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The Political Influence of Translation in a time of Revolution and War in France: A Microhistory of two Irish translators Nicholas Madgett (1738-1813) and John Sullivan (1767-1802)

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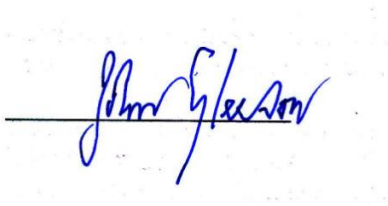


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Abstract

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of two Irish translators, Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan, incorporating approaches from translation studies and history.

Drawing principally on French archival sources, the thesis begins with a microhistorical profile of the two translators that connects to the broader political landscape of the French Revolution. A detailed analysis of their translation practice is embedded in the historical context of the period. Translation may be causative, and not merely refractive of historical events. The confluent functions assumed by the translators such as propaganda and political advocacy complement and enhance the influence of their translations. The focus on the political influence of translation is an important contribution to the historiography of translation, as the historical role of translation is often neglected or misunderstood by historians.

Madgett and Sullivan were recruited by the new Republican government in France in 1793. The microhistory of the two translators, and the review of their translations provide a structured, interdisciplinary response to the principal research question: whether Madgett and Sullivan's translations, and their confluent, bilingual functions exerted a political influence on historical events in France in a time of Revolution and war?

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Introduction

In 1747, an eleven-year-old boy named Nicholas Madgett left County Kerry and travelled to France to receive a Catholic education that culminated in a doctorate in theology from Toulouse University (AF/III/28/97/133; Brockliss & Ferté 2004: 43). In 1785, his then eighteen-year-old nephew, John Sullivan, also from County Kerry, arrived in a French military college in La Flèche in the Loire valley to teach English, and later Mathematics (AF/III/28/97/141). During the Terror in 1793, uncle and nephew were both recruited as translators by the revolutionary government at the helm of the new French Republic (AF/III/52-55/213). This thesis will examine the impact of the professional activities of the two translators, which encompass not only their translations but also the multifaceted bilingual duties they performed during the French Revolution, including propaganda and counter-espionage.

Madgett became a special adviser on Irish affairs to the Committee of Public Safety (CPA/588/484; AD/MD/19/382), and subsequently to French Foreign Minister, Delacroix whilst acting as Head of Translation in the Foreign Ministry (CPA/589/112; Tone 2001: 56). Both Madgett and Sullivan were advocates of Irish independence and they provided Wolfe Tone with intensive linguistic and political support in his negotiations with the French leadership in 1796 aimed at persuading the French to launch a military invasion of Ireland (Tone 2001: 61,80,88, 148-162). John Sullivan participated himself in a French military expedition that landed in County Mayo in 1798 (GR/2YE/3853/26).

This introduction will address:

- 1) the research question;
- 2) the conceptual basis of the research;
- 3) the methodology adopted;
- 4) existing research and
- 5) the structure of the thesis.

1. The research question

The basis of this research is an interdisciplinary study of Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan, incorporating translation studies and history. The principal research question is: did Madgett and Sullivan's translations, and their confluent, bilingual functions exert a political influence in France in a time of Revolution and war? The answer to this question will include a case study of the influence of Madgett's translations into French of Wolfe Tone's two Memorials to the French government in 1796 (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173).

The political impact of translation is important because translation remains undervalued today in terms of its historical role. In an article entitled 'History and Translation' in 2016, Rundle, a translation studies scholar interested in history, and Rafael, a historian interested in translation, discuss the interaction between the two disciplines (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 23). Rafael observes that historians have generally neglected or ignored the perspectives offered by translation studies and have assumed that translation is purely incidental and peripheral (Ibid: 28). Both Rafael and Rundle contend that translation may act as an interpretative key or an approach to a specific historical subject (Ibid: 45). More recently, Leech has suggested that translation may act as a lens through which to view and interpret the past (Leech 2020: 14). That perspective raises a further question addressed in this thesis, namely, whether translation may sometimes act as more than just a mirror on history, but may influence historical events.

Oz-Salzberger has observed that increased translation between the vernacular languages of Europe in the eighteenth century led to a broader transmission of philosophical ideas and literature:

Modern European languages obtained a new wealth of literary, scientific and philosophical idiom through translation (2006: 387).

However, translation was undervalued as a professional activity in the late eighteenth century. Translators lacked institutional or professional status and were subject to the whims of politics (Chappey 2013: 242). The personal fortunes of the two translators fluctuated as translation was simultaneously valued and devalued by the French state (AF/III/276; AAE/Pers/1/65/58). This paradox will be explored by reference to the lives and work of two relatively obscure Irishmen, especially when they enjoyed institutional status as translators in the French Foreign Ministry.

The thesis will begin with a biographical portrait of the two translators, followed by a detailed examination of their translations. This material will lay the foundation for an exploration of the political influence of translation in a precise historical context. It is necessary to begin by

demarcating the conceptual parameters of the research, the three constituent elements of which are interdisciplinarity, biography and microhistory.

2. Conceptual basis of research

2.1 Interdisciplinarity

Is a biographical portrait of the two translators necessary in order to examine the corpus of translation they produced? Does the translation output not speak for itself in a translation studies context, without the need to borrow from another discipline? These are important questions that underscore the relationship between translation studies and history.

The tension between history and translation studies has been articulated by translation historians in recent times. Olohan observes that translation historians primarily address non-historians who are interested in translation rather than history (Olohan 2014: 19-20). On the other hand, Rafael, a historian interested in translation studies, notes that most historians think of language and translation as incidental to their work, producing an asymmetrical relationship between the disciplines (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 28, 30). Palmer, a historian who has addressed issues of language in early modern Ireland, acknowledges that historians ‘rarely conceive of language as being directly involved in the process of history or in any way constitutive of it’ (Palmer 2001:13). However, Rundle has observed in 2021 that more recently, historians working on the fascist period in Italy have acknowledged the relevance of translation studies research (Hermans & Rundle 2021: 20).

Even though historians may sometimes undervalue the contribution of translation studies or regard translation as a peripheral activity, that is no reason for translation studies to eschew the disciplinary enrichment that focussed historical context can yield. Translation historians should bear in mind the particular traditions and strengths of history as a discipline. The authors of *What is Translation History? A Trust-Based Approach* have recently acknowledged the legacy in a translation studies context:

Much as there might be a popular conception of the historian’s work as the simple collection and ordering of facts (who translated what, where, and when), we inherit a tradition in which the historian’s task is to *interpret*

facts, to construct narratives, and to thus make the past newly meaningful (Rizzi, Lang & Pym 2019: 7).

To counter the suggestion that translation history is no more than a species of data collection, Hayden White's distinction between a bare set of events and historical narrative is apposite. He contends that an historical account must do more than deal in real events according to the chronological sequence in which they occurred. The events must be narrated, namely, 'revealed as possessing a structure, an order of meaning that they do not possess as mere sequence' (Hayden White 1990: 5).

Bandia rehearses a familiar criticism that translation history is often viewed as secondary to translation studies and translation historians 'as mere archivists whose main task is to record and document the various trends and discourses that hold sway within the ever-expanding discipline of translation studies' (Bandia 2006: 46). Bandia counsels that in order to avoid the charge of journalism or a linear recounting of past events, translation historians should view themselves more as historians rather than as translation scholars. Thus, Bandia urges translation historians to adopt a two-pronged approach by combining the study of translation with the academic discipline of history (Ibid: 46).

In reconstructing the lives of two relatively unknown Irish translators, the thesis aims to produce a translation microhistory that will also draw upon the broader historical context. This perspective endorses the approach adopted by Cronin in *Translating Ireland* in which he explicitly aspires to 'a discursive history of translation in Ireland that pays particular attention to the social and political contexts of translation' (1996: 2). In addition, Cronin's admonition to translation historians in *Translation and Identity* 'that any history of translation must be a "transnational" history rather than a "national" history' will be borne in mind (Cronin 2006: 23). This objective has resonated with other scholars, such as Leech, who has highlighted the role of translation in a transnational circulation of ideas in the Enlightenment (2022: 408). In a similar vein, O'Connor has proposed, in *Translation and Language in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (2017), a translation history that 'offers a different perspective of a transnational Ireland in contact with Europe rather than a country confined to difficult dialogues with Britain' (2017: 14).

A transnational focus is especially apposite in relation to Madgett and Sullivan's diasporic activities. They migrated from Ireland to France and were able to access educational and

professional opportunities through translation which were not available to Catholics in eighteenth-century Ireland (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141; GR/2YE/3853/26). Their bilingual skills also enabled them to participate in a transnational movement of Irish nationalism that became more militant through the last decade of the eighteenth century, namely the United Irishmen (Bartlett 1993: 7; Foster 1988: 271).

Can the tension between the two disciplines be reconciled, or at least harnessed to coherent effect in translation history research? Translation historians have disagreed about this. Rundle criticises translation historians who move away from specific historical context in order to seek patterns as part of a general theory of translation, or a universal history of translation (2011: 35). Batchelor similarly criticises the mere accumulation of historical data in search of translation trends and favours a historical narrative that provides insights into a particular political or cultural context (Batchelor 2017: 8).

O'Sullivan introduces a discussion on the relationship between history and translation studies in a special issue of *Translation Studies* in 2012 by emphasising that Rundle's aspiration for translation history is to enable it to contribute to our understanding of a particular moment in history (2012: 132). The subsequent debate between Rundle on the one hand, and Delabastita on the other hand, crystallises the argument (Rundle 2012: 232-248).

Rundle distinguishes between an approach to translation which enriches a particular historical subject and a theoretical history of translation incorporating a level of abstraction that denies specific historical context (Rundle 2012: 234). He cautions that the perils of a rigid translation studies approach stem from its focus on the act of translation and its detachment from the historical context (Ibid: 236).

Rundle is critical of Venuti's reductionist approach whereby entirely different historical contexts are 'pigeon-holed' into the discourse of translation studies (Ibid: 234). He contends that such an approach leads to translation history that is devoid of historical insight. Rundle also rejects Toury's putative objective for translation history as an explanation and a prediction (Ibid: 235). He disagrees with Toury's treatment of translation as though it were a natural phenomenon because this leads to instances of translation scattered across centuries being configured into a general history of translation. In Rundle's view, the result may present a false unity to translation history, if shorn of historical context (Ibid: 236).

Whereas Rundle does accept that some degree of generalisation is possible, the focus should be on the specific historical circumstances in which translation agents operate and a wider understanding of their role in that historical context (Ibid: 236). This approach resonates with Footitt's rejection of any assumption that the position of interpreters in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are likely to be similar to other conflicts, because each conflict has its own 'peculiar context' (Footitt 2012: 218-219).

Rundle argues for a contextualised approach more focussed on a non-presentist reconstruction of the past. Accordingly, he posits translation history as an approach to a given historical subject rather than an object of enquiry in its own right (Rundle 2018: 242-243).

Delabastita takes issue with what is perceived as Rundle's excessively binary approach and introduces helpful nuances to the debate. An historical perspective should not preclude the possibility that translational behaviour may disclose a certain degree of generality or 'universality' (Delabastita 2012: 247). He contends that the same material can be viewed from both viewpoints which can be overlapping, complementary and mutually enlightening (Ibid: 246). Why erect an interdisciplinary wall that he terms artificial and unhelpful? (Ibid: 248). Delabastita's plea for more interdisciplinary engagement seems apposite: translation research requires more historical contextualisation, but historians also require more, not less, of the insights which translation studies can offer (Ibid: 248).

Rundle subsequently acknowledged that his original position in 2012 was perhaps too extreme. He modified his approach in 2014 and appears to envisage complementarity, rather than exclusion:

The key, in my opinion, is to see translation *both* as a historical object in its own right and as an approach to interpreting other historical subjects, on the understanding that the introduction of this latter approach (without excluding the former) is a necessary step towards developing a genuinely interdisciplinary discourse on translation history (Rundle 2014: 7).

This resonates with the perspective of Bastin, Echeverri and Campo, who have argued cogently that translation can provide an alternative lens on the materials of history, particularly in relation to the influence of translation on the history of Hispanic America (Bastin, Echeverri & Campo 2010:43).

Footitt goes a step further and argues prescriptively in the context of conflict studies, for a deliberate engagement with the relevant historiography (2012:221). She concludes that historical contextualisation of conflict is key to an understanding of how languages operate in war (Footitt 2012: 228).

Rafael articulates a warning that any generalisation about the role of translation in situations of conflict is problematic, at the risk of losing significant elements of historical specificity (2016: 34). A particular feature of the historical context of this study is that Madgett and Sullivan were recruited as translators by the newly established French Republic in a time of revolutionary turmoil (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). Another important feature is that France and Britain were at war for the entire period of Madgett and Sullivan's engagement by the French government between 1793 and 1803 (Gough 1990: 8, 11; Doyle 2018: 429).

Burke, the cultural historian, has also participated in the debate. He has referred to the growing historicity of translation studies as the 'historical turn' (Burke & Po-chia Hsia (eds) 2008: 2). Notably however, that turn has not been reciprocated by historians turning towards translation (Ibid: 3). He draws an interesting analogy: 'Historians mediate between past and present and face the same dilemmas as other translators, serving two masters and attempting to reconcile fidelity to the original with intelligibility to their readers' (Ibid: 7).

A recent contribution to this debate is Leech's study of translators in *Cosmopolitanism, Dissent, and Translation: Translating Radicals in eighteenth-century Britain and France* (2020) in which he examines the role of polymath translators in the history of transnational radicalism in the eighteenth century. Leech refers to the two fundamentally different approaches outlined by Rundle, namely, treating translation as a self-contained historical subject, or, alternatively as a means of interpreting history. He opts for the latter, interdisciplinary approach in his Introduction, on the basis that it considers the significance of translation within a defined historical context and consequently, it provides a lens on the past (2020:14).

Accordingly, Leech embarks on his exploration of eighteenth-century radical philosophy through the prism of translation, focussing on the agency of prominent, individual translators. Another interdisciplinary research project encompassing translation studies and history, in Kings College, London, is entitled *Radical Translations: The Transfer of Revolutionary Culture between Britain, France and Italy (1789-1815)*. That project aims to produce a

prosopography of 250 translators from the French Revolutionary era, together with a database of some 500 translations. Its purpose is to examine how activist translations enabled democratic movements to reach a wider, transnational public (Perovic 2021: 1; Mucignat & Perovic 2023: 1). For Perovic, the lack of mutual engagement between the disciplines amounts to a relationship of ‘missed encounters’ (2021: 1).

There seems to be no reason why an interdisciplinary study embodying translation studies and history cannot be mutually enriching, without prioritising one discipline over the other. Delisle argues that the great moments of translation are grounded in history (2012: 62). Rundle proclaims that one of the objectives of historians of translation should be to introduce the insights that the study of translation can bring to a wider community of cultural historians who tend to neglect translation (2011: 33).

The intersection of translation studies and history will be addressed in a spirit of complementarity. The thesis will consider how Madgett and Sullivan mediated through translation the contact between, Wolfe Tone, the leader of Irish nationalism, and the French political hierarchy. The influence of translation will be explored in that context. A case study will examine Nicholas Madgett’s translations of Wolfe Tone’s Memorials to the French government in 1796 from a translation studies perspective, but also from the perspective of the history of transnational Irish republicanism. As Philip Wilson has observed in his chapter in the *Routledge Handbook of Translation History* entitled ‘The philosophy of history and translation,’ translations, translation statements and histories of translation cannot be read in a vacuum but must be read ‘in history’ (2022: 221).

We will discuss the proposition put forward by Rundle and Leech that by connecting translation to a broader historical context, translation becomes a prism through which historical events can be viewed (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 45; leech 2020: 14). The thesis will then consider the more intractable question whether translation may sometimes influence historical events. The answer to the principal research question also has potential historiographical implications which will be addressed.

2.2 Biography: translator/ translation

Just as translation history is enriched by a broader historical focus, translators and translations should not be mutually exclusive either. The present interdisciplinary study moves

beyond the life of the text to the life of the translator and will consider the dual agency of the translator and of translation. Translation historians have recognised that translations cannot be considered or properly understood in isolation from the translator (Pym 1998: ix; Delisle 1999:1; Chesterman 2009: 13).

Not all translation historians agree. Bastin, Echeverri & Campo appear to discount the notion that examining the life of a translator is a way of analysing a translation. They cite translations into Spanish of French Declarations of the Rights of Man from 1789 and 1793 as having contributed to the emergence of the liberation movements in Hispanic America. In doing so, they assert the primacy of the text over the role of the translators themselves as agents (Bastin, Echeverri & Campo 2010: 49, 63).

This however appears to be a minority approach. Delisle's *Portraits de Traducteurs* (1999) and *Portraits de Traductrices* (2002), together with Delisle and Woodsworth's study entitled *Translators Through History* (2012) represent the modern focus on the translator, which emphasizes the importance of the context in which the translation is produced (Delisle 1999:2). Telling the story of a translator's life is a way of providing the vital historical context, without which the translations cannot be properly understood (Delisle 2002: 2). This approach is pithily stated by Delisle thus: 'Une traduction n'est pas le produit d'un être désincarné' (1999: 4) [A translation is not the product of a disembodied being.].

Tymoczko explains that it is necessary to 'minutely situate the translation in its cultural context' in order to fully understand it (Tymoczko 2010: 235). One might add a variant of that proposition: a study of the translator enriches our understanding of the translation. Tymoczko synthesises the evolution of translation studies in this respect as follows:

The studies have clearly established that translation is much more than a matter of transfer and communication. In turn, as presumptions about linguistic fidelity and the communicative values of translation have given way to deeper investigations of how translations work within cultural systems and how they are shaped by historical and geopolitical frameworks, the role of translators as active figures in history, art, politics, ideology and belief systems has become ever more manifest (Tymoczko 2010: 7).

This thesis will proceed on the basis of a microhistorical study of the two translators and an analysis of their translations, interpreted in the light of the cultural and political milieu in which they emerged. It will be suggested that a broader historical canvas can assist in understanding their translation practice. As Bassnett and Lefevere observe, all translation has a double historical context:

[...] translation, like all (re)writing is never innocent.
There is always a context in which translation takes
place, always a history from which the text emerges and
into which a text is transposed (1990: 11).

In seeking historical context, this study will not be imposing any single interpretative framework, nor proposing any prescriptive theory of translation history. Rather, O'Sullivan's call for methodological pluralism is to the point (O'Sullivan 2012: 133). For example, we will pay close attention to the few, precious statements and reflections by the two translators on their translational roles and how they contributed to the French Revolutionary project. Adamo's eloquent rallying call to let the translators speak for themselves is salutary:

The more fundamentally sound effort might be to recover
the many silenced voices of translation without imposing
an overly strict interpretive model that would efface their
complexity and richness (2006: 93).

This is especially important in relation to both Madgett and Sullivan, as they sometimes went beyond what Tymoczko asserts translators do, namely, elect to speak or act indirectly via their translations (Tymoczko 2010: 232). On occasion, both Madgett and Sullivan communicate their political positions explicitly, as both were committed to the cause of the United Irishmen. The thesis will explore their personal agency in an age when translation was increasingly politicised (Chappey & Martin 2017: para. 29).

Madgett and Sullivan did more than simply translate political texts. Chapter six will discuss a wide range of confluent professional functions performed by the translators, all of which were dependent on translation. Accordingly, the discussion of the influence of translation will take account of the totality of the translators' roles.

2.3 Role of microhistory

What does microhistory offer the translation historian? What is the role of microhistory in this research? In an article entitled *The Invention of MicroHistory*, Burke offers a definition of microhistory as ‘any study of the local or small-scale that is undertaken in order to illuminate larger problems’ (Burke 2008: 262). Adamo, one of the founders of microhistory, contends that the marginal cases of individual human agency must be prioritised in order to avoid the grand narrative (2006: 81). Richard Cobb, not consciously a microhistorian, presented a study of the French Revolution through the prism of individual experience rather than institutional narrative in his work entitled *Reactions to the French Revolution* in 1972 (Cobb 1972: 14).

A priority of this research is to unearth and assess as many as possible of the primary sources authored by, or which mention or are attributable to the translators, however insignificant those sources may appear. Such an approach is arguably an integral part of all historical research on translation, and not exclusively the province of microhistory. Translation historians have embraced microhistory, though not always with the same intent. In his introduction to Munday’s article on *Microhistory and Translation* (2014: 64), Rundle sees microhistory as offering a workable methodological basis for translation history (2014: 5). More recently, Rundle observes that the founding, Italian voices of microhistory, including Carlo Ginzburg, see microhistory as a reaction to the dehumanised, impersonal, social history of the first generation of the *Annales* school (Rundle 2018: 238). More broadly, Burke sees the development of microhistory as a critique of macro-history and a postmodern reaction to the loss of credibility in the grand historical narrative (2008: 264). Olohan also emphasizes the critical attitude of translation studies to the grand narrative and to any linear or teleological notion of progress (2014: 15).

