incorrect use of the third person singular for the verb '*tenir*', which if relating to '*intérêts*' should read '*tiennent*', it is evident that McNeven enjoyed engaging in somewhat complex structures, confirming Byrne's comments on his facility for writing. Regarding McNeven's role in the September memorial, the following extracts illustrate the eloquent and complex causal structures employed in this exhortation to Napoleon Bonaparte by the United Irishmen, intended to be a 'preliminary to negotiation'. The first extract discusses England's violation of the Treaty of Amiens:

1. "La conduite de l'Angleterre, en dévoilant ses sentimens invariables, a dû pour toujours détromper ceux qui ont pris plaisir à se livrer à cette illusion. Embarassée par l'Irlande, et craignant de la voir envahir de nouveau par la France, elle s'est hâtée de conclure une paix aussi déshonorable que désavantageuse. Dès lors elle s'est occupée de calmer ce pays toujours agité, et elle s'est donné beaucoup de peine pour

persuader aux Irlandais que leur cause venait d'être abandonnée [ ] elle s'est livrée de nouveau à sa haine irréconciliable contre la France, et à cette jalousie intéressée qu'alimente en elle la prospérité française, elle a [f 211r] foulé aux pieds le traité d'Amiens ” (AN/AFIV1672/2/209-16)

The authors reflect the textual trends of the time by invoking extreme human sentiment and emotion to portray political motivation, attributing to England the capacities for jealousy and hatred. Despite Emmet's avowed apprehensions of writing in French, the memorial displays creativity, and does not shy from metaphors such as the 'trampling under foot' of the Treaty of Amiens, reminiscent of allegorical imagery depicting nations as beings in popular prints. Arguing for the necessity for France to act promptly, Emmet elegantly supports his case with the following

2 “L'Angleterre en ce moment excite à une Coalition les États du Nord elle semble se préparer à rallumer derechef les flambeaux des guerres civiles dans le sein même de la République. Si l'on permet à l'Angleterre de préparer ses armemens en toute tranquillité, et de vomir des soldats et des princes sur les côtes occidentales de la République, il n'appartient pas à un étranger d'en envisager les conséquences ” (ibid)

Though the overall purpose of this text addressed to France's prime decision-maker was to furnish what Byrne called 'a factual report' on Ireland's readiness to rise if triggered by a French landing, these rhetorical flourishes may be the silent stamp of MacNeven's contempt, certainly not hindered by any linguistic barriers. Emmet does turn to pragmatic issues at the end of the text, namely that a certain Captain John Murphy was willing to transport arms to Ireland, and in order for him to pursue the discussions he had already undertaken on the subject with Dalton, “un homme de confiance, homme de mer” should be designated to liaise with the captain. Emmet's diary entry for 25 August to 7 September confirms that Murphy had just arrived in Paris, and that following their

meeting Dalton was asked to look into having “a proper nautical person appointed to confer with us on the best mode of sending arms” (Emmet 1915 I 364) Emmet then provides an insight into his negotiations, because despite linguistic uncertainties, he had offered to act as interpreter for Murphy “ il [Murphy] a demande (attendu que la langue française ne lui est point familiere) que le sous-signe (i e Emmet) lui servît d’*interprete* ” (Appendix 5 5 )

With this statement of Emmet’s in mind, namely that he felt competent to act as a linguistic mediator between the French authorities and a fellow countrymen of his to whom ‘the French language was not familiar’, another noteworthy revelation was to follow in correspondence which he addressed *directly* to the Minister for War Berthier some three months later (AN/AF/IV/1672/2/203-8<sup>v</sup>, Appendix 5 6 ) The purpose, as explained when Dalton had offered to translate, was to inform Berthier of information provided by John Swiney who had travelled to France following Robert Emmet’s execution on 20 September, in order to liaise with Thomas Addis on developments in Ireland Before entering into linguistic considerations, it is worth underlining that in the autumn of 1803 - though he never addresses the issue in his diary - Thomas Addis would have been suffering from the shock and trauma of his younger brother’s tragic end, himself and his own family also facing an uncertain future A major gap in his diary corresponding to the time of his brother’s death (24 September to the day of Swiney’s arrival in Paris, i e 20 October), is neither explained nor compensated for

In resuming his diary, Emmet immediately addresses factual, logistical data on the Crown forces in Ireland as conveyed by Swiney The brevity of his few words on Robert clearly indicate the extent of his despair

“Swiney has brought me the details of my dearest Robert’s trial and execution His conduct is my only consolation for his loss, but his speech as given by the English government would be very offensive here” (Emmet 1915 I 372)

In another tragic twist of Irish history, the 20th of October was also the day Thomas Russell, with whom Thomas Addis had been detained at Fort George and also a leader of the 1803 rebellion, was executed at Downpatrick gaol Emmet makes no mention of this, but his diary entries are for a time brief and erratic Feeling isolated but determined, he decided to act autonomously, yet when justifying his actions to the minister, an unprecedented admission of anxiety seemed exacerbated, or possibly even triggered by, the need to involve linguistic mediators at all

“ Comme je ne suis aucunement exerce a ecrire en français, il me faudra votre indulgence pour les fautes en stile (sic) qui fourmilleront partout Mais j’ai mieux aime eviter toute possibilite d’indiscretion, par (sic) travailler seul et sans secours, que de courir aucune (sic) risque en me servant d’un traducteur Je peux donc vous assurer qu’excepte M Swiney et moi, il n’y a aucune personne qui sache les choses dont il s’agit ci dedans et qui doivent être secrettes ”(AN/AF/IV/1672/2/203<sup>v</sup>, Appendix 5 6 )

Apart from Dalton, who else would Emmet have confided a translation in? He makes occasional mention of meetings with Nicholas de Bonneville, who was known to have translated for Thomas Paine, but does not state he aided in that capacity Certainly another possibility was his fellow United Irishman, John Delaney, to whom he did turn for such a task, but not acknowledged until 3 March, 1804 Though the text of 10 December to Berthier demonstrates that Emmet was more than competent to express his thoughts in French, regardless of his self-criticism, it was in fact a communication to Berthier which Delaney was to translate for him But not for the first time, the original author of a work was to be disappointed with the slowness of translation “Delaney has not yet translated my letter to the Minister, and the delay vexes me exceedingly ” (Emmet 1915 I 379)

However Delaney had carried out another translation for Emmet and McNeven, but of a newspaper article, and as it is Miles Byrne who comments on it this is discussed in the section below dealing with his early exile in France. In the absence of any information, it would also have been of interest to know if Delaney (though holding a prestigious position as secretary to a member of the Conseil d'Etat) was remunerated for such work 'commissioned' by the prosperous Emmet, making possible comparisons with today's paradigms pertaining to professionalised translation.

A French translation of a later memorial drafted by Thomas Addis Emmet to Berthier is preserved in the French military archives (SHA/MR/1420/91/1-8<sup>r</sup>, folios 1 and 8<sup>r</sup> as Appendix 5 7a, transcription of full text as Appendix 5 7b). According to R. R. Madden, who discusses this episode in the elder Emmet's life in some detail, a "copy of the memoire was never found among Emmet's papers" (Madden 1860 III 120). Possibly Madden is referring to the English version of this French manuscript, in fact translated by Dalton, who appends the standard phrase 'pour traduction conforme' at the very end of the text, below the name of the original author, Emmet (Appendix 5 7a). It may at first seem unlikely that Dalton, given his rank, would get personally involved by translating the document himself, essentially an administrative task easily performed by one of the ministry's internal translators. Two sources confirm that Nicholas Madgett may still have been involved, the first an informant claiming he was "long employed in the Marine Department [Madgett] certainly is very high in the confidence of the First Consul, and always has a great deal to say in Irish affairs" (PRO/HO/100/114/127). Secondly, his standing as a trusted civil servant and long-established 'consultant' on Irish affairs led him to assist Henry O'Keane upon his return from Mayo, as two letters from the latter state he was living at the address of 'C[itoy]en Madgett employé à la Marine'.

(SHA/2Y<sup>c</sup>/O'Keane dossier, O'Keane to [Berthier/MG<sup>?</sup> 10 Messidor and 23 Thermidor 9) Given the internal secrecy surrounding the planned Irish expedition, Dalton possibly decided to dispense with any form of intermediary. He appears to have been the translator, as the handwriting can be matched to other items of correspondence bearing his signature, in particular two letters to Berthier in support of the pension to be granted to Theobald Wolfe Tone's widow Matilda (SHA17y<sup>d</sup> 852 GD/Dalton, and 17y<sup>d</sup> 14/Tone). As no English-language version is extant, discussion of the memorial is only possible by roughly 'backtranslating' Dalton's French version, i.e. guessing at what Emmet's English version contained. Here theories on text typology are relevant, and Dalton's strategy focused on communicating the full referential content of this informative text, with little regard to aesthetics or creativity (Reiss 1977/89: 108-9). To Dalton's considerable advantage as target-text producer was his own expert background knowledge of the specific subject area, in sharp contrast to the source-text producer (i.e. Emmet), an intelligent and highly-respected strategist for the United Irishmen, but a civilian with no experience of armed combat. Dalton's military expertise was thus a positive aspect, outweighing the fact that the French text (while coherent in its presentation of data), in parts displays evidence of lexical and orthographic interference from English. Emmet's comment on Dalton having translated his credentials 'literally' springs to mind, and it must be stressed that literalness in this context must not be judged qualitatively nor seen as a negative outcome.

Certainly both the lexical range employed in Emmet's invasion plan and the register are restricted, and an advanced knowledge of literary English would not be required to transfer meanings. The French version is dotted with anglicisms, such as characteristic dropping of articles, or mirroring of other syntactic forms. One illustration is avoidance of

repetition of articles, not standard in French, as in the direct transfer “10,000 hommes places sur des batimens legers et [des] fregates” (Appendix 5 7b Line 22), and “le capitaine Murphy et autres que je crois ” (Line 28) must be a literal transfer of ‘Captain Murphy and *others* whom I deem competent ’ Another anglicism is the awkward *dans* cette saison where *en* cette saison would be preferable, as is the expression ‘si apres *quelque* examen’, very possibly triggered by the English ‘if after *some* examination’, equally inelegant is “les forces [ ] se dirigeront *a travers* les comtes de Wexford et de Wicklow” (L 25), possibly originating in ‘marching *through* counties ’ Emmet states he will identify for the minister ‘les lieux les plus *propres* a un débarquement’, (i.e. the most *proper* locations) and though this is an acceptable choice, ‘*appropriés*’ would be more commonly used and one can guess Dalton fell into the trap of employing a *faux-amis* or cognates This would also explain ‘les françois et les anglois qui les auroient *joins*, where the initial suffix /re/ would be necessary to form *rejoindre*, i.e. “les irlandois qui les auroient *rejoins*” (Line 40-1, my emphasis) Also difficult to render would be ‘securing’ a town which presumably is what Dalton meant for ‘apres s’être *assure* de cette ville’ Orthographic interference is evident in “L’ennemy (sic) sera attaque” (Line 32), and curiously the effort of the task must have induced the confusion which led to the homonym *guerre* being chosen instead of *guere*, for ‘la route de Dublin qui n’est *guerre* plus longue’(Line 64) Finally, toponymy posed some orthographic uncertainties for Dalton who doubles the consonant in ‘Limmerick’, hyphenates ‘Bally-Cotton’ where it is unlikely Emmet did, and Drogheda is gallicised once with an acute accent in the final /e/, i.e. ‘Drogheda’, but not consistently What is noteworthy is that all the infelicities in Dalton’s French version can be attributed to transfers from English, and certainly indicate a lack of attention to the quality of the target-language text However given the fairly

basic sentence structure one will assume Dalton simply modelled his translation on Emmet's own sequencing, and a translator would not have required for this text an advanced degree of cultural or literary knowledge of English. Overall the text reads extremely fluidly and its occasional weaknesses would in no way lead the reader astray nor convey incorrect factual information. Examining a manuscript as opposed to a printed text allows the researcher to note hesitations on the part of the translator, as in this case where Dalton has scored out certain words in preference for others, though the variations are minor. One hesitation is between *danger* and *risque*, both these substantives having English cognates. As a native speaker of French, Dalton would not have the same level of language awareness in approaching such a transfer task as Emmet or McNeven would. As non-natives, French would have been a language acquired as part of a formal learning process during which it is very likely they engaged in grammar-translation exercises, developing bilingual switch mechanisms and honing reformulation skills. To them translation would be *both* a linguistic and informative process, to Dalton only the latter.

#### 5.4. Insights on the French exile of Miles Byrne

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that it is highly probable Alexandre Dalton had more than a rudimentary knowledge of English, but, for whatever reason, left Miles Byrne with the lasting impression that he did not speak the language. There is no further indication at any point in Byrne's *Memoirs* that he ever met Dalton face to face again, nor any trace that the latter's poor English was ever discussed by Byrne with either MacNeven or Emmet (Byrne 1906, 1907). The *Memoirs* of Miles Byrne were in fact not published till 1863, and as they were written several decades after the events he witnessed

had taken place, a certain degree of caution is to be exercised in terms of how precise - or objective - his recollections are. None the less, they are a crucial source of information on the exiled Irish in France in the first years after the Act of Union, against the backdrop of Napoleon's relentless rise to power.

Byrne's *Memoirs* are also a fascinating intercultural record of their author's need to adapt and assimilate upon arrival in France and, most importantly, a record of his intelligent and revealing observations on his first encounter with the language barrier, and rapid goal-oriented acquisition of French. The very fact that he was more explicit than others on certain linguistic issues indicates an instinctive awareness of language in general, and his nascent bilingualism in particular, making it slightly difficult to dismiss his comment on Dalton's English. The experience of Miles Byrne as mature language learner is most probably very representative of many others, hostages to historical events, who found themselves confronted with multilingualism in the tense and uncertain circumstances of 1798, and as a fascinating case study merits further discussion. More specifically, despite a more humble socio-economic background and hence lower educational attainment than many of the more prominent United Irishmen, he typified the ordinary Irishman forced into to exile in a non-anglophone environment. Many of the 'rank and file' of the United Irishmen abroad, as labourers and soldiers, needed to acquire French to achieve short-term goals such as employment and army enlistment, yet despite their experience mirroring that of refugees and asylum seekers in the twenty-first century, no interest has been taken in this facet of the Irish diaspora. There are also striking similarities between much of the theory which underlines motivational factors and goal attainment prevalent in current research on adult education, and Byrne's self-assessment of such issues. So central was the linguistic dimension to his new life that he reflected this in his *Memoirs*,

and his observations also contribute to the historian's understanding of interpersonal communication across language barriers

Byrne was obliged after the failure of Robert Emmet's rebellion in July 1803 to flee Ireland clandestinely, and he secured a passage on an American ship headed for Bordeaux, leaving Dublin on 31 August 1803 (Emmet 1915 368) Once there he would meet fellow Irishmen whose hopes and expectations were fuelled by Napoleon's grand scheme to invade the British isles, and travel up to Paris to meet Thomas Addis Emmet More specifically, the establishment of a dedicated Irish Legion to serve in this expedition directly affected the existence of many expatriate Irish, who promptly enlisted from December 1803 onwards, and were given an institutional structure within which to fight the cause of their country's freedom One can chart Byrne's motivation to quickly acquire communicative competence in French from the time of his arrival (SHA/X<sup>h</sup> 14-17)

When a traveller first arrives in a foreign land, the sense of otherness in the new cultural environment frequently triggers an internal sense of disempowerment at all that is unfamiliar Most significantly, the discovery of what it is to experience language barriers at first hand can be quite overwhelming, and Byrne's earliest experience with the language question is a noteworthy anecdote related to interpreting (Byrne 1907 293-5) Though the episode is brief in his narrative, his description departs from traditional paradigms used to discuss the phenomenon of interpreting and the respective roles of participants Once again it displays Byrne's curiosity about, and greater than average awareness, of the complexities of bilingual communication Byrne had boarded an American ship headed for Bordeaux which, upon approaching the mouth of the Gironde estuary at the end of its crossing, was not permitted to proceed as it had arrived from a

country at war with France. Much to his annoyance, Byrne was therefore forced to remain on board contrary to his wishes. Though not having specifically stated at this stage whether he was familiar with, or ignorant of the French language, it can be deduced from the manner in which he describes his interaction with others that he could not function autonomously.

Learning from the cabin boy on his ship, who understood a 'little French', that a pilot would land him the next night on the French coast, Byrne resolved to jump ship and made ready his few belongings. The next morning, a boat from the French squadron guarding the mouth of the river approached the ship, and Byrne leapt into it without taking leave of his American captain. Though a marine soldier took hold of him, he resisted and placed himself beside the sergeant, "making signs to him, the best way I could, that I was under his care till we reached the commodore's vessel" (Byrne 1907: 293). Byrne's 'making signs' were presumably paralinguistic forms of message conveying, namely physical gestures, a common vector of communication by newly-arrived travellers (Cronin 2000: 70). Not in a position to defend himself verbally, the twenty-three year old veteran of both the 1798 rebellion and Emmet's July rising loosened the grip of the soldier who had had "the audacity to take hold of me, and threw him on his back" (Byrne 1907: 293). The officer in command then conducted Byrne to his cabin, and proceeded to interview him.

The opening words of the sentence which follows in the Irishman's narrative (my emphasis) are sufficiently clear to define the context of the interview, and the delineation of the participants' respective roles: "*When his interpreter came, I explained briefly the object of my mission to Paris*" (Byrne 1907: 294, my emphasis). The temporal adverb 'when' syntactically marks the onset of the interview, or 'the moment an interpreter is

present' (Roy 2000: 47), as the exchange cannot proceed without the intervention of this third participant, as linguistic mediator. Though his presence from that point onwards is only implicit in Byrne's relating of the interview, the pivotal role of the interpreter as coordinating the talk of the two main participants, in what Wadensjö (1998:153) describes as the "communicative *pas de trois*", is evident in the structured sequencing of turns. These turns are a balanced succession of the utterances of the interviewee (Byrne 1907: 204) signalled by the personal pronoun 'I', and those of the interviewer (the ship's commodore) marked by 'he'. Due to the nature of this particular dialogue (an interrogation) typical verbs such as 'explain', 'ask' and 'answer' are employed. Byrne structures the dialogue between himself (using the first person), and the commodore (using the third person), to reinforce the direct communication between them. The following extract demonstrates the turns taken by each interlocutor, signposted by a pronoun (emphasised) and a verb, but also the effectiveness of the interpreter's relaying in and out of both languages the questions and answers:

I explained briefly the object of my mission to Paris, told him it was immaterial to me how I was sent ...he promised me I should be sent off to Bordeaux immediately ..." (Byrne *ibid*, my emphasi).

For Byrne to have composed this section of his memoirs by specifically including the interpreter as a third participant, i.e. by including phrases such as '*the interpreter then told me in English that his commodore promised I would be sent to the marine prefect in Bordeaux, etc.*', would be artificial and laborious. But in appropriating the interpreter's translations as if they had been uttered directly by himself or the interviewer, Byrne is adhering to the convention in historical narrative of interpreter-mediated dialogue, as discussed by Palmer (2001). Though the interpreter is omnipresent in reality, his absence in the text occludes the materiality of the exchange as it originally took place (Palmer

2001: 55) It is also the accepted convention for the interpreter to become 'the voice' of the two main interactants and appropriate their utterances as his own, i.e. by using the first person when uttering the reformulated chunk in the target language, and not the third.