The key point is the application of microhistory to translation. Munday includes translators amongst the cohort of ordinary people whose lives deserve to be studied (2014: 66). The portraits of Madgett and Sullivan in this research do take inspiration from microhistory, whilst remaining alert to the importance of connecting to a broader landscape. Magnusson emphasizes that one of the distinguishing features of microhistory is the linking of the individual to a broader context, without which it has little value (Magnusson 2006: 29, 35). Ginzburg warns that the results obtained in a microscopic sphere cannot be automatically transferred to a macroscopic sphere, and vice versa (Ginzburg 1993: 33).

Munday acknowledges the importance of making the connection between the micro and macro level. He favours a detailed microhistorical account of the lives of the translators that builds up a picture of their interaction with institutions and power structures, thereby enhancing the history of translation (Munday 2014: 77). Wakabayashi endorses a complementary approach that shifts back and forth between the macro and micro scales, a strategy also favoured by Burke (Wakabayashi 2018: 253; Burke 2001: 293). That interaction holds the key: the historical contextualisation of a translator's life may elucidate how history can complement translation studies. Rundle, in his chapter on 'Temporality' in *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge*, calls for an intermediate position in translation history that combines large explanations with microhistory (2018: 240). In support of that compromise, Rundle cites the term coined by Little, 'meso-history', which Little explains as 'a middle way between grand theory and excessively particularistic narrative' (Little 2010: 92).

Burke sounds a timely warning, namely, that unless microhistory provides a link between the particular and the general, 'it might become a form of escapism, an acceptance of a fragmented world rather than an attempt to make sense of it' (Burke 2001: 117). Burke has commended Schama's *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (2004) as a successful example of a historical narrative moving between the two levels (Burke 2001: 294). A similar compliment could be paid to McPhee's study, *Liberty or Death: The French Revolution* (2017).

Burke urges historians to pay attention to the different kinds of gatekeepers who connect local communities to the outside world (2001: 117). Burke's approach seems apposite in this context, although he was not adverting to the position of translators *per se*. A microhistorical profile of the two translators will draw upon the approach adopted by Rundle and Burke and will endeavour to reveal the full complexity of the socio-political context of their work. On that basis, the thesis will assess the political impact of the translators and of translation and seek to contribute to the literature on translation history. Furthermore, that assessment may have ramifications for the history of transnational Irish republicanism in the 1790s.

3. Methodology

The principal primary sources for this thesis are drawn from three French archives, namely *Les Archives Nationales* [The National Archives], *Les Archives Diplomatiques* [The

Diplomatic Archives] and *Le Service Historique de la Défense* [The Military Archives]. This is hardly surprising given that Madgett and Sullivan spent their entire adult lives in France. The Diplomatic Archives contain the largest volume of contemporaneous documents of relevance, including in particular the files headed *Correspondance Politique Angleterre* ('CPA'), which contain most of Madgett's translations and political advices while in full-time government service.

The French National Archives also house many relevant, primary records, including the political files of the Directory, police reports and two files of press translations, mainly completed by Sullivan (AF/III/58/228; AF/III/229). One might have expected to find these latter documents in the Diplomatic Archives, as press translation was part of the explicit mandate of the Foreign Ministry (AF/III/52-55/213). The French National Archives also contain the reports by Foreign Minister Delacroix on the purge of his staff after the *Vendémiaire* coup in late 1795 and the oath swearing ceremony in January 1796 whereby translators swore allegiance to the Republic (Ibid.).

The Military Archives in Vincennes have a smaller volume of relevant sources, though Sullivan's personal file there contains precious material such as a record of his French citizenship and personal testimonials from the military academy in La Flèche and the local Jacobin Club (GR/2YE/3853/26).

Primary sources are scattered across three national archive deposits, without any centralised file on translation or translators. Adamo points out that because translation practices were generally marginalised, records were never coherently or systematically organised (2006: 92). Traces of the translators extend across a wide variety of sources including police reports, press translations, political advice and intelligence reports. The work of reconstruction is difficult and the result necessarily fragmentary, with substantial gaps in the chronology from time to time. For example, there is very little archival record of Madgett's activities before he enters the national political arena in 1792 aged fifty-four. Equally, there is no personal correspondence from Madgett, though four such letters to Madgett from his nephew John Sullivan in 1794 have been traced (AN/W/548). One suspects Madgett may well have penned correspondence relating to the recruitment of his nephew into government service in 1793, though none has been found.

As Munday observes, when it comes to translation, exclusion of material from archives seems to have been the norm (2014: 71). Traces of the translator are difficult to find, often only discovered by chance (Ibid.). Fortunately, there are small but important personal files on both Sullivan and Madgett in both the Diplomatic and Military archives, though these files were not compiled because Madgett and Sullivan were translators and constitute only an incomplete record of their professional activities (AAE/Pers/1/47; AAE/Pers/1/65; SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632/Madgett; GR/2YE/3853/26).

Almost all the primary sources consulted are in manuscript form, many of which are only available to read on microfilm. In Sullivan's case, this does not present a difficulty as his handwriting is distinctive and clear. Madgett's handwriting, in contrast, is difficult to read and at times illegible, especially the large file of political advice which he furnished to the Minister for the Navy in 1799 and 1800 (AN/Mar/G/242).

Some of the documents, including the translations, are signed, but many are unsigned. It is possible to attribute many documents to either Madgett or Sullivan on the basis of their distinctive handwriting, though attribution is generally not attempted where the script leaves ambiguity or doubt as to provenance. Examples of documents both signed and unsigned by the two translators appear in Appendices 16 to 19.

The stories of these two translators will be embedded into a broader historical landscape. Secondary sources on occasion act as a substitute for gaps or omissions in the reconstruction drawn from primary archival material, for example in relation to Madgett's role in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 (Paine 1945: 1502; Keane 1995: 482).

A cross-section of translations attributable to Madgett and Sullivan with matching originals has been transcribed from archived manuscripts and reproduced as parallel texts in Appendices 1 to 13. The parallel texts complement a detailed analysis in chapter five of these translations, which span the period 1794 to 1801.

4. Existing research

This thesis represents a new departure in translation history. It is the first interdisciplinary microhistory of an Irish translator. Máirtín Mac Niocláis's Irish language biography entitled *Séan Ó Ruadháin: Saol agus Saothar* (1991) traces the life and work of Ó Ruadháin, a native Irish speaker from County Mayo who was an Irish scholar, teacher and translator. He wrote a

novel in Irish entitled *Pádhraic Mháire Bhán* (1936) and translated at least three English books into Irish, including *David Copperfield* (1938). However, the biography by Mac Niocláis does not take an interdisciplinary approach and so does not contextualise the author/translator in the broader history of Ireland in the early decades of the twentieth century through which he lived.

This research involves a detailed consideration of primary sources relating to the lives and working practices of the two translators. The focus will be not only on the agency of the translator, but also on the historical impact of translation. Two scholars, Mathieu Ferradou and Sylvie Kleinman, have approached the contribution of Madgett and Sullivan in different ways. Each has concluded that Madgett was a figure of some importance in Franco-Irish relations of the period and thus he has been rehabilitated from the disparaging verdict of Marianne Elliott that Madgett's tongue-wagging and drunkenness were a threat to French policy towards England (1982: 84). Ferradou has examined in detail the political history of a network of Irish radicals in France during the 1790s in his lengthy doctoral thesis (2019), and more recently in his article on the historiography of the genesis of the French expedition to Ireland in 1796 (2022). He places Madgett at the heart of that network and has unearthed much previously unseen historical detail on both Madgett and Sullivan, for example from police files. However, translation is secondary to his research and indeed, he specifically disavows any translation studies perspective (2019: 433). In the few mentions of their translations or their cultural agency, he defers to Kleinman's analysis (Ibid: 370, 433, 443, 489, 549).

The purpose of Kleinman's pioneering doctoral research in 2005 is a sociolinguistic study of language barriers in contacts between United Irishmen and Revolutionary France, with particular emphasis on foreign language acquisition (2005: 1). A related objective of that study is to examine how linguistic intermediaries, including Madgett and Sullivan, contributed to the historiography of 1798 (2005: 311). In presenting short profiles of Madgett and Sullivan, Kleinman references the agency of the translators but does not address the relationship between history and translation studies, and so does not consider how their translation activity may be situated in the literature on translation history. Kleinman's later research again addresses some of the roles assumed by the translators, but does not position their work by reference to the historiography of translation or consider their translations in detail (2012: 25; 2017: 5 and 2018: 203). Kleinman asserts that Wolfe Tone's Memorials led to the French Directory's decision to launch a military expedition to Ireland in 1796, though there is no elaboration as to

how the translations of those Memorials produced such an effect (2018: 218). Kleinman's perspective is primarily that of a historian rather than a translation studies scholar.

The ambition of this thesis goes beyond the parameters of the scholarship to date and aims to produce a translation microhistory of Madgett and Sullivan embedded in the historical context of the period. A cross-section of their eclectic body of translations dating from 1794 to 1801 will be examined, including press translations and one of Madgett's commercial translations completed away from government service. There will also be a detailed consideration of the broader confluent roles they undertook which were underpinned by translation and which illuminate the multimodal nature of their agency.

As outlined in the review of the literature on translation history, Rundle and Leech posit that translation may be viewed as a prism through which to view history, but the further question articulated in this research is whether translation may also produce an impact at a momentous point in Franco-Irish history. The exploration of that question seeks to contribute to the literature on translation history. Particular features of this study, detailed below, also set it apart from existing research. New biographical material on the two translators will be woven into their microhistories and will elucidate the complexity of their lives. Madgett and Sullivan are not defined exclusively by what happened in France or Ireland in 1798; rather their place in translation history falls to be assessed across a broader transnational spectrum, encompassing the final decade of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth-century.

Translations with matching texts not previously examined will be discussed, especially the translation of the Report of the Meeting of Catholics in Dublin in April 1795 (CPA/588/494). There will be a new analysis of Madgett's most noteworthy translations, namely Wolfe Tone's two Memorials to the French Government in February 1796 (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). The place of rhetoric in relation to the impact of Madgett and Sullivan's translations will be explored.

Archival research will yield information not previously reported on Madgett's family history and the family connections between Madgett and his nephew John Sullivan (NLI/mf/04269/01; NLI/mf/04270/05). The only surviving personal correspondence between uncle and nephew in 1794 will be reviewed (AN/W/584). The correspondence between Sullivan and the French army *post* 1798 will also be considered (GR/2YE/3853/26). Some notable archival records

explain how Delacroix organised translation in the Foreign Ministry in 1795, placing Madgett and Sullivan close to the centre of political power. Previously unexplored primary sources include Delacroix's report on the *post Vendémiaire* purge of his staff in late 1795 and his account of the oath-swearing ceremony involving all employees, including translators, in January 1796 (AF/III/52-55/213).

Ferradou has referenced the personal statements furnished by Madgett and Sullivan in the context of that purge (2019: 512, 555). Kleinman has also mentioned Sullivan's statement (2017: 13-14). These statements are now considered in detail.

Whereas Ferradou and Kleinman both mention the press translations, the present study will consider in detail the provenance, subject matter and political significance of the prolific spate of translations from London newspapers in 1795 and 1796 (Ferradou 2019: 570, 611; Kleinman 2005: 80, 107-108; 2012: 29).

An internal British army document not previously reported in the scholarship sheds new light on Sullivan's release from British custody in Ireland after Humbert's surrender in 1798 (HO/42/45/55). The lengthy but neglected file from naval archives containing Madgett's advices on Ireland and Louisiana in 1799-1800 is examined (AN/Mar/G/242), as is Madgett's previous advice to the Directory in 1796 on US affairs (CP-EU/45). Finally, Madgett's biography of the Duke of Marlborough published in 1808 is discussed, including the dispute concerning copyright. In a brief reference to it, Kleinman speculates that Madgett may have earned royalties, but a detailed review of the sources discloses a more complex and contentious story (2005: 83-84).

The study will examine a number of translations with matching texts that have not been previously considered, or mentioned only briefly in the scholarship. These include:

1. William Jackson's correspondence with Madgett in 1794 which contains coded references to Madgett (MV/GG/1/58/32). Kleinman has considered this material in historical terms but not from a translation studies perspective (2005: 113-114);

2. Madgett's translation of a Report of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street Church, Dublin on 9 April 1795 which was published by James Haly in 1795. This was not only a report of a significant political meeting, but the translation by Madgett conveyed it transnationally to the French political elite (CPA/588/494);

3. Translations of extracts from the English press by Madgett and Sullivan have been generally given little attention, although both Kleinman and Ferradou acknowledge that this was an important activity (Kleinman 2005: 80, 107-108; 2012: 29; Ferradou 2019: 570, 611). It has not been possible to match every press translation with the original newspaper article, as both the digital and hard copy holdings of eighteenth-century British newspapers are incomplete. Trinity College Dublin has an extensive, but by no means complete, digital archive of eighteenth-century newspapers in the Burney Collection. It has, however, been possible to examine a number of Sullivan's press translations against corresponding original texts.

There are significant gaps in the holdings in Trinity College Dublin for the year 1796 of *The Courier*, the Opposition newspaper that Sullivan used frequently in translation as a source of military and political news. The British Library holdings of *The Courier* for 1796 are equally incomplete, but fortunately, the Bodleian Library in Oxford has a limited number of hard copies of *The Courier* for that year, including reports from County Armagh that were translated by Sullivan and are addressed in chapter five.

4. Madgett's co-translation with Barère of Walter Moyle's Essay on Roman Government in 1801, which Kleinman mentions (2017: 9), is also reviewed in detail.

5. Previously unidentified shifts in Madgett's translations of Tone's two Memorials to Delacroix dated February 1796 will be discussed in detail (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). It will be suggested that these shifts may be viewed as the components of a narrative which enhances the rhetorical dimension of Tone's Memorials in translation.

Appendix 15 will catalogue for the first time all extant translations signed by or attributable to Madgett and Sullivan including dates, primary source references and subject-matter.

5. Structure of thesis

The microhistory of the Irish translators Nicholas Madgett, and his nephew, John Sullivan will form the basis of the first four chapters. Their personal odysseys from County Kerry to revolutionary Paris will be traced with as detailed an account as primary sources permit. This material will be presented as a single reconstruction, rather than as two separate narratives, because Madgett and Sullivan are intertwined by ties of family, nationality, circumstance, professional activity and political outlook. Even if one were to narrate two entirely separate stories, these would flow concurrently from time to time, particularly when the translators

worked in close proximity in a newly established Translation Section under Foreign Minister Delacroix in 1795 and 1796, but also, to a lesser extent, when both were attached to the Navy Ministry and, subsequently reported to the Committee of Public Safety, between 1793 to 1795 (AF/III/52-55/213; AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). Throughout the 1790s, they were both affected by the same social and historical forces that shaped the destinies of those who lived and worked in revolutionary France. Some historians view Napoleon's assertion of power in 1799 as the end of the Revolution (Gough 1990: 11), though the fortunes of the two Irishmen will be followed up to their final days into the early part of the nineteenth century.

The first chapter will progress from the translators' origins in County Kerry to the early years of the French Revolution which witnessed their engagement with the forces unleashed by that Revolution and saw them plot a course through what Rapport terms 'the precariously shifting sands of revolutionary politics' (2000: 111). Madgett established his republican credentials to become Head of Translation in the Navy Ministry in 1793 when France and Britain went to war (AF/III/28/97/133). He extended the translator's mandate to include propaganda and intelligence (CPA/587/20; CPA/587/43). By 1794, Madgett was reporting directly to the powerful Committee of Public Safety during the Terror, which brought increasing suspicion of foreigners. He projected Irish affairs up the political agenda and advised the Committee on what translations should be prioritised (AAE/PERS/1/47/85).

His nephew, John Sullivan, after teaching for a number of years in a prestigious military school in La Flèche, joined his uncle in government service and was immediately dispatched to Brittany for two years (GR/2YE/3853/26). He assisted the war effort, among other things, by providing intelligence through the translation of seized documents but also by interviewing captured English and Irish prisoners (AF/III/28/97/141). In addition, he composed republican propaganda which he arranged to be smuggled into England on prisoner exchange ships (Ibid.).

Chapter two continues the narrative from 1794 with an account of how Sullivan rescued a leading United Irishman, Hamilton Rowan, from jail in Brittany and brought him to Robespierre in Paris (CPA/588/274). The professional paths of uncle and nephew converged fully when both were recruited to the Translation Section in the French Foreign Ministry in late 1795 (AF/III/52-55/213). Their political allegiances were kept under scrutiny, particularly after

the failed royalist *Vendémiaire* coup (Ibid.). Their connection to Madgett's cousin, Madgett II¹, who was tried for espionage, fuelled official suspicion about their bona fides (AN/F/7/7107; AN/W/584). Their translations of the English press are discussed in some detail (AF/III/58/228; AF/III/229).

Chapter three sees the translators reach a new level of influence under Foreign Minister Delacroix, especially after the arrival of Wolfe Tone in Paris in early 1796 (AF/III/52-55/213). Their linguistic and political contribution to Tone's successful negotiations with the French leadership will be explored, with particular reference to Madgett's translation of the two Memorials to the French Government drafted by Wolfe Tone (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173).

In chapter four, the translators' fortunes decline, as each was in turn dismissed from government service (Masson 1877: 388; AAE/Pers/1/65/58). The biographical journey continues into the late 1790s and beyond, when their lives were marked by increasing insecurity. Madgett managed to provide ad hoc advice to the Navy Minister on Irish affairs (AN/Mar/G/242) and published a couple of commercial translations (Taylor 1801; Moyle 1802). He had a mysterious role in the sale of Louisiana by France to the United States in 1803 (Paine 1945: 1502; Keane 1995: 482). As late as 1808 at the age of seventy, Madgett published a three-volume biography in French of the Duke of Marlborough at Napoleon's request (Coxe 1818: vii).

As for Sullivan, he relied almost entirely on the loyalty of General Humbert, under whom he had served on the ill-fated French expedition to County Mayo in 1798 (GR/2YE/3853/26). He secured a series of temporary commissions in the French army as Humbert's *aide de camp* and was continually denied a promised promotion to the rank of Captain, before his untimely death from yellow fever in 1802 on a Napoleonic expedition in Saint Domingue (Ibid.).

A detailed analysis of Madgett and Sullivan's translation practice follows in chapter five. A functionalist approach, with its emphasis on the pragmatic function of translation and the needs of the end users, will provide a useful, though by no means all-embracing, framework for that analysis. That chapter will consider in particular how political allegiances influenced the work of the translators. The adjustments, including omissions and additions, together with occasional commentary, will be explored as part of their translation strategies.

1. I have adopted Ferradou's nomenclature to distinguish Madgett II, the informer, from his namesake and cousin, the translator (Ferradou 2019: 42).

Chapter six reflects on the body of interdisciplinary material presented in the first five chapters and proposes a response to the main research question. Factors bearing upon the assessment of the political influence of translation include the status of Madgett and Sullivan as institutional translators, the potency of rhetoric in translation and the convergence of political circumstances. The response to the main research question will include a case study on the political influence of Madgett's translations of Wolfe Tone's two Memorials to the French Government in February 1796 (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173).

Madgett and Sullivan did much more than simply translate. Chapter six also discusses the full range of their professional activity by reference to the confluent functions they carried out for the French leadership, all of which were inconceivable without translation. Did those functions complement or enhance the impact of the translations?

The volatile political climate of France during the 1790s presented opportunities for translators, but also imposed constraints. Chapter six will conclude by considering the decline in their personal and professional circumstances and will reflect on the paradox of translation as an activity that was both supported and neglected by the French authorities.

Before setting off on a biographical journey through the late eighteenth century, the principal research question is restated. Did the translations of Madgett and Sullivan and the related, confluent roles which they assumed exert a political influence on historical events in France in a time of Revolution and war? It is this question that will guide an exploration of the lives and work of Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan.

Chapter 1 Translation in the Shifting Sands of the French Revolution

1.1 Nicholas Madgett : from County Kerry to Paris

The biographical portrait of Nicholas Madgett will begin by tracing his life prior to the outbreak of Revolution, a task made difficult by the paucity of primary sources on which to draw. His granduncle, James Madgett, was the father of the Catholic Bishop of Kerry, also named Nicholas Madgett (1703–1774). James was said to have been a Protestant whose own father had arrived with Cromwell’s army (O’Connor 2003: 182; Manning 1976: 70; Woods 2009: 219). Nicholas Madgett, the future Catholic bishop and uncle of the translator, was born in 1703 in the townland of Ballinorrig, near the village of Causeway in north Kerry (Manning 1976: 70; King 1931: 229). The Madgetts were landowners there, and also in Tralee in the eighteenth century, according to records of property transactions in the Registry of Deeds. A lease of lands in Ballinorrig dated 20 July 1752 was granted by Maurice Crosby, a well-known landlord, to John Madgett and others (Registry of Deeds, TB 160: 556). That transfer was witnessed by an ‘Andrew Madgett of Tralee’ (Ibid.).

Woods has doubted the Protestant lineage of the Kerry Madgetts on the basis that in the Civil Survey of 1656, which was a record of all landholdings in Ireland at that time, a Madgett appears in a list of papist landowners in the barony of Corkaguiny in County Kerry (Woods 2009: 219). However, other scholars take a different view. Manning contends that James Madgett was a ‘strict’ Protestant who sent his son Nicholas, the future Catholic bishop, to study medicine in Paris and was allegedly surprised to find his son had converted to Catholicism and was ordained a Catholic priest (Manning 1976: 70-71). O’Connor states that this Nicholas Madgett, the homonymous uncle of the translator, was part of a ‘well-established protestant family’ and adds that his mother’s Catholicism may have been a factor in Madgett’s conversion (O’Connor 2003: 182). Allman notes, without citing a source, that Madgett reputedly converted his own father to Catholicism on his death bed (Allman 1983: 23).

As a university student in Paris, Nicholas Madgett, the future Bishop of Kerry, had ruffled both theological and royal feathers by his unqualified support for a papal bull, *Unigenitus*, which had been promulgated in 1713 (Doyle 2018: 54; O’Connor 2003: 192). *Unigenitus* was

perceived by Jansenists to promote papal interference in the affairs of the national ‘Gallican’ church (Woods 2009: 219; O’Connor 2003: 187). Jansenism was a more austere form of Catholicism that promoted the superiority of the national church over the papacy (McPhee 2017: 30; Schama 2004: 92). Irish clerical students in Paris in this period were accused by Jansenists of having a ‘servile’ attitude to the papacy (Sanfey 2013: 181). Madgett’s support for the papal bull was also deemed to be insufficiently deferential to royal authority. Two of the three theses he was required to submit to the University of Paris to earn a degree in theology were the subject of a reprimand by the Parlement of Paris, and then by the Chancellor, before eventually being accepted with amendments in 1733 (O’Connor 2003: 182; O’Connor 1998: 91; Manning 1976: 71; Woods 2009: 219). The French state was prepared to tolerate foreign clergy provided they did not threaten the orthodoxy of the national church (Rapport 2000: 60).

According to Woods, Madgett completed a book on moral theology in Latin, with some words of English and Irish (Woods 2009: 220). Madgett returned to the diocese of Ardfert, County Kerry in 1734, as a parish priest in Tralee and served as Bishop of Kerry from 1753 until his death in 1774 (O’Connor 2003: 183; Manning 1976: 71; Woods 2009: 220).

The Bishop’s nephew, Nicholas Madgett, the translator, was born in 1738 (AF/III/28/97/133). It has not been possible to identify his parents or his place of birth. King states, without authority, that the bishop had a brother who was a naval officer, leading Woods to suggest somewhat tentatively, that perhaps this brother was the father of Nicholas Madgett, the translator (King 1931:229; Woods 2009: 220).

The translator belonged to a family which probably had Protestant ancestors, but, more immediately, an uncle who was a prominent Catholic clergyman and with whom he would share the benefit of a French university education. By the time the future translator set foot in France in 1749, aged eleven, he was part of a Catholic family.

Baptismal records from the first half of the eighteenth century from County Kerry have not survived, but strong connections between the Madgett and Sullivan families based on Catholic baptismal records in the parish of Tralee in the 1770s suggest that Ellen Madgett was a sister of the translator and John Sullivan’s mother (NLI/mf/042691; NLI/mf/04270/05). These connections, which have not previously come to light, are explored in more detail in the

following section on John Sullivan's short but hectic life. Nicholas Madgett, the translator, was probably born in either Causeway, or Tralee, County Kerry.

Madgett was sent to Paris in 1749, aged eleven, to study in two well-known academies, the *Collège du Plessis* and the *Collège de Navarre*, according to a precious personal statement he submitted to the Commission investigating the *Vendémiaire* coup in 1795 (AF/III/28/97/133). The *Collège du Plessis* was attached to the Sorbonne since 1646 (Compère 2002: 302). Both the *Collège du Plessis* and the *Collège de Navarre* taught a general course in Latin and Greek humanities, the normal preparation for students aspiring to a career in the Church. Madgett probably received a good grounding in Latin at those academies (Brockliss and Ferté 1987: 531).

Waquet comments that a child starting in a *Collège* of this kind in eighteenth-century France was entering a 'deeply Latin world' (Waquet 2001: 8). Madgett entered Toulouse University in 1760 and obtained a doctorate in theology in 1764. He was ordained a priest in 1767 (Brockliss & Ferté 2004: 43). He was following the educational footsteps of his uncle, the Bishop, but more broadly, he was also following a long line of Irish Catholics who were educated on the continent in the eighteenth century in universities such as Paris and Toulouse, many as clerical students (Ferté 2010: 292).

Kevin Whelan has analysed Irish emigration to continental Europe, particularly France and Spain, as encompassing three distinct groups, namely, priests, merchants and soldiers (Whelan 2009: 306). Ferradou estimates that around eleven thousand Irish students attended Paris University alone in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Ferradou 2016: 122). Whelan's examination of the clergy is relevant to Madgett's personal trajectory. On the eve of the Revolution, there were 348 Irish clerical students in France out of a total of 478 being educated abroad. 180 of these were in Paris (Whelan 2009: 310; Brockliss & Ferté 1987: 529). In this way, the Irish Catholic hierarchy ensured a continuous supply of educated priests in Ireland (Brockliss & Ferté 1987: 528-529).

It is not known how Madgett's family were able to afford an education of this kind in France. His uncle of the same name, soon to be appointed Bishop of Kerry, may have assisted, but this is unsubstantiated in archival records. Brockliss and Ferté point out that Irish clerical students attending the University of Paris in this period were funded from a) scholarships provided by

wealthy Irish expatriates, bishops and merchants, b) the university's own foundation and c) from private family means (Brockliss & Ferte 1987: 533-534).

Nicholas Madgett's younger brother, John Madgett, also studied in Toulouse University and became a parish priest in the Diocese of Ardfert, where he was given the parish of Tralee in 1770 by his uncle, the Bishop (de Brun 1985: 100, 103). John Madgett was included in a list of papists in 1776 who had sworn an oath of allegiance to the crown (TCD List). This marked him out as the polar opposite of his brother, the translator, who, in time, would swear an oath, in the service of the French Foreign Ministry, vowing eternal hatred of royalty (AF/III/52-55/213/1).

Nicholas Madgett taught Philosophy and Mathematics in Toulouse and Bordeaux Universities for 20 years prior to his return to Paris in 1783 (AF/III/28/97/133). The records of the *Collège Royal de Guyenne*, an academy with close links to the University of Bordeaux, state that he was a 'professeur de philosophie', at least from 1768 to 1773, when he began to draw a pension from the Collège (AD Gironde/D/24). However, in an episcopal survey of the diocese of Bordeaux which Madgett signed in 1772, aged thirty-four, he himself states that he had taught Philosophy in the *Collège de la Madeleine* from 1765 to 1772 (AD/Gironde/G/558/336). That *Collège* was incorporated into Bordeaux University in 1763 by royal decree (Gaullieur 1874: 508). It appears that the *Collège de la Madeleine* was merged with the *Collège de Guyenne* in 1772 (Gaullieur 1874: 516).

Madgett also held a *bénéfice* [a church appointment] in the parish of Civrac, near Bordeaux from 1769 to 1772, having previously served in other parishes adjacent to Bordeaux (ANOM/COL/E/295; AD/Gironde/G/558/336). Little is known about his professional activities during the pre-revolutionary period. He was reputedly a good classical scholar, or as the nineteenth-century literary historian Cyrus Redding puts it, 'he had some judgment in the classics' (Redding 1858: 95). Redding cites approvingly Madgett's views on points of Latin grammar, but also records that Madgett corresponded with 'the disaffected' in Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century (Ibid: 95).

There is evidence of contact during those years between Bishop Madgett and his namesake and nephew, who was then teaching in Bordeaux. Handwritten notes in the Bishop's *Ordo* [liturgical diary] for the year 1772 record that he wrote to 'Nick Madgett' in Bordeaux in March and July 1772 (*Ordo* 1772, UCD Special Collections 44.L.33; Power 1926: 354). A

further *Ordo* for the year 1774 contains a handwritten note referring to correspondence with ‘Doct Madgett’ (*Ordo* 1774, Diocesan Archives, Killarney; Reidy 1940: 58). These are the only archival references that have been found to the translator having received family correspondence from Ireland.

Madgett suffered financial loss in a failed commercial transaction in the 1770s (ANOM/COL/E/295; Ferradou 2019: 100-102). As a result, he returned to Paris in 1783, where he earned his living through translation, teaching foreign languages and work as a private tutor (AF/III/28/97/133). These professional activities probably involved translation from English into French and vice versa. In addition, as a classicist of some repute with a doctorate in theology, it is likely he had some experience of translation from Latin.

On 13 May 1785, and in two subsequent submissions in 1787, Madgett sought compensation from the Minister for the Navy, Castries, for the substantial losses he suffered in a commercial venture in 1776 (ANOM/COL/E/295). He had borrowed up to 60,000 livres, equivalent to approximately two thousand six hundred pounds (Teague 2016: 63), from various creditors in Bordeaux, which included the wine merchant of Irish descent, Barton. Madgett was left with enormous debts which he had to pay off by pledging his pension from the *Collège de Guyenne* and the income from his *bénéfice* in Civrac parish. Ferradou notes that his creditors in Bordeaux included a number of Irish merchants (2019: 101). *Collège de Guyenne* records disclose that Madgett had transferred the capital value of his pension to one of his Bordeaux creditors, a merchant of Irish descent named Mitchell in 1776 (AD/Gironde/D/24). It is unclear why the requests for compensation were made so many years after the losses were incurred.

The response from the Navy Minister to Madgett’s requests for compensation made in 1785, and again in January 1787, was the same: this was a speculative venture which did not involve the interests of the State (ANOM/COL/E/295). In his second request to the Minister for compensation in 1787, Madgett asks that any reply from the Minister be sent to Drouet, the secretary to the Baron de Besenval, on the basis that Drouet was ‘un parent du suppliant’[a relative of the claimant’s] (Ibid.). It has not been possible to corroborate this relationship from any other source. Ferradou argues plausibly that Madgett may well have been a private tutor to the Baron’s children, having tapped into aristocratic French families with Irish connections (Ferradou 2019:102–104). A review of Besenval’s three-volume memoirs does not, unfortunately, disclose any reference to Madgett (Besenval: 1805).

Madgett may have been employed by the prominent French politician Bertrand Barère at his newspaper, *Le Point du Jour*, on the eve of the Revolution, as suggested by Kleinman, though this is unsubstantiated (2005: 87-88). Barère, like Madgett, took a keen interest in English politics, as Barère's numerous reports to the Committee of Public Safety on England testify (Barère 1842 Vol 1: 114). Madgett certainly had a later, professional association with Barère, as two commercial translations on which they collaborated were published in 1801 (Taylor 1801; Moyle 1802).

On the outbreak of the Revolution, there was little to presage the rise of a provincial academic and priest to a position of prominence in the French Foreign Ministry, nor indeed the propaganda and counter-intelligence service he would help to establish for the Committee of Public Safety and the Directory (AF/III/28/97/133).

There are no archival records of Madgett's activities during the early years of the Revolution before 1792, when he entered the public arena. Events in the Irish College in Paris in late 1792 provided him with an opportunity to demonstrate his allegiance to the newly inaugurated Republic. As an ordained priest with a doctorate in theology, he had witnessed radical changes in the status of the Catholic Church since the beginning of the Revolution. Tithes and seigneurial rights were abolished in August 1789. In November 1789, Church property was nationalised (Doyle 2018: 430). The Irish College in Paris was however exempt from nationalisation on the basis it was a foreign College (Rapport 2000: 106).

The reforms of the French church heralded by the Revolution must have had an impact on both Madgett and Sullivan. Madgett had lectured in theology but had also worked in a parish near Bordeaux, whereas Sullivan had spent nine formative years teaching in a school run by an enlightened Catholic order, the *Doctrinaires*. Tackett describes the reforms as a 'state sponsored assault on Christianity' (Tackett 2006: 536).

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was introduced on 12 July 1790. The oath of loyalty to the Constitution, required of all clergy on pain of losing office, led to a profound split in the French church (McPhee 2017: 125). Refractory priests were considered counter-revolutionary (Tackett 2006: 548). It is not known if Madgett ever took the constitutional oath. He had to pledge his clerical income to his creditors in Bordeaux in the 1770s which suggests that he may have continued with clerical duties until his return to Paris in 1783. The suggestion that he left the priesthood after the adoption of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790 is plausible,

though unsubstantiated (Kleinman 2005: 86). A report from the Paris Commune into events at the Irish College in Paris in October 1792, detailed below, describes him as an Irish priest (AN/F/17/1399).

Unfortunately, primary sources do not explain how Madgett reconciled his Catholicism with revolutionary politics, though his association with the activist priest, the Abbé Grégoire, may shed some light. In 1793, Madgett produced a paper on education entitled *Réflexions sur l'Instruction Publique*, in which he expounds his views on the teaching of logic, Latin grammar and philosophy. Madgett's personal statement to the Commission investigating the *Vendémiaire* coup in 1795, indicated that he had given this paper to the Abbé Grégoire (AF/III/28/97/133). Extracts from the paper were published in Borrelly's *Journal de l'Instruction Publique* in 1793 (Borrelly 1793: 321). For Grégoire, it was possible to be a priest and a revolutionary. Priests who supported the Revolution were known as 'les prêtres patriotes' [patriot priests]. They could identify the principles of the Revolution as the principles of the gospel: freedom, equal rights, fraternity and the sovereignty of the people (Hermon-Belot 2001: 92). Grégoire, as the defender of the Jews, an enemy of slavery and an advocate of racial equality, demonstrated how a priest could also be a man of the Enlightenment (Popkin 2000: ix). Ferradou has argued cogently that Madgett embodied a synthesis of Enlightenment philosophy and Catholicism, and contends that his association with the Abbé Grégoire strengthens this hypothesis (2016: 123-124).

By 1793, many priests were pressured into leaving the priesthood (Tackett 2006: 553). By 1795, Madgett was certainly not promoting his religious credentials and was instead describing himself as a Republican on principle for thirty years, though that declaration of his political affiliation was made in the heat of the *Vendémiaire* purge, discussed later (AF/III/97/133).

Events at the Irish College in Paris formed part of Madgett's political education. Massgoers at the College had been intimidated by the radicalised local residents during the autumn and winter of 1791-1792 (Ferradou 2016: 123). On 10 August 1792, the same day that a mob stormed the Tuileries leading to the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the establishment of the new Republic (Doyle 2018: 189), a gathering of *sans culottes* forced their way into the Irish College in Paris, identifying the superiors Walsh and Kearney as counter-revolutionaries (Ferradou 2019: 74-75). The continued presence of a refractory religious institution in a radical part of Paris was seen as provocative, even though the Irish College was technically

exempt from the requirement to swear the oath of loyalty to the Constitution (Ferradou 2016: 123). These local events were mirrored in the Assembly, where a decree was passed on 23 August 1792 ordering all refractory priests to leave France within seven days (McPhee 2017: 159). The majority of refractory Irish clergy subsequently left France (Loupès 1990: 33). An estimated thirty-five thousand clergymen left France in the summer of 1792 (Tackett 2006: 550). In Ireland, the reverberations from the Revolution were felt throughout the 1790s, with the Catholic hierarchy doing everything in its power to stop every manifestation of the ‘French disease’ (Keogh 1993: 200).

The regular clergy in France was split almost evenly, though most bishops refused to take the oath and many left France (Tackett 2006: 545). In the Gironde region, for example, Irish priests were divided in equal numbers on the issue of taking the oath (Rapport 2000: 107). They fled to either Spain, or to Ireland (Ibid: 168). Though there is no archival evidence of Madgett taking the oath, Paris was a strong oath-taking region (Tackett 2006: 546; MCPhee 2017: 125). Refractory priests were viewed as counter-revolutionary and in league with foreign enemies (Tackett 2006: 548, 550).

By 29 October 1792, the battle lines were drawn between conservative and republican factions within the Irish College in Paris, to some extent a microcosm of national politics in France. A portion of the Paris police file on the Irish College is headed ‘*Violences et Désordres commis dans ces deux maisons*’ [Violence and Disturbances in these two establishments] (AN/F/17/1399). Madgett was elected on that date by the republican students in the College as the ‘administrateur du temporel’ [secular administrator], in an election overseen by officials from the Paris Commune (AN/F/17/1399; Ferradou 2019: 67).

In the official report by the Commune, Madgett is referred to as ‘Citoyen Nicolas Madgett prêtre irlandais ancien curé & préfet des Etudes dans une maison irlandaise sise en province’ [Citizen Nicholas Madgett Irish clergyman former parish priest & dean of studies in an Irish College in the provinces] (AN/F/17/1399). Rapport asserts that Madgett’s election was a move orchestrated by pro-revolutionary students (Rapport 2000: 168). Walsh and Kearney, the incumbents in the Irish College, resisted, with Walsh claiming to the police that Madgett’s appointment was unlawful (AN/F/17/1399). Kearney complained to Lebrun, the Foreign Minister, that Madgett had accompanied the Commune officials to the Irish College and had himself appointed as Superior of the College (Ferradou 2019: 87). Rapport does suggest that

Madgett had replaced Kearney as the Superior of the College, though there are no records of any active involvement in the affairs of the College in the subsequent months as Madgett moved to the national stage (Rapport 2000: 168).

This was arguably Madgett's first documented political act, though Kleinman has contended this was his slightly later attendance at the celebrated dinner of foreign radicals in White's Hotel on 18 November 1792 (Kleinman 2012:28 and 2018: 207). The students may well have been emboldened by the proclamation of a Republic by the newly elected Convention, on 21 September 1792 (McPhee 2017: 165). Ferradou asserts that events in the Irish College in Paris in 1792 show that Irish republicanism was developing a synergy with French republicanism (2019: 122). Though the police report of the internal election in the Irish College in October 1792 refers to Madgett as an Irish priest, his increasingly republican political profile may have been sufficient to dispel any suspicion of a refractory sympathy. Indeed, it seems likely that Madgett had taken the constitutional oath, as the Paris Commune would hardly have lent such support to a refractory priest so soon after the legislature had ordered the expulsion of all clergy who refused to swear the oath.

The battle over control of the Irish College continued on 3 November 1792 when Madgett applied to the Parisian authorities to force Walsh to hand over Irish College documents (Ferradou 2019: 112). Kearney's riposte came on 20 December, when he denounced Madgett to the Convention as having led a coup of Kerry students in order to take control of the College's money (DDA/121/8/1). Although Kearney and Walsh reasserted control over the College, this had no bearing on Madgett's standing. He moved to the national arena by joining the Ministry of the Navy as a government translator the following spring (CPA/587/20).

Madgett's political activity did not diminish. Rapport argues that the overthrow of the Monarchy had further radicalised politics and 'challenged the basis of foreign patriots' loyalty to the Revolution' (Rapport 2000: 175). Madgett's allegiances were unequivocal. He attended the dinner of foreign supporters of the new Republic held in White's Hotel, Paris, on 18 November 1792 (Ferradou 2019: 512). Another Irish republican in Paris who was an ex-priest, William Duckett, also attended the dinner. He had sided with republican students in the dispute in the Irish College and became the first French government agent to visit Ireland during the revolutionary period, when he was sent there by Lebrun in 1793 (Bartlett 2018: 84; Ferradou 2019: 196, 369, 400).