While the first few exchanges of the interview, as related by Byrne, indicate a fluid sequence of questioning and answering, the dialogue becomes more tense when the interviewer asks Byrne "some questions about the Yankee captain, and the sum I paid him for my passage" (Byrne 1907: 294). It then becomes clear that the commodore's interests are not solely in ensuring Byrne's safe arrival in Paris to be met by Thomas Addis Emmet (whose recognised status as the official 'agent' of the United Irishmen could be easily verified), but also in useful information he could provide to the French authorities in policing their coasts, as war raged with England. The American captain is then "ushered into the cabin", and as Byrne graphically states was not asked to sit, though "we were". By 'we', Byrne may have only meant himself and his interviewer, but the point is worth noting, as the question of whether or not he included the interpreter as being seated relates directly to this recurrent issue in today's models of community interpreting (Gentile et al. 1996: 15, 18). Inviting the interpreter to sit is not necessarily an indication that they are conferred equal status with the other participants, it is an organisational strategy crucial to the "effective and efficient performance of the interpreting function", as all three parties maintain eye contact (ibid).

The commodore reprimanded the American captain for having grossly overcharged Byrne for his passage from Dublin to Bordeaux, and ordered him to refund the balance. Byrne was then faced with a moral dilemma, recalling that the American had in fact probably saved his life a few days earlier when an English cruiser had boarded their ship. Unable

to address him directly in English, due to the protocol of the dialogue controlled by the Frenchman (and somewhat trapped in the complexity of triangular relations between France, England and America), Byrne was “overcome by emotion” no doubt augmented by the language barrier, and explained his reluctance to take back the balance of the fare to the latter (Byrne 1907 294-5)

The interview terminated, Byrne then makes an extremely revealing statement on the question of the advocacy-impartiality conflict at the heart of the interpreting function. Strolling on deck he came across the interpreter, who by extraordinary coincidence was a fellow Irishman, “a Mr Brown from Baggot street” in Dublin, a fact which Byrne thought augured well under such circumstances. Byrne, ‘anxious to know’ if he had displeased the commodore by not taking back the money overcharged for the passage, directly asked Brown his opinion. Interpreters are often deemed legitimate ‘evaluators of information’ because of specialised knowledge and their sensitivity to two cultures. Today, theoretical guidelines discourage seeking the interpreter’s opinion, as they can be seen as an advocate for one of the parties and no longer impartial (Gentile et al 1996 31, 60-61). But Brown readily answered, though it is not clear whether his emphatic response relayed his own views, or those of the commodore. “On the contrary the whole transaction did you great honour it showed you were disinterested and forgiving at the same time” (Byrne 1907 295). This assertiveness on the part of the interpreter shows in this setting he was free to voice opinions, and his empathy was remembered by the young Byrne who had not even set foot on French soil, his land of exile. The earlier illustration of Captain Bull’s experience, though held in captivity by the French, also showed the interpreter as displaying empathy with the interviewee.

Thus for Byrne, the outcome of this first experience of disempowerment triggered by the language barrier was not negative, as he clearly concludes “I was satisfied that all I had wished to have explained would be well translated by the sailor interpreter” (Byrne 1906 295) Unsure whether his behaviour had been appropriate, Byrne willingly placed himself under Brown’s protection, seeing in his interpreter a cultural informant who could advise on the commodore’s expectations as representing the hegemonic culture, a recurring problem interpreters find themselves in (Gentile et al 19) Brown demonstrated he was “conversant with the elements which characterize and govern behaviour in both the cultures” in allaying his compatriot’s unease (ibid 20) Having lived in France for some time, Brown could act as an ethnic informant, having vital “ privileged ‘inside’ information on the society and the culture” (Cronin 2000 72)

The curious collocation of ‘sailor interpreter’ contrasts with today’s often prestigious professional definitions, but clearly fits into the historic context of maritime trade, and the tense contacts arising out of the Continental blockade One of its consequences were the cat and mouse games played by British naval officers seeking to prevent both French war ships and merchant cargoes from exiting France’s ports To partially compensate for the weary months spent sailing to and fro, officers and crew alike were entitled to earn ‘prize’ money when ships were seized and goods distributed (Thompson 2002 225) But captains were accountable to government, and inventories kept of goods seized during prizes, therefore translators were required (to examine manifests as Sullivan had described) and to interpret during interrogations (AAE/Pers 1/65/58 v, Recueil des lois de la Marine 1793 III Decret n°347 19 fevrier 1793 331-2) One such linguistic mediator thus describes his ‘job specification’ “The vessel I am in is a ship privateer I

go out as Captain's Clerk and Translator of French, have £4 a month and my chance of prizes" (NAI/620/12/145/19) Brown possibly performed written translation as well

But Byrne was to discover that despite being a "simple sailor", Brown was fluent in French and informed on political and commercial matters. As a mediator between two cultures, he was also able to "transmit the many nuances of a particular situation" (Gentile 1996: 39), even introspecting during his conversation with Byrne on his lexical choice in reformulating, here dictated by contextual factors. Explaining to Byrne that under the new regime of Bonaparte's Consulate, France was 'no more a Republic', so when in English he had 'spoken of a merchant', Brown had deliberately 'translated *negociant en grand*', though his explanation as related by Byrne is unclear to the reader and may just indicate the interpreter's pride at having used the more prestigious term of the two. However Brown seems to have been signalling in his phrase that the anti-negotiant phase which France had gone through from 1793-5 was well over, as the Republic was no more (L M Cullen 2000/1). Byrne concluded that his fellow countryman was content with his situation and well treated, but was soon to discover further complexities in Brown's status on the ship. Invited to take a most copious breakfast with the commodore, 'the first French repast I had seen', Byrne's was totally transformed from frightened and powerless interviewee to a guest at the captain's table. But could their casual conversation proceed without a linguistic mediator? The Irishman was "agreeably surprised when the commodore began to speak to me in English", and uttered a most acutely observed, if self-evident, conclusion "I could not help saying he had no need of an interpreter". Then followed another revelation which aptly describes the reality of daily life for many in the war-torn eighteenth-century, but overlooked in scholarship which tends to focus on literary and erudite phenomena rather than

pragmatics The commodore had in fact been a prisoner of war in England, and not only had he made the best of his misfortune by learning English during his detention - an unusual language learning-environment - he had also absorbed much of the political culture of the nation, and knew a great deal about statesmen, 'particularly Fox, Sheridan and Pitt' (ibid 296) His response to Byrne's comment on not 'needing' an interpreter is also most welcome in this discussion, and reveals not only the commodore's ongoing self-awareness as a bilingual and one consciously wishing to monitor switch mechanisms, but also the pedagogical value of taking part in an interpreted act of communication

"Oh! you flatter me, I am quite at a loss sometimes for words, besides, it is a good lesson for me to hear your countryman, Brown, translating into English what I tell him in French I have great confidence in him,"  
(ibid)

A final point is the commodore's allusion to a recurring theme in this thesis, i.e. the contrast between an individual's aural comprehension of a foreign language, and the difficulty experienced by non-natives in planning utterances, triggering uncertainties and inhibitions when speaking

It is easy to understand why Byrne's first experience of linguistic isolation was in fact transformed into a memorable episode of empathy and kindness, as not only did he not resent the need to communicate with the French commodore *through* the interpreter Brown, but discovered his compatriot was also a reassuring bridge between two cultures This would explain why so many years later, when reminiscing on his first few hours in exile, Byrne would have clearly marked the presence of the interpreter, all too rarely the case The following illustration, the report of an interrogation of eight English prisoners taken from a boat seized by the French off the coast of Boulogne in July of 1804, shows that as superior participant, part of an interviewing officer's role was to write the

narrative, in which the presence of the interpreter is not alluded to (SHM/BB4 190/12). It is particularly regrettable that no indication is given here of how exactly linguistic barriers were overcome. The views of the detainees had been sought on the fleet ships cruising out of English ports, as well as the political mood in England and preparedness for the rumoured French invasion. In fact it emerged that of the eight, one was Russian and another Italian, but the syntax employed by its author, General Lafond and *Chef d'Etat Major* at Boulogne, typifies how linguistic mediation is only implicit: "Il résulte de l'interrogatoire qu'ont subi ces prisonniers, qu'ils s'accordent à dire, etc." (SHM/BB4 190/12). In the case of the Italian, the turn of phrase used by Lafond is clear on the outcome of the interrogation, but silent on the process: "Le langage du nommé Pascal Greko prouve évidemment qu'il n'est pas anglais et porte à croire qu'il est effectivement napolitain" (ibid). A possible elucidation is that the Greko in question spoke in English with a heavily marked non-native accent, and either the interrogating officer was able to establish this, or it was in fact the conclusion of an interpreter. It may also simply have been the case that he spoke directly and only in Italian, but the convoluted expression used by Lafond is not clear in that regard. However, the account of the Russian is bizarre and may in fact be that of an Irishman seeking to mask his true identity. Though stating he was born in Moscow, the name he gave was the more British sounding 'Matthieu Lassedge', and by some coincidence he had been in Dublin a few months earlier. His impressions of the troubled state of Ireland are most evocative, though he may have been exaggerating the tense atmosphere to impress his interviewers:

"...la terreur y était à un tel point que si un Irlandais regardait un Anglais en face il était arrêté et sur le champ pendu, qu'en outre les Anglais depuis la première révolte ne souffraient plus les couleurs irlandaises et que le pavillon anglais était arboré partout." (ibid).

It is unfortunate in this case as well that the views of an interpreter or a multilingual interviewer are not given by the author of the report as to which language 'Lassedge' spoke in, and whether his utterances were marked by a particular accent. In any event pragmatism would dictate that in routine interrogations within a structured institution like the military, it was assumed that linguistic mediation would have been carried out if required, and it was not felt necessary to make direct reference to the agent performing this task. Another contemporary interrogation employs the first person for the verbs /procure/ (information) and /interrogate/, the status of the interviewer in this case being no less than the *Chef militaire de la marine imperiale a Boulogne* which may warrant the occlusion of the presence of a subaltern interpreter. "Telles (sic) sont les renseignements que j'ai pu me procurer des douze prisonniers que je viens d'interroger" (SHM/BB4/190/33<sup>v</sup>). These examples, though taken from official military reports, confirm the prevailing practice, and make Byrne's deliberate inclusion of the interpreter all the more noteworthy.

The circumstances of Byrne's arrival in Paris and his meeting Thomas Addis Emmet and William McNeven have been described above. He recalls his efforts to adapt and integrate in his new environment, namely on the issue of acquiring the language of the host country. He immediately addressed the issue, and states that a fellow Irishman, Valentine Derry, was very useful in assisting him with French and introduced him to his future language master (Byrne 1906: 304). The mention of Derry is most useful, as he is described as being a 'professor' of English at the military academy at La Fleche, he was not the only Irishman to have done so as the translator-interpreter John Sullivan and the United Irishman William Corbet were also employed in that capacity (SHA/Xh<sup>14</sup>). Byrne describes his instructor as a certain Lesage, who was quite busy, so Byrne could only get

“two lessons from him in the week, and at night”, implying he may have preferred tuition on a more frequent basis (Byrne 1907: 308). Lesage, according to Byrne, had spent twenty years in England as a professor of French, and his bilingualism was an important factor in Byrne’s progressive language awareness. During the autumn months and until his enlistment in December in the Irish legion, his ‘daily occupation was learning French’, and the methods he used are an interesting combination of both formal and informal modes (ibid).

Initially, Byrne’s self-assessment was that he “was not making much progress” but encouraged by MacNeven, he persevered. Unfortunately Byrne does not specify in which language skill he felt deficient, but it is possible to construct a feasible framework for this informal aspect of his learning by other details. In a rather charming anecdote, Byrne explains his appreciation of the sound ‘prescriptive’ advice offered by McNeven - after all a medical doctor by profession - namely that Byrne should never go on his daily walk without his ‘grammar or vocabulary’, and to take care that upon his return, he had at least learned some new words. However it is known that in naturalistic settings, i.e. during casual interactions with native speakers as Byrne may have had in the course of any given day, native speakers tend not to correct non-natives as this may offend and hinder normal conversation. Thus with an absence of corrective feedback, learners may tend towards a negative assessment of their efforts, and this is even more so in contexts of mature language learners. But Byrne diffidently followed McNeven’s advice, which he found excellent (ibid). However he did mix in an anglophone community as he regularly frequented the London Coffee House on the rue Jacob, where the Irish congregated to read the *Argus*, an English-language newspaper published in Paris.

By November 1803 the Irish Legion was almost ready to begin formal recruitment, and here Byrne is quite clear on the motivation underpinning his desire to become a functional French speaker. Stating the excitement of the Irish in France was greater than ever, expecting hourly to receive their brevets, they thought of “scarcely anything except the study of military tactics” (Byrne 1906: 318). In anticipation of his training, Byrne had bought upon arriving in Paris the *Reglement* or *Ordonnance* on the exercise and manoeuvre of infantry. He makes no observation on how he approached a reading task of such dense and specialised material in a language he was only just beginning to learn, but does provide some incisive clues. Having some “practice in fighting against regular troops”, he was beginning to know the theory tolerably well, and felt he could make his way like other officers.

Though Byrne’s primary purpose was to acquire military knowledge, it is implicit his knowledge of French would have been increased by such input. Once again Byrne’s experience is underpinned by models prevalent in today’s applied linguistics, in this case the argument for authentic texts as a main source of target-language input (Little et al 1994: 20, McGarry 1995). The definition of authenticity given by Little et al (1994) could aptly describe the infantry regulations, namely as a text “created to fulfil some social purpose in the language community in which it was produced”, and as part of the process of learning it would be a tool appropriate to the learner’s needs, expectations and experience (ibid: 23). Dealing with a topic already familiar to Byrne, he would activate ‘relevant knowledge of the world’ and in the process acquire lexical knowledge. While a text of this type would not assist in broadening knowledge of conversational French, it is worth pointing out that structured as it would be as a series of prescriptive, formulaic phrases and imperatives, the repetitive syntax would be easy to assimilate and to a certain

extent the reader would become familiar with certain forms of the language. More importantly, what Byrne would passively assimilate in reading (possibly seeking elucidations on technical or linguistic points from more experienced members of the community he mixed in) was soon to become 'aural input' once he commenced drilling and would be required to manoeuvre according to orders he would hear. This is substantiated in a letter to the Minister for War from Bernard MacSheehy, appointed commander of the Irish Legion, who expresses his satisfaction with the progress of his twice daily exercises in the use of arms and the art of command (Desbrieres III 3 592). Demonstrating much "empressement" and "emulation", his men would soon be ready to manoeuvre as a platoon or battalion. But as a former *secrétaire-interprete*, MacSheehy was deeply sensitive to the language issue, and though as a balanced bilingual he was competent to fulfill his duties, he suggested the following improvements:

"Je fais traduire notre règlement en anglais à mesure que nous avançons. J'ai fait copier par chaque officier les leçons en anglais et en français. Il me semble, mon général, qu'il serait très utile de faire imprimer cette traduction anglaise à laquelle je fais donner tous mes soins et surtout les écoles de soldat et de peloton. Il ne serait pas moins avantageux de traduire les manoeuvres de la cavalerie et de l'artillerie tant à pied qu'à cheval. On aurait par ce moyen dans ce corps tous les éléments d'une armée. (MacSheehy to Berthier, 30 January 1804, in Desbrieres III 3 592.)

It is known from detailed enlistment rolls that the officers of the Irish Legion were of varying background, ranging from professional men to former students, tradesmen and labourers (SHA/ Xh<sup>14</sup>, Appendix 5 8). Evidently their educational attainments would differ, as would their ability to receive orders in French, hence MacSheehy's wise and pragmatic suggestion that all regulations be translated and available in English. He also thought it advisable to have not only officers and non-commissioned officers familiar with commands in English, but ordinary soldiers too. Due to the nature of this particular

officer corps, their language abilities are detailed on the rolls listed along with relevant information on any previous military experience, and this information is most incisive as it distinguishes between the four language skills. Most extraordinary is the additional inclusion of personality traits, not uncommon in such roles as they related to the individual's record of discipline and aptitude for military life. However, in juxtaposition with the details on language ability, these details combine to form a sociolinguistic snapshot on the individual's ability, i.e. what two centuries applied linguistics would identify as 'communicative competence'. Thus Miles Byrne's clear goal-orientation which emerges from his own writings is confirmed, as he is described as having "des dispositions naturelles, peu instruit mais travaillant a le devenir, caractere ferme et reflechi, bonne conduite, belle tenue" (SHA/Xh<sup>14</sup>). However, given this record also states "ne parle pas le français, l'écrit un peu", a full year after his arrival in France, it would appear his self-assessment on his progress did not match his commanding officer's. His friend Valentine Derry, with good spoken and written French, "éducation soignée, bonne conduite, bonne volonté, caractère doux," was none the less deemed to have little disposition for soldiering, "mais travaille a s'instruire". Others had speaking ability which ranged from 'mediocre' to 'passable', and for most their writing ability matched the evaluation of their communicative skill. Despite his medical background, MacNeven demonstrated his versatility and visibly impressed his superiors "des dispositions militaires, esprit cultivé, caractère doux, franc et loyal. Parlant et écrivant bien le français."

The Irish Legion was to become a form of interculturalism in itself, as MacSheehy also advised having one French officer per company within the Irish corps "une pareille

conduite formera les liens naturels entre les officiers et les soldats français et irlandais, qui produiront necessairement un resultat avantageux sous les rapports de la politique, et sous ceux de la discipline et de l'energie militaires" (Desbrieres III 3 592) But multiculturalism could only be successful in such a pragmatic institutional setting if individuals could communicate, and MacSheehy undertook to have an English course organised should French officers join, with 'quelques-uns des officiers les plus instruits du corps' ensuring tuition (ibid) Byrne himself states that with "the best French instructors", he was assured along with his comrades they would soon "be capable of becoming instructors ourselves to teach others" (Byrne 1907 328) He did however exploit less formal opportunities for naturalistic input from native speakers, and in his first billet in Brittany took advantage of his host's kind invitation to "evening parties", declaring these were of great advantage to him in learning French (ibid 326)

The year 1804 was in fact to mark the steady decline of United Irish activity, and by 1806 what was left of the ill-fated Irish Legion was subsumed into Napoleon's *Grande Armee* (Bartlett forthcoming, Elliott 1982 340, Gallaher 1993) Despite continued expectations that a French invasion might yet occur, the United Irish committee in Paris was never reformed, and in Ireland the French progressively became irrelevant to the emerging legend of Robert Emmet (Elliott 1982 340-4, 2003 103) The ultimate failure of the United Irish mission abroad should not only be viewed from a political perspective It is a significant chapter in the history of Ireland as one of the European family of nations, which has been somewhat dominated by Ireland's place and role in the anglophone world The experience of a handful of key United Irish representatives in overcoming language barriers, as succinctly stated by Thomas Addis Emmet, should be seen as a testimony of Irish prowess (McNeven 1807 218)

## CONCLUSION

The overall aim of this thesis has been to reconstruct a significant facet of the United Irish movement abroad, overlooked in the writings on 1798 which focus on political and military events. The thesis has demonstrated that linguistic and cultural perspectives on how political contacts were managed across the language divide can significantly contribute to the historiography of 1798.

Discussion has relied heavily on primary sources, and on the frank assessments these yielded on the range of communicative difficulties experienced by Theobald Wolfe Tone, Robert and Thomas Addis Emmet and Miles Byrne. Personal introspections on communication strategies in a foreign language are important paradigms, though neglected in applied linguistics and translation. The insights on these issues, provided 'voluntarily' by these notable Irish figures, give a much-needed historical perspective to the experience of communicating in an unfamiliar cultural environment. From these authentic accounts, it is clear that the special anxieties adults face when having to manage communicative exchanges in critical circumstances, and not in their mother tongue, are not a phenomenon specific to the twenty-first century. Such personalised discussions can clearly contribute to applied linguistics, but have their place too in Irish historiography, now undergoing a distinct cultural turn and enriched by a marked interdisciplinary contribution by other disciplines (O Ciosain 2005: 1-5).

In his introduction to the *Essays in honour of Louis M. Cullen*, Dickson (2003: 12) expressed admiration for Cullen's innovative, and at times unconventional approach, in

balancing the longer view of events with microhistory (2003: 12). Of note was Cullen's ability to stand "back a little and reposition the familiar in less familiar contexts, and search for the telling comparison across time and space, yet keep close to the flesh and blood of lived lives." (ibid). This thesis has approached United Irish lobbying in France by 'repositioning' notable episodes of the 1790s, yet in a context largely unfamiliar to Irish historiography which places the materiality of language at the heart of cultural contacts.

In his foreword to J.M. Thompson's *Napoleon Bonaparte* (1988: ix), Hampson had underlined that author's perception of history as "set in a context that was physical as well as social and intellectual". Thompson's methodology centred on asking questions which non-historians asked themselves, and did not stop at re-arranging familiar arguments, but preferred to investigate "neglected aspects of the past" (ibid: x). Based on solid evidence, he did not envisage "human experience [in ways] that would have been incomprehensible to the people whose actual choices were responsible for the events" historians studied. Nor did he seek to 'explain' the actions of key figures of the past in terms they would not have understood. This approach has motivated the methodology employed throughout this thesis in discussing primary sources, and though the scope has not been political, the intention has been to echo the post-revisionist writing on 1798, and restore "the United Irishmen... to the 1790s context", and approach "the 1790s on its own terms" (Whelan 1996: 174-5). Tone (*Life*: 817-8) had hoped that the motif of his competence in French would be "investigated by the learned of future ages", and despite the flippancy of his remark, it has been a prime motivation for this thesis. It is hoped the interdisciplinary perspective adopted would not have been unrecognisable to Tone's

'lived life' The thesis has demonstrated that his personal experience of crosslinguistic communication was a factor in his historical undertakings, and as a cultural discussion has shifted the emphasis in the historiography of the United Irishmen away from the burden of political conflict

Tone himself would have readily concurred with the formulation of the initial thesis question, namely that translation was an instrumental activity which facilitated communication between individuals not sharing a common language. Keenly aware of the permanence of the written word, Tone was also appreciative of the skills of the translators he had to work with, but came to learn from. His interaction with Madgett and Sullivan has been discussed in detail, but one must also look to his later collaboration with Shee on the *Address to the people of Ireland* (Tone II 375-92) "hard at work on my pamphlet *Col Shee* translates it as I go on and I like it better in his French than in my own English" (ibid 358). While much has been made of the negative aspects of Tone's deficiency in French, which initially hampered his political mission, a positive outcome emerges from the discussion on his effort in managing the bilingual switch mechanism, very similar to an interpreter's. Elliott (1989 309) has referred to the fact that Tone's need to repeatedly reformulate his political arguments to the Directory (an audience both enthusiastic, but indecisive), helped to clarify and synthesise this discourse. However, Tone's effort was even greater because he was also continuously switching between oral French and written English. Elliott's point was made from the standpoint of the historian of political events, yet one senses as a *bilingual* historian she was intuitively aware of this crosslinguistic effort which had almost perversely helped Tone to mature his arguments, despite his negative perceptions. In fact many exhortative passages in the

numerous texts composed by the United Irishman in France are moving examples of their rhetoric, but also the fruit of their efforts in tense circumstances, and made against the recurring backdrop of linguistic uncertainties. As they are written in French, they remain unknown and their polemical value has not been appreciated. It is somewhat ironic that Talleyrand had qualified the prose style of the memoir delivered to him by “deux Irlandais” (i.e. Emmet and Delaney) as “noblement écrits” is a tragic irony, as the word was to recur consistently in the lexis employed to describe Robert Emmet’s legend (CPA/594/150’)

A further demonstration of the purposefulness of translation is given in the discussion of Thomas Addis Emmet’s collaboration with Dalton. What was instrumental in the process of translating the 1804 invasion plan was the transmission of information in French, even if Dalton’s translation competence did not match that of Madgett’s or Sullivan’s (Chapter 5: 292). That Dalton’s rendering into French features awkward turns of phrase, indicating he was not a balanced bilingual, and that the English of the original had influenced his target-language version, is not important to the historian, more concerned with precision in meaning. Such unsuccessful results were described by Howell (cited in Lewis 2004: 30-1) as reading “not unlike the wrong side of a Turkish tapestry”, but Lewis’ assertion that accuracy was far more important than elegance for official translators aptly describes Dalton’s translation competence (ibid: 30). Dalton also exemplifies the bilingual who, in another capacity, performs rudimentary translation to fulfil a primary role, in this case that of a French officer liaising with Emmet as leader of the United Irishmen in France.

In numerous sources quoted throughout the chapters, terms such as ‘instrumental’, ‘of use’, or ‘advantageous’ frequently pointed to the pragmatic skills which bilinguals could contribute. In their comprehensive overview of interpreters in history, Bowen et al (1995) had pointed to the recurrent proof that, over the centuries, polyglots had been ‘chosen’ by the profession but typically fulfilled many other roles of which linguistic mediator was only one. Even Musgrave, in describing to the Bishop of Dromore how he had accompanied the Primate to visit Humbert’s officers in Dublin before they were released, explained that he had accompanied Newcome “as his interpreter” (NLI Ms Musgrave 4157/97). The linguistic mediators whose bilingual performance was reviewed in this thesis contributed many skills from their personal backgrounds to the tasks they undertook, and this broad knowledge enhanced their translation competence. The linking and overlap of these ‘latimers, lawyers, soldiers and spies’ also echoes the experience of the Irish in France over the centuries which Swords, an authority in the field, encapsulated in his *Soldiers, Scholars, Priests* (1985). As this thesis coincides with the centenary of the birth of Samuel Beckett, perhaps it is appropriate to mention his service as a ‘driver-storekeeper-interpreter’ for the Irish-run Red Cross hospital at Saint-Lô (Gaffney 1999: 98, 100).

The experiences of Madgett and Sullivan are noteworthy case studies in translation history, and it is hoped that extended research in the French Marine archives will yield further information on the precise circumstances linking Madgett and Sullivan to the setting up of the *Bureau de Traduction*. Their experience as French-language propagandists is substantiated in a study on translators recruited among emigrant populations, who must learn “to write in a stylistically authentic way” in the language of

their host country (Campbell 1998: 56-7). Comparisons with the very specialised nature of the profession today are difficult to make, yet Madgett once commented on the sense of ownership felt at the creative process underlying translation, when referring to the translations of Williams as her '*own work*' (AAE/Pers1/47/89v, my emphasis). It is clear that in determining how certain bilinguals, rather than others, came to become linguistic mediators, personal and political motivations were associated with exceptional circumstances often beyond the control of the individuals involved. Period sources discussed in Chapter 4 have shown that the *instrumentality* of polyglot officers was essentially seen by the military authorities as a military function, though paradoxically it is through Bishop's Stock's own words that the link between the usefulness of polyglossia and service to a political cause is made. The general ad hoc approach to the recruitment of translator-interpreters in the 1790s has been demonstrated, and the absence of alternative employment meant that many embraced the profession reluctantly. However, the glowing references Humbert provided for his captains (as dutiful officers, and not as translators), are to be contrasted with the "humiliations" experienced by one of the period's most prestigious diplomatic interpreters, Venture de Paradis (1739-1799). He recalled that though dignitaries and wealthy merchants could not communicate without him, he was looked on as a subaltern, even at times like a mere servant (Gaulmier 1950: 24-5).

As early as May 1793, Tone had informed Thomas Russell he would "risque all he has [to go to] an unanointed republic", i.e. France, and yet he never raised the subject of his competence in the French language until setting foot in France (Woods 2001: 76). The

skill and eloquence Tone displayed about a year later in his correspondence to Hoche, Daendels and others (Dickason, Tone III forthcoming) contrasts sharply with a frank statement made in a letter to his friend du Petit Thouars, which rings true as it implies his correspondent would agree

“ j’ai la temerité vous voyez de vous adresser en François [sic] , - vous aurez de la peine peut-être [sic] à me déchiffrer, mais vous vous rappelez le temps quand je ne pouvois pas dire trois mots de suite, et quand on a trente ans passés, c’est un peu tard de commencer à apprendre une nouvelle langue ” (TCD MS 2050 25<sup>r</sup>, as Appendix 61)

Tone’s “constant need to be accepted by those he admired” was astutely noted by his biographer (Elliott 1989 314) But studies on psychological adjustment in new environments justify this need for newcomers, seeking to gain recognition among prestigious members of the host society (Ward et al 2001 235, 238) Being acknowledged enhances not only self-esteem, but “perceptions of personal efficacy” (ibid), and this is an appropriate explanation for Tone’s anxiety which he exaggeratedly attributed to his poor French The clandestinity of his existence in Paris is a central part of his mission, and not a romantic exaggeration on his part The extent of his duplicity is confirmed in a revealing admission made by du Petit Thouars in a letter to his sister, written on 3 January 1797 (1937 453) Stationed in Brest and assisting the disembarkation of officers returning from the Bantry expedition, he had made “une singulière rencontre” which had plunged him into deep and distressing thought (ibid) Du Petit Thouars had come across the American, ‘Smith’, with whom he had sailed from America, but he was now wearing the uniform of a *chef de brigade*, and was really an Irishman Having risked his life to free his country, he boldly told Du Petit Thouars, he

would be hanged if taken. Tone never commented on the meeting, but it is a telling demonstration of the false identity he continuously lived with. The letter quoted above, and written some six months later, was signed with his pseudonym 'J. Smith', du Petit Thouars possibly never having learned his real name.

Tone's case is a special one which provides insights into the rudimentary translation skills of bilinguals, translation as an essential means of communication, and the influence of personal communicative competence on adult language acquisition. The extravagance of Tone's writing led to one observer noting that he "not only confesses his faults, but exaggerates them", and certainly this is true of the recurrent motif of his poor French (1893: xxv). What has not been sufficiently stressed is that the whirlwind of emotion in his journals, particularly after his arrival in France, is set against the backdrop of exile, but also his sense of isolation in a francophone environment. Surprisingly, Kiberd (2000: 239) states that Tone "never commented on the medium of language", though he "ruminated" on its processes. In fact the journals for the first six months of 1769 are a continuous commentary on the challenges of 'keeping two languages apart', a phenomenon which linguists partially refer to as interlanguage, and which Tone was fully aware of. Tone's narrative as an 'accidental tourist' in Europe merits a dedicated study for its cultural wealth, but the true key to understanding his writings is provided in Denby's (1994) thorough investigation of the sentimental narrative as a central cultural pattern of Tone's generation. Identifying "misfortune" as the "founding event of the sentimental narrative", Denby (1994: 71) states that this confers on "the person on whom it befalls the crucial status of victim." Nothing could more graphically describe Tone's writings, which feature many of the techniques which Denby cites in his model of the

sentimental text, most notably Tone's victimisation which he blamed on the French language

The direct influence of linguistic mediators, helping to bridge linguistic misunderstandings while fulfilling a personal political mission, is a potent theme throughout the narratives of 1798. A list of members of the Paris branch of the United Irishmen for 13 September 1799 has appended to it the names of five Irishmen who were "non-refugees" (CPA/592/411, as Appendix 6.2). Somewhat paradoxically, or as a fitting conclusion to this thesis, the first four, i.e. "Madgett, Sullivan, O'Keane, Delaney", had all played a significant role as translators and interpreters, in addition to their political advocacy. During Humbert's Mayo campaign, in a context of heightened tension and conflict, O'Keane emerges as somewhat invulnerable, yet Teeling suffered a tragic fate which illustrates the dilemma of the returned native. Compromised by circumstances, his is a story which must have inspired Friel when he composed *Translations* (1981) and created the character of Owen, who faced challenges as an interpreter even greater than those of a translator (Cronin 2003: 122). The episode when Teeling carried a flag of truce to Lake perfectly illustrates the argument that "the conditions and *context* of utterance" put interpreters at risk due to their physical proximity, this being inseparable from the *content* of their utterances (Cronin 2002). Lake had retorted by accusing Teeling of impertinence and abuse of his status as an Irishman. It was both the context and content of Teeling's message from Humbert which had triggered Lake's anger, and this anecdote underlines the risks taken by linguistic mediators. One could argue that Lake was in fact outraged at Teeling's abuse of the English language, in the service of his French military masters.

That English was the dominant language of power and influence in Ireland, its status paradoxically strengthened by the work of Irish scholars translating into English, has been noted by Cronin (1996: 92). This situation made translators in Ireland “hostages to circumstances”, he notes, and one can draw a clear parallel with the fate of the English-speaking Irish, “employés avec avantage” in France’s military expeditions. This anglophonia became a notable weapon of war, as reflected in Napoleon’s decree to set up a “Compagnie de guides interprètes” for the *Armée d’Angleterre* under Captain Cuvillier-Fleury, who had been an aide to Clarke in Tone’s time, then took over as head of the Bureau topographique (*Décrets* [5 October 1803] 1813 I: 801, SHA/2Y<sup>o</sup>/Cuvillier-Fleury, X<sup>R</sup>30-2, Tone II: 205). There is little Napoleon had neglected in the intensified plans to invade Britain in 1805, the bicentenary of which coincides with the completion of this thesis. That the conditions for enlistment to the Company included topographical knowledge of England, as well as the ability to speak and ‘translate’ English, is not surprising. The company never saw active service, due to the ‘invasion that never was’, but the text decreeing its formation has left significant evidence of Ireland’s role as a pivotal player in the Franco-British conflict. Of the anglophone communities in France, which included English, Welsh, Scots, Americans and Canadians, only one such national group is singled out, and stated as eligible in the decree, provided they met the service conditions. These were of course the Irish, their knowledge of the language of their oppressor being one of the most formidable weapons of war, and the outcome of one of the greatest paradoxes of history. Theobald Wolfe Tone had, as early as 1790, asked how far Ireland was bound, and concerned with English wars, “unless it be that we speak the English language?” (Tone 1790 *Spanish War* in Bartlett 1998: 270).

The editors of the *Bicentenary* essays stated that “the historiography of the United Irish men and women will never stand still” and that the volume would stimulate a new cycle of research (Bartlett et al 2003 ix). This investigation will not be deemed complete until the perspectives from French sources have been enriched by research in Irish archives such as the Rebellion Papers, insights from R. R. Madden, and other sources. It is hoped that this interdisciplinary examination of the complex roles assumed by linguistic mediators, willingly or reluctantly translating in the clamour and confusion of the political turmoil of 1798, will be deemed a welcome and valuable contribution to the historiography of the United Irishmen.

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Only the manuscript numbers have been cited in the discursive part of the thesis for economy of space, as in the following example (from Chapter 2, page 77)

Sullivan, however, implies the *Bureau* was transferred from the Marine to the *Relations exterieures* “En 1793 j’entraï au bureau de traduction qu’on organisoit alors a la marine et dont je formaï le premier noyau avec le citoyen Madgett (AAE/Pers 1/65 58)

The list below provides the full reference for manuscripts cited, i.e. author, addressee, place and date, when available. When a manuscript is not dated, this has been approximated, in so far as possible, according to dated items immediately preceding it and following it in the particular volume. Dates have been converted from the French Revolutionary calendar to the Gregorian one. The full reference for the example above is

AAE/Pers 1/65/ 58-59v Sullivan Au Citoyen Charles Delacroix, Ministre des Relations exterieures de la Republique française, Paris, 30 October 1796

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- 589/23<sup>r v</sup> Adet to the *Comite de Salut public* 1 October 1795  
589/ 24 Adet to the *Comite de Salut public* 1 October 1795 [Extrait d'une dépêche]  
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589/116 Madgett to Delacroix, 1 January 1796  
589/ 120-121 Delacroix to the Directory, 27 January 1796  
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Correspondance Politique, Hambourg (CPH)  
CPH/111/148-50, Reinhard to the Directory

Personnel 1ère serie

1/ Aherne,  
19/ Coquebert de Montbret  
25/ Duckett  
39/ Jackson  
47/ Madgett  
55/ O'Shee  
55/ Oswald  
65/ Sullivan

Memoires et documents (Angleterre) 53, 54, 55

**Archives nationales (AN).**

AN C 24 White's Hotel address 28 November 1792

AN AF II, III, IV(Pouvoir executif 1789-1815)

AN AF II (Comite de Salut public)

230 *Acte*, Dubois-Crancé, 30 December 1794

AN AF III (Directoire) Volumes 28, 29, 57-8, 186, 206, 358, 369, 546, 860

AN AF III/57/223 Madgett to Delacroix 6 May 1797

AN AF III 58/228/2/f 24, 'Thompson' (i e Lewins) to the Directory, 26 April 1799

AN AN AF III/186<sup>b</sup> 12 fructidor 4

AN AF III 186<sup>b</sup> Delacroix to Clarke, 27 March 1796

AN AF III 186<sup>b</sup>/858, O'Meara to Clarke 10 May 1796

AN AF III 186<sup>b</sup>/858/62-3 Tate to Clarke, 27 July 1796

AN AF III 186<sup>b</sup>/859, Beaupre to Directory 9 August 1796

AN AF III 186<sup>b</sup>/860 Hoche to the Directory 11 December 1796

AN AF III 229 Sullivan's translation of extract from the *Morning Chronicle*

AN AF III 369/50

AN AF IV (Consulat et Empire) 1598, 1671

AN/AF IV/1672/2/203-8, Emmet to Berthier 18 frimaire 10 December 1803

AN/AF/IV/1672/2/216

Minutier central

MC / I / 733 13 April 1813 (Date of reading of Nicholas Madgett's will, d 9 3 1813)

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AP 78 16, Décret de la Convention nationale du 8 Brumaire II

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*Vincennes*

**Service historique de l'Armée de terre (SHA):**

NOTA documents in these personnel files are not numbered

Dossiers personnels [alphabetique]

3Y<sup>F</sup> 49404 1ere serie

Byrne, Miles

17y<sup>d</sup> 852 GD

Dalton, Alexandre

482 GB 84<sup>d</sup> 2e serie

Humbert, Jean-Joseph Amable

17y<sup>d</sup> 12 Generaux pretendus

Tate William

17y<sup>d</sup> 14 Généraux pretendus

Tone, Theobald Wolfe (James Smith)

SHA 17y<sup>d</sup> 14 Sotin [Minister of Police] to C<sup>n</sup> Smith [Theobald Wolfe Tone] 26 January 1798,

SHA 17y<sup>d</sup> 14 Dalton to Berthier 8 May 1803

Sous-serie [dossiers officiers] 2Y<sup>c</sup> (1791-1847)

Cuvillier-Fleury, Jean-Louis

MacSheehy, Bernard

O'Keane, Henry

JohnSullivan

Ware, Hugh

Expeditions (nota documents in these cartons are not numbered)

B11<sup>1</sup> (Premiere expedition d'Irlande 1796-7)

S H A B11<sup>1</sup> Directory to Hoche, 19 June 1796

B11<sup>2</sup> (deuxieme expedition d'Irlande 1798)

X<sup>b</sup> 290 (Mayo 1798), 18 Y<sup>c</sup> 170 + 171 Contrôle de la seconde compagnie de grenadiers du 2e bataillon de la 70e demi-brigade de ligne [2nd formation], 24Yc 260 + 261 3e regiment de cavalerie, 21 Y<sup>c</sup> 782 11e compagnie de canoniers de la 12e division

Memoires et reconnaissances

1420, 1422 Projets et descentes en Angleterre et îles britanniques

Irish Legion

SHA/X<sup>h</sup>14 *Etat nominatif des officiers de la Legion irlandaise* (October 1804)