White's Hotel in Paris was the political milieu inhabited by Madgett before he entered the service of the new republican government in 1793 (Ferradou 2019: 512). The Hotel was a meeting place for British and other foreign radicals (Elliott 1982: 60). These included John Hurtford Stone, who printed works by Thomas Paine, Joel Barlow and Helen Maria Williams in both English and French from his Parisian printing press (Leech 2020: 147). Madgett recommended Stone's printing press to the Committee of Public Safety in early 1794, for the purpose of printing important texts in translation (AAE/PERS/47/89).

The dinner in White's Hotel on 18 November 1792 represented a public demonstration of solidarity by radicals from England, Ireland, America and France in support of the new Republic in France, but also the anticipated Republics in Ireland and elsewhere (Bartlett 2018: 80). Thomas Paine mingled with Nicholas Madgett, and also two aristocratic Irish radicals, Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur Dillon (Ferradou 2019: 184, 512). Bartlett analyses the significance of the dinner, and the subsequent Address by foreign radicals to the Convention, in the following terms:

United Irish radical reformers in Dublin and Belfast, Irish and British republicans in London and Paris, and French revolutionaries were making common cause (Bartlett 2018: 80).

Madgett had demonstrated his republican principles in the dispute over control of the Irish College in Paris, but he would now make those allegiances clear in a national context. An Address by English, Scottish, and Irish radicals dated 24 November 1792 declared solidarity with the recently proclaimed French Republic and was presented to the Convention on 28 November 1792 (AN/C/241). Sixteen Irishmen, including Edward Fitzgerald and Madgett, signed this document in support of the new Republic, which declares an ambition to liberate Europe from tyranny and slavery. It also aspires to a close union between the French Republic and England, Scotland, and Ireland (Ibid.).

Madgett translated a tract by the English radical, Robert Merry, on the nature of republican government entitled *The Nature of a Free Commonwealth*, which was presented to the Constitutional Committee of the Convention in late 1792, with the French title, *Réflexions politiques sur la nouvelle constitution qui se prépare en France, adressées à la République* [Political reflections addressed to the Republic on the new constitution being prepared in France] (Merry 1792; Rogers 2016:154). Merry's contribution was well received by the

Convention (Mavidal et Laurent 1900: 174; Adams 1962: 31). He advocates popular participation at every level of the political process and sees the French example of democracy as the only hope (Mee 2016: 122). There are no records to explain why this particular text was chosen, or indeed how Madgett came to present a translation of it to the Convention. Madgett would later attest to Merry's loyalty to the French Republic in March 1793, when he provided the Foreign Minister Lebrun with a list of trustworthy foreign residents who might be recruited in support of the Revolution, a list on which Merry's name was included (CPA/587/20).

From 1 February 1793, France and Britain were at war (Doyle 2018: 432). In February 1793, the revolutionary periodical *Les Révolutions de Paris* reported on observations made to the Convention by an unidentified but sympathetic Englishman, on how to wage war with England (Ferradou 2019: 203, 447). The observations include a suggested committee of pro-French, bilingual English, Scottish and Irish '*patriotes*' who would counter falsehoods about France being propagated by the English and, in addition, would send their agents to the French ports where they could instruct captured English sailors on the principles of freedom and equality. Prisoners sent back to England by way of exchange could bring with them written republican propaganda that would enlighten the English population. These observations, both in their tenor and substance, bear strong similarities to the counter-intelligence and propaganda strategies Madgett developed shortly afterwards while in government service. In a phrase strongly suggestive of Madgett's *modus operandi*, the author has this to say about the effectiveness of the printed word:

car qu'ils soient vainqueurs ou vaincus dans le combat
matériel & physique, les imprimés feront toujours leur
effet.

[whether it wins the physical battle or not, the printed
word will always have an effect]
(*Les Révolutions de Paris* 1793: 298–299).²

The 'sympathetic Englishman' was probably Madgett, as Ferradou has surmised (2019: 203, 447). With these two interventions at national parliamentary level, Madgett was building up trust with his future patrons, namely, the French leadership. Political reliability was linked to linguistic competence (Rizzi Lang & Pym 2019: 10–11, 22).

² In general, translations longer than one line are set out in separate, indented paragraphs in this thesis.

It is difficult to trace exactly the evolution of Madgett's political philosophy. There is no record of his connection with the institutional church continuing after the commencement of the Revolution. If Madgett's public activities between October 1792 and February 1793 were intended to persuade the authorities of his republican credentials, they succeeded, as reflected in Madgett's recruitment into government service.

The first known traces of the life journey of Madgett's young nephew and fellow Kerryman, John Sullivan, will now be outlined to the point where his career converges with that of his uncle as a full-time French government translator in the Navy Ministry in 1793 (AF/III/28/97/141).

1.2 John Sullivan: from County Kerry to Paris via La Flèche

The first part of John Sullivan's story will focus on the early years which he spent in the *Collège de La Flèche*, near Angers, as a teacher of English and Mathematics. He combined a political apprenticeship in the local Jacobin club with a stint fighting for republican forces in the internal conflict in the Vendée. He also applied successfully for French citizenship (AF/III/28/97/141; GR/2YE/3853/26).

John Sullivan was born in 1767, according to the records of his employer in 1795, the French Foreign Ministry (AF/III/52-55/213/1). Catholic baptismal records in the parish of Tralee, County Kerry begin in 1772, so no record of John Sullivan's baptism survives. However, an examination of those records for the parish of Tralee, County Kerry in the 1770s has revealed close connections between the Madgett and Sullivan families. Ellen Madgett and Patrick Sullivan had two children baptised in that parish in 1773 and 1774. Reverend John Madgett is listed as a godparent at the christening of Catherine Sullivan, born on April 18th 1773 to Patrick Sullivan and Ellen Madgett (NLI/mf 04269/01). The same John Madgett is subsequently recorded as the officiating priest at the baptism in Tralee on August 22nd 1774 of Patrick Sullivan, born to the same parents, Patrick Sullivan and Ellen Madgett (Ibid.). Other records from the same parish disclose a number of ceremonies involving and witnessed by members of the Madgett and Sullivan families (NLI/mf 04270/05). John Madgett was a brother of the translator Nicholas Madgett, as De Brun points out from the records of Toulouse University where both Madgetts were educated (De Brun 1985: 100). Accordingly, it seems

likely Ellen Madgett was John Sullivan's mother and a sister of the translator Nicholas Madgett. Sullivan was probably born in the parish of Tralee, County Kerry.

Concrete, documented proof of Sullivan's existence begins with his employment in the *Collège de La Flèche* in 1785 as an English teacher (GR/2YE/3853/26). He stated to the Commission investigating the *Vendémiaire* coup in November 1795 that he arrived in France in 1783 at the age of sixteen (AF/III/28/97/141). Later correspondence between Sullivan and the Directory in April 1799 discloses the following:

...que j'ai été élevé en France, que j'y réside depuis seize ans sans interruption (GR/2YE/3853/26).

[...that I was brought up in France, that I have lived there continuously for sixteen years.]

This suggests that he had been educated in France during his earlier years, and indeed it is difficult to imagine how he could have arrived, aged eighteen, at a prestigious French military school to teach English, without having previously spent some time in France in order to acquire, at least, a working knowledge of French. No other records survive to shed light on his earlier life, or where he was educated. Nor is there any trace of Sullivan's religious education, though his employment in a school run by a Catholic order suggests he may well have received a Catholic education. It is possible that Madgett played some part in arranging Sullivan's education, though it is unlikely Madgett funded it in the light of his own financial difficulties. Sullivan's own family could hardly have afforded a foreign education, as in correspondence in 1794 with his uncle, Sullivan gives a bleak account of the poverty of his immediate family in Kerry (AN/W/584). This is hardly surprising. Arthur Young in his *Tour in Ireland in 1776 and 1777* describes the state of the poor in County Kerry as 'exceedingly miserable' (Young 1892: 369). Sullivan went to France to make a better life, as underprivileged families from a poor region of the country could generally expect little from an anti-Catholic administration. However, Madgett may well have had a hand in securing a teaching position for his young, talented nephew.

The *Collège de La Flèche* was a school run by the *Doctrinaires*, a Catholic teaching order whose full title was 'les pères de la doctrine chrétienne' [the Christian Doctrine Fathers]. The *Doctrinaires* were one of the three, prominent Catholic teaching orders in ancien régime France, along with the Jesuits and the Oratorians (De Viguerie 1995: 913). The Jesuits were

expelled from France in 1764 at the behest of Parisian Jansenists (Compère and Julia 1988: 380; Doyle 2018: 54). The *Doctrinaires* took over the *Collège de La Flèche* in 1776 (Compère and Julia 1988: 386). They sent their best teachers to the school. As the government education inspector Reynaud reports in 1787, it was an excellent school with high academic standards (Compère and Julia 1988: 387; De Montzey 1866: 243). A local government inspector in 1793 describes the school as a place of enlightenment where the teachers were committed to freedom and equality (Calendini 1911: 123). Alumni included General Clarke, a prominent French military figure with whom Wolfe Tone engaged in 1796 in advance of the ill-fated French expedition to Bantry Bay in December of that year (Clère 1853: 237; Tone 2001: 110).

In 1789, at the beginning of the Revolution, the school had a teaching staff of six ‘professeurs’ [teachers], including one teacher of Mathematics (Compère and Julia 1988: 380). The *Doctrinaires* themselves all took the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which had been introduced in July 1790 as part of a series of measures to subordinate the Catholic Church to the revolutionary government (Compère and Julia 1988: 387). The Digard papers archived in the Bibliothèque du Prytanée in the *Collège de La Flèche* also confirm that the *Doctrinaires* in that academy all swore the oath in 1791 (Fonds Digard/251/2/265).³ Thus, Sullivan spent the years between the age of eighteen and twenty-six in a school run by an enlightened Catholic teaching order which had adapted to the secularisation of French society.

What remains unclear is whether he himself was a *Doctrinaire*. The decision of the Municipal Council of La Flèche declaring him a French citizen in February 1793 records that he entered the school in 1785 as a *Doctrinaire*, but the basis for that statement, namely the school reference signed by the principal, Maurin, and some of the teachers, does not so describe him (GR/2YE/3853/26). That reference dated 7 September 1795 gives a short synopsis of his teaching career at that institution. He began as a teacher of English in September 1785, aged eighteen, and continued in that role until November 1788. From November 1788 to November 1792, he taught Mathematics, after which he worked as a substitute teacher until September 1793. There are no records to explain how or why he became a Mathematics teacher at the age of twenty-one, having taught English for the previous

³ Raoul Digard, a French Army officer and alumnus of the *Collège de La Flèche*, completed an unpublished manuscript history of the institution in October 1900 entitled *Histoire de la Maison d'Éducation de La Flèche*, which is kept in the library of the *Collège*. Unfortunately, Digard does not cite his sources, many of which may have been either lost or destroyed.

three years in the school, but it can be assumed that he was completely fluent in oral and written French by this point.

Furthermore, this was a prestigious professional position, as Mathematics had become the major discipline in the network of military schools established in France in the eighteenth century, which in turn contributed to Mathematics exerting a strong cultural influence in French society (Karp & Schubring 2014: 138). A special chair in Mathematics had been established in La Flèche in 1764 (Bailey 1978: 88). By the time Napoleon set about reorganising French secondary education in the early nineteenth century, Mathematics and Latin were the core subjects (Gispert 2014: 230). Sullivan's prowess at Mathematics was endorsed further when he translated a textbook on longitude during his mission in Brittany, presumably at the request of the French military (AN/W/584).

A much later reference dated 6 April 1801 contains supportive comments about Sullivan having taught Mathematics to several students who went on to serve with distinction as officers in the French army (GR/2YE/3853/26). Indeed, the reference from the principal of the school dated 7 September 1795 states

...il a montré constamment le zèle et les talents qui lui
ont mérité la confiance publique (Ibid.).

[He consistently demonstrated the commitment and
ability which justified public confidence in him.]

The date of that reference suggests Sullivan may have required it for a post as translator in the French Foreign Ministry in the autumn of 1795, although he had already been recruited into the Ministry of the Navy for bilingual work in 1793 (AAE/PERS/1/65/58). Sullivan might well have stayed on at the *Collège de La Flèche*; it was a prestigious school and, he had bought property in the locality (GR/2YE/3853/26). However, that institution was closed down as a consequence of two government decrees, the first dated 18 August 1792 abolishing secular religious congregations including the *Doctrinaires* (Frijhoff and Julia 1981: 158), and the second dated 9 September 1793 ordering the immediate closure of all military colleges (de Montzey 1866: 285-286). Sullivan successfully applied for French citizenship in February 1793 (GR/2YE/3853/26).

Despite the closure of the school in 1793, Sullivan had acquired valuable professional competence as a teacher between 1785 and 1793, skills which he complemented with a

political apprenticeship. A glowing testimonial from the local political club, *La Société Populaire de La Flèche* [The Popular Society of La Flèche], dated 23 March 1794, states that Sullivan had taken part in political discussions at the club, and praises his revolutionary and patriotic fervour:

dans tous les discours qu'il a prononcés dans la Société il
a cherché à Eclairer ses concitoyens et à alimenter le feu
du Patriotisme (GR/2YE/3853/26).

[In all the speeches he made to the Society, he
endeavoured to enlighten his fellow citizens and to kindle
a spirit of patriotism.]

Sullivan may well have learnt the power of oratory as he, and other local Republicans, preached revolutionary values. Schama argues that it was in the popular societies that most Frenchmen were initiated into the language of revolutionary politics (Schama 2004: 448).

The testimonial from the political club further records that Sullivan had, in September 1793, enlisted in the republican military effort against the royalists in the conflict in the Vendée. The advent of constitutional clergy had acted as a catalyst of regional discontent (Schama 2004: 592). Many refractory priests, viewed as enemies by republican loyalists, took part in uprisings in the Vendée and other regions of western France (Tackett: 551). Sullivan was, for reasons not disclosed in that testimonial, exempt from conscription, but nonetheless, he volunteered to join the republican ranks to fight the royalists (GR/2YE/3853/26). Sullivan would have been aware, from his active role on the government side in the conflict in the Vendée, that the unrest was inspired in part by the Revolution's religious policies (McPhee 2017: 176; Tackett 2006: 551). During the Terror, there was widespread suspicion of the clergy (Ibid: 552). Rapport describes a climate of 'seething anti-clericalism' in respect of foreign clergy (Rapport 2000: 166).

Sullivan is said to have acquitted himself well during that campaign as a gunner, according to a separate French army reference dated 20 December 1794 (GR/2YE/3853/26). His decision to volunteer in September 1793 came at a time when the Committee of Public Safety had ordered a 'levée en masse' [general conscription] in August 1793 in the context of the war with Britain, Prussia and Austria (Gough 1990: 8–9). Indeed, his commitment to the republican cause in fighting the counter-revolution was not forgotten by the military authorities and was

noted in much later correspondence between the War Ministry and the Directory in January 1799 (GR/2YE/3853/26).

1793 was indeed a turbulent year in the French Revolution and how events unfolded in the west of France near La Flèche would have had a direct impact on Sullivan. The counter-revolutionary movement which originated in the Vendée had spread north to the Loire valley to reach La Flèche by the summer of 1793, when the royalists occupied the town briefly in June of that year and used the *Collège* as a military hospital (Frijhoff & Julia 1981: 159). Royalists massacred republicans in the Loire valley (Sutherland 1985: 167). However, the counter-revolution was crushed later in 1793. In the autumn of that year, the royalists were defeated in Angers and Le Mans (Sutherland 1985: 219).

The experience of the counter-revolution led to repression and the Terror of 1793–1794, when power became centralised in the Committee of Public Safety and dissent was eliminated with the aid of the Revolutionary Tribunal (Gough 1990: 8–9). In a time of war, foreigners became increasingly subject to surveillance and restrictive government measures (Rapport 2000: 187). The testimonial which Sullivan received from the political club in La Flèche was indeed a remarkable document, as it had been signed by a member of the local *Comité de Surveillance* [Watch Committee] in La Flèche who was also attached to the War Ministry (GR/2YE/3853/26). The entire country was on a war footing as the Republic faced down its enemies without and within (Gough 1990: 9). The earlier cosmopolitanism of the French authorities towards foreigners in 1791 and 1792 was now replaced by the more exclusive patriotism of the Terror (Rapport 2000: 186, 206). Were it not for his French citizenship, Sullivan would have been subject to new restrictions.

Sullivan was still teaching at the *Collège de La Flèche* when he applied to become a French citizen. The decision of the Municipal Council of La Flèche dated 7 February 1793 granting French citizenship to John Sullivan is an important milestone in his odyssey through the different phases of the Revolution (GR/2YE/3853/26). As Rapport observes, citizenship was now a legal right, subject to conditions, and was no longer a royal prerogative (Rapport 2000: 86). The Council's decision notes that Sullivan had complied with the requirements of Article 3, Section 2 of the French Constitution of 1791. Under that Article, a foreigner could acquire French citizenship if he 1) had resided in France continuously for five years, 2) had purchased

property in France or had started a business and 3) had sworn the civic oath of loyalty to the Constitution. Consequently, the Council declared him a French citizen.

Sullivan could now face the challenges of survival through the next phase of the Revolution involving repression, the Terror and increased controls on the freedom of foreigners with not just a glowing reference from the school, but with proof of his French citizenship. Together with the political experience of the local *Société Populaire* and his military service in the campaign against the royalists, he was now well equipped to pursue a career in the service of the French state alongside his uncle, notwithstanding Rapport's observation that it was never more dangerous for foreigners to be involved in revolutionary politics (Rapport 2000: 235).

In the next section, Madgett and Sullivan progress to full-time translation positions in government service, each taking up multifaceted, bilingual roles.

1.3.1 The 'Bureau de Traduction'

Despite the growth in the market for translated books across Europe in the late eighteenth century (Oz-Salzberger 2014: 48-51), translation received inconsistent recognition in the Foreign Ministry during the revolutionary period. Masson has tracked some of the administrative manoeuvrings which involved translation in that Ministry. The Bureau des Traducteurs, established in 1764 by Edme-Jacques Genet, and headed subsequently by his son Edmond Charles Genet, was disbanded in 1787. Translation in the Foreign Ministry then became a decentralised, ad hoc activity (Masson 1877: 42-43).

It is impossible to confirm Sullivan's assertion in 1796 that Madgett and he formed the core of a new translation 'bureau' [section] in the Navy Ministry in 1793 (AF/III/28/97/141). That 'bureau' was subsumed into the powerful Committee of Public Safety by April 1794, comprising Madgett as Head and seven translators. Thus, there was once again a dedicated translation 'bureau' (Masson 1877: 318, 339). In November 1795, Delacroix transferred the same translation section from the Committee of Public Safety into the confines of the Foreign Ministry (AF/III/52-55/1).

The term 'Bureau des Traductions', or variants of that term, appear in some primary sources of the period. Ferradou refers to the propaganda and intelligence activities of the Bureau, though it never enjoyed an established institutional mandate (Ferradou 2019:

430,441,443, 487). In reality, it was through the personal endeavours of Madgett that propaganda and intelligence activities were organised under his watch as Head of Translation, as Ferradou acknowledges (2019: 641). The translation 'Bureau' did not have any kind of permanent institutional structure.

Madgett may have been referred to as the 'chef du bureau de traduction' [Head of the Translation Section] in a political submission to the government in 1795, but this did not reference an institution of the State (CPA/588/480). Even though a police report mentions Madgett as 'chef du bureau des traductions des relations extérieures en comité de salut public' [Head of the Foreign Affairs Translation Section in the Committee of Public Safety] (AN/F/7/7107), a number of official organisational charts of all Foreign Ministry staff, including translators, which were prepared by the Minister Delacroix in late 1795, are revelatory: they do not describe the translators as collectively comprising a 'bureau'. Rather, the charts demonstrate that translation in the Foreign Ministry was simply an administrative division listing seven translators which could be swept away on a ministerial whim (AF/III/52-55). That this translation section had no institutional or permanent status was indeed demonstrated by its sudden abolition in July 1797 by Delacroix on budgetary grounds, which also resulted in the termination of Madgett's employment by the government (Masson 1877: 388).

1.3.2 1793: Madgett in government service

During the most tumultuous period of the Revolution, Madgett, and subsequently Sullivan, were recruited as translators by the new republican government (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). In the early modern period, full-time salaried translators were a rarity, as translation was usually combined with teaching languages, interpreting and writing (Burke 2008: 13). Both translators quickly assumed a broad range of duties. From the outset, Madgett extended the brief to include espionage and propaganda, which was hardly surprising in a time of war (CPA/587/20; CPA/587/45). Although the term propaganda might seem presentist in this context, Burke has argued that the term is culturally appropriate, even though technically anachronistic, by reference to writers working in the service of Louis XIV (Burke 2008: 8).