SHA/Xh16<sup>d</sup> Emmet to [Sir] 7 December 1803

Memoires et reconnaissances

MR 1420 Projets de descente en Angleterre,

MR/1420/42 Humbert to the Minister for War 23 October 1800

MR1422/ 30 Tone's First and Second Memorials, February 1796

**Service historique de la Marine (SHM)**

CC<sup>7</sup> · Dossiers individuels des officiers de marine)

CC<sup>7</sup>/778 Aristide Du Petit-Thouars (1760-1798)

BB<sup>3</sup> Correspondances a l'arrivee (1790-1869)

BB<sup>4</sup> Service general Campagnes (1790-1913)

BB<sup>4</sup>/103/33 Hoche's Instructions to Tate, 25 November 1796

BB4 123/14 Thermidor, i e 19 July-18 August 1798, Minister of the Marine to Savary

BB<sup>4</sup>/123/151 Tone to Bruix 17 July 1798

BB<sup>4</sup>/123/151 Schérer to Bruix 21 July 1798

BB<sup>4</sup>/123/170 Humbert to the Minister of the Marine, Paris 17 July 1798

BB<sup>4</sup>/123/254 Lachaise to Melchior-Bonnet, 4 and 12 July 1798

BB4 190/12 Lafond's report 6 July 1804

FF<sup>1</sup> Invalides et prises

FF<sup>1</sup>33/VI *Cartel d'echange des prisonniers des prisonniers de guerre*, 13 September 1798

FF<sup>1</sup>33/VI Niou's tarif of exchange for Humbert and Sarrazin, London, 16 October 1798

GG<sup>1</sup> Memoires et projets 67, 70

GG<sup>1</sup> 67 32 Madgett to Minister of Marine on Jackson's mission

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TCD MS 2050/3, Tone to Chern, 14 April 1797

TCD MS 2050/18 Tone to Napoleon Bonaparte, 12 November 1797

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3) Madden papers

TCD/8723/133v - 141v Proceedings at the Court martial for the trial of Matthew Tone,  
21, 24, 26 September 1798

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**P**UBLICK Examinations ended the 21<sup>th</sup> inst. when Premiums and Certificates were adjudged to the young Gentlemen in the following Branches, *viz.* BOOKKEEPING, premium, Wybrants 1, Wilson, Watson 2, cert. Stewart 1, Ashworth, Brown 1. ARITHMETIC Exchange prem. Quin; Cert; Wybrants 1; *Practick and Fractions*, prem. Richardson; cert. Wybrants 2. *Proportions*, prem. Cole; cert. Stewart 1. *Reduction*, prem. Tone; cert. Watson. *Four Rules*, prem. Antrobus; cert. Burton. WRITING, prem. Quin, Wybrants 3; Stewart 1, Edwards 2, M<sup>c</sup>Daniel, Darney 1, M<sup>c</sup>Mahon 2, Green 2; cert. Close, Antrobus, Stuart 2, Richardson, M<sup>c</sup>Mahon 1, Clancey 2. COOLES, Henry. MATHEMATICKS, *Euclid*, prem. Quin, Edwards 2, Watson 2; cert. Edwards 1, Burroughs. *Geometry*, prem. Quin, Spencer; cert. Tyler. *Trigonometry*, prem. Tyle; ; cert. Quin. *Navigation*, prem. Tyler; cert. Spencer. *Use of the Globes*, prem. Spencers, Watson 2; cert. Quin, M<sup>c</sup>Gomery. *Fortification*, prem. Edwards 2, Wybrants 1; cert. Edwards 1. SPEAKING, head prem, Quin; prem. Watson 1, Antrobus, Allen, Tone, Irvine; cert. Owen, Watson 2, Clancey 2. READING, *Gray's Elegy*, prem. Quin. *Milton*, prem. Edwards 2; cert. Owen. *Spectator*, prem. Tone; cert. Brown 1. *Bible*, prem. Whelan; cert. Stewart 1. *Psalms*, prem. Green 2; cert. Bowen. *Grammar*, prem. Quin, Tone, Irvine, M<sup>c</sup>Mahon 1, and 2; cert. Allen, Wilkinson, Gibbons, Green 1. SPELLING, prem. Cuff, Henry; cert. Tone, Green 2. CATECHISM, *Explanation*, prem. Tone; cert. Brown 1. *Plain*, prem. M<sup>c</sup>Mahon 2; cert. Henry. HIST *Englisb*, prem. Tone. POLITE ACCOMPLISHMENTS, *French*, prem. Thornton, Blackwood 1; cert. Blackwood 2. *Dancing*, prem. Whelan; cert. Bomord. *Drawing*, prem. Quin; cert. Bomford. *Fencing*, prem. Powel 1; cert. Owen.

THE  
Modern French Pronouncing  
**SPELLING BOOK,**  
OF  
*Key to the French Language.*  
ON AN APPROVED PLAN

By P. Sheehy, A.M. P SHEEHY

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, LATE STUDENT  
OF THE STUDENT OF LAW, AND MEMBER  
OF THE HONORABLE SOCIETY OF  
KING'S INNS, DUBLIN

*Quæ sunt præcipua, est brevis* HORACE

If you are disposed to give advice,  
Let your instructions be concise

DUBLIN

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1798

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Modern French Pronouncing SPELLING-BOOK.

Theoretic Part.

The ALPHABET enlarged and divided into Two Chapters.

CHAP. I — On Vowels

The Vowels are,—a, e, i, o, u, y.

On A

The modern pronunciation of this vowel is the English a in hat, not aw, as in all, though they generally pronounce it aw in French Alphabets. This rule admits of a few exceptions, as will be seen in notes on Vowels

EXAMPLES

in French	Pronounce	in English.
Pa-ris,	not Pau-ree	Paris,
Ma-ri,	not Mau-ree	Husband

On E.

There may be four kinds of E's, the mute & the accented, the circumflex, and the short E

A

E mute.

81 Women

+ 215 extra copies (not ind larger sums)

20/10/1796  
Smith Sidney 244

Citoyen general de l'interieur 107

Après avoir lu les deux lettres de Sir  
Sidney Smith, nous avons jugé à propos  
de les traduire aussi littéralement qu'il  
est possible & nous vous en envoyons  
ci-joint la traduction pour vous  
mettre en état de juger vous même de  
leur contenu ; n'ayant pas cru devoir  
prendre sur nous de les acheminer à leur  
destination, sans les avoir fournies à  
votre examen. Quelques expressions  
equivouques & à double entente avec des  
points de suspension, nous ont déterminés  
à cette réserve

Salut & respect



Interprete au Bureau des  
relations exterieures

June 28<sup>th</sup> New York 2  
12  
2 year of the Republic



8.

Our friend Col Oswald has expressed to me his surprise, that after having undertaken a very perilous business which nothing but the desire of promoting the general cause of Liberty and the interest of the Republic could have induced him to do, that his accounts remain unsettled. You know the business is of a nature that cannot be made public, I have been uneasy at the danger of his situation ever since he set off in Feb<sup>r</sup> last. He has however returned safe and has executed the mission he went upon. I know it is unpleasant to him to remain idle at Paris - While he stays in France he had rather be in the field than in the Town.

As it is not proper that any interpreter should act in this business but a confidential person and as you are the most proper person to communicate between him and the Minister, I wish you would undertake to ~~communicate~~ forward the settlement of his accounts - I will call on you on Monday in company with Col Oswald -

Yours in Friendship

Thomas Paine

Paris le 9 Novembre an 5<sup>e</sup> de la République  
Au Citoyen Charles Delacroix, ministre des  
Relations Extérieures de la République française

Sullivan

Citoyen Ministre,

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous demander,  
par une lettre en date du 9 Vendémiaire dernier, la  
permission de continuer mon travail au bureau de  
traduction, en qualité de Simmumeraire, en attendant  
qu'il se présentât une occasion de me placer à  
l'extérieur, conformément à la promesse que vous avez  
bien voulu me faire. Mais le Citoyen Jurandès s'étant  
assuré n'avoir jamais eu la moindre connaissance de cette  
lettre, je dois croire qu'elle a été égarée. En conséquence  
je prends la liberté de vous l'envoyer ce même  
jour-même

Si les Citoyens que vous avez chargés de faire la  
dernière réforme dans vos bureaux, s'éloient fait rendre  
compte de l'ancienneté des Services de chaque Sujet, de  
ses talents, de sa moralité, de son patriotisme, et des  
sacrifices qu'il a faits pour la Révolution, vous me flattez  
qu'à me considérer sous tous ces rapports à la fois, j'aurais  
été un des derniers à reformer dans votre département.

Institué au collège militaire de la flotte depuis  
1786 jusqu'en 1793, j'ai été un des premiers à embrasser avec  
enthousiasme les principes de la liberté. En 1793 j'étais au  
bureau de traduction qu'on organisait alors à la marine  
et dont je formai le premier corps avec le Citoyen Marquet.

Providence  
F

Memoire Recu le 13 Mars 1793

au Citoyen Ministre des affaires Etrangères

13

Les precautions que prend le gouvernement Anglois pour tenter d'arrêter les progrès de ce qu'il appelle l'Épidémie Française, indiquent assez et la mesure de ses inquiétudes, et la marche que la France doit suivre pour leur donner de la réalité.

il vient d'établir à Londres un Comité composé d'Émigrés François pour surveiller et dénoncer ceux de leurs compatriotes qu'ils croiroient inbus de Sentimens Républicains.

il vient de fermer les ports à tous les François et même à tous les Anglois, Irlandois et Écossais qui, voulant rentrer dans leur patrie, se présentent sans être munis d'un passeport du Lord Grenville Secrétaire d'État. on assure que depuis la déclaration de guerre il en a été arrêté plus de quarante qui se trouvent en France, et qu'ils sont en voie d'être mis dans les prisons de Douvre. parmi ceux qui sont munis de passeports on en a remarqué quelques uns qui ne font que aller et venir de Paris à Londres presque toutes les semaines. une entre autres, après avoir, en moins de 36 heures, porté à Londres la nouvelle de la mort de Louis Capet, a disparu à Paris 8 jours après, pour réparaître et retourner deux fois depuis cette époque. ce qui fait presumer avec le plus haut degré de vraisemblance, qu'il existe à Paris un Comité Anglois d'Espionnage à l'instar du Comité d'Émigrés établi à Londres. le Citoyen Ministre des affaires étrangères n'en pourra pas douter quand il saura qu'au bout de quatre jours le Ministre Anglois a reçu une copie exacte de la Adresse présentée par un grand nombre de Citoyens Britanniques à la Convention nationale, avec la liste d'émigrés qui l'avoient souscrite. ainsi tous ceux de ces derniers qui s'en sont retournés, ont ils été arrêtés et emprisonnés en débarquant, et ceux qui n'ont pas pu le faire la même chose, sont restés, se trouvant pour la plupart dans une situation vraiment digne de toute l'attention du Citoyen Ministre.

Memorandum de M. le Citoyen  
au Comité de Salut public

à son honneur au  
Citoyen de la Convention  
de la Convention

1790  
N° 7800

Madgett, Chargé du Bureau des Traductions, Successeur

S'autorisation du Comité pour faire imprimer les ouvrages  
suivants.

1° La traduction anglaise du Discours du Citoyen  
Robespierre sur la politique morale et a engagé le Citoyen  
Williams anglaise, à le traduire, et il se croit qu'il n'existe  
dans aucune langue, une traduction plus élégante, plus exacte,  
et plus dans le goût anglais. Ce Citoyen Williams est  
reconnu pour une des premières plumes de l'Angleterre; Son  
ouvrage anglais sur la révolution française et les Certificats  
infiniment honorables de Cuvier, qu'elle a vu de Rouen, sont  
une preuve incontestable de ses principes. Ces Certificats sont  
imprimés à la tête de son fameux ouvrage sur la révolution  
française.

Madgett pense que de tout ce qui a paru depuis sur la  
révolution, le discours de Robespierre est ce qu'il y a de plus  
capable de faire sur le peuple anglais, une profonde  
impression et de lui faire sentir l'importance des feuilles  
ministérielles qui ont cherché jusqu'ici à lui faire croire que  
les Français étaient des Cannibales.

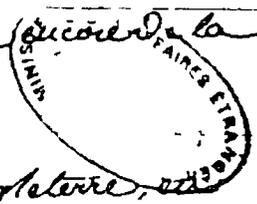
2° la traduction du rapport du Citoyen St. Just sur  
la fameuse Conspiration, avec le Supplément qui doit le suivre

La première partie de cet ouvrage est déjà traduite, <sup>num p 25</sup> mais avec  
par la Citoyenne Williams, avec une exactitude littérale  
qui ne laisse rien à désirer sur son compte en Angleterre, et  
y peut produire le plus grand bien. Car il paraît certain  
que le peuple anglais, s'il étoit éclairé sur son véritable  
intérêt et sur les principes de la révolution française, qu'on  
a tant cherché à dénaturer à son usage, ne tarderoit pas  
à se bulver (voir la lettre de l'ami de Jackson et le  
Morning Post du 6 Decembre)

3° La Rempression de l'ouvrage anglais intitulé the  
Catechisme of man (le Catechisme de l'homme) <sup>La ravelot</sup>. Cet ouvrage  
a paru si excellent au premier au Citoyen Baynald à  
qui il a été envoyé de Jinan, qu'il a parlé Robespierre  
et Madgett de la nécessité de la remprimer pour le faire  
circuler en Angleterre ou la première édition qui en a été  
faite a attiré les plus grands mépris à l'auteur et a  
l'éditeur le premier forcé de s'expatrier, pour se soustraire  
à la rigueur exercée contre son auteur et consacré à la  
Conventure d'Évreux, Muir, Palmer et Margerott, s'étant  
embarqué pour l'Amérique, a été peu par un Corsaire  
français et amené à port malo et de la dans les prisons  
de Jinan ou il est actuellement la première édition de  
son Catechisme a été faite presque en entier par le  
gouvernement anglais, de sorte qu'il n'en a circulé que  
très peu d'exemplaires. C'est ce qui nécessite la

Reimpression, pour éclairer le peuple de l'Université de la  
Marine Couvert les ouvrages de fave, parvenu de pareils  
 ouvrages en Angleterre. Celui de Jackson en réponse au  
 Manifeste de George y est déjà parvenu et fait le plus  
 grand bruit partout à cet auteur de quelqu'un des esprits  
 de Paris la Diva, pour qu'il est actuellement sur les  
 lieux.

Quant à l'éditeur du Catechisme de l'homme, c'est  
 celui la même dont il est parlé dans la feuille du 6 de  
 ce mois relativement à l'acte d'accusation au sujet de la  
 fable du cog et à celui du Catechisme qu'on a acquitté,  
 connue par un miracle, il a tout à craindre de la  
rigoureuse surveillance de Pitt



Madgett le Repete, la Crise en Angleterre, en  
 Irlande et en Écosse, est telle dans ce moment qu'il ne faut  
 que très peu de chose pour y exciter un soulèvement et fait  
 sous premier mouvement et y repaissant d'avisites  
 Capable d'éclairer le peuple au des moyens les plus  
 efficaces pour y remuer. Soit d'y faire parvenir la  
 traduction de rapports intéressants du Comité, et on  
 verra les nouvelles importantes du jour pour être  
 insérées dans les feuilles publiques. C'est à que  
 Madgett demande encore être autorisé à répondre sur  
 la tête de sa fidélité dans l'opinion de ces  
 Communes importantes.

## Note

Madgett, chef du bureau des traductions, a préparé pour l'impression les ouvrages suivants.

1. Le Discours du citoyen de Robespierre traduit en Anglais par le citoyen Williams
2. Les deux rapports du citoyen de Just également traduits en Anglais.
3. Les trois mêmes ouvrages traduits en Espagnol en italien.

Je me suis à souhaiter qu'ils fussent imprimés au poteau et envoyés dans les pays pour lesquels ils sont destinés. Les traductions Anglaises et surtout celle de la c. Williams fussent la plus vive impression en Angleterre. Toute la correspondance Anglaise prouve la vérité de cette assertion.

Je propose de faire imprimer ces traductions à l'imprimerie Anglaise qui est actuellement établie à Paris. Voici mes raisons.

1. Il en coûterait moins. Les compositeurs Anglais qui sont habitués à l'imprimerie ne demanderaient pour leur travail que le prix ordinaire, au lieu qu'il faudrait le doubler pour un compositeur français lorsqu'il travaille sur une langue qu'il n'entend pas.

2. Le caractère Anglais plait plus en Angleterre que le français dont l'air est tout différent; d'ailleurs il feroit moins au goût communément que l'ouvrage est imprimé dans le pays même, ce qui feroit trembler George et Pitt.

3. Miss Williams est attachée à cet imprimerie Anglaise

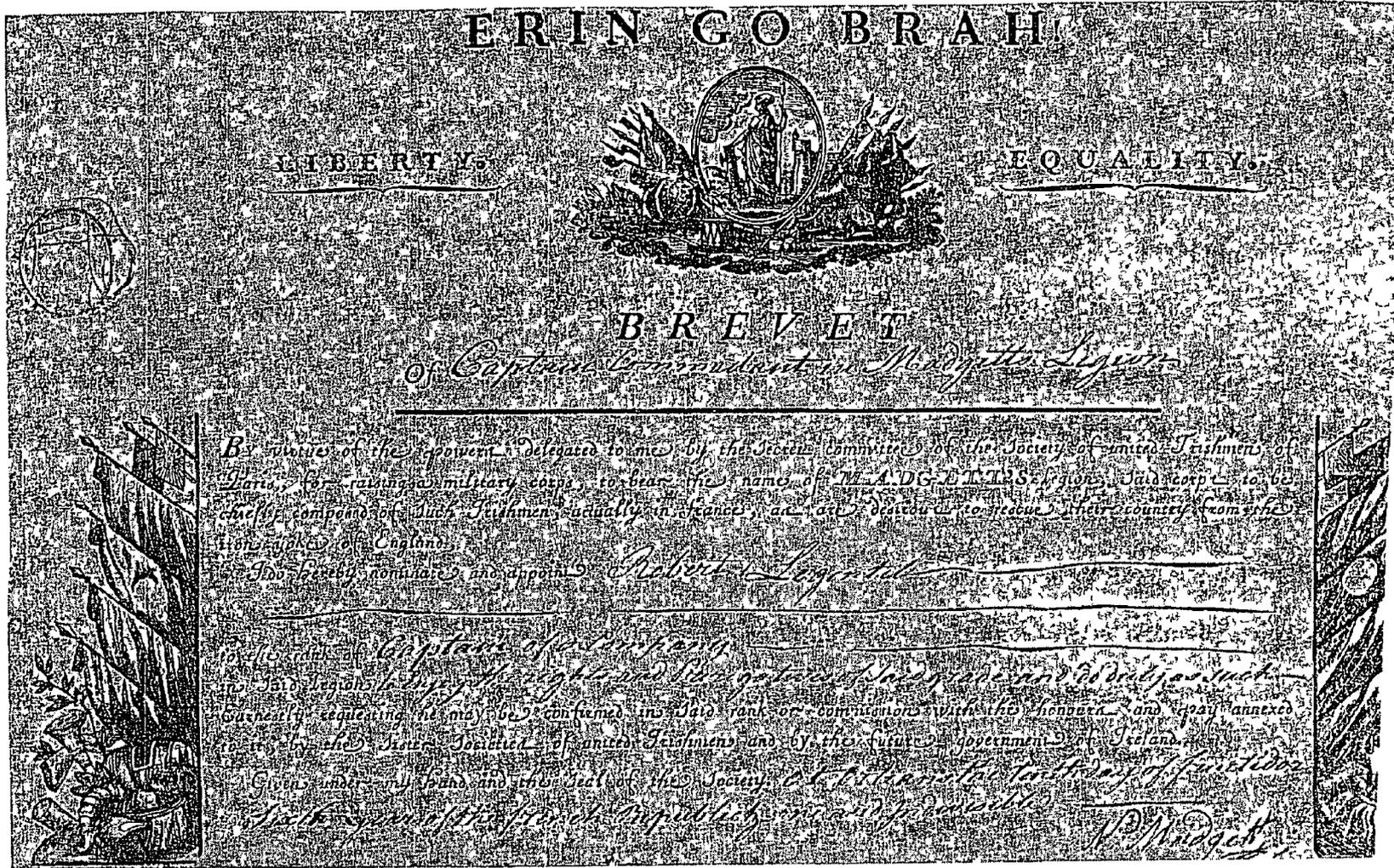
et comme elle n'entend recevoir aucune récompense de traductions dont elle veut se charger, il est juste de faire imprimer chez elle ses propres ouvrages.