Madgett was recruited by Dalbarade to the Navy Ministry in early 1793 as the 'chef du bureau de traduction' [Head of the Translation Section], according to his testimony to the Commission

established in October 1795 into the failed *Vendémiaire* coup (AF/III/28/97/133). It may well be that by the time he addressed the Convention on how to wage war with Britain in early February 1793, he was already installed as a translator in government service. It is clear from this testimony and from contemporaneous documents in the Diplomatic and National Archives that Madgett was also, from the outset, actively engaged in liaising with secret agents sent by the new Republic to travel through other European countries, especially Britain. He himself confirms that he was in charge of correspondence with those secret agents (AAE/PERS/1/47/83; AF/III/28/97/133). Translation and intelligence gathering were compatible, interdependent activities.

The first official communication from Madgett in the French Diplomatic Archives is his memorandum to Foreign Minister Lebrun, dated 13 March 1793 (CPA/587/20; Kleinman 2005:109, 2012:29, 2017:14 and 2018: 210; Ferradou 2019: 443-444). Three days previously, Parisian militants had challenged the authority of the Convention on the streets of Paris, demanding the removal of the more moderate *Girondins* ministers (Rapport 2000: 134-135). The insurrection was quickly put down, but not until the mob had smashed two *Girondin* newspapers in Paris (Schama 1989: 607). Madgett's memorandum contains his blueprint for propaganda and counter-espionage that was adopted by Lebrun in an atmosphere of increasing xenophobia (CPA/587/43).

Madgett reports that there was a network of English spies in Paris, who informed London of the names of English radicals and oversaw their arrest and imprisonment as they passed through Dover. Madgett is alert to the portrayal in England of the 'French epidemic', of French 'cannibals' mistreating captured English sailors and observes that these were the methods used by the English government to 'sustain its despotism'. He proposes the setting up of a Committee of British republican sympathisers in Paris to root out English spies, and to station such persons also at the ports, in order to recruit captured English sailors⁴. He further suggests sending a number of patriots to England, and especially to Ireland, in order to disseminate the principles of freedom and equality, in other words a propaganda mission involving the distribution of pamphlets. He puts forward William Jackson as a suitable person for such a mission (CPA/587/20). Jackson was an Irish nationalist who had been the editor of the opposition newspaper, *The Public Ledger*, in the 1770s (Bataille 1985: 525).

⁴ The terms 'British' and 'English' are used synonymously in many primary records of the period.

The submission to Lebrun discloses Madgett's understanding of his wide brief as a 'translator'. What Madgett proposes is a double strategy of disruption and infiltration, combining counter-espionage and propaganda: disrupt the network of English spies operating in France but also disseminate revolutionary principles in England, a much-deployed blueprint in subsequent secret missions and plans for invasion. It is also notable that Madgett, though employed in the Navy Ministry, features prominently in the correspondence of the Foreign Ministry (CPA/589/20; CPA/589/45). In reality, Madgett's reach extended across both government departments, and in time, would also encompass the Committee of Public Safety in which power was increasingly concentrated during the Terror (Gough 1990: 8).

Lebrun agrees with Madgett's blueprint, praising Madgett for his '*civisme*' and compliments him on the spirit of his initiative: 'vous parlez le langage d'un vrai patriote' [you speak like a true patriot] CPA/587/43). *Civisme* was a term used to denote a sense of citizenship and loyalty to the revolutionary order established in France at that time (Académie Française 1798: 767). Madgett was quickly becoming a trusted adviser. Lebrun then asks for the names of reliable English fellow travellers to be recruited into Madgett's committee of English revolutionaries in Paris (CPA/587/43). Madgett responds promptly on 22 March 1793, noting that all English press correspondents in Paris were spies (CPA/587/45). He provides the Minister with a list of twenty-two English and Irish Paris-based patriots who had shown *civisme*. Such recruits for a new English revolutionary committee in Paris would maintain surveillance on suspected British spies, not only in Paris, but also in the French ports. He also takes the opportunity to denounce Kearney, Walsh, and Maher in the Irish College in Paris for operating a nest of counter-revolutionaries and refractory priests. Indeed, Madgett does not hold back. He accuses the three principals of the Irish College of not only conducting illegal ordinations and marriages, but of sending College funds to *émigrés* in Coblenz, where Louis XVI's two brothers were inciting counter-revolution (McPhee 2018: 149). He also claims that the three principals had informed the British authorities about the recent secret mission from Paris of four young Irish patriots who were arrested in London (CPA/587/45; Ferradou 2019: 373).

The subsequent arrest warrants against Kearney and Walsh demonstrate just how seriously Madgett was taken (Ferradou 2019: 445–446). Separately, Dalbarade authorised the production of 4,000 copies of a printed proclamation addressed to English sailors (Kleinman 2018: 211).

Madgett's address to the Convention in February 1793, was quickly followed by his prescription for propaganda and counter-espionage furnished to Lebrun in March 1793, which may be viewed as a personal affirmation of his republican credentials (CPA/587/20; CPA/587/45). His *civisme* was being favourably judged by Lebrun. Madgett saw a demand for the propaganda and intelligence strategies he was proposing and thus brought himself unequivocally within the new republican dispensation, even when, as Rapport observes, the relatively broad spectrum of political orthodoxy up to 1792 was beginning to narrow (Rapport 2000: 136). As Madgett would often discover, republican discourse was subject to unpredictable fluctuation which required finely tuned political antennae.

Madgett must have been aware of the increasingly febrile political climate in Paris, when Lebrun's own *civisme* was called into question soon afterwards, as the radical, Jacobin faction known as the *Montagnards* eclipsed the more moderate *Girondins*. Lebrun was arrested on 2 June 1793 and executed on 27 December 1793 (Masson 1877: 281, 283). Madgett himself had meanwhile come to the attention of the British authorities. By March 1793, he was known to the British Home Office and Dublin Castle, from where Hobart, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, delivered the following precise and accurate description of Madgett in a letter to Nepean in the Home Office in London: 'His principles are said to be violently inimical to Monarchy, and his Designs to foment Discontent and Insurrection in England and Ireland' (NA/HO/100/43/85; Ferradou 2019: 378).

For the British, an English-speaking translator with an antagonistic view of Britain installed in the heart of government in the new French Republic was a destabilising presence. Madgett's official duties within the French civil service would now be treated as treason and sedition were he to return to Ireland, which he never did.

An unsigned translation of the British Correspondence with Enemies Act 1793 was prepared for the Committee of Public Safety in April of that year. The purpose of the legislation was to outlaw any contact by correspondence with England's enemies and was of obvious interest to a French counter-intelligence operation (CPA/587/81). Although the translation does not bear Madgett's name or hand, it may well have been overseen by him and one may assume he was aware of the import of the law. By mid-1793, Madgett's office was what Marianne Elliott refers to as the 'semi-official medium of communication between the French government and disaffected British subjects' (Elliott 1982: 62).

Madgett's first translation in the Diplomatic Archives is correspondence from the Welsh radical, James Tilly Mathews, who was defending himself against allegations of being a British spy. Mathews was imprisoned in Paris from 1793 to 1796, and later committed to an asylum on his return to London. What is notable is that Madgett deems it appropriate to express a view on the Welshman's sanity at the conclusion of his translation, denouncing him as mad: '[il] a perdu la raison...de fortes indications de démente' [he has lost the use of reason...strong signs of madness] (CPA/588/79; CPA/588/81; Kleinman 2005: 114-115; Ferradou 2019: 436).

1.4 War and xenophobia

Up to March 1793, foreigners were encouraged to take part in the political life of the Revolution, but as the fortunes of war fluctuated through 1793, and internal dissent boiled over into armed insurrection in the Vendée and elsewhere, there was increased suspicion and surveillance of foreigners (Rapport 2000: 186). Sweeping decrees were passed expelling foreigners or placing them under house arrest (McPhee 2017: 182). Sullivan would have fallen foul of the new restrictions, were it not for his French citizenship. A table of the most significant anti-foreigner decrees passed by the French authorities between 1793 and 1798 appears in Appendix 14. Rapport goes so far as to state that certain foreigners experienced a state of permanent terror between 1793 and 1799, though this hardly applied to Madgett and Sullivan while they were in government service (2000: 270).

France may have appeared as the land of asylum for oppressed people everywhere, as echoed in de Tocqueville's observation:

La Révolution française n'a pas eu de territoire propre; ...
ou plutôt elle a formée, au-dessus de toutes les
nationalités particulières, une patrie intellectuelle dont les
hommes de toutes les nations ont pu devenir citoyens (de
Tocqueville 1866: 15).

[The French Revolution did not belong to a specific
territory; ...rather was it an intellectual homeland existing
outside individual nationalities in which men from all
nations could become citizens.]

But, if the Rights of Man declared universal principles, the Revolution was to rein these in and adopt a more restrictive view of citizenship (Rapport 2000: 193). This tension between universalism and xenophobia is described pithily by the historian Daniel Roche:

Quand la France monarchique ou républicaine doute, les étrangers paient ; quand elle est sûre d'elle-même, elle voit dans l'autre une richesse qu'elle accueille et dont elle tire fierté (Roche 2010: 407).

[When France whether royalist or republican has doubts, foreigners pay the price; when France is sure of itself, it sees in the other a resource it will welcome and take pride in.]

Dramatic political fluctuations were a feature of the Revolution, and to navigate the alternating political currents required foresight and skill. After the outbreak of war, British radicals in Paris gravitated towards the more moderate *Girondins*, perhaps as Rapport suggests, drawing on a tradition of constitutionalism (Rapport 2000: 180-181). However, loyalty to an increasingly radical political régime demanded further recalibration, especially for foreigners.

France's international position worsened in February and March 1793. It was surrounded on all sides by hostile nations. By 7 March, France was at war with Britain, Holland, Spain, Prussia and Austria (Doyle 2018: 431-432). This led to surveillance of foreigners amid rumours of foreign complicity (Rapport 2000:145). Dumouriez, the former foreign minister and a *Girondin*, defected to Austria on 1 April 1793, which further fuelled the conspiracy theory (Schama 2004: 584). An event which surely could not have escaped Madgett's notice was the purge of the more moderate *Girondins* from the National Convention on 2 June 1793. Parisian militants forced the Convention to accept the arrest of 29 *Girondin* members (McPhee 2017: 184-185).

Emergency wartime measures in the spring of 1793 included the establishment of a Revolutionary Tribunal and the increasing concentration of executive power in the Committee of Public Safety (Gough 1990: 8). Press freedom was 'severely compromised' in 1793 (Harris 1996: 72). The Jacobin-dominated Convention agreed with the Committee of Public Safety that the country needed to be mobilised for war with mass conscription in August 1793 (McPhee 2017: 210). The Law of Suspects, passed on 17 September 1793, set up *Comités de Surveillance* [Watch Committees], which could detain citizens on suspicion of being disloyal (McPhee 2017: 213). By the end of 1793, Robespierre was calling for the exclusion from Jacobin clubs of all nobles, priests, bankers and foreigners (McPhee 2017: 235–236).

It is against this atmosphere of heightened mistrust and accusation that Paris-based English and Irish republicans sent a message of solidarity in September 1793 to the Convention, which was then contemplating anti-foreigner legislation (CPA/588/36). That message fell on deaf ears, however, as a narrower form of nationalism gripped the Convention, which passed a decree on 9 October 1793 ordering the arrest of all British subjects and confiscating their assets (CPA/588/37; Rapport 2000: 220).

How did Madgett and Sullivan cope with the wave of xenophobia? Both were working within the confines of government service, Madgett by the spring of 1793, and Sullivan by the autumn of that year (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). Madgett had signed the Address expressing solidarity by foreign radicals with the new Republic in November 1792 (AN/C/241). In February 1793, he had addressed the Convention on counter-espionage strategies to combat the British in a time of war (*Les Révolutions de Paris*). In March 1793, he was putting those strategies directly to the Foreign Minister Lebrun (CPA/587/20). Meanwhile, Sullivan had acquired French citizenship and was engaged in active service in republican ranks against the counter-revolutionaries in the Vendée (GR/2YE/3853/26). Even at the height of the Terror, foreign radicals were protected, if they proved to be useful to the Revolution (Rapport 2000: 226). Madgett and Sullivan had demonstrated their own usefulness and republican loyalty, though both were arrested, separately, in 1795, as will be explained in chapter two.

The two translators had to be constantly mindful of the fluctuating ideological compass of revolutionary politics. This does raise the question of their ‘foreignness.’ Was Madgett a fifty-seven-year-old exile waiting for the opportunity to return home, or had he become so accustomed to living in France, since the age of eleven, that it was now his adopted home? The two displaced translators would have been subject to arrest and execution had they returned to their country of birth. Loupès has observed that a French education, together with active ministering in the church in France was likely to promote ‘a distinctively French outlook among priests who had no intention of returning to Ireland’ (Loupès 1990: 30). For Madgett, the option of returning ‘home’ ended when he took an active role in national politics, as his activities would have been treated as treasonable by the British authorities in Ireland. As for Sullivan, he was twenty-seven in 1794, and had lived in France continuously for the previous eleven years (GR/2YE/3853). Whelan comments that students who came to France as

teenagers tended to stay, ‘as their mature adult identities were formed more in France than in Ireland’ (Whelan 2009: 310).

Even if they were absorbed over time into a French way of life, they remained committed Irish nationalists, as will be evident from their activist translation practice, but also the varied bilingual functions they assumed, including counter-espionage, propaganda and recruitment which had distinctly anti-British dimensions (AN/Mar/G/242/4; AF/III/29/97/141). Tone comments that in 1796, Sullivan was ‘talking red hot Irish politics’ to him (Tone 2001: 143). Sullivan’s poignant, personal correspondence with his uncle, sent from Brest to Paris in November and December 1794, reminds us of his enduring concern for his family in Ireland who were in a state of extreme financial distress (W/584). The two translators’ status as foreigners remained of some relevance, when both were arrested in 1795 in the context of the trial of Madgett’s cousin, Madgett II, on a charge of espionage (AN/F/7/7107). Sullivan’s Irish origins were also raised as late as 1799 in official correspondence relating to his ‘promised’ promotion to the rank of Captain (GR/2YE/3853/26).

Nationality remained an important criterion as the Revolution’s treatment of foreigners hardened. Even constitutional or oath-swearing priests were not beyond suspicion, and not immune from the law passed in October 1793 ordering the arrest of all British or Irish subjects (Rapport 2000: 221). ‘Active enthusiasm’ for the Revolution would have to be proved (Ibid: 222).

An almost immediate victim of the legislation was the United Irishman, William Jackson, who was arrested in Paris in 1793. Madgett, along with Laignelot, a member of the Convention, successfully lobbied for Jackson’s release in October 1793 (MV/1/GG/58/31). Madgett’s letter to the Minister explains how Jackson had already served the French Republic and could still prove to be very useful; because of his continuing detention, ‘la chose publique souffre’ [the common good is being damaged] (Ibid.).

Thus, Irish ‘patriots’ like Jackson and Hamilton Rowan were protected, though both had been arrested and then released (MV/1/GG/58/31; CPA/588/274). It is instructive that even in the more conservative republicanism of the Directory, the Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, believed that British spies might try to enter France in 1797 masquerading as Irish refugees, and insisted that only those personally vouched for by Wolfe Tone could remain (Rapport 2000: 297-298).

In early 1794, Madgett proposed William Jackson for a mission to England and Ireland as a secret agent on behalf of the new Republic in order to take soundings on a possible French invasion, having previously recommended Jackson for such an assignment in March 1793 (Whelan 2015: 120; CPA/589/20). While Madgett, as Head of Translation, was making his presence felt in Paris, Sullivan was almost immediately sent to Brittany on field duties.

1.5 Sullivan ‘translates’ in Brittany

The end of 1793 marks the beginning of John Sullivan’s service as a government translator and interpreter. He spent almost two years posted in Brittany, where his fieldwork included interrogating prisoners of war, translating documents seized from captured ships and smuggling republican propaganda into England (AF/III/28/97/141).

In late 1793, after serving with republican forces in the Vendée, Sullivan joined the Translation Section of the Ministry of the Navy headed by his uncle. Ferradou states, without citing authority, that Madgett recruited his nephew into the Ministry (2019: 439). Kleinman makes a similar point, again without a source, positing that there was a networking element to Sullivan’s appointment (2017: 7). It is unfortunate that no correspondence from Madgett relating to the recruitment of his nephew has been located. Madgett may not have known Sullivan personally before then. Although no archival record survives to confirm Madgett’s involvement in Sullivan’s employment, other instances of Madgett promoting his nephew appear to confirm the hypothesis put forward by Kleinman and Ferradou. For example, Madgett did recommend his nephew in June 1794 as a suitable interpreter to travel with a French invasion force to Ireland (AD/MD/19/378-381). Once again in March 1796, Madgett promotes Sullivan as being the person with the necessary skillset to indoctrinate captured English prisoners in Livorno (CPA/589/182). It is perhaps no coincidence that soon after his appointment to the Navy Ministry, Sullivan was dispatched to Brittany in late 1793 to ‘convert’ captured Irish sailors in the British navy (AF/III/28/97/141). Furthermore, Madgett placed his nephew on a short list of four names for the selection of a secret agent to go to Ireland on behalf of the Directory in the summer of 1796, making no secret of his preference for Sullivan to be chosen for the role (AF/III/186B/859/109). In the light of that history of promoting his nephew, it seems probable that Sullivan would not have obtained a position as a government

translator at the age of twenty-six without a helping hand from his uncle, who was already the Head of the Translation Section.

Whelan argues that France provided career opportunities for the younger sons of Irish Catholic families, in army service, but also as merchants, clergymen and doctors. His observation on the inter-generational component of this networking may well capture the essence of the Madgett/Sullivan relationship:

A key recruitment mechanism was the willingness of an established generation to accept responsibility for settling a younger one. The uncle-nephew nexus was stressed, especially where the uncle was a bachelor, childless or a priest (2009: 318).

Whatever about the nature of his uncle's involvement in Sullivan's entry into government service, it seems likely that Sullivan's linguistic competence was assessed in some way, though this is not disclosed in archival records. It may not have proved too difficult for Madgett to persuade the Navy Ministry to recruit a bilingual Irishman who was now a French citizen, had taken up arms in defence of the Republic in the Vendée and had taught Mathematics in a well-known French military academy.

Although Sullivan's personal file in the Military Archives is slim and contains little or no details of his employment by the Ministry of the Navy from 1793–1795 (GR/2YE/3853/26), fortunately the Diplomatic Archives do contain Sullivan's own, albeit summary, account of that period in a letter he wrote to the French Foreign Minister, Delacroix, on 30 October 1796 (AAE/PERS/1/65/58). In addition, a personal statement in the French National Archives, dated 18 November 1795, which Sullivan was required to furnish to the Commission investigating the failed royalist coup of *Vendémiaire* 1795, also speaks to this period of his career (AF/II/28/97/141).

Sullivan asserts in that statement that he joined the '*Bureau de Traduction*' [Translation Section] of the Navy Ministry in November 1793, where his uncle, Nicholas Madgett was already installed as the Head. It may be that they were the first two translators to be recruited. Sullivan was to claim, after his dismissal in 1796, that he was the most senior translator, after the Head, his uncle (AAE/PERS/1/65/60).

It is worth briefly recalling the linguistic policy of the revolutionary government on the French language. Initially, the multilingual diversity of France meant that revolutionary

decrees had to be translated into all regional dialects, as voted by the Assembly in early 1790 (Bell 1995: 1413; Delisle 2012: 203). The ancien régime had long recognised the importance of mediating linguistic diversity within France as a necessary function of state authority (Cohen 2021: 167).

However, French was the language of all printed media, administrative and judicial authorities, and the educated class. Increasing calls for linguistic uniformity, particularly by Grégoire and Barère, led the Jacobin government in 1794 to impose a single, unifying French as the institutionalised national language so as to eradicate local patois and jargon (Bell 1995: 1415; Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 203–204; Ostler 2010: 192). The association of regional languages with espionage and counter-revolutionary forces was also a factor in what Meylaerts describes as ‘the premature end of the multilingual adventure’ (Meylaerts 2018: 229). Sullivan’s testimonials from the *Collège de la Flèche* and the local Société Populaire might well have made an elaborate linguistic scrutiny unnecessary, but he had established competence in the language of centralised power (GR/2YE/3953/26).