Par le Citoyen Madgett Chef  
du Bureau de Traduction  
prêt le Public, en la Bibliothèque



Cette adresse a pour objet  
de rappeler la trace du  
Jaloux, Contre l'Angleterre  
et un étroit Oppresseur, et de  
montrer à face de nouveaux efforts  
pour en révoquer le joug, de la même  
toutes les ressources qui peuvent  
assurer leur succès et leur faire  
retrouver la liberté, en faisant leur  
franchise comme le bien qu'ils  
doivent désirer et leur espérer. L'Angleterre  
est une alliance ou quelque chose  
le peuple Libre d'Irlande et un regardant  
avec la France

L'auteur fixe l'attention de son  
Compatriotes sur la situation  
de leur Sol, leur Abandon  
l'oppression, tous leurs moyens de  
l'insurrection et de l'union.  
Et leur rappelle avec énergie  
les loys et dévaluations touchant  
que leur a fait éprouver l'Angleterre  
- C'est En cas de N'Angleterre  
Injustice Continuelle, répétition  
de tous les crimes Canonniers,  
l'exécution, rien n'est ou plus de rien  
le tableau qu'il fait de cet affreux  
Système d'Oppression, et de l'union



BREVET OF MADGETT'S LEGION, 1796  
 From the original in the possession of Mr B McPeake

Plate 7, Vol 1 Facing p 142]

McPeake, in JS, Hayes 1950-1 142 Brevet of Madgett's Legion,  
 27 August 1798 Chapter 2 117

(7)

Citoyen Ministre



je me suis si mal trouvé de ma lettre  
chez vous hier, que je n'ose pas y retourner  
aujourd'hui pour vous remettre les  
pièces ci jointes

j'ai honte au dépit de la marine tout ce  
qu'il est possible de dresser en fait de cartes  
de terre et de mer relatives aux îles de l'Inde  
occidentales. elles sont chez moi en attendant  
que je puisse vous les porter.

j'ai pensé au général Beuvronville pour  
l'expédition que vous avez eue ce nom. Je  
voudrois une amie et je pense que l'Inde  
flatteroit son grand courage.

j'ai trouvé une personne telle qu'il vous la faut  
pour aller indochine les matelots j'attendois  
à Livourne. mon Neveu pourroit peut  
être même aller dans les départements

éloignés j'irois moi même si de  
Londres dans les environs de Paris. on  
j'apprends qu'il y a un bon nombre de  
matelots et surtout de soldats j'attendois  
pourroit tirer un grand parti de ces derniers.

2

Bo (see page) 67

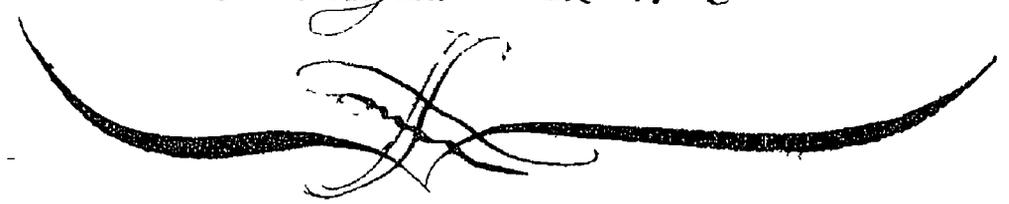
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30  
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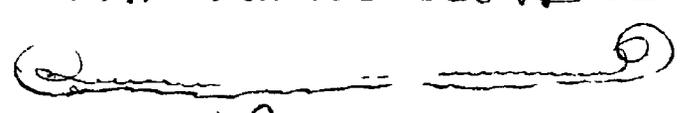
Mémoire

sur l'Irlande

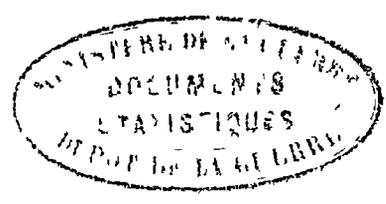
Traduit de l'Anglais de Ch. W. t.



— 11. Ventose An 4 —



1796



moynant certaines mesures à prendre avec les Matelots  
Irlandais et soit porté à la Marine anglaise, un coup plus  
sûr que qu'elle n'en a jamais éprouvé

6. Si les faits sont tels que je viens de les énoncer  
il serait impossible aux Protestants, c'est-à-dire au parti  
aristocratique de faire la moindre résistance pas même pour  
une heure en faveur d'un ling lette, et de leurs propres  
intérêts.

Ces réflexions sur la situation actuelle de l'Irlande  
je les soumetts avec déférence et respect à la sagesse et à  
la considération du Gouvernement français. Je me propose  
de lui présenter dans un second Mémoire, l'appareil de  
moyens qui me paraissent les plus propres à effectuer  
d'après les faits que je viens d'exposer, une séparation  
entière entre l'Irlande et l'Angleterre.

Signé — Chobald Wolfe

Certifié conforme

Signé — Madgett

Ce 11. Ventose l'an 4. De la Rep. française  
une indivisible

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(3)

26 février 1796

67



Citoyen Ministre,

En conséquence de vos ordres, qui m'ont été  
intimés par le Citoyen Madgett, je lui ai remis un mémoire  
sur l'état présent de l'Irlande. Je vous prie, si vous y voyez  
quelque point qui exige un plus grand développement, de vouloir  
bien m'en faire part et je ferai mon possible pour vous  
l'éclaircir.

Des circonstances particulières m'ayant ôté la possibilité  
d'apporter avec moi une commission par écrit, je me trouve  
réduit à la désagréable nécessité de parler de moi-même.  
S'il ne s'agissait que de mes intérêts privés je garderais le  
silence mais quand je considère les intérêts de la France ainsi  
que ceux de ma patrie dont il s'agit d'établir l'indépendance, je  
sens qu'il est de mon devoir de vous soumettre les raisons  
sur lesquelles j'ose réclamer la confiance du Gouvernement français  
pour les faits que j'ai avancés dans mon mémoire.

Je fus appelé à Belfast en 1792 pour aider à établir le  
premier club des Irlandais Unis, club dont il est fait mention  
dans mon mémoire. L'importance de cette mesure ne peut être  
appréciée que par ceux qui ont une connaissance approfondie de  
l'état politique de l'Irlande et ce fut là le premier pas vers la  
coalition qui a eu lieu entre les deux grandes sectes des  
Catholiques et des Dissidents. Avant les dissentions ont consolidé la  
domination Anglaise dans cette île.

En conséquence de ce service et de quelques écrits que je publiais  
en faveur des Catholiques je fus, quoique Protestant, nommé agent  
de cette classe de mes Concitoyens et membre de son comité général.

(9)

N<sup>o</sup>. 4 et au IV

226

Principales dispositions du bill pour  
Supprimer plus efficacement les assemblées  
Séditieuses en Irlande

94



Toute personne convaincue d'avoir assujéti  
une autre à un serment ou à un engagement  
illégal, sera punie de mort. Ceux convaincus d'avoir  
prêté de pareils sermens seront condamnés à  
la déportation, à moins qu'ils ne prouvent qu'ils  
avoir été contraints par la force. Toute  
déclaration exécutée ne sera admise qu'autant que le  
prévenu aura fait la déclaration devant un  
Magistrat concernant le serment et les circonstances  
qui l'ont accompagné. Quant aux sermens prêtés  
depuis un an, ces déclarations ne seront reçues que  
jusqu'au premier de Juin prochain.

Toute personne ayant des armes est tenue d'en  
faire la déclaration, de les faire enregistrer et  
d'attester par serment la vérité de cette déclaration,  
sous peine d'une amende de 100 £ St pour la première  
fois, de 20 £ St pour la seconde et de quatre mois  
de détention pour la troisième. Les Magistrats sont  
autorisés à accorder des mandats pour forcer les  
maisons. ~~Sous peine de l'écarter des armes non enregistrées.~~

La déposition écrite de tout témoin attesté  
aura devant les tribunaux criminels la même force  
que si le témoin étoit vivant. Les grands Jours

pourront faire lever sur la province toutes les  
qu'ils jugeront à propos d'accorder en dédommagement  
aux héritiers du témoin assassiné.

Les Magistrats pourront citer les étrangers et  
les espagnols, et ces derniers se fourniront en  
caution pour leur bonne conduite. Ils pourront  
tenir des sessions spéciales et signifier au  
Lieutenant que tel Comté est en état de trouble  
en danger de l'être. Alors ce dernier peut déclarer  
le dit Comté en état de trouble et les magistrats  
tiendront des pettes sessions et avertiront les  
habitans de ne point sortir de leurs maisons entre  
le coucher et le lever du Soleil, sous peine d'être  
envoyés servir dans la marine de Sa Majesté  
et tout cela sans jugement par jury!

Dans tout comté proclamé ainsi en état de  
trouble, les magistrats pourront, entre le coucher  
le lever du Soleil, forcer toute maison pour voir  
les habitans et locataires sont chez eux: Ils pourront  
envoyer les abusifs servir dans la marine, à moins  
que ces derniers ne procèdent, ~~à la satisfaction~~  
du magistrat, qu'ils s'étoient absenti's pour les  
propres et légitimes affaires. Les personnes accusées  
par serment d'avoir presté un serment illégal,  
pourront être condamnées au service de la  
Marine. — Et cela encore sans jugement par jury.

Les personnes comprises dans ces clauses pourront  
en donnant caution, appeler de la sentence  
d'un Magistrat à celle des Magistrats de la Cour

Toute personne qui s'opposera aux Magistrats et tâchera de les empêcher de fouiller quelque maison pour y chercher les habitants ou des armes pourra être condamnée au Service de la marine, Sans Jugement par jury!

Tout homme vendant ou débitant des papiers séditieux ou des papiers non timbrés et qui par la loi devoient l'être, peut être arrêté comme Vagabond et condamné par deux magistrats au Service de la marine. Et cela sans jugement par Jury!

Toute femme vendant ou débitant de tels papiers séditieux ou non timbrés peut être envoyée en prison pour y rester jusqu'à ce qu'elle déclare les personnes de qui elle les a reçus!

Si un magistrat est poursuivi au civil pour la conduite en exécutant le présent acte et que le Jury accorde au plaignant des dommages et intérêts, celui-ci ne pourra prétendre qu'à la somme de Six Sols, et point de frais, Si il paroit au Juge qu'il y ait eu des Raisons probables pour autoriser la conduite tenue par le Magistrat!

Certifié conforme

Sullivan

1 Floral l'an 4<sup>me</sup> Jan  
(Avril 20 1796 V1)

Copie des instructions données au Citoyen  
par le Ministre des relations extérieures (1796)

11

Le Citoyen — après avoir été en Irlande cherchera soigneusement  
à découvrir les principaux chefs des Défenseurs et par y parvenant il se fera  
reconnaître, s'il est méconnu, membre de leur parti, et prêter le serment d'usage  
Il se rendra indépendant à l'un de ces chefs connus à d'autres que  
des chefs du premier ordre, et c'est avec eux seulement qu'il lui est  
commandé de s'attacher

Il s'attachera à connaître le but des défenseurs, leur nombre  
et les moyens qu'ils peuvent avoir de soutenir leur cause

Si les défenseurs ne sont composés que de catholiques, alors  
il devra s'occuper d'apprendre s'ils sont conduits par leurs prêtres,  
ou par des seigneurs, ou enfin par des négociants, (Marchands) de ce  
parti, et de sera facile d'après les découvertes que le Citoyen — fera  
à cet égard de se former une idée juste du but que les Défenseurs se  
proposent Dans le cas où, composés seulement de catholiques, les Défenseurs  
se trouvent en liaison étroite et secrète avec les chefs des Défenseurs  
ou partisans du Nord de l'Irlande le Citoyen — examinera par son  
pouvoir la influence de ces derniers sur les catholiques, et se surtout de  
deux parties se cherchant par à se jouer mutuellement, ce qui serait le  
sentiment plus vraisemblable, que les prêtres auraient plus d'influence sur les  
Catholiques et Défenseurs —

Dans l'hypothèse de la liaison dont on vient de parler le Citoyen —  
cherchera à la connaître par tous les moyens que de qualité d'agent Français  
ne peut manquer de lui donner On a lieu de croire en effet que les sentiments  
des défenseurs sont favorables à la république et ces sentiments doivent  
faire desirer que leur influence soit telle qu'ils puissent conduire à  
leur gré les catholiques, et effectuer par eux une révolution avantageuse  
pour l'Irlande, et désastreuse pour notre cruelle ennemie l'Angleterre

On distingue en Irlande trois classes de patriotes  
 tous très zélés et résolus de pevir ou de se casser  
 le joug odieux de l'Angleterre

la première classe est celle des presbytériens en  
 nombre d'environ 400 000. ils habitent principalement  
 dans la province d'Ultonie au nord de l'île ce sont  
 des Républicains ardents et des amis sincères de la  
 France, surtout depuis la mort de Capet ils sont en  
 général fort instruits, et leur industrie qui est toute  
 tournée vers les manufactures de toiles et de coton  
 les met capot à leur aise en 1790 ils ont établi à  
 Belfast leur fameux Club des Irlandais réunis  
 ainsi d'ironie parce qu'il est composé d'indistincts  
 de presbytériens et de Catholiques outre ce club  
 principal, ils ont ou institué d'autres depuis un  
 an dans toutes les villes et bourgades de la province  
 les membres s'assemblent clandestinement en secret  
 par mois, et correspondent, par des agents affidés  
 avec la société mère de Belfast celle-ci correspond  
 à son tour, et par le même moyen avec la société  
 de Dublin, appelée le Comité général des Catholiques

ce Comité, comme son nom le porte, est composé  
 de Catholiques députés légalement par les curés  
 Catholiques de tous les Cantons de l'Irlande ils jouissent  
 tous de la plus haute considération tant par leur  
 mérite personnel que par leur fortune ils ont une  
 grande influence sur tous les Catholiques de l'île et  
 particulièrement sur les barons et les députés de Dublin

la troisième classe est celle des Défenseurs, tous  
 composés des paysans Catholiques ce corps est infini-  
 ment plus nombreux que le gouvernement anglais  
 ne pense car il n'y a presque pas un paysan Catholique  
 dans toute l'île qui n'y soit exercé et tout juré de  
 serment de garder le plus inviolable secret, de se casser  
 le joug de l'Angleterre et de se joindre de tous côtés  
 qu'ils débarquent dans le pays, chacune des quatre  
 provinces a son officier général des Défenseurs son  
 état major et tous ses autres officiers et

23  
- Mémoire sur le nombre et la distribution des troupes en Irlande

Faites le 7 floreal an 4<sup>mo</sup>

Il paroît d'après les gazettes Angloises qu'il y a actuellement en Irlande 9 Régiment de Dragons, 2 Régimens de troupes de ligne, 18 de fencibles (dont 12 Ecossois), et 37 de milices

Un Régiment de Cavalerie de formation Angloise est composé de six troupes de 30 hommes chacune, ce qui, comptant les officiers, fait environ 200 hommes par Régiment

Les deux Régimens de ligne ne sont probablement que des Squettes envoyés en Irlande pour se recruter et il est donc très probable qu'ils ne contiennent pas 500 hommes chacune cependant Je porte les deux Régimens ensemble à 1000 hommes

Quant aux Régimens de fencibles Je ne connais pas exactement leur force, mais Je suis certain que, l'un portant l'autre, ils ne vont pas au delà de 500 hommes par Régiment, ce qui fait en tout 9000 hommes pour les 18 Régimens [Il est impossible de se faire une idée du triste spectacle que présentent ces Régimens de fencibles, composés pour la plupart ou de vieillards qui ont passé l'âge du service ou d'enfans qui n'y sont pas encore arrivés. Presque tous ceux que J'ai vus m'ont paru plus propres à l'hôpital qu'au Camp. D'ailleurs il ne faut pas oublier que plusieurs de ces Régimens Ecossois passent pour être indisposés contre le gouvernement Anglois Cette circonstance, Je nous savons en profiter,

des plus trébaleutes de l'Irlande, au lieu que  
dans la Légion seule il y en a 12,000 — Les  
circonstances prouvent, à notre avis, que la descente  
doit se faire ou dans l'Ultonne ou dans la Connace,  
mais préférablement dans l'Ultonne, s'il est  
possible; On donne la préférence à cette dernière  
province pour plusieurs raisons, 1° parce que nous  
pouvons y compter sur l'appui le plus prompt et  
le plus efficace, 2° parce que c'est le séjour des Dissidens  
qui forment la classe d'hommes la plus éclairée et  
la plus républicaine d'Irlande; 3° parce qu'en  
faisant la première organisation d'une armée  
Irlandaise, nous pourrions la composer d'hommes de  
toutes les Religions, et particulièrement de  
Dissidens et de Catholiques, ce qui produira en  
débutant l'effet le plus heureux, au lieu que dans  
les autres provinces et particulièrement dans la  
Connace les Paysans sont tous Catholiques. Les  
grands avantages qui résulteraient d'une pareille  
organisation de l'armée, où l'on recroit  
indistinctement des individus de toutes les sectes  
Religieuses, font trop évidens pour exiger ici un  
plus grand développement.

Signé Theo<sup>s</sup> Wolfe Tone

Certifié conforme



Sullivan Traducteur  
Département des  
Relations Extérieures

à l'origine  
dans l'ouvrage  
de l'abbé de  
289  
Ministère  
Carnot

St. Louis de 19 f. 185

Je m'ai fait l'honneur de passer  
chez vous, pour vous rendre mes respects, et de vous prier  
de me dire si'il vous plait, ce qu'il me faudra faire en con-  
séquence de la loi d'émigration qui s'ordonne à tous les Français  
de quitter Paris dans trois jours. J'espère au moins que  
je ne serai pas compris dans l'ordre ou la situation ac-  
tuelle dans laquelle je me trouve, et les droits que je me  
flatte d'avoir acquis sur votre protection. Adieu la  
bonne d'excuser mon dévouement à la France.

Salut et Respect



Therobald Wolfe - Tome  
a été adressé par le Comte de  
Kerouart de ses engagements, prisonnier par  
l'Irlande dont il a été forcé de fuir.  
Il peut nécessairement de le confier ou à Paris  
ou à l'étranger dont la destination a été de  
attacher à /

Therobald Wolfe Tome

del  
James Smith

L'adjudant general Smith, Irlandais, attaché au feu General Roche  
 pour la partie de sa correspondance chez l'étranger, au General  
 Buonaparte commandant en chef l'armée d'Italie

Citoyen General

Ayant eu l'honneur d'être attaché au general Roche  
 pendant les derniers dix huit mois de sa vie, et de l'accompagner dans  
 son expédition d'Irlande je m'empresse, d'après l'ordre des Directeurs  
 exécutif, que crée une armée d'Angleterre et vous en confie le commandement  
 de vous offrir mes services — J'ose espérer qu'à votre  
 envoi à Paris vous aurez bien de me ceux de quelque utilité  
 au surplus je me rapporte et pour ma conduite et pour ma moralité,  
 à la bienveillance des citoyens directeurs Bonas, et la surveillance

de l'Etat et respect

James Smith,

à Paris le 22 Brumaire, an 6. — (pour copie conforme)

Département  
de  
la Guerre

République Française.