By the time Sullivan joined the Translation Section of the Navy Ministry in the autumn of 1793, his uncle had already put his stamp on the translator’s mandate. It extended to counter-intelligence, propaganda and the establishment of a network of secret agents (CPA/587/20). Sullivan was quickly initiated into this world, as illustrated by his own account of his mission to Brittany which commenced in November 1793 (AF/III/28/97/141). His threefold brief extended the ambit of translation to include the following roles, all of which demanded a high level of bilingual competence (Ibid.):

- 1) the interrogation of captured prisoners on the political situation in their country of origin and their knowledge of enemy plans. There was nothing novel about this mission. Bartlett has pointed out that armies everywhere have always been information-gathering organizations (2003: 410);

- 2) the smuggling of republican tracts into England, some of which Sullivan had composed himself, especially by means of ‘*parlementaires*’, prisoner exchange ships which sailed from Port Malo in Brittany (Marquis 2008: 67); and

- 3) the indoctrination of enemy prisoners so that they would defect to the forces of the French Republic (AF/III/28/97/141).

That Sullivan was the author, in part, of the propaganda pamphlets smuggled into England, demonstrates how far beyond the translation of texts his mandate was taking him (Kleinman 2018: 212). He also claims that his advocacy of the principles of the French Revolution was effective and that he persuaded more than two hundred prisoners of war held in Dinan to defect from the British navy (AAE/PERS/1/65/58). Although the authorities decided not to accept the services of the two hundred deserters, he regards this as one of his major accomplishments and proof of his devotion to republican principles (AF/III/28/97/141). The success of this mission may also have been assisted by the large numbers of Irishmen in the British Navy, which Madgett puts at three quarters of the total number, in internal advice in November 1794 to the Committee of Public Safety (CPA/588/484). The real figure, as Bartlett has clarified, was between twenty and twenty-five percent across all grades by 1801, though up to forty percent in the lowest grade of service (Bartlett 2018: 75). Sullivan's exercise in indoctrination was also a successful bilingual engagement as it undoubtedly involved taking instructions from French army officers.

Footitt has drawn attention to the role of translators and interpreters in modern conflict situations and suggest that historians have long neglected the role of translation and language intermediaries in different types of conflict and war (2012: 218). Footitt and Kelly observe that the requirement for translation has been inherent in warfare from the armies of Alexander the Great in the fourth century BC, through to the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the Napoleonic wars of the early nineteenth century and beyond (2018: 163). Indeed, every stage of warfare depends on gathering and exchanging information (Ibid: 162). Sullivan's role in Brittany was a front- line participation in conflict. He acted as interpreter for captured English and Irish prisoners, but also translated seized enemy documents and smuggled propaganda on prisoner exchange ships (AF/III/28/97/141). Translation had a fundamental role in all of these activities.

One may question how intelligence gathering and the recruitment of 'enemy' prisoners could ever come under the rubric of the 'Bureau de Traduction' [Translation Section] of the Navy Ministry. Indeed, Kleinman has termed Sullivan's proselytising activity 'highly questionable', and unethical by the standards of the Geneva Convention (2017: 13; 2018: 211). However, this was a time of war between France and Britain from February 1793, and the expansive translation brief given to both Madgett and Sullivan was implicitly endorsed by the

Committee of Public Safety, which saw itself surrounded by enemies both external and internal.

Sullivan's brief included the analysis of documents seized from prisoners at the Brittany ports and their translation from English into French (AAE/PERS/1/65/58). A rare and interesting note from Sullivan, dated 13 June 1794, is a translation of two letters from Liverpool which appear to have been intercepted by a French convoy returning from North America. The translation shows how Sullivan's intelligence role operated in practice (AF/II/102/44). The note is Sullivan's paraphrase in French of the two seized letters which record the price paid for the return of vessels and cargo seized by the French navy. In addition, he relays intelligence about armed preparations for a large naval convoy about to set sail from Liverpool for Guyana in South America in the belief that the fall of Martinique would be followed by the loss of other French Caribbean islands. The letters were deemed sufficiently important for Sullivan's 'translation' to be forwarded to the Committee of Public Safety by the Convention's two representatives in Brittany, Jeanbon St André and Prieur de la Marne (AF/II/102/42-43).

Sullivan was aware that his activities were known to the British authorities, who had many spies in France, and that he would never be able to return safely to Ireland (AAE/PERS/1/65/59). The one occasion when he did return, using the pseudonym Laroche with Humbert's military expedition to County Mayo in 1798, almost cost him his life (HO/42/45/55). By 1794, Madgett was organising a secret mission to Ireland and setting the agenda for the Committee of Public Safety in relation to the translation of certain key texts (Whelan 2015: 120; AAE/PERS/1/47/85).

1.6 1794: United Irishmen

The Translation Section came under the control of the powerful Committee of Public Safety between late 1793 and early 1794 (AD/MD/19/382–388; Ferradou 2019: 435). Madgett was recorded as an employee of the Committee in September 1794 (AF/II/191C). But he was far from being just another employee. There is evidence that he set the translation agenda for the administration at the highest level (AAE/PERS/1/47/85). In addition, over the course of 1794 and 1795, he would become an ad hoc political adviser to the French leadership on Irish affairs (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484). This brief allowed him to agitate for

Irish independence to be achieved through French military intervention, a personal aspiration that was reflected in his translational strategy, as the events of 1796 will disclose.

Bartlett has observed that republicanism in general came to be identified with national independence after the impact of the American Revolution and that Irish republicanism became separatist in the 1790s (Bartlett 1993: 7). In time, Madgett would seek to persuade the French that the political separation of Ireland from Britain would be strategically expedient in defeating the British militarily.

Madgett was instrumental in setting up William Jackson's secret mission in 1794 (Whelan 2015: 120). As editor of the *Morning Post* and *The Ledger*, Jackson had previously come into contact with Madgett, and was an attendee at the notable dinner of foreign radicals in White's Hotel in November 1792 (Ferradou 2019: 452). Madgett recruited Jackson on behalf of the Committee of Public Safety, and persuaded him to undertake an intelligence mission to England and Ireland, giving him his instructions before leaving Paris to assess attitudes in Ireland and England to an insurrection backed by a French invasion (Whelan 2015: 120; Rapport 2000: 228). This is corroborated by Madgett's first official document in the Diplomatic Archives (CPA/587/20). Ferradou points out that Jackson's mission also had a commercial purpose, namely to procure naval supplies for the French government (Ferradou 2019: 497).

Madgett also set up the secret mission to Scotland by another Irish radical, Eugene Aherne, in early 1794, which involved Madgett liaising with the Navy Minister and the Committee of Public Safety (Ferradou 2019: 479, 487; SHD/BB3/24/19–20).

Madgett's translation of a letter to him from William Jackson, then in London, dated 11 March 1794 discloses some subtle adjustments, which will be discussed later in this study (NA/TS/11/959; MV/1/GG/58/32–39). That letter was addressed to a Mr de Chapeaurouge in Hamburg, one of at least two letters from Jackson to Madgett using pseudonyms and commercial addresses in Hamburg and Amsterdam as intermediaries. The letters were intercepted by the British authorities in Dublin and taken to Dublin Castle (Nicolson 1943: 123). Enclosed with the correspondence were copies of a memorandum by Wolfe Tone written in the hand of another prominent United Irishman, Hamilton Rowan (Tone 1998: 505; Nicolson 1943: 122). The documents were deemed seditious by the authorities. Jackson was arrested and charged with treason on 26 April 1794 (Elliott 1982: 64–65). The French

authorities were cognisant of Jackson's plight. On 27 June 1794, the Committee of Public Safety authorised a payment of six thousand *livres* to Madgett to be forwarded to Jackson in recognition of his services and loyalty to the Republic (AF/II/76; Aulard 1801: 559-560).

Jackson's arrest in Dublin had immediate consequences for those radicals who consorted with him. Hamilton Rowan was arrested but managed to escape from jail in Dublin and was forced to flee to France (CPA/588/262 & CPA/588/270). Meanwhile, Wolfe Tone, who had drafted part of the contentious memorandum, departed for the United States, by agreement with the British authorities, from where his exile would lead him subsequently to Paris in early 1796 (Ferradou 2015: 142; Elliott 1982: 79).

A full report of the trial of William Jackson for treason in the High Court in Dublin in May 1795 appears in the French Diplomatic Archives (CPA/588/378). Jackson swallowed a fatal dose of arsenic, just before the High Court in Dublin was about to pass the death sentence. The trial of a political opponent of the British regime for activities undertaken on behalf of the French Republic, culminating in Jackson's suicide, would doubtless have resonated keenly in the upper echelons of the French political elite. Of particular interest here is the fact that Madgett was cited in the prosecution case, as his name appears in the coded and allegedly treasonable correspondence found in Jackson's possession (Sampson 1795: 30, 55).

A portion of a political address also read out at the trial bears strong similarities to a Memorial by Hamilton Rowan which John Sullivan had translated a year earlier (CPA/588/270; Kleinman 2005: 120). One of Jackson's final letters to Madgett was written from Newgate Prison in Dublin shortly before his death on 22 April 1795. Jackson's correspondence was intercepted, this time by Jackson's Dublin lawyer, McNally, who had been recruited as an informer by Dublin Castle (TCD MS 1762, Camden papers 43–47). Amongst the letters seized by Dublin Castle was one addressed to J.H. Stone, though in fact it begins 'Dear Madgett' and contains the following stark acknowledgment from Jackson: 'I lose my life in the service of liberty and of the French Republic' (Ibid: 45).

The Jackson episode was an example from the archives of Madgett facilitating a secret mission and receiving and analysing the intelligence gathered by his network of contacts. He might well be termed a proxy spy in a world of pseudonyms and coded language. 1794 also saw an important statement of translation priorities sent to the Committee of Public Safety by Madgett at the height of the Terror (AAE/Pers/1/47/85).

1.7 The translation agenda

On 15 April 1794, Madgett sent a memorandum to the Committee of Public Safety requesting that three works, two of which were translations, should be printed in English (AAE/Pers/1/47/85). Ferradou contends that this document was written by Sullivan, but it is not possible to be certain on the basis of the handwriting. Moreover, it seems unlikely Sullivan had returned to Paris in April 1794 from his post as inspector of prisons in Brittany, where he was to rescue Hamilton Rowan from prison in early June of that year (Nicholson 1943: 145). This important document discloses how Madgett himself perceived the agenda for translation at a time of intense political crisis in France and has been considered in recent scholarship (Kleinman 2005: 100; 2012: 29-30; 2017: 9-10; 2018: 213-214; Ferradou 2019: 436-439). The immediate political context has to be recalled.

Foreigners who showed a clear commitment to the Revolution were protected, though the increasing xenophobia had not spared Thomas Paine, who was arrested in December 1793 and not released until November 1794 (Rapport 2000: 189). The law of 26-27 Germinal (15-16 April, 1794) decreed the expulsion of enemy subjects from Paris, frontier towns and ports for the duration of the war (Rapport 2000: 203).

The first text proposed for printing was a translation by the English radical Helen Maria Williams of Robespierre's speech to the Convention of 5 February 1794, in which he proclaimed that the foundation of popular government was a combination of virtue and terror (Robespierre 1794: para. 23). Promoting the translator's visibility, Madgett praises her translation as well as her commitment to the Revolution (AAE/PERS/1/47/85). This was a courageous choice, as Helen Maria Williams had been imprisoned in October 1793 under the law arresting all British subjects and had only been released a couple of months later (Rapport 2000: 201, 226). In Madgett's opinion ('Madgett pense'), Robespierre's speech, out of everything that had been written on the Revolution, would most likely produce a lasting impression on the English:

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'imposture des feuilles ministérielles
qui ont cherché jusqu'ici à lui faire croire que les français
étaient des cannibales (AAE/PERS/1/47/85).

[Robespierre's speech is the best possible way of making a strong impression on the English people and of making them grasp the dishonesty of official news which up to now has tried to make them believe that the French were cannibals.]

Madgett, as the author of this document, was fully attuned to the effect which a translation might have on its target audience. However, one must question, as Kleinman has done, whether Madgett really believed that this speech would produce such a dramatic effect on an English audience or whether he was merely playing to his target audience, the French revolutionary leadership (Kleinman 2017: 9). If one looks more closely at the detail of Robespierre's oration, Madgett's argument becomes difficult to sustain. The kernel of Robespierre's speech may be gleaned from the following passage:

la vertu, sans laquelle la terreur est funeste; la terreur, sans laquelle la vertu est impuissante. La terreur n'est autre chose que la justice prompte, sévère, inflexible; elle est donc une émanation de la vertu; (Robespierre 1794: para.23).

[Terror is disastrous without virtue; virtue is toothless without terror. Terror is nothing more than prompt, strict and inflexible justice; and accordingly, it derives from virtue;]

Gough observes that the invocation of terror in the name of democracy has resonated in the twentieth century (Gough 1998: 2). Support for such extreme rhetoric marks a sharp contrast with Madgett's denunciation of Robespierre's reign as terrorism the following year (AF/III/28/97/133). Indeed, by the end of 1796, Madgett was denouncing Pitt's government as a system of terror more atrocious than Robespierre's (AD/MD/53/208).

The second text was a translation of Saint-Just's report on a foreign conspiracy entitled *Rapport sur les factions de l'étranger, et sur la conjuration ourdie par elles dans la République française, pour détruire le gouvernement républicain, par la corruption, et affamer Paris* [Report on foreign factions and the conspiracy they are hatching in the French Republic, in order to destroy the republican government by means of corruption, and to starve Paris], which he presented to the Convention on 13 March 1794. Madgett again talks up the enlightening impact which a translation of this report would have on the English people. Whereas the political effectiveness of a translation was what counted the most for Madgett, it

is, once again, difficult to see how a report on a foreign plot to destroy the French Republic would enlighten the English people as to their real interests.

The immediate political context may shed some light on Madgett's choice. The government asserted its authority against radical and moderate factions, namely the *Hébertistes* and the *Indulgents*, with political trials and executions in March and early April 1794 (Rapport 2000: 234). The government linked the struggle between different political factions to a mysterious foreign conspiracy, making foreigners particularly vulnerable (Ibid: 234). This was a clever choice by Madgett at a time when conspiracy theories and rumours of counter-revolution flourished in the highly charged political atmosphere. Madgett's recommendation has all the appearances of political pragmatism on his part, as, in that climate, it was hardly an uphill task to persuade the Committee of Public Safety to print a report in translation on a foreign conspiracy.

The third text which Madgett suggests should be (re)printed was the *Catechism of Man*, a work by William Vaughan on popular democracy. This was an understandable but perhaps obscure choice. Vaughan's work has been described as a scriptural translation of Paine's *Rights of Man* for the labouring classes, in which the author claims it was lawful and pleasing to God to resist despotic government (Denney 2012: 66). Madgett's reasons are however quite plausible. Laignelot, the Convention's representative 'en mission' in Dinan, in Brittany, had spoken of it to Robespierre, and the first edition had caused uproar and immediate confiscation in England, precisely the kind of repercussions Madgett the propagandist would have relished (AAE/Pers/1/47/85). Madgett notes that the Minister for the Navy would know how to disseminate such a text in England, which in effect meant Madgett himself advising the Minister on such a strategy (Ibid.).

This episode also demonstrates just how precarious it was for a translator to express political opinions, given the vicissitudes of revolutionary politics. Both Robespierre and Saint-Just, two of the authors recommended by Madgett for translation and publication in April 1794, were guillotined on 28 July 1794, as divisions within the Committee of Public Safety came to a head (Doyle 2018: 282). Both Madgett and Sullivan attacked 'terrorism' and Robespierre in their statements to the *Vendémiaire* coup investigation in November 1795, suggesting that ideological flexibility was a continuing, key ingredient of professional survival (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141).

Madgett's memorandum endorses the translation of these texts as a means of enlightening the people and leading them towards an uprising, and establishes an explicit link between translation and propaganda (AAE/Pers/1/47/85). The document also demonstrates how a translator in a position of great influence could set the agenda for the work he oversaw, when the Terror was going at full throttle. Madgett could give a personal appraisal of the political importance of certain key revolutionary documents he was carefully planning to circulate in translation in order to further the revolutionary cause, as it was then understood.

The Committee of Public Safety approved Madgett's list, as a subsequent file note records that the two translations were completed and prepared for printing (AAE/Pers/1/47/89). There is no mention, however, of the reprinting of the *Catechism of Man*. Madgett discloses that the English radical, John Hurtford Stone, had an English printing press in Paris which Madgett believed would convince the British government the documents were printed in England. That might even frighten the King and his Prime Minister (Ibid.).

The decision to authorise English translations of key political texts must also be seen in the context of official translation policy during the early years of the Revolution. The translation of all revolutionary laws into certain neighbouring European languages (German, Dutch, Spanish and Italian) was a political priority and seen as a way of enhancing the influence of the Revolution (Chappey & Martin 2017: 1; Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 203). By 1793, official policy was that not only legislation but also parliamentary reports and political speeches were to be translated into foreign languages, where their publication in neighbouring countries would further the interests of freedom and consolidate the Republic (D'Hulst & Schreiber 2014: 6–7).

The spring of 1794 also witnessed the arrival in France of the United Irishman, Hamilton Rowan (CPA/588/274). The next chapter will track the linguistic and political support he received from Sullivan, and also from Madgett. Chapter two will also continue the translators' odyssey after surviving the Terror. Their political loyalty would still be subject to scrutiny in late 1795 when they entered the French Foreign Ministry under Charles Delacroix (AF/III/52-55/213).

Chapter 2 Madgett and Sullivan enter the Foreign Ministry

2.1 Translating Hamilton Rowan

Although xenophobia continued to feed fears of a foreign conspiracy designed to foment counter-revolution in the spring of 1794, even the Committee of Public Safety could welcome some foreign radicals, including prominent United Irishmen like William Jackson, but also Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who had been forced to flee Ireland because of his political views (CPA/588/262; CPA/588/270). Hamilton Rowan's influence can be detected well after he departed France for the United States in terms of Madgett's dogged political advocacy of the cause of the United Irishmen (CPA/588/484; AD/MD/19/378-382). In addition, Sullivan translated a number of Hamilton Rowan's key documents submitted to the Committee of Public Safety and had some input into their political content (CPA/588/270; CPA/588/274).

In April 1794, after his escape from prison in Dublin, Hamilton Rowan arrived in a small boat in Roscoff, and was immediately incarcerated as he was then unknown to the French authorities in Brittany (CPA/588/279). John Sullivan was, at this stage, according to the Irish radical Bernard MacSheehy, 'interprète au dépôt des prisonniers de guerre anglais établis dans le département de côte du nord' [interpreter for English prisoners of war in the Département of Côte du Nord] (GR/2YE/2620). MacSheehy's contemporaneous attribution is qualified in Hamilton Rowan's autobiography, in addition to Nicolson's biography of him, which denominate Sullivan as the 'inspector' of prisoners of war (Rowan 1840: 232; Nicolson 1943: 145).

Sullivan found Hamilton Rowan in jail in Brest in May 1794, where he had languished unrecognised for almost a month, and notified Madgett. Sullivan then got prompt instructions from the Committee of Public Safety to bring Hamilton Rowan to Robespierre in Paris (CPA/588/274; Tone 2001: 336; Rowan 1840: 232-233). The French leadership was embarrassed that a well-known Irish 'patriot' had been so badly treated and arranged for Sullivan to escort Hamilton Rowan to Paris in a specially procured coach and four, with a tricolour flying from the roof of the carriage (CPA/588/280; Whelan 2015: 143). Hamilton

Rowan was exhausted and ill after his exertions and spent a number of weeks convalescing at the expense of the French government (CPA/588/262).

However, at the same time and unbeknownst to Sullivan, the Convention's representative in Brest, Laignelot, found it necessary to make enquiries about Sullivan's own legal status, given that he was a foreigner. According to a War Ministry report of 2 January 1799, Laignelot consulted the Committee of Public Safety at that time. The Committee decided that Sullivan was exempt from the law arresting all foreigners in port towns because he was a naturalised French citizen (GR/2YE/3853/26). It seems ironic that when Sullivan was carrying out difficult official business that the authorities saw fit to question his loyalty. At the height of the Terror and in a time of war, no foreigner could take his position for granted in a climate of suspicion.

The 'rescue' of Hamilton Rowan is recorded by Wolfe Tone in his journal some two years later:

Rowan had been seized and thrown into prison immediately on his landing near Brest, from whence he was rescued by the interference of a young man named Sullivan, an Irishman in the service of the Republic, and sent on to Paris to the Committee of Public Safety by Prieur de la Marne, the deputy on mission (Tone 2001: 336).