État Major

Au nom du Peuple Français

Brevet d'Adjutant Commandant p<sup>r</sup> le C<sup>m</sup> Mac

Détail des Services

Campagnes, Actions, Bless

Né à

Le 2 Décembre 1774

Nommé Secrétaire Interprète par arrêté Du Comité de Salut Public  
ouverts du 12 Nivôse an 2 pour l'expédition projetée dans l'Inde Orientale  
et être employé à l'état Major du Général Félix Augereau l'officier qui fut  
Commissaire à l'état Major de l'Armée de l'Inde l'officier qui fut  
au 4. Indes pendant même année — Nomme Capitaine l'officier  
à l'état Major de l'Armée de l'Inde par le Général Roche le 12 Messidor an 4.  
Commissaire dans l'expédition de l'Inde pendant le 12 Ventose an 5  
l'officier à l'état Major de l'Armée d'Angleterre le 2<sup>m</sup> Ventose an 6 — Nomme  
par le Général Bonaparte Chef de Bataillon Commandant la légion Malaise  
le 12 Fructidor an 6 — Nomme l'Adjutant Commandant par le  
Nivôse le 2 Ventose an 7 — Commissaire dans l'expédition de l'Inde pendant an 9

l'expédition de l'Inde pendant  
l'expédition d'Irlande en l'an 5  
l'officier à l'état Major de l'Armée d'Angleterre  
l'officier à l'état Major de l'Armée d'Angleterre

Bonaparte, premier Consul de la République, ayant  
dans la valeur et la fidélité du C<sup>m</sup> Mac-Sheehy  
au grade d'Adjutant Commandant pour le même rang du même service au Bui

Ordonne, et conséquemment, à tous Officiers et autres qu'il appartiendra, de faire  
et reconnaître en ladite qualité, le C<sup>m</sup> Mac-Sheehy (Dernier)

Donné à Paris, le 17<sup>me</sup> Fructidor l'an 6<sup>m</sup> de la République

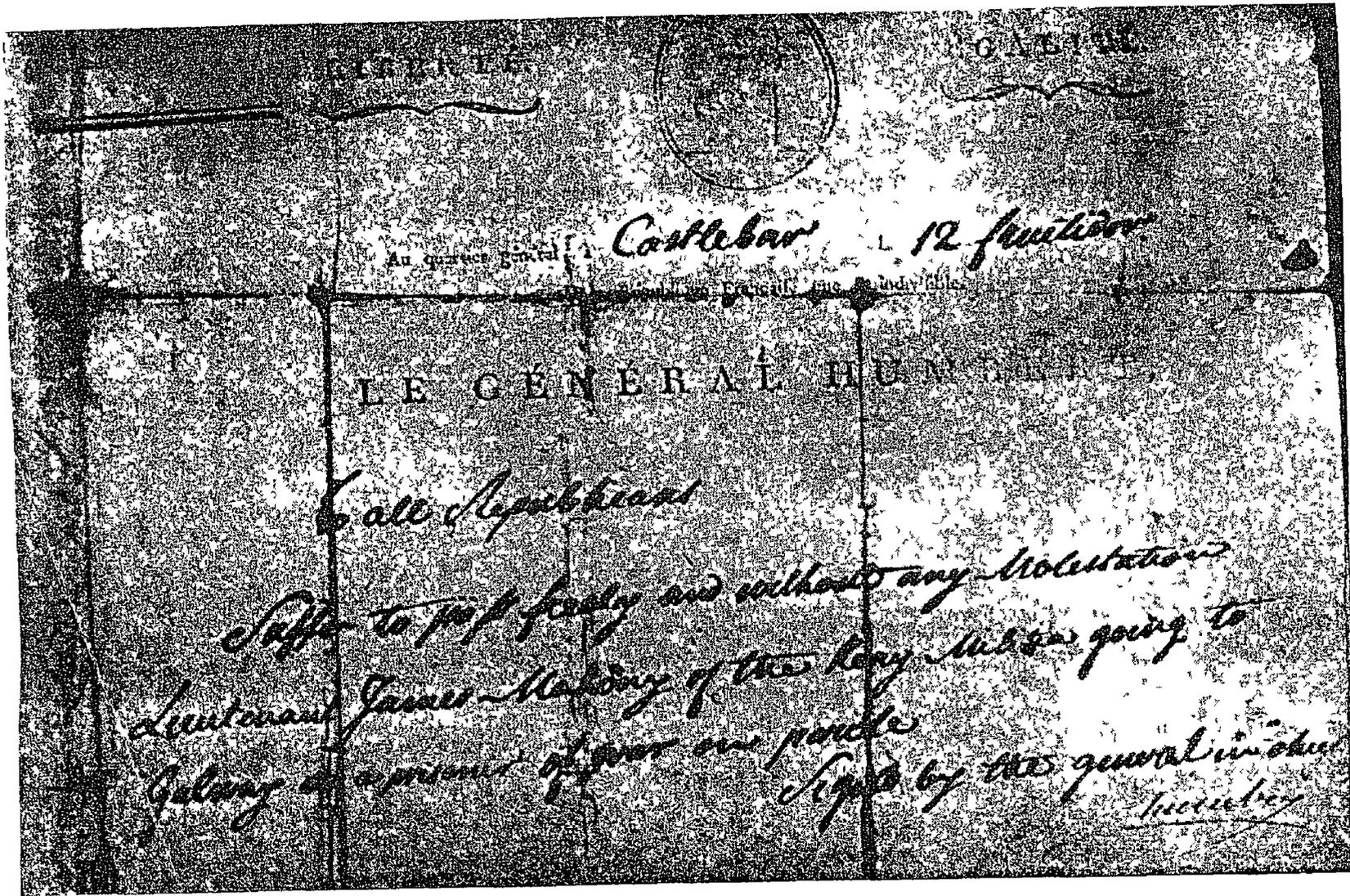
Le Ministre de la Guerre,

*[Signature]*

Par le premier

Le Secrétaire

*[Signature]*

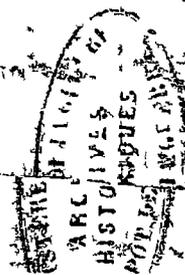


PASSPORT ISSUED TO LIEUTENANT MAHONY BY GENERAL HUMBERT  
(From original in possession of Miss Sullivan Green, Airhill, Glanworth Co Cork)

pp. 92

The French Republic, &c.

to bring to a speedy termination a bloody and  
 as well as to restore a brave and suffering nation to  
 of her long lost rights, has thought proper to send to  
 powerful and well appointed military force, and has  
 with the command. The principles which govern the  
 France, and which have been unvaryingly manifested  
 Revolution, are so well known that it is unnecessary  
 repeat them. Nevertheless, as it is my earnest wish to  
 possibility of doubt on some important topics, I feel it my  
 explicitly to declare that our sole object is the establishment  
 your independence, solemnly disclaiming all ideas whatsoever  
 conquest, and to this I pledge the good faith of my country.  
 come amongst you, not as enemies to invade, but as brothers  
 assist you, not to reduce you to a state of dependence  
 France, but to break the chains which have so long  
 on suspicion to England, and to raise you from the  
 situation of a Province to the rank of a Nation.



Appendix 43

B11<sup>2</sup> Address to the People of Ireland, first folio of Tone's version.

Liberté Egalité fraternité Union

Peuple d'Irlande!

La république française, animée du  
sincère desir de mettre une prompte fin à  
une guerre sanglante et désastreuse, et de  
rendre une nation brisée et malheureuse à la  
jouissance de ses droits depuis si longtemps  
usurpés, a cru devoir envoyer en Irlande  
une force armée imposante et bien équipée

dont elle me confie le commandement —

Les principes que cherchent les Français et  
qu'ils ont constamment professés depuis le  
commencement de leur révolution, sont si

bien connus qu'il est inutile de les répéter

ici. Cependant comme j'ai fort souvent à

leur éviter la possibilité d'erreur sur  
quelques points importants, je suis qu'il est

de mon devoir de déclarer formellement

que l'unique objet de cette démarche est  
l'établissement de votre indépendance, et de

désavouer solennellement toute idée de

*TABLE of the corresponding ranks in the English and French service,  
With their proposed value in men.*

RANKS IN THE NAVY		RANKS IN THE LAND-SERVICE		VALUE IN MEN
FRENCH.	ENGLISH	FRENCH	ENGLISH	
Vice-Admiral commanding in chief, having the temporary rank of Admiral	Admiral commanding in chief	General of division, commanding in chief	Captain General or field marshal	60
Vice-Admiral	Admiral carrying his flag at the main Vice Admiral	General of division	General	40
Rear-Admiral	Rear Admiral	General of brigade	Lieutenant General	30
Chief of a squadron	Commodore	Inferior to the preceding Superior to the following	Major-General	20
Captain of a ship of the line	Post captain of 3 years standing, whose ranks answer to that of colonel, or having rank of lieutenant-colonel	Chief of brigade	Brigadier-General	15
Captain of a frigate	Masters and commanders, or captains not post, having rank of major, amongst whom are included captains of fireships who are masters and commanders	Chief of battalion, or squadron	Colonel	8
Lieutenant of a ship of the line	Lieutenant without distinction	Captain	Captain	6
Ensign of a ship of the line	Lieutenant, when all the French shall be exchanged, and in default of English lieutenants, midshipman	Lieutenant	Lieutenant	4
Midshipman, master of a merchant vessel, and captain of a privateer	Midshipman, master of a merchant vessel, and captain of a privateer	Sous-lieutenant	Ensign	3
Lieutenant of a merchant vessel or privateer, and all petty officers	Mates and all petty officers	Non commissioned officers to the rank of corporal inclusive	Non-commissioned officers down to the rank of corporal, inclusive	2
Seamen, volunteers, and others, being considered as common seamen	Seamen, volunteers and others considered as common seamen	Soldiers	Soldiers	1

*Signé Rup.: Georges, Ambroise Seile, John Schank, John Marsh.*

*Pour copie conforme,*

*TABEAU des grades correspondans dans le service des Français et Anglais, avec leur évaluation proposée en hommes.*

GRADES DE LA MARINE		GRADES DE L'ARMÉE DE TERRE		ÉVALUATION en Hommes
FRANÇAISE	ANGLAISE	FRANÇAISE	ANGLAISE	
Vice-Amiral commandant en chef, et ayant temporairement le grade d'Amiral	Amiral commandant en chef	General de division commandant en chef	Capitaine general ou Feld Marechal	60
Vice-Amiral	Amiral portant le pavillon au grand mat de hune, Vice Amiral	General de division	General	40
Contre-Amiral	Rear amiral	General de brigade	Lieutenant General	30
Chef de division	Commodore	Inferieur au precedent, superieur au suivant	Major-General	20
Capitaine de vaisseau	Post-captaine de trois ans dont le rang repond a celui de colonel, ayant rang de lieutenant-colonel	Chef de brigade	Brigadier-General	15
Capitaine de fregate	Masters and commanders ou capitaine no post, du rang de major, parmi lesquels sont compris les capitaines des brûlots qui sont masters and commanders	Chef de bataillon ou d'escadron	Colonel	8
Lieutenant de vaisseau	Lieutenant sans distinction	Capitaine	Capitaine	6
Enseigne de vaisseau	Lieutenant, quand tous les Français seront echanges, et au defaut de lieutenans anglais, des midshipmen	Lieutenant	Lieutenant	4
Aspirant de marine, capitaine de navire marchand, et capitaine de corsaire	Midshipman, capitaine de navire marchand, et capitaine de corsaire	Sous lieutenant	Enseigne	3
Lieutenant de navire marchand, de corsure, et tous officiers maritimes	Mates et tous officiers maritimes	Sous officiers, jusqu'au grade de caporal inclusivement	Bas-officiers jusqu'au grade de caporal inclusivement	-
Matelots, volontaires et autres consideres comme simples matelots	Matelots, volontaires et autres consideres comme simples matelots	Soldats	Soldats	1

Le Chef de la 6<sup>e</sup> Division,  
BONJOUR.

*Signé* NI O U  
Pour copie conforme, E BRUIX

Le sous-général de brigade commandant  
l'expédition d'Irlande certifie que le Citoyen Henry  
O'Keane Irlandais est venu à La Rochelle m'offrir  
Volontairement ses Services, qu'étant natif du canton  
ou nous avons débarqué Il nous a été particulièrement  
utile soit en servant de pilote avant le débarquement  
soit en faisant courir le pays en notre faveur, que  
Je l'ai nommé Colonel de la légion des habitants Irlandais  
qui avoient pris les armes avec nous, qu'étant resté à  
Killalla par mon ordre il a fait à la tête des insurgés  
une guerre active et vigoureuse à l'ennemi pendant  
l'espace de quinze jours et qu'il n'a succombé enfin  
qu'après une résistance des plus opiniâtres et sous une  
force de Six mille hommes de troupes commandés par  
le Général Anglos French, lui-même tombé au pouvoir  
des Anglois, livré à un conseil de guerre et condamné à  
mort comme Irlandais, Il n'a dû la vie qu'à l'intercession  
de l'évêque de Killalla dont il avoit protégé la vie et les  
propriétés contre la fureur des Insurgés et qui avec la  
plus grande difficulté parvint à faire commuer cette  
Sentence de mort en celle de bannissement perpétuel

ce n'est que rendre justice à la vérité que de dire que  
dans cette expédition le Citoyen O'Keane a donné les plus  
grandes preuves de bravoure, d'intelligence et d'activité et  
qu'il s'est constamment montré en ami zélé de la France  
et de l'Irlande.

à Paris ce 29 Mars 8<sup>e</sup> année de la République

Recusé

ARMÉE

LIBERTÉ.



ÉGALITÉ.

Au quartier général, à

de la République Française le 21 Inche 1793.

## LE GENERAL HUMBERT

Aux Soldats Irlandois dans les armées Républicaines

Soldats,

La tyrannie Angloise en Irlande touche à  
à fin. Depuis la mort de Walpole, de Moryoy &c a donné à vos  
opresseurs une preuve évidente de ce qui peut faire la valeur  
Irlandoise, même dépourvue de toute tactique militaire. Un  
cette valeur nous venons joindre la tactique Française. Vos soldats,  
dans ce moment des étendards de France et d'Irlande sont unis.  
Les vainqueurs et les libérateurs de l'Europe et de l'Amérique  
ont généralement résolu de verser leur sang pour l'indépen-  
dence d'un peuple qui par les efforts qu'il a faits s'est montré  
digne de la liberté. Avec de tels alliés ce succès est certain.  
L'union des Irlandois est maintenant complète. Mais éviter  
l'effusion du sang, voilà qui a toujours été notre objet. Nous vous  
souhaitons donc, Soldats Irlandois, de joindre les étendards de votre  
patrie. Il est inutile d'appuyer par aucun argument cette  
soumission sacrée. Nous sommes certains que vous y obéirez  
aussitôt que vous l'aurez entendue. Mais vous donc, braves Irlandois,  
de vous réunir à nos amis Généreux et à vos frères, pour écarter  
ce déplorable joug qui a pendant si long temps attiré sur votre  
patrie le sang et les larmes et qui a dégradé le caractère du  
Soldat Irlandois en le faisant servir de faire au long et au court

ARMÉE

LIBERTÉ.



ÉGALITÉ.

Au quartier général, à

le

de

le 13 août 1792, par l'Assemblée nationale et le peuple.

LE GÉNÉRAL HUMBERT

*To the Irish Soldiers in the English Army*

*Soldiers*

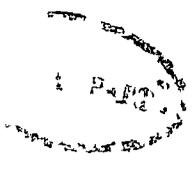
the period of English tyranny in Ireland is arising. already have the deaths of Malpoule, Montjoy &c. given your oppressors a signal proof of what even undisciplined Irish bravery can afford. To that bravery is now added French Discipline. You Soldiers at this present moment the Irish and French Standards flow together, the conquerors and liberators of America and Europe have generously determined to shed their blood in affranching the independence of a people who have shown they are worthy of liberty by the struggles they have made to obtain it. with such allied success is certain the union of Irish men this union complete. to avoid speaking blood is and has always been their object we therefore call upon you Irish Soldiers in the Army of Britain, to repair to the Standards of your country.



79 I.

Reflexions sur l'utilite d'une  
descente, soit en Angleterre, soit en Irlande, et  
les moyens d'y réussir, par le G.<sup>al</sup> Humbert.

descente, soit en Angleterre, soit en Irlande, et  
les moyens d'y réussir, par le G.<sup>al</sup> Humbert.



Les intérêts de la République, sa  
sûreté, son existence même, exigent qu'on  
attaque sans perdre un seul instant la  
puissance britannique ses grands avantages  
qu'elle nous offre et son ennemi acharné  
du nom français ne nous donne, dans la  
situation actuelle des affaires, aucun espoir  
d'une paix honorable et sans sommes payées  
à Paris et forcés d'acquiescer. Le cri de l'honneur  
et de la vengeance nous l'ordonne

36  
1420

La position critique où l'Angleterre  
se trouve aujourd'hui nous offre de grands  
avantages ses armées de terre et de mer, et  
sur tout ses meilleures troupes, sont pour la  
plupart occupées au dehors, soit à maintenir  
ses nouvelles conquêtes, soit à tenter de  
nouvelles entreprises. Les insurrections —  
journalières qui éclatent dans toutes les  
provinces du royaume, sans excepter la Capitale,  
la faule d'ouvriers qui croupissent de faim,  
faute d'ouvrage, un nombre infini <sup>d'étrangers</sup> ~~de réfugiés~~  
et de gens sans aveu dont on peut tirer partie,  
la situation politique du pays de Galles, de

ARMEE DE LIBERTÉ,

ÉGALITÉ.

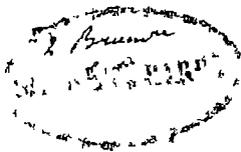
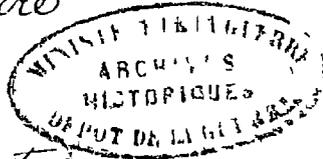


Division

Paris le 1<sup>er</sup> Brumaire 23 8 Brum 1800.  
an 9 de la République Française, une et indivisible.

HUMBERT GÉNÉRAL DE BRIGADE attaché  
à l'état-major de l'armée de l'Ouest

aux opérations au Ministère de la guerre  
militaire



Citoyen Ministre,

Je prends la liberté d'ajouter  
les Vues suivantes à celles que Je vous ai déjà  
envoyées au sujet de l'Angleterre.

Quand même le gouvernement ne  
serait pas décidé à attaquer cet hiver la  
puissance Britannique, en destinant pour le  
continent les troupes employées à l'armée de  
l'Ouest, ce n'est pas une raison pour ne pas  
réunir un noyau de troupes de 4000 hommes  
qu'on stationnera à une distance égale de  
l'Est et de l'Ouest, à l'effet de couvrir ces  
deux ports en cas d'attaque de la part de  
l'ennemi. Il sera réuni à ce corps une légion  
formée de la jeunesse des départements de l'Ouest.  
On fera aussi réunir tous les Irlandais libres  
qui sont au nombre de 1000 à 1200, pour en

2 D  
2198  
2 J C  
Stoyen Loomis

le voyage sur - 11<sup>me</sup> de la loi à l'est  
pour les documents parvenus de l'émigré  
et pour le 48 feuille de 288<sup>n</sup>  
La loi est venue



Nous venons de à l'art de nos collègues de l'émigré, à nos demandes

à cinq mille francs, le service de la Nation Française --  
Pendant qu'ils se ensem, nous nous en est un service, la reconnaissance - et de l'intérêt  
de la France, nous le engagement. Ne nous a détaché

118

Dans ce bref rest, nous nous, l'union et la franchise de notre représentation,  
de nos demandes, comme l'éprouvé la plus certaine de notre parole, et par  
la parole, nous demandons votre secours

En nous a instruit à vous déclarer, que l'union Anglaise, se a honte  
adonne les mécontents tenants de l'Éclaire. En nous a ordonné à dire - que  
le silence de cette partie de la Nation, dans l'esprit de la quelle, l'obscure  
de six cent ans, a excité une haine inaltérable, contre le nom Anglais,  
n'a été que le silence de la prophétie, sous un état de la persécution, ou la  
silence de la plus haute moralité pour un événement, qu'elle considère  
à son point de vue, avec elle, qu'elle regarde plus ardemment que  
jamais - la révolution

Comme est mille hommes intels compris dans l'organisation  
de l'union Irlandaise, l'entrée actuelle de ce nombre, dans un système, pour  
le bouleversement de ce gouvernement, sous la seule attitude de l'invasion,  
sous une suite des persécution des églises condamnées, et une preuve d'une telle  
universalité de la sentiment que environne ce corps, qu'on ne honnêtement doute  
de la coopération de lui, lorsque l'invasion arrivera en effet - Nous vous  
offrons encore ces hommes. Nous les offrons, sans avoir le moindre doute de leur  
succès, car ils ont éprouvé leur force - Nous vous offrons d'avantage - de cette force  
de la nation, sur laquelle le gouvernement s'est appuyé jusque, tous ont des yeux  
pendant la discussion de l'union Anglaise, leur détestation de cette démarche - La  
plus part en ont ouvertement déclaré, qu'ils se considèrent absents de leur pays  
en cas qu'on l'arrête et quelques uns en ont fait, depuis cet événement, des offres  
pour la réconciliation à notre corps - C'est sur les propriétés terres  
sur l'église - sur eux qu'y sont attachés par le bien de la dépendance personnelle  
que le gouvernement s'appuie à présent, pour son existence - Nous vous offrons  
une somme de quatre millions et demi de livres - Nous vous offrons la couronne  
en

travaux pour l'accomplissement de notre objet. Nous nous opposer de tout ce que nous pouvons trouver en Indes, qui en vingt jours, seraient de plus de combattre le reste de l'armée Française et de torquer la tête du monde dans le cœur de l'Empire - et de nous donner la tête du monde à donner?

Voici la force, que nous demandons pour notre débarquement de 25 Mille 30 Mille hommes - dont 2 Mille Cavalerie, qui se joindront des chevaux et des mules seront assez - un corps d'artillerie considérable, et si on la se voit possible - des armes pour 25 Mille hommes -

En demandant cette force nous ne nous donnons pas de dire que nous ne serons pas assez - mais nous la demandons parce qu'elle arrêtera l'effusion de sang et mettra dans un instant la nation Irlandaise dans l'état de donner l'aide actuelle à la France -

Quant aux troupes qui sont à présent en Irlande nous n'en savons rien aller avec certitude, parce que le Ministère n'en a jamais eu ~~rien~~ résidu nipte, et avec, nous ne savons rien de nos allures, que de connaître de l'année après, avant l'expédition Hollandaise. Mais sachant, sans la moindre tentation d'en déguiser le nombre, nous sommes assez sûrs que nous en comptons trop dans le ce pays

- 10.000 Cavalerie dont la plus est composée de ce que nous appelons "enables" qui sont des troupes qui ne sont que pour la défense locale mais qui ne sont jamais sortis du royaume
- 22.000 Infanterie "enables" } aux quels le Gouvernement veut se confier
- 8.000 de la ligne
- 3.000 Mille Angloise
- 1.000 Gardes
- 1.700 Artillerie
- 18.000 Mille Irlandaise
- 30.000 Infanterie } Métrangers
- 10.000 Cavalerie

de ce nombre nous sommes assurés que le Gouvernement ne saurait se fier sur aucune à la Milice, ou sur les meilleurs troupes du royaume jamais aucune partie des Métrangers depuis l'union Anglaise au Peste -

L'Assemblée Irlandaise nous ont ordonné, de ne demander rien du premier nous, que ce qui est ce que la France veut nous donner encore l'assurance de son aide? Quelque information que nous soyons capables de donner, nous la donnerons - nous n'en demandons rien - car avec la certitude qu'ils ont de la disposition du peuple, il seroit inutile de se servir de cette formation, pour faire aucune démarche - nous pourrions veiller le Gouvernement à exposer encore nos compatriotes à la honte et à la mort - nous la même raison

vous le nous ont ordonné de tenir le plus grand secret, et même d'en  
ce serait possible d'aucune communication avec nos compatriotes  
ne nous adresser qu'à un Citoyen Général Angerean pour un traspas  
que et le premier Consul, si ce n'est pas introduire nos  
inditions seulement communiquer.

Nous avons été contraints par une nécessité inévitable de rompre  
l'intention de ne pas communiquer à quelqu'un de nos compatriotes  
un seul exemple, un si devant membre de l'Assemblée, pour qui  
soi nous prenons la liberté de demander un passeport -

Citoyen Général voilà vos trois noms

Robert Emmet

Melachy Delaney



Le troisième n'a pas été autorisé par notre conseil  
et n'est pas reconnu membre du pouvoir exécutif  
mais nous membres envoyés par le dit pouvoir  
nous le reconnaissons digne de <sup>signer</sup> signer parmi nous  
c'est pour cela que nous avons dit trois au lieu de deux

Nous prions le général Angerean de  
vouloir bien écrire au premier Consul Buonaparte  
de vouloir faire délivrer des passeports sur des noms  
différents afin que les malveillants de notre Patrie  
qui sont à Paris & payés par le gouvernement d'Angle-  
terre ne reconnoisse point nos noms - nous espérons  
que général Angerean voudra bien en faire part  
de suite au brave Buonaparte - nous attendons ses ordres



pour voir ce qu'il y a de bon dans  
 l'usage de la poudre pour la guerre  
 et pour l'usage de la poudre de  
 canon à la guerre pour le  
 service de la marine et pour  
 le service de la guerre

Renvoye au M<sup>re</sup> des Relations Ext<sup>e</sup>  
pour leur donner la permission de venir  
en France

5

Le Per consul

*Buonaparte*

28 fructidor an 8

Citoyen Consul,

10 Nous venons de la part de nos concitoyens de l'Irlande pour demander la cinquième  
fois le secours de la Nation Françoise

Pendant quatre années, nous avons attendu sans cesse la délivrance et de l'intérêt de  
la France, nul changement ne nous a détaché

15 Dans ce bref récit, nous nous fions à la franchise de notre représentation et de nos  
demandes, comme le précise la plus certaine de notre vérité, et par cette vérité, nous  
demandons votre secours

20 On nous a instruit à vous déclarer, que l'union Anglaise, n'a point adouci les  
mécontentements de l'Irlande On nous a ordonné à dire que le silence de cette partie de la  
Nation, dans l'esprit de laquelle, l'oppression de six cent ans a excité une haine malterable  
contre le nom anglais, n'a été que le silence de la politique, sous un état de la persécution,  
ou le silence de la plus haute nonchalance pour un événement qu'elle considère n'avoir point  
de connection avec celui qu'elle regarde plus ardemment que jamais - la révolution

25 Cinq cent mille hommes ont été compris dans l'organisation de l'union Irlandaise,  
l'entrée actuelle de ce nombre, dans un système, pour le bouleversement de leur  
gouvernement, sous la seule attente de l'invasion, sous une suite de persécutions les plus  
cruelles, est une épreuve d'une telle universalité de la sentiment qui environne ce corps,  
qu'on ne pourroit douter de la coopération du triple, lorsque l'invasion arrivoit en effet -  
Nous vous offrons encore ces hommes Nous les offrons, sans avoir le moindre doute de  
leur succès - car ils ont éprouvé leur force Nous vous offrons davantage de cette partie de  
30 la nation sur laquelle le gouvernement s'est appuyé jusqu'ici, tous ont découverts pendant la  
discussion de l'union anglaise, leur détestation de cette démarche- la plupart en ont  
ouvertement déclaré qu'ils se considéroient absous de leur obéissance en cas qu'on l'arrêta,  
et quelques uns en ont fait depuis cet événement des ouvertures pour la réconciliation à

notre corps C'est sur les propriétaires terriens - sur l'église - sur ceux qu'y sont attachées  
35 par le lien de la dépendance personnelle, que le gouvernement s'appuie à présent pour son  
existence Nous vous offrons la force réunie de quatre millions et demi de peuple Nous  
vous offrons la compensation ample, pour toutes les expéditions qu'on a envoyés ci devant,  
ou que vous enverrez ci-après [f288v] ci après pour l'accomplissement de notre objet  
Nous vous offrons deux cent mille braves Irlandais, qui en vingt jours seroient dignes de  
40 combattre de côté de l'armée française et d'extorquer la paix du Monde dans le cœur  
l'Angleterre - est-ce que vous voulez nous abandonner?

Voici la force que nous demandons pour notre délivrance - de 25 mille à 30 mille  
hommes - dont 2 mille cavalerie qui se fourniroit des chevaux chez nous, seroient assez - un  
corps d'artillerie considérable, et si cela seroit possible des armes pour 75 Mille hommes

45 En demandant cette force nous ne voudrions pas dire que moins ne seroit pas assez  
Mais nous la demandons parce qu'elle arrêteroit l'effusion de sang et mettroit dans un  
instant la nation irlandaise dans l'état de donner de l'aide actuelle à la France

Quant aux troupes qui sont à présent en Irlande nous n'en saurions parler avec  
certanté, parce que le Ministre n'en a jamais rendu compte, cet an ci Nous n'avons rien de  
50 quoi calculer, que des comptes de l'année passée, avant l'expédition Hollandaise Mais  
n'ayant pas la moindre intention d'en déguiser le nombre nous sommes assurés que nous en  
comptons trop dans le ci-dessous

10-000 Cavalerie dont la plupart consiste de ce que nous appellons Fencibles qui  
sont des troupes levés seulement pour la défense intérieure mais qui n'ont  
55 jamais sorti du royaume

22 000 Infanterie - Fencible

3 000 de la ligne

3 000 Milice Anglaise

1 000 Gardes

60 1 700 Artillerie

\_\_\_\_\_ {auxquels le gouvernement peut se confier}

18 000 Milice Irlandaise

30 000 Infanterie + 10 000 Cavalerie {Métayers}

de ce nombre nous sommes assurés que le gouvernement ne sauroit se confier ni jamais à la  
65 milice, ou consiste les meilleurs troupes du royaume, ni jamais à une partie des métayers  
depuis l'union anglaise au reste

Appendix 5 2 b CPA/593/288-9 Emmet and Delaney memorial,  
transcription

L'Executif Irlandois nous ont ordonne, de ne demander rien du premier Consul que ceci - est-ce que la France veut nous donner encore l'assurance sincere de son aide? Quelque information que nous soyons capables de donner, nous la donnerons - nous n'en demandons  
70 rien, car avec la certainte qu'ils ont de la disposition du peuple, il seroit inutile de se servir de cette information pour faire aucune demarche qui pourroit eveiller le gouvernement et exposerait encore nos compatriotes a la persecution - pour la même raison [f.289] raison ils nous ont ordonne de tenir le plus grand secret et même d'éviter si ce seroit possible quelque communication avec nos compatriotes ici ne nous adresser qu'au Citoyen Augereau pour un  
75 passport avec qui et le premier Consul si ce n'est pas improprie nous voudrions seulement communiquer

Nous avons été contraints par une necessite inevitable de rompre notre intention de ne pas communiquer a quelqu'un de nos compatriots dans un seul exemple, un ci-devant membre de l'Exécutif pour qui aussi nous prenons la liberte de demander un passport

80 Citoyen general voila vos trois noms

Robert Emmet

Malachy Delaney

le troisième n'a pas été autorisé par notre conseil et n'est pas reconnu membre du pouvoir exécutif mais nous membres envoyés par le dit pouvoir nous le reconnaissons digne de  
85 signer parmi nous c'est pour cela que nous avons dit trois au lieu de deux

Nous prions le general Augereau de vouloir bien écrire au premier Consul Buonaparte de vouloir faire delivrer des passports sur des noms differents afin que les malveillants de notre nation qui sont a Paris et payés par le gouvernement d'Angleterre ne reconnoisse point nos noms - nous esperons que general Augereau voudra bien en faire part  
90 de suite au brave Buonaparte - nous attendons ses ordres [f 289 v] pour voiler aupres de lui, pour lui donner connoissance de l'esprit qui anime tous les braves Irlandois et nous jurons a la face du Ciel de repondre jusqu'a la dernière goutte de notre sang pour notre patrie et le premier Consul Buonaparte

Rapport - 19.  
au premier Consul. 180

Les Talleyrands ont remis  
en projet un général Bonaparte  
et engagé les deux Irlandais  
à présenter un mémoire  
auquel le gouvernement  
l'intention de simplifier l'organisation  
qui pourrait être établie entre  
l'Irlande. Paris le 15

Deux Irlandais sont venus chez moi; ils  
ont remis un mémoire qu'ils désirent  
présenter au premier Consul, au nom des  
Irlandais unis dont l'excellent Résident en  
Irlande les a nommés et envoyés en France,  
avec la mission expresse de réclamer pour  
la dernière fois l'assistance du Gouvernement  
français.

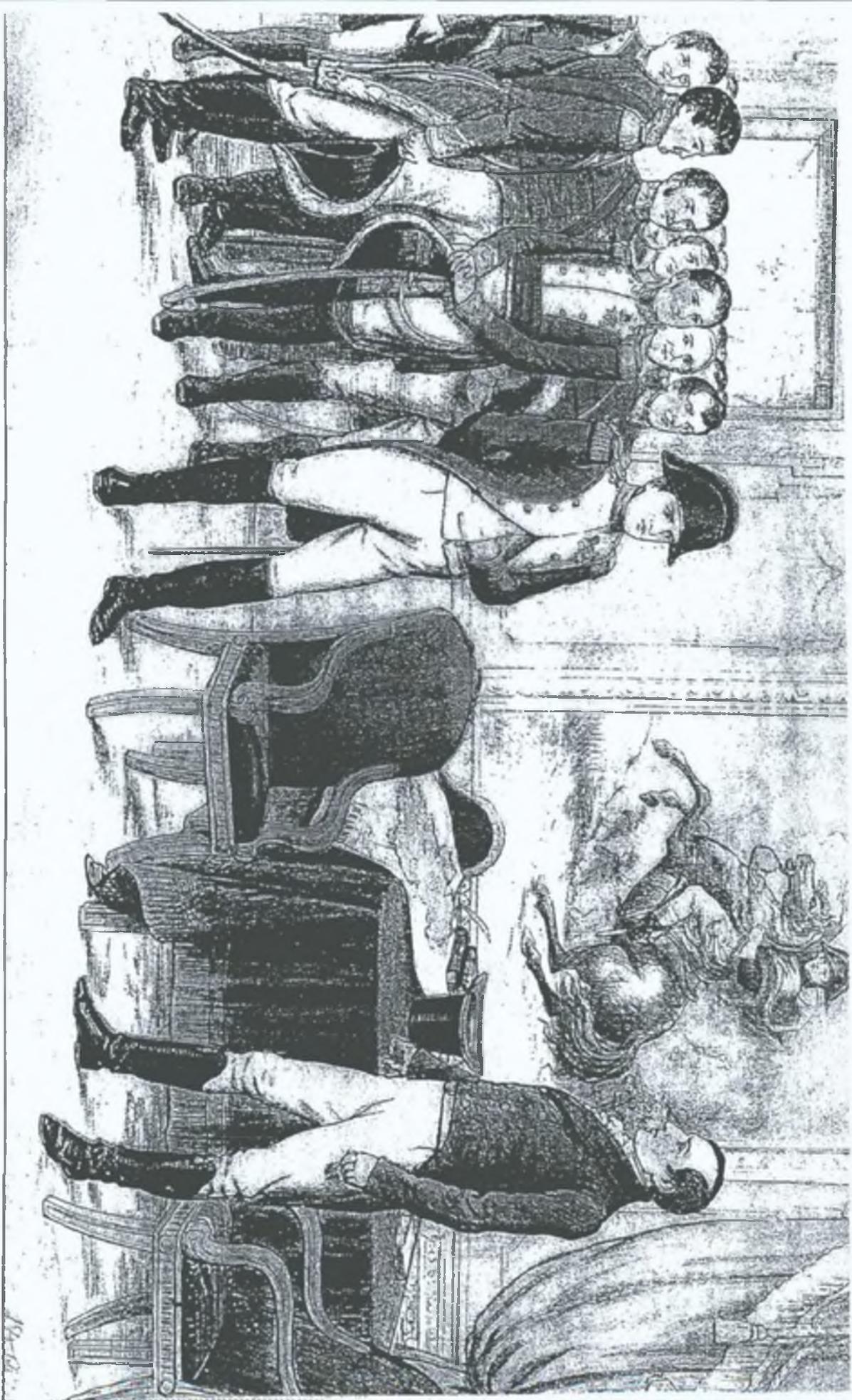
à la Commission  
provisoire



Le mémoire des deux Irlandais est très bien  
fait, net, précis et noblement écrit. Il  
présente un état de l'Irlande: il prouve  
que l'union parlementaire est imposée par  
la contrainte, et non consacrée par la  
nation: il expose que si l'Irlande étoit  
soutenue par la France, elle seroit le  
jour; et il présente un plan d'exécution.

Ce plan est développé dans un  
appendix. Les deux Irlandais demandent  
une descente de trente mille hommes  
en Irlande sur trois points, et une  
descente correspondante, ou du moins la

Appendix 5.3. CPA/594/150: Talleyrands' Rapport au premier consul, 6 January 1801.



Appendix 5.4. J.D. Reigh's print of Robert Emmet's interview with Napoleon (*Shamrock*, December 1895).

M. le Premier Consul,

Le Citoyen Thomas Addis Emmet,  
Irlandais

Le Sous-signé, nommé  
Ministre et Agent des Irlandais-Étrangers  
auprès du Gouvernement Français,  
croit qu'il est de son devoir de soumettre  
au Premier Consul les observations  
suivantes, non seulement en ce qu'elles  
intéressent de bien près sa patrie, mais  
aussi parce qu'elles lui sont liées et se  
rapportent même à l'honneur et aux  
intérêts de la France.

En ce faisant, il n'entend  
point s'étendre longuement sur les  
avantages, qui résulteraient de la réunion  
de la République de l'Angleterre et de  
l'Irlande. ces avantages ont déjà été  
exposés au Gouvernement Français par  
ses prédécesseurs, et on en a fait le sujet  
de différents Mémoires, qui se trouvent  
sans doute déposés dans les Bureaux  
Ministériels; et le sous-signé ne se flâte  
point de pouvoir ajouter aux motifs



G. W. W.

nommer une personne de confiance, homme  
de mer, pour conférer avec lui relative-  
ment aux moyens, et il a demandé  
(attendu que la langue française ne  
lui est point familière) que le sous-secré-  
taire lui servît d'interprète. Cette demande  
est depuis long-temps faite par l'organe  
de celui qui a été indiqué au sous-secré-  
taire pour être l'intermédiaire de ses com-  
munications, et elle reste encore sans  
réponse.