Sullivan not only rescued Hamilton Rowan from prison but claimed credit for having assisted him in the composition of Memorials and letters to the Committee of Public Safety, which he then translated (AF/III/28/97/141; AAE/PERS/1/65/58). In his *Vendémiaire* statement, Sullivan made his role explicit, referring to himself in the third person: 'il a rédigé avec lui ses plans et ses mémoires' [he composed with him his plans and memorials] (AF/III/28/97/141). This implies that Sullivan perceived his role as more than simply translating, and that this exercise was a form of joint composition. Kleinman has argued for a less interventionist interpretation on the basis that this meant no more than taking down in French what was narrated to him in English (2005: 94; 2012: 30). That Sullivan saw his role in proactive terms is clear from the way he describes his efforts to bring Hamilton Rowan's plan for a French invasion to fruition, in a letter to Delacroix in October 1796:

les efforts que j'ai faits pour faire réussir le projet d'une descente en Irlande présenté au Comité de Salut public

par Hamilton Rowan dont j'ai rédigé en françois les
premiers mémoires (AAE/PERS/1/65/58).
[the efforts I made to promote the plan for an invasion of
Ireland submitted to the Committee of Public Safety by
Hamilton Rowan whose early memorials I drafted in
French.]

These documents provided an important source of information and political intelligence for the French leadership about Irish affairs. Much of Hamilton Rowan's information came from the Memorandum drafted by Wolfe Tone in April 1794 which Rowan had copied (Tone 1998: 505). Hamilton Rowan's first Memorial, a lengthy paper on the state of Ireland, was jointly composed and then translated by Sullivan in June 1794 (CPA/588/270). Hamilton Rowan chronicles the history of English misrule and oppression in Ireland. Irish independence would weaken a formidable foe but would also give France the benefit of Ireland's resources. He explains the population and political disposition of the three main sects, Catholic, Presbyterian and Protestant and concludes the time was right for a French invasion as British troops were heavily engaged elsewhere (CPA/588/270). Sullivan also translated a more personal paper by Hamilton Rowan, explaining how he had become a leading United Irishman and how contact with William Jackson in Dublin had led to his arrest and subsequent escape (CPA/588/274).

These submissions were supplemented by two letters from Hamilton Rowan to the Committee of Public Safety which Sullivan also translated, though the original texts cannot be located (CPA/588/262 & CPA/588/268; Kleinman 2005: 120). Hamilton Rowan explains his dire financial position, and thanks the French authorities for looking after him during his illness. Notably, and perhaps with Sullivan's guiding hand, he expresses himself to be 'un admirateur sincère de le Révolution Francaise' [a sincere admirer of the French Revolution]. He explains the pressing desire of the Irish people to shake off the yoke of England. His arrest on a charge of sedition was due to his dissemination of a pamphlet calling for Irish independence. One can perhaps discern Sullivan's presence again in the translation of a short, covering letter which ends with the declamation: 'Vive la liberté et la fraternité entre toutes les nations' [long live freedom and fraternity between all nations] (CPA/588/267). Sullivan's republican rhetoric may also have imbued his translation of Hamilton Rowan's letter to the Committee of Public Safety dated 9 October 1794 when he refers to the English administration

in Ireland as ‘le joug d’un gouvernement oppresseur’ [the yoke of an oppressive government] and to Ireland as a country ‘avili par l’esclavage’ [demeaned by slavery] (CPA/588/268).

Ferradou concludes that the Rowan Hamilton Memorials from this time played a major part in the chain of political advocacy which led to the French expedition of 1796 (2019: 535). More immediately, Rowan’s lobbying, mediated by Sullivan, convinced the Committee of Public Safety that Carnot should plan a French military expedition to Ireland (Ferradou 2019: 544). Carnot was a leading military figure who in time would be responsible for war policy in the five-man Directory which governed France (Elliott 1990: 203). However, the plan proposed by Rowan ended with Carnot’s temporary disappearance from the political scene in September 1794 (Ferradou 2019: 544).

Hamilton Rowan became gradually disenchanted with the French leadership and decided to leave France for the United States. Madgett helped him to obtain a false American passport in the name of James Thompson for travel to the United States in 1795, with the active assistance of the American ambassador to Paris, James Monroe (Rowan 1840: 240–241; Whelan 2015: 171–172).

2.2 Ireland on the French political radar

Notwithstanding Hamilton Rowan’s departure, Madgett had been keeping Irish affairs on the political agenda in 1794 and into 1795. On 20 June 1794, in a document entitled *Mémoire sur l’Irlande*, Madgett expounded on his plans for a French invasion of Ireland (AD/MD/19/378). This is the first in a series of interrelated papers presented to the Committee of Public Safety by Madgett in 1794 which were grounded on discussions with United Irishmen like Hamilton Rowan and intelligence received from agents in England and Ireland (CPA/588/484; AD/MD/19/382). These submissions involved a continuous bilingual engagement and represented a considerable corpus of political intelligence and advice on Irish affairs. For as long as France was at war with Britain, the idea of weakening the British war effort by an invasion of Ireland could be presented by Madgett as a potentially attractive strategy to the French leadership.

Madgett lays out an elaborate invasion plan for the benefit of the Committee of Public Safety, involving a French force of thirty thousand men to land at Wexford, Galway, and Cork (AD/MD/19/378). No Madgett blueprint for an invasion of Ireland would have been complete

without a printed Proclamation, this time running to between fifty and sixty thousand copies, which would be disseminated on landing. He proposes that Hamilton Rowan would lead the invading army into Dublin and suggests his nephew Sullivan for the role of interpreter—in addition to offering his own services—with the forces landing in Cork and Galway. Here the translator is effortlessly donning the mantle of military planner and propagandist. Madgett also suggests that Irish prisoners of war in the British navy would readily switch sides, a recurrent theme in Madgett's recruitment plans for a French-led invasion (AD/MD/19/378).

A memorandum entitled *Notes sur l'Irlande* by Madgett bears the notation 'An 3', i.e., after September 1794 and presents an important conundrum (AD/MD/19/382; Ferradou 2019: 545). The author notes the extremely unfavourable view of the French Revolution amongst the Catholic population due to the influence of Catholic priests, which suggests it might not be Madgett's work. The notion that the influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland made the country a poor breeding ground for French revolutionary principles was occasionally voiced by the French leadership, but which Irish radicals were consistently keen to dispel. For example, General Clarke expressed exactly such reservations to Wolfe Tone during their meeting on 14 March 1796, but Tone insisted the situation had changed (Tone 2001: 112). Keogh observes that the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland was loyal to the British government even in the teeth of a repressive regime (Keogh 1993: 89). Madgett had quite a different view of this question later in 1794, as will become clear (CPA/588/484).

However, the text contains other indications pointing to Madgett being the author (AD/MD/19/382). In order to change popular attitudes about France, the writer recommends that news about developments in France and French parliamentary reports should be composed in Paris, translated and printed there and then disseminated in England, for example, in *The Morning Chronicle*, and also in Ireland. This entire propaganda exercise would be undertaken by the Minister for the Navy and the Translation Section established in the Committee of Public Safety would carry out the translation work (namely, Madgett). Even if the authorship of this document is in some doubt, Madgett's influence is clearly discernible in the propaganda and counter-intelligence strategies recommended in the text (AD/MD/19/382–388).

Madgett composed another long memorandum on Ireland dated 19 November 1794, which reads as a synthesis of the previous submissions on the possibility of a French invasion (CPA/588/484; Ferradou 2019: 546-549). As a sign of Madgett's influence during the Terror,

he feels able to openly criticise the Interior Minister, Garat, who had been given an earlier paper on Ireland in January 1794 which, according to Madgett, Garat probably hadn't even read and, therefore, had failed to alert the Committee of Public Safety as to its import (CPA/588/484).

Madgett is highly critical of the nomination by the British government of Fitzwilliam as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which was no more than a sop to Catholics (CPA/588/484). Fitzwilliam had been favourably disposed to political reform in ease of Catholics, but this led to his recall from Dublin by Pitt in February 1795 only a few months after his appointment. Madgett gives a detailed account of how the Catholic question had evolved in Ireland during the previous twenty years, almost in the guise of a lecture to the French leadership on just how treacherous Pitt's government had been in its dealings with Irish Catholics. Pitt had misled the Catholics into believing the British government was committed to reform but the reality was quite the reverse. Equally, he warns, France should not rely on Catholic aristocrats, or on the bishops and priests who had been bought off by Pitt. Instead, France should turn to the general Catholic population who had been freed from their subservience to the church. This anti-clerical rhetoric was quite a change from the memorandum earlier that year that had claimed that such subservience was still prevalent (AD/MD/19/382). Even the more moderate politics of the Directory, which was established in October 1795, did not remove strong opposition to the Catholic Church within the French political establishment (Desan 2006: 556).

Madgett recalls the flight of Hamilton Rowan who had been persecuted by Pitt (CPA/588/484). The familiar formula of propaganda and advice on an invasion followed. Fifty to sixty thousand men needed to be armed and the country would then be ready to form a republican government promising freedom of religious practice and an alliance with France. This would undermine British naval strength as three quarters of the British navy was composed of Irish sailors. An essential tool of the invasion force would be an Address to the Irish people, exposing the mistreatment of Catholics, which would be published in Ireland. Madgett offers to take charge of such a publication and by using the English printers in Paris, the English would believe it was printed in England. The pamphlet could be disseminated in Ireland by using neutral American ships. Once again, this document emphasises Madgett's grasp of the importance of propaganda.

Kleinman has suggested that Madgett's first contribution to the Irish cause was the *Compte Rendu de l'adresse au peuple d'Irlande par le citoyen Madgett chef du bureau de traduction près le Comité de Salut Public* which appears to have been composed in the summer of 1795 (Kleinman 2017: 11; CPA/588/480). However, the two memoranda just discussed place his advocacy for Irish independence firmly in 1794 (AD/MD/19/378-381; CPA/588/484).

A detailed report in *The Hibernian Journal* of 13 April 1795, also published in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 14 April 1795, of a Meeting of middle-class Catholics in Francis Street, Dublin held on 9 April provided political intelligence which assumed subsequent importance for Madgett in his campaign for a French military expedition to Ireland (James Haly:1795; Ferradou 2019: 557). He translated and certified his translation of the report of that Meeting, though not before making significant adjustments and deletions which will be discussed in detail in chapter five (CPA/588/494). Madgett appears to have edited, to suit his purpose, the minutes of the original meeting as published in *The Hibernian Journal*, and the *Dublin Evening Post*, as he does not translate the full text of that article (CPA/588/494). A detailed account of the meeting was separately published in Cork in 1795 by James Haly and is an almost exact copy of the account in the *Hibernian Journal* and the *Dublin Evening Post*. The report of the Meeting reveals growing impatience amongst Catholics with the dismissive attitude of the British to their demands for reform, in addition to a hostile reaction to the suggestion of a full Union between Ireland and Britain. Edmund Burke observed that the proceedings were 'wholly Jacobinical' in tone (Keogh 1993: 84). Madgett was clearly keeping himself informed about Irish affairs, and may have procured a copy of *The Hibernian Journal*, or *The Dublin Evening Post*, though these were not the newspapers in English being regularly monitored by Madgett and Sullivan in the French Foreign Ministry in Paris later in 1795 and in 1796. Through translation, Madgett was shining a light for his political masters on the continuing oppression of Irish Catholics, and the hardening of moderate Catholic opinion in Ireland, following the collapse of attempts at constitutional reform (Keogh 1998: 10). The political rhetoric from a Meeting of Catholics in Dublin would have transnational reach through translation.

2.3 Sullivan's political outlook

Meanwhile, John Sullivan, still stationed in Brittany, claims the credit for the composition of anti-English propaganda and its secret dispatch to England during this period

(AAE/PERS/1/65/58). Unfortunately, there is no trace in archival records of any propaganda pamphlets he might have authored. Clues as to his own political outlook will have to be found elsewhere. Sullivan's participation in the campaign to defeat the royalists in the Vendée, and the emphatic endorsement from his local Jacobin club in La Flèche, make his republican sympathies clear as of 1793. He describes himself as an 'ennemi juré du gouvernement anglais' [a sworn enemy of the English government] in a letter he wrote to Minister Delacroix in October 1796 (AAE/PERS/1/65/58). Sullivan goes on to express 'mon mépris et mon horreur pour le roi Georges et pour ses ministres' [my contempt and hatred of King George and his ministers] (Ibid.).

Sullivan's political vision reflected the ideology of the revolutionary state he was serving. His views are further illustrated in a virulent attack on *The Times* newspaper and on Pitt's government on 7 June 1794 (CPA/588/179). In a document composed and signed by him, Sullivan summarises the editorial position of *The Times* as portraying France in a state of impoverishment, where the guillotine is used to reduce the number of mouths the country has to feed. The analysis was for the benefit of his political masters in the Committee of Public Safety because Sullivan begins the piece by referring to the opinions expressed in *The Times* as 'les absurdités monstrueuses' [monstrous absurdities]. Sullivan's republican rhetoric leads him to underline an extract from the article, which he sarcastically introduces as an example of the impartiality of its author. The extract describes the French system of government as more cruel and tyrannical than any absolute monarchy. Kleinman has tracked one part of Sullivan's political collage to the edition of *The Times* of 21 March 1794 (Kleinman 2017: 11).

This explicit intervention by the translator was his first recorded foray into press translation and presages the extensive monitoring of the English press which Sullivan was to undertake for Minister Delacroix, when he was a staff translator in the French Foreign Ministry in 1795 and 1796 (AF/III/228; AF/III/229). Sullivan's clear hand is also recognisable in a translation of more anti-French invective from the English press some three days later, this time without any rolling commentary from the translator (CPA/588/180). *The Oracle*, a pro-government newspaper (Schweizer 2006: 41), published an article in its edition of 10 June 1794 that portrays France as a nation which has fallen into the 'abyss of the most atrocious barbarity', and which has seen the Jacobins willing 'to tear in pieces the panting breast of every prostate Briton, who by the chance of war should fall into their hands'.

Not all documents translated by Sullivan were signed by him. As is clear from the Table of Translations in Appendix 15, Sullivan signed off on approximately eight translations, and Madgett put his name to approximately eleven. However, Sullivan's clear, recognisable handwriting makes it possible to attribute many unsigned documents to him. Appendices 18 and 19 contain two documents for comparison, one that he has signed and one that he has not. Appendices 16 and 17 contain examples of Madgett's recognisable though sometimes illegible handwriting, both signed and unsigned.

The febrile political context of the spring and summer of 1794 in Paris can hardly be overstated. The Committee of Public Safety saw itself surrounded by enemies, as conspiracy theories flourished and it responded with more centralisation, terror and reform. More people were decapitated by the guillotine in June and July 1794 than in the whole of the previous fifteen months (Gough 1998: 54). These were dark days indeed for the French Revolution, but Sullivan not only survived but, the following year, progressed to a prestigious position in the French Foreign Ministry which will be addressed shortly (AF/III/52-55/213). His understanding of revolutionary politics can only have been enhanced by his uncle's political astuteness, one key element of which was Madgett's grasp of the importance of the printed word.

2.4 The printed word

Madgett's *modus operandi* as informal director of counter-espionage and propaganda paid close attention to the power of the printed word. This is hardly surprising given his experience as a classicist, a translator, and a teacher of foreign languages. He was undoubtedly aware of the increasing politicisation of the population. Habermas has characterised as the public sphere, the space between civil society and the State, in which there was increasing public discussion in the eighteenth century of matters of general interest (Habermas 1989; Burrows 2015: 76). In pre-revolutionary France, political journalism did not occupy that space in institutional terms, as it did in England. The first daily newspaper in England appeared in 1702, whereas France had to wait until the *Journal de Paris* was first published in 1777 (Dziembowski 2018: 188). Publishing was subject to strict censorship (Roche 1984: 76). The public sphere in France did not generally include political discussion prior to the Revolution, although there was a

flourishing trade in books that were smuggled into France, as Darnton has shown (Darnton: 1995).

The public sphere developed rapidly in France after 1789 (Habermas 1989: 69). The strict censorship of the ancien régime was replaced by the freedom to publish inaugurated by the Revolution, when all restrictions on printers and booksellers were removed (Vouillot 1984: 526). The free circulation of opinions was one of the rights enshrined in the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789. The number of publishers and booksellers more than doubled in Paris from 1790 to 1795 (Ibid: 526). However, the Convention introduced its own strict censorship regime in 1793 during the Terror, when counter-revolutionary books were banned (Ibid: 527). Even in Ireland, the French Revolution had heralded what Keogh describes as ‘an unprecedented level of political awareness’ (Keogh 1993: 218).

Translation made a major contribution to political debate in France after 1789, especially in relation to the spread of political ideas, and in particular the notion of a Republic (Chappey 2013: 233). Political publishing flourished. Five hundred new periodicals appeared in Paris between 1789 and 1792 as literacy rates increased, leading to an explosion in political journalism (Parent 1996: 606). Those unable to read had the latest news read out to them in public (Ibid: 606). Print culture was thus being absorbed into oral culture. The intensive politicisation that the Revolution heralded was furthered by the appetite for political news generated by the network of Jacobin Clubs and popular societies. In provincial Jacobin clubs, the latest political dispatches from the Parisian press were read aloud (Parent 1996: 608). *Sans culotte* ideology thrived in local Jacobin clubs, which by early 1794 numbered almost six thousand (McPhee 2017: 223, 237). Posters and single sheet notices (*‘journal-affiche’*) proliferated (Parent 1996: 607).

These developments in the world of popular journalism and publishing were mirrored to some extent in Ireland. The principal United Irishmen publication, *The Northern Star*, reached a print run of 4,000. Through collective reading, it reached ten times that number (O’Brien 1998: 16-17). Tone’s *An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland* published in 1791 and Paine’s *Rights of Man* were successful political pamphlets in Ireland (Whelan 1996: 71). Even Arthur O’Connor’s short-lived newspaper, *The Press*, reported on political developments in France between 1797 and 1798, relying on translated material from French sources (Leech 2017: 65).

Madgett's belief in the importance of written anti-English propaganda is amply demonstrated between 1794 and 1799 by his repeated calls to the French authorities for documents to be printed in English. These included his requests for a proclamation of Irish independence (AD/MD/19/378–381), for the translation into English of French news (AD/MD/19/382–388), the distribution of a pamphlet on the mistreatment of Irish Catholics (CPA/588/484), the possibility that Irish volunteers on the French expedition in 1796 could bring and disseminate proclamations (CPA/589/159), an anti-Pitt propaganda campaign in Parisian newspapers (CPA/590/61), and the oft repeated call in 1799 for the printing and distribution of his Address to Irish sailors in the British navy (AN/Mar/G/242/5-8). Translation was key to the conception and execution of political propaganda.

A tone of frustration appears in a message which Madgett sends to the Committee of Public Safety, expressing his irritation that previous memoranda submitted by him on the subject of procuring English newspapers had gone unanswered (AAE/PERS/1/47/88). That he was able to adopt a tone of reprobation in his dealings with the centre of power during the Terror says much about his standing with the French political elite.

He is concerned in particular about the logistics of getting English newspapers to Paris. This episode also discloses a paradox. Madgett had been installed in an important position in which translation played a key part, though this was sometimes accompanied by an apparent failure by the State to appreciate the true value of translation. The translation of all revolutionary laws into certain neighbouring European languages (German, Dutch, Spanish and Italian) was a political priority and seen as a way of enhancing the influence of the Revolution (Chappey & Martin 2017: 1; Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 203). At times however, the State appeared indifferent to the potency of translation, as Madgett's tone of frustration underlines.

The precise location of this document in Madgett's personal file in the Diplomatic Archives suggests it was written in October 1794. Madgett proposes arrangements to ensure a continuity of supply of English newspapers from London through the agency of an American merchant named Leavenworth, who offered to deliver all English newspapers to Paris every ten days (AAE/PERS/1/47/88). The English press was a major source of military and political intelligence during Madgett's tenure at Foreign Affairs, particularly in 1796 when Sullivan was

scouring the English press for news of relevance to the French leadership (AF/III/58/228; AF/III/229).