Le sous-secrétaire croit donc devoir  
solliciter, de la manière la plus urgente,  
qu'il soit nommé une personne versée  
dans les affaires navales pour conférer avec  
lui et avec le Capitaine Murphy, et qu'il  
soit pris des mesures pour envoyer, avec  
le moins de retard possible; ces secours  
qui ont été promis aux Irlandais, et  
sur l'assurance desquels ils ne manque-  
ront point d'agir.

Le sous-secrétaire profite de cette  
occasion d'offrir des vœux pour le bon-  
heur et le succès du Premier Consul  
dans l'accomplissement de ces entreprises,  
qui ont pour but de combler la mesure  
de sa gloire, et d'assurer la prospérité  
de la France.

Thomas Addis Emmet

A Paris, le 20<sup>th</sup> Fructidor An 11

Logis dans la Rue du Cherche-Midi  
auprès la Rue du Regard, F. S. Goussier

10 Dec 1800

à son Excellence le Ministre de la guerre

Le Citoyen Thomas Addis Emmet et Bertrand

*Emmet*  
*Emmet*  
*Emmet*  
*Emmet*

Ministre  
Je me fis l'honneur d'informar  
Monsieur le Ministre par l'intermédiaire de Monsieur Dattois il y a déjà du  
temps du retour en France de Monsieur Sweeney  
qui passa en Angleterre sous le nom de Simpson.



Je lui annonçai de même que je me tenais  
toujours prêt à communiquer au Gouvernement  
français toutes les détails de ce que  
M. Sweeney a pu faire dans sa mission,  
quand on trouverait bon à ces demandes,  
mais qu'ils <sup>me</sup> paraissaient d'une nature  
exiger le plus grand secret, et de m'être même  
utiles, que pour décider de l'endroit d'un débarque-  
ment et que, par conséquent le moment de  
les communiquer était le même que si on  
allait faire voile. Après avoir donné  
cette intimation, j'ai eu devoir attendre  
les ordres du Gouvernement. Mais comme  
la saison et toute autre circonstance me  
persuada que l'expédition ne peut être long  
temps différée, je me suis vu obligé de céder à la

et de soumettre à Votre Excellence, un précis  
des démarches de M. Conway.

Comme je ne suis aucunement exercé  
à écrire en français, il me faudra votre  
indulgence pour les fautes en style qui  
sourmèleront partout. Mais, j'ai mieux  
aimé éviter toute possibilité d'indiscretion, par  
travailler seul et sans secours, que de courir  
aucune risque en me servant d'un traducteur.  
Je peux donc vous assurer, qu'excepté M. Conway  
et moi, il n'y a personne qui sache les choses  
dont il s'agit ce dedans, et qui doivent être  
secrètes.

Après bien des retards et des embarras,  
après avoir deux fois manqué dans ses attelles,  
M. Conway réussit enfin à traverser, sous et  
il quitta Dunkerque, le samedi le 1<sup>er</sup> de Vendémie  
-an 4. Vers le soir de Mardi 4<sup>me</sup>, il toucha  
à Galley Head, sur la côte de l'Irlande, dans  
le Comté de Cork, et un peu à l'est de Cape  
Clear. Comme il avait surtout à coeur de  
pénétrer à Dublin, et qu'il entroyait toutes  
les difficultés d'y aller par terre, il fit mar-  
-ché avec quelques pêcheurs pour le conduire  
par mer au Comté de Wexford ou à celui  
de Wicklow. Il débarqua le 6<sup>me</sup> dans l'

projet de débarquement  
en Irlande

25/12

4 Pluviôse an XII  
(25 Janvier 1804)

Traduction du mémoire de M<sup>r</sup> Thomas  
Addiss Emmet au Ministre de la Guerre.

1

2



91  
14<sup>20</sup>

Conformément au Desir de son Excellence de  
Ministre de la Guerre j'ai à l'honneur de lui soumettre  
quelques idées sur les lieux de l'Irlande propres à un  
Débarquement en Irlande. Si après quelque examen  
de ce Service par d'un grand Importation,  
ce qui me fait croire que son Service de connaissance en  
affaires militaires et maritimes, on voudra bien  
seigneur, se rappeler, qu'il ne s'agit pas d'opérer  
par une facile conquête, ou une haute opinion  
de succès, mais seulement pour obéir à son  
Excellence.

Comme au Général pour permettre de dire  
que les Français doivent descendre à la dernière  
terre convenable qu'ils pourrout aborder, par  
je suis persuadé que tout le pays est si bien  
dit pour en leur faveur, qu'ils ne doivent pas  
s'opposer à un retard ou au risque de rencontrer  
de flotte ennemie en s'opposant à se diriger sur  
une partie ou pays plutôt que sur une autre,  
mais comme on doit s'attacher que je donne  
une autre partie de l'opération je propose de  
suivre.

Suggérant de former Détachement pour l'expédition  
de 2500 hommes, de débarquement doit  
être disposé de manière à acquiescir 10000  
4<sup>e</sup> soient dans les bâtiments légers et  
frégates, avec une quantité proportionnée d'armes  
et de munitions. toutes les forces réunies de  
Portsmouth de la canal de l'Est de 15000 4<sup>e</sup>  
Parmi les quels soient tous ceux embarqués sur  
de 4000 hommes de légères vaisseaux être mis à terre  
à l'autre de la barre de Waterford, tandis que  
l'autre partie de l'armée, celle dont j'ai déjà parlé,  
les 10000 hommes sur les frégates et bâtiments légers

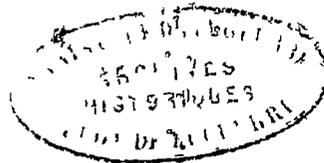
A la guerre ont été fournis que dans peu de partem  
" on pourra porter la guerre à la guerre doit  
) dans la dernière guerre: "

J'observe en outre que la lettre est publiée et  
insérée dans les Papiers anglais et de 3 dans  
d'argent établit de force effective à 17000 H.  
de troupes régulières, 16,000 de milices et  
3,000 de volontaires. ce qui répond presque  
aux dépenses faites que j'ai fournies

Thomas Addiss Emmet.

Pour traduction fournie

*E. Dalton*



## Projet de débarquement en Irlande 25 janvier 1804

Traduction du mémoire de Mr Thomas Addiss (sic) Emmet au Ministre de la Guerre  
4 pluviôse an XII

5 Conformément au désir de son excellence le ministre de la guerre j'ai l'honneur de lui  
soumettre quelques idées sur les lieux les plus propres à un débarquement  
en Irlande. Si après quelque examen ceux ci ne paroissent pas d'une grande importance,  
ce qui me fait craindre mon peu de connoissance des affaires militaires et maritimes, on  
voudra bien je pense, se rappeler qu'elles n'ont pas été offertes par une fausse confiance,  
ou une haute opinion de mes talens, mais seulement pour obéir à son excellence.

10 Comme avis général je me permettrai de dire que les Français doivent descendre à la  
première terre convenable qu'ils pourront aborder, parce que je suis persuadé que tout ce  
pays est si bien disposé en leur faveur qu'ils ne doivent pas s'exposer à un retard ni au  
risque de rencontrer la flotte ennemie en cherchant à se diriger vers une partie du pays  
plutôt que sur une autre, mais comme on doit s'attendre que je donnerai un plan  
15 particulier d'opérations je propose le suivant.

Supposant les forces destinées pour l'expédition être de 25 000 hommes, leur  
embarquement doit être disposé de manière à ce qu'environ 10,000 hommes soient placés  
sur des batimens légers et [des] frégates, avec une quantité proportionnée d'armes et de  
munitions. Toutes les forces réunies se porteroient sur le canal d'Irlande, 15,000 hommes,  
20 parmi lesquels seroient tous ceux embarqués sur les vaisseaux de ligne (devroient) être  
mis à terre à l'entrée du havre de Waterford, tandis que l'autre partie de l'armée dont j'ai  
déjà parlé [sic] les 10,000 hommes sur les frégates et batimens légers [f2] se porteroient  
à la Baye de Droghéda [sic] et y effectueroit son débarquement. Les forces débarquées au  
havre de Waterford après s'être assuré [sic] de cette ville pour la défense de laquelle il ne  
25 pourra être réuni qu'environ 6,000, se dirigeroient à travers les comtés de Wexford et de  
Wicklow, sur Dublin, tandis que le corps d'armée de Drogheda feroit sans aucun délai le  
même mouvement sur la capitale. - J'ai désigné ces deux lieux de débarquement parce que  
j'ai été informé par le capitaine Murphy et autres que je crois juger compétents qu'ils sont  
sûrs et convenables pour des vaisseaux et parce qu'il sont les lieux les plus près de  
30 Dublin. je prie cependant le gouvernement de faire prendre sur cet objet des  
renseignements plus certains que ceux que je suis capable de donner.

Voici les avantages qui résultent du projet précédent. L'ennemy [sic] sera attaqué là où  
il est le moins préparé soit par terre, soit par mer. Tous les préparatifs et dispositions du  
gouvernement anglois sont dirigés vers les côtes du sud et de l'ouest de l'Irlande.

35 Les flotes (sic) croisent de Cork au Cap Clear et de Cap Clear à l'embouchure du  
Shannon. Les forces de terre dans cette partie sont principalement réunies pour se porter  
suivant les circonstances soit sur Cork soit sur Limmerick [sic]. On dit il est vrai qu'un  
camp de 10,000 h<sup>es</sup> doit être formé à Clonmel, à environ 22 miles de Waterford mais  
supposant qu'il existe, je ne crains que toutes les forces que pourroient réunir les ennemis  
40 soyent capables de tenir un moment devant 15,000 français et les irlandois qui les  
auroient joints.

Ces dispositions de la part des anglois ont été faites sur l'opinion que les français  
n'avantureroient jamais leur flotte dans le [f.3] canal d'Irlande. Si le canal étoit fermé à  
l'autre extrémité comme un cul de sac il seroit peut-être capable de courir un tel risque,  
45 mais en vérité il me paroît que cette mesure n'est pas accompagnée d'un si grand danger;  
au contraire la flote française en prenant une direction inattendue éviteroit et dépasseroit

celle de l'ennemi qui se seroit portee sur les côtes de l'Irlande une fois rentre dans le canal elle ne rencontreroit par un seul vaisseau de ligne et toute la flotte reunie apres avoir jete a terre les troupes tourneroit l'Irlande et reviendrait dans le port sans aucun risque si ce n'est de la part des vaisseaux anglois qui auroient ete envoyes a sa poursuite pour tacher de l'attendre

50 Si les troupes etaient débarquées dans ces deux lieux, le plus grand corps (celui mis à terre au havre de Waterford) apres avoir pris possession de cette ville, ou comme je l'ai déjà établi il pourroit y avoir a combattre environ 6 000 h<sup>es</sup>, marcheroit vers Dublin a environ 85 miles de la, à travers un pays suffisamment abondant, extrêmement mecontent des anglais, prêt a se soulever a la premiere occasion, defendu du côté de l'interieur de l'Irlande par des montagnes et des defiles, dont les habitans seuls pourroient presque deffendre l'approche contre une armee anglaise

55 Je suis moralement certain que par cette route ce corps non seulement souleveroit le pays a travers lequel il passeroit, mais même atteindrait Dublin sans avoir aucun engagement qui merite le nom de bataille

Si cependant on le pensoit plus a propos et que le camp de 8 a 10,000 hommes ait ete réellement établi a Clonmel, les forces françaises pourroient prendre cette route de Dublin qui n'est guerre [sic] plus longue, y [f 4] attaquer et defaire l'armee anglaise avant qu'elle ne puisse être renforcee, et par ce coup decisif imprimer la terreur et probablement soulever tout le sud Ils pourroient donc marcher sur Dublin a travers un pays également fertile et pas moins ennemi des anglois et en envoyant une personne convenable dans les comptes [sic] de Wexford et Wicklow ils se souleveroient aussi, mais si on preferoit ce parti il faut observer que sans grande hâte les anglois pourroient s'emparer de quelques fortes positions et notamment de celle de Carrick sur Suir, a mi-chemin de Clonmel a Waterford Toute l'armee sur cette route auroit a passer, a 7 miles de Clonmel, la montagne de Kilcash tres elevee et tres difficile pour les canons

65 L'autre corps qui auroit débarqué pres de Drogheda, s'empareroit aussi de cette ville et sa route pour Dublin, dont il ne seroit eloigne que de 25 [?] miles se feroit a travers le comte de Meath un des plus abondans de l'Irlande et le plus attache a notre cause, il est a observer en faveur de ce plan que les nouvelles du débarquement pres de Waterford devraient arriver a Dublin probablement avant que celui de la Boyne ne soit effectue Toutes les forces disponibles seroient donc envoyees vers le sud et il n'en resteroit aucun pour resister a l'armee du nord Le camp projete a Armagh etant a 40 miles de Drogheda et par consequent d'autant plus loin de Dublin

75 Je n'hésite pas de dire que l'un de ce corps d'armée se mouvant avec rapidite prendroit possession de cette cite Leur operation cependant (?) pourroient être tellement combinee qu'ils y arriveroient [f 5] Les avantages qui resulteroient de la prise de la capitale sont incalculables Le gouvernement seroit de suite bouleverse, ses membres pris ou mis en fuite On pourroit s'assurer des otages on trouveroit de grandes ressources dans l'opulence et l'energie de la capitale, on formeroit sur le champ un gouvernement irlandois Une armee irlandaise seroit au même instant levee et armee Nous aurions en notre pouvoir toutes les communications avec toutes les parties de l'isle Par ce moyen les intentions et les succes des français y seroient publiees dans les extremités les plus reculées ce dernier avantage est peut être d'une plus grande importance qu'il ne paroît au 1er coup d'oeil, car tant que les français n'occuperaient que quelques parties du pays et que les anglois tiendroient la capitale les communication entre les differens comtes etant

peu frequentes, des proclamations et les nouvelles ou victoires des français ne seroient  
vraiment connues que dans leur voisinage et transformees ou supprimees dans les  
95 relations transmises de la capitale aux provinces Ajoutez a cet avantage la force de  
l'opinion publique - Les irlandois unis des differens comtes, dans les conseils qu'ils ont  
tenus au sujet d'une insurrection independante du secours etranger, ont declare qu'ils  
regardaient la prise de la capitale comme equivalente a un débarquement français que  
feront-ils lorsque en deux circonstances, de la possession de Dublin et d'un  
100 débarquement, seront reunies en outre les differens evenemens de la revolution française  
ont toujours demontre que la conduite de Paris a toujours decide [??] du reste de la  
republique il en sera je crois de même en Irlande et Dublin commandera a toute la nation  
particulierement quand il parlera le vrai sentiment du peuple [f 6] un autre motif me  
frappe en faveur de ce plan La saison sera fort avancee lorsque les français arriveront Le  
105 peuple sera occupe aux travaux rustiques du printemps si essentiels pour l'abondance de  
la recolte et pour fournir a la subsistance de toute l'annee Cette circonstance empêcherait  
probablement un grand nombre d'hommes bien disposes de se joindre aux français  
jusqu'a ce qu'il ait acheve les travaux indispensables C'est justement dans cette saison  
que le betail est maigre et la viande peu abondante, alors une armee trouveroit de grandes  
110 difficultes a être approvisionnee Ce sont la des maux reels et il est de quelque  
importance de la diminuer en prenant le chemin praticable le plus court pour arriver a la  
metropole a travers le plus abondant et le plus devoue des comtes Ces inconvenients  
seront alors les moindres possibles

La seule objection qui me parait de quelques poids est le desavantage possible resultant  
115 de la division des forces françaises, mais ici cette objection est sans force D'abord l'un  
ou l'autre des deux corps d'armee est assez fort pour battre toute troupe qu'il est possible  
qui lui soit opposee avant la reunion dans la capitale Et je dirai même que la plus faible  
des deux est suffisant pour avoir les irlandois vaincre toutes les forces angloises en  
Irlande et pour affranchir le pays s'il n'y etoit alors envoye des renforts d'Angleterre Il  
120 ne peut donc y avoir de danger a separer ces deux corps lorsqu'ils peuvent certainement  
être reunis avant l'arrivee de ces renforts et de plus en occupant et insurgeant les côtes  
de l'est de l'irlande les dispositions etant faites a l'instant pour s'opposer a l'arrivee des  
troupes d'angleterre la legere communication avec elle maintenant en Irlande seroit  
entierement coupee

Si cependant l'objection contre la ~~separation~~ division des forces françaises paroissoit  
125 encore trop forte pour permettre l'adoption du plan precedent [f7] je recommanderai que  
l'armee entiere fis la descente au havre de Cork par exemple a la Baye de Bally-Cotton  
pour s'emparer de suite de la ville de Cork (la 2<sup>e</sup> de l'Irlande) et occuper les forts qui  
defendent le havre, et donner une retraite assuree et commode a la flote (sic) française  
130 On suivroit alors le plan que j'ai deja communique de la part de M Swiney, et cela  
effectue l'armee marcheroit avec la plus grande rapidite sur Dublin même en suivant ce  
projet si un petit corps etoit jete avec des armes sur les côtes de Wexford je suis  
convaincu qu'il embarasseroit extrêmement et battrait même l'ennemi et couperoit  
ensuite la communication entre Dublin et le sud

135

Paris le 4 pluviôse an 12

signe Thomas Addis Emmet

140 P S depuis le peu de tems que j'ai presente differens rapports sur la situation des forces  
militaires en irlande, le ministere anglois en a donne un etat au parlement dans lequel il  
porte la yeomanrie [sic] a 70,000 hes a ce sujet mr Dowdall (un irlandois réfugié  
dernierement arrive de Dublin par l'Espagne) s'exprime aussi dans une lettre qu'il  
m'ecrit "*je puis vous assurer de la maniere la plus positive que le rapport est du plus  
exagere j'ai bien su par les gazettes que [??] porte la yeomanrie a 70,000 a ete donnee,*  
145 *mais je sais bien aussi qu'il est de toute impossibilite de completer ce corps dans le pays  
Les hommes qui l'ont composes dans la derniere guerre ont eprouve de trop rude  
traitement au service et y ont trop depense plusieurs mois et qu'ils avoient perdu 30 a 40  
livres sterling au dernier licenciement qui avoient ete retenu par plusieurs de leurs  
capitaines et leurs motifs de plainte [f 8] en general ont ete si forte que dans peu de  
150 partie on pourra porter la yeomanrie a ce qu'elle soit dans la derniere guerre "*  
J'observe en outre que la lettre de Dublin inserre dans les papiers anglais et les 3 dans  
l'Argus etablit la force effective a 17,000 hes de troupes regulieres, 16,000  
de milice et 35,000 de yeomanrie, ce qui repond presque aux differens etats que j'ai  
fourni

155

Thomas Addis Emmet

160 Pour traduction conforme  
Dalton

au 17

Rapport sur les irlandais civils qui des. Prendre du service et qui sont susceptibles d'en obtenir.

Renseignements sur ces irlandais.

Macneven - il a servi dans les premiers troubles d'Irlande en 1798 et a rendu de grands services importants... il parle parfaitement le français et l'allemand... il a été unanimité pendant plusieurs années...

Capitaine

Thomas Corbet - forcé de quitter l'Irlande pour cause de ses opinions, en 1793 (il était officier de volontaires... d'université de Dublin) il passa en France à l'instant où se préparait l'expédition... il fut nommé capitaine... par son instruction il est devenu Procureur d'Anglais au Parlement de Paris... il parle parfaitement le français

Capitaine



1792  
 Van der...  
 Tara...  
 MacMahon...  
 ...

10 4 autres...  
 ...

Mac Donald...  
 ...

Mac Cabe...  
 ...

Donovan...  
 Mac...  
 ...

Murphy...  
 ...



O Neale...  
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Blackburn...  
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Bailey...  
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Madgett...  
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