Madgett's status is evident from a memorandum dated 1 October 1794 relating to William Jackson and William Stone who were both in prison. He denounces William Stone's wife for having informed on her husband and asks the Committee of Public Safety to arrest her in Hamburg (CPA/588/265). Here is an example of the translator as the arbiter of political orthodoxy in a position to use his influence to track down informers, an initiative that was wholly consistent with Madgett's role as a *de facto* director of counter-intelligence operating a network of secret agents. Madgett continued to seek assistance for Stone, in jail in Basle, by requesting a senior Foreign Ministry official for an extension of his passport on 15 October 1794 (AAE/PERS/1/47/87).

2.5 The translator's vulnerability

The next section will examine some rare personal correspondence between nephew and uncle, which highlights the vulnerability and insecurity of the translator (AN/W/584). This will lead us to consider the curious case of the other Nicholas Madgett ('Madgett II'), the translator's troublemaking cousin.

By the end of 1794, Sullivan was finding that his salary was barely able to sustain him and he corresponded with his uncle, Nicholas Madgett, in Paris to explain why he had to seek a salary increase and to enlist his uncle's support for that purpose. Four letters written by Sullivan from Brest to his uncle in November and December 1794, the only surviving correspondence between them, are a precious record of their personal relationship (AN/W/584). In addition, they disclose the hardship endured by a translator working in extraordinary and demanding circumstances. This correspondence survives only because it was copied by the police when it was found in Madgett's office in the course of an investigation in July 1795 into a charge of espionage brought against Madgett II, who had been travelling under an assumed name, William Burrus, and was a British spy (AN/W/548/6; Ferradou 2019: 504).

These four letters, all addressed to 'mon cher oncle', were written in French, possibly to avoid suspicion and interception had they been penned in English. They disclose that Sullivan had been taken in by Madgett II, and had tried to interest his uncle in a commercial transaction

involving confiscated merchandise. Although no reply from the wily Madgett to his nephew's correspondence survives, one suspects Madgett would have been slow to repeat the commercial disaster of the 1770s. By May 1795, Madgett had been informed by Charles Somers, a double agent, that his cousin Madgett II was unreliable and had tricked his nephew, John Sullivan (AN/W/548/12; Ferradou 2019: 508).

The first letter dated 30 November 1794 begins by asking a curious question: how are your business affairs? (AN/W/548). There is almost no evidence of what these business affairs were. Nicholas Madgett, then Head of Translation in the Committee of Public Safety, would have needed to be extremely circumspect about any business dealings that might arouse anti-foreigner suspicion.

Sullivan had received support for his request for a pay increase from the Convention's Representatives 'en mission' in Finistère, Faure and Trehouart (Le Bloas 2014: 125). Sullivan claims that they praised his translation of documents seized from captured British ships. Sullivan regrets he had not sought a higher increase- he merely requested an increase from 300 *livres* to 400 *livres* per month- whereas officials who were taking down church bells and sending them to Paris were on 500 *livres* per month (AN/W/548). Once France was on a war footing in 1793, church bells were requisitioned across the country to be melted down and used for military purposes (McPhee 2017: 243). Sullivan explains that he needed to put some money aside for the future, as his position would disappear after the war ended. Moreover, he was doing more than simply interpreting, as he had recently translated a work on longitude, which required a knowledge of English and Mathematics and for which any Parisian publisher would have paid him 6,000 *livres*. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace a copy of this work, though this translation may well have been commissioned for military purposes. It is quite possible that Sullivan had, through his prior experience as a Mathematics teacher in the military school in La Flèche, established a reputation in French military circles which brought about this translation. He was clearly unhappy that he couldn't turn it to his financial advantage.

Accordingly, he lays out in explicit terms how inadequate his salary was. He was completely broke, borrowing from a friend to make ends meet and was owed arrears of pay of three months. He asks Madgett not to forget political news. He concludes by sending greetings to his aunt and two cousins, who may well have been lodging with Madgett in Paris. His aunt

may well have been one of Madgett's sisters (though not Ellen Madgett, Sullivan's mother, who is mentioned in a later dispatch).

The second letter dated 3 December 1794 reminds Madgett that he should support Sullivan's request for a pay increase (AN/W/548). Sullivan again refers to an unexplained business venture in Lorient. The third letter dated 21 December begins by alerting Madgett to the possibility of making a quick profit. Merchandise taken from captured ships was being sold off to the highest bidder, as an exception to the law imposing price controls on essential products. This had been authorised by the local Convention representatives Villers and Desrues. Sullivan offers his services and advice to Madgett, in effect, to act as Madgett's broker, should his uncle wish to trade on that account. There is nothing to confirm Madgett even considered this opportunity.

Financial constraints continue to be the major worry. Sullivan expresses concern that he had heard nothing about his request for a salary increase and then asks his uncle to assist him in securing a position in the United States in the retinue of Adet, the French envoy to Philadelphia. He concludes by alerting his uncle to the commercial enterprise of his cousin Madgett II, who was amassing a fortune which he had promised to leave to Sullivan. This showed Sullivan to be a rather naïve person whose own penury was forcing him to take desperate decisions.

The final letter in this sequence dated 28 December is perhaps the most poignant. Sullivan reminds Madgett that their relatives in Ireland were in dire need (AN/W/548). He mildly rebukes his uncle for disapproving of his business venture, or rather the venture planned by Madgett II which Sullivan believed would be very lucrative. He was going to be the principal beneficiary. Given the needs of his family, he had no option but to participate in Madgett II's business after leaving the public service. In effect, Sullivan was being lured into speculative commercial ventures in order to make some provision for his impoverished, extended family. Surely, he contends, he was entitled to pursue that course of action, having devoted the most precious part of his youth to the cause of freedom. He becomes even more explicit about his lack of money. The monthly salary was barely enough to make ends meet, let alone put anything aside for the future. The plea of the translator about to be left penniless after the war is full of pathos:

que sera-ce donc à la paix lorsque je me trouverai sans place, sans argent, et peut-être sans amis? (AN/W/584)

[Where will I be in peacetime with no position, no money and maybe no friends?]

Little did he know that he would be without secure employment long before the war ended. Sullivan was not exaggerating when complaining about low wages. These were paid in ‘*assignats*’ [government bonds] which were not metallic currency but treasury bonds that had to be cashed in for value. However, the market value of these bonds fluctuated wildly, and generally their value decreased. Between the end of 1794 and the summer of 1795, the assignat fell from 34% of its 1790 value to just 4%; meanwhile the cost of living rose by 900% between 1790 and 1795 (Sutherland 1985: 254).

Addressing his uncle in very candid terms, he points out that Madgett’s position was no better, and given his age he too would surely want security. You are, writes Sullivan, my uncle and my friend. Sullivan then portrays in bleak but vivid terms the position of his immediate family. His mother was living with her cousin Nealan, who had taken her in as an act of charity. This seemingly trivial piece of information does however assist us to reconstruct further the connections between the Madgett and Sullivan families. Allman asserts that one of Bishop Madgett’s sisters had married locally into the ‘Nelán’ family in Causeway, County Kerry in the mid eighteenth century (Allman 1983: 22). This is consistent with the hypothesis already posited on the basis of baptismal records that Sullivan’s mother was indeed Ellen Madgett, a sister of the translator. Sullivan continues this tale of misery by recounting that his sister lived in near poverty with an aunt and that his two brothers had enlisted as sailors to earn a living, presumably in the British navy.

Sullivan’s desperation is evident from the final plea to his uncle to secure a position with Adet, in Philadelphia whom he refers to as Madgett’s ‘friend’. He would work as a secretary, a translator, an interpreter or in default, in any type of employment. Sullivan would doubtless have been disappointed with the official response to the request for a pay rise. Noting that the request was supported by Faure and Tréhouart and was justified by Sullivan’s translation in Brest of documents seized from English ships, the army approved a modest increase from 300 to 350 *livres* per month (AF/III/230/36). Sullivan was again referred to as ‘*interprète à la résidence de Dinan*’. Doing intelligence work in the field may have seemed like an exciting

mission for a young linguist, but as this very personal correspondence demonstrates, the harsh realities of subsistence living led to a sense of vulnerability and anxiety about the future.

This period also illustrates Sullivan's remarkable, professional versatility. He was interrogating and even indoctrinating captured English, or Irish prisoners of war, translating confiscated English documents, and helping to compose republican propaganda which he then smuggled into England on prisoner exchange ships (AF/III/28/97/141). None of these tasks could have been performed if he had not been a skilled translator.

2.6 Madgett II: cousin and troublemaker

Sullivan was not to know, when he penned that personal correspondence in late 1794, that his connection to Madgett II would lead to some unfortunate consequences the following year. Sullivan was arrested in Brest on 18 July 1795 as part of the police investigation of Madgett II, but was released on 4 August and given a passport to return to Paris on 20 September 1795 (AN/F/7/7107). The police report confirms that Sullivan was investigated, in part, because he had in his possession certain items belonging to Madgett II. The statement made to the police by the accused, Madgett II, about his connections with Sullivan may also have contributed to his arrest (AN/F/7/7107). Sullivan's arrest and release seem extraordinary in the overall context of his service to the Republic and his recruitment into the French Foreign Ministry shortly afterwards.

The police file relating to Madgett II discloses that an unflattering statement about Madgett, the translator, was made to the police in June 1795 by a mysterious colleague named Mabile, or Babille, who claims to be 'Chef du 3e Bureau' [Head of the 3rd Section]. The statement begins by describing Madgett as a 'Prêtre Irlandais' [Irish Priest], as though this were a mark of unreliability. It portrays Madgett as a self-interested schemer, though Mabile's own authenticity is open to question as none of the lists of Foreign Ministry employees which were prepared under Delacroix's authority in the autumn of 1795 contain anyone by the name of Mabile, or Babille (AF/III/52-55/213). It is conceivable that this mysterious Mabile was attached to the Committee of Public Safety. Madgett was also linked to the accused, Madgett II, by the latter's own statement to the police that he was in Paris for business dealings with his cousin, Madgett, the 'chef de bureau au comité de salut public' [Head of Section in the Committee of Public Safety] (AN/F/7/7107).

These statements may have prompted a police search of Madgett's home at 66 Rue Vivienne, Paris and of his office in the Committee of Public Safety on 3 July 1795. Police went through all his papers and found and transcribed the four personal letters from Sullivan referred to above (AN/W/548). Madgett told the police he had not seen the accused, his cousin, for six years, and had no idea of his movements, except for one letter from Brest a year before to which he had not replied (AN/W/548).

In addition, a later police file on Madgett II's continuing detention in 1796, discloses that Madgett, the translator, had himself been arrested on the evening of 25 May 1795 as he was leaving his office in the Foreign Ministry, though there are no details as to why he was detained or when he was released (AN/F/7/7107). The record of his arrest merely notes that he was taken to the prison in central Paris, La Maison des Orties. Interestingly, in a separate police file in which Madgett was asked to assist the police in an unidentified matter in August 1795, he is described in a comment from the police *post* interview, as a man of sixty years of age, who gives the impression of being truthful and acting in good faith (AN/F7/6217).

Madgett II was tried on a charge of espionage, but the case was discontinued on 22 July 1795 for lack of evidence (AN/W/548). Ferradou's account seems plausible: Madgett II was a priest who had left France in 1791 to avoid the constitutional oath, and was then employed by Dublin Castle in 1793 as an informer (Ferradou 2019: 502). Madgett II remained in prison as the police report in 1796 recommended his continued detention on the ground he was still a counter-revolutionary (AN/F/7/7107).

Ultimately, the police investigation of Madgett II did not damage the standing of either Madgett or Sullivan, who by October 1795 were both working in close proximity to and supporting the functions of the Private Office of the French Foreign Minister. However, the episode demonstrated how easily a brush with the law involving a British spy and double agent could turn sour.

Madgett's own statement to the police during the investigation of Madgett II on a charge of espionage discloses that he did have some modest business interests because the cost of living was so expensive (W/548). Although Madgett was presumably released from police custody in July 1795, just as Sullivan was in September 1795, a police report dated 11 March 1796 recommended that police surveillance of both Madgett and Sullivan was still essential. That there was lingering police suspicion about their loyalty to the French Republic at the very time

they were actively collaborating with Wolfe Tone, on behalf of the Republic, shows how precarious their position was (AN/F/7/7017). The report states:

On pense encore qu'il est très important de surveiller l'autre Madgett cydevant chef du Bureau des traductions des relations extérieures en comité de salut public [...] Sullivan interprete des prisonniers anglais a Brest.(AN/F/7/7017)

[We still think it is important that there be surveillance of the other Madgett, the head of Translation in Foreign Affairs and the Committee of Public Safety [...] Sullivan, the interpreter for English prisoners in Brest]

A slightly later police report dated 13 April discloses that from the police perspective, there was continuing suspicion about their bona fides. Madgett was still a priest and both translators were still 'foreigners':

Je ne puis, je pense, mieux satisfaire aux renseignements que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me demander, par votre lettre du 5 de ce mois, concernant Sullivan interprète des prisonniers anglais à Brest & son parent, Madgett, prêtre, l'un et l'autre Irlandais, qu'en vous envoyant les quatres pièces ci- jointes relatives à ces deux Etrangers (AN/F/7/7107).

[I believe the best way to reply to your request for information, contained in your letter of the 5th of this month, about Sullivan, the interpreter for English prisoners in Brest, and his relative Madgett, a priest, both of them Irish, is to send you the enclosed four documents relating to these two foreigners.]

Nationality continued to be an important criterion, even in the case of foreigners who were of use to the Republic. At this point, Madgett was aged fifty-eight, having spent the previous forty-seven years in France. It is unclear if the recommendation of police surveillance was ever put into effect, as the letter in reply from the Police Commissioner in Brest dated 13 April 1796

stating that Sullivan had been arrested, then released and given a passport to travel to Paris may have been sufficient to dissipate the suspicions of the Parisian police (AN/F/7/7107).

Meanwhile, Madgett continued to brief the French leadership on Ireland. An undated Report in the Diplomatic Archives is entitled *Compte Rendu de l'Adresse au Peuple d'Irlande par le Citoyen Madgett Chef du Bureau de Traduction pres le Comité de Salut Public* [Report of the Address to the People of Ireland by Citizen Madgett, Head of the Translation Section at the Committee of Public Safety] (CPA/588/480; Ferradou 2019: 550-551). Its position in the Archives suggests it was drafted in the spring of 1795, and it must have predated the demise of the Committee of Public Safety in August 1795. Although it was not in Madgett's hand or signed by him, he is named in the title as the author of the Address of which this is a summary. Its political content appears to be classic Madgett (CPA/588/480). Kleinman has considered the political and linguistic aspects of this document and concludes that Madgett was indeed the author (Kleinman 2005: 112-113).

This was an account of a longer political address composed by Madgett and intended for distribution after the landing of a French invasion force and targeted at a sympathetic Irish audience. The long title is self-explanatory. The declamatory message takes the form of a highly rhetorical denunciation of the English regime of tyranny, cruelty and duplicity in Ireland. Its aim is to reawaken the old hatred of the eternal oppressors of the Irish people so that a free and independent Ireland could rise up and form an alliance with France. Irishmen serving in the English army and navy should answer the call to insurrection, with the generous assistance of France. The original address has not been found but Madgett concludes, with his usual advice, that this document should be printed and distributed in great numbers in any future expedition to Ireland (CPA/588/480).

The fall of Robespierre in July 1794 marked the beginning of the decline of Jacobin rule. Jainchill has referred to the Thermidorian moment as marking a break with radical Jacobinism and the consolidation of the Republic (Jainchill 2008: 27). Executions were much reduced and the powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal were curtailed (McPhee 2017: 275). However, anti-foreigner laws were not repealed quickly (Rapport 2000: 259–260). By March 1795, Madgett found himself at the head of a Translation Section with twelve employees, still under the authority of the Committee of Public Safety (AN/C/364; D'Hulst & Schreiber 2014: 7). But the

power of the Committee was in decline, particularly after the Convention had stripped it of much of its executive authority in August 1794 (Doyle 2018: 283).

Parisian radicals were still prepared to take to the streets in uprisings in April and May 1795 following food shortages. The Convention reacted with a purge of Jacobin deputies and, subsequently, the replacement of the radical Constitution of 1793 by a more conservative one (Jainchill 2008: 28-29). By the autumn of 1795, the Terror had been replaced by a new, less radical politics which excluded the sans culottes and royalists, protected property rights and introduced a more limited suffrage. McPhee characterises the new dispensation as parliamentary but socially conservative republicanism (McPhee 2017: 298).

Madgett was installed as Head of Translation under the new Foreign Minister, Charles Delacroix, and as a result, his influence on French policy towards Ireland grew further (AF/III/52-55/213). Having spent two years in the 'field', Sullivan returned to Paris in the autumn of 1795, a journey he had to partly finance by selling some personal effects (AAE/PERS/1/65/58). He joined the Translation Section under the aegis of its Head, Nicholas Madgett, his uncle. This brought Madgett and Sullivan together for the first time in precisely the same working environment, and closer to the centre of power. It also gave them fresh opportunities to advance the cause of Irish independence. However, there was close surveillance of government translators, and a premium was still put on political loyalty. Each Foreign Affairs employee had to establish his republican credentials (Masson 1877: 378). Employees were warned to use the term 'citoyen'[citizen] and not 'monsieur' (Masson 1877: 378).

2.7 Madgett and Sullivan in the French Foreign Ministry: *post Vendémiaire*

October 1795 marked the beginning of Madgett's reign as Head of Translation in the French Foreign Ministry, which saw him develop a close relationship with the Foreign Minister, Charles Delacroix (AF/III/52-55/213). His tenure there was the apogee of his political influence as an advocate of Irish independence.

How Minister Delacroix organised his translation staff and ensured their political loyalty will now be considered (AF/III/52-55/213). In addition, the aftermath of the *Vendémiaire* coup produced fascinating personal statements by Madgett and Sullivan reaffirming their allegiance to the regime (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). A report by the Minister on a remarkable

oath-swearing ceremony which included all translators working under his authority is also reviewed (AF/III/52-55/213).

At the height of its power in 1793-1794, the Committee of Public Safety controlled Foreign Affairs and ministers had little influence (Masson 1877: 299, 309). The Translation Section was transferred to the Foreign Ministry on the dissolution of the Committee of Public Safety on 24 August 1795 (AAE/PERS/1/65/83). The reorganisation of translation in late 1795 by the newly appointed Minister, Charles Delacroix within the Foreign Ministry, is well recorded (AF/III/52-55/213).

The Minister divided his staff into two administrative units: 'Le Secrétariat Intime' [the Private Secretariat] and 'Le Secrétariat Général pour les Affaires Courantes' [The Secretariat for General Business] (AF/III/52-55/213/1). Delacroix explains that the Private Secretariat was given preferential treatment because it had to decode, translate and analyse important documents (Ibid.). Masson, in his comprehensive history of the French Foreign Ministry entitled *Le Département des Affaires Étrangères Pendant la Révolution 1787-1804*, refers to the functions of the Private Secretariat in this period as including translation, decoding and analysis (Masson 1877: 363). A copy of a chart prepared by Delacroix setting out the salary, age and title of each translator in the section appears in Appendix 20. A separate list entitled *Organisation Définitive* [Final Reorganisation] dated 27 November 1795 also shows Madgett and Sullivan in a list of seven translators within the rubric of the Secrétariat Intime [Private Office] (AF/III/52-55/213/3). It should be recalled that Madgett headed a Translation Section which also translated from Italian and Spanish into French, in addition to what Masson refers to as 'les langues du Nord' [the languages of the North], which probably included Dutch and German (Ibid.; Masson 1877: 366).

Delacroix's reorganisation sets out the institutional power structure within which translators were expected to operate. Delacroix explains the qualities expected of employees working in this environment, especially discretion, because of the secrecy of the work. Only enlightened and diligent personnel could be recruited (AF/III/52-55/213/1). The notion of a translator being eligible for employment only if he were enlightened suggests that only linguists with revolutionary credentials would be suitable.

Although the division of the Ministry into a Private Office and a General Office did not last very long (Masson 1877: 364), the nature of the work placed the translators close to the centre

of power. Indeed, Sullivan was to claim in a later letter to Delacroix that the Minister's Private Secretary, Ysabeu, had appointed him as acting head of the Translation Section during Madgett's illness (AAE/PERS/1/65/58). No other archival record of this temporary appointment has been found, though Sullivan would hardly have concocted such a story as Delacroix had the means to verify it immediately. This gives some indication of how his linguistic competence was recognised by his superiors.

2.8 Loyalty in question

From the outset of their employment in the Foreign Ministry, both uncle and nephew would have been acutely aware of the importance of political loyalty. A royalist coup which converged on the Convention had been crushed on 4 and 5 October 1795 (Doyle 2018: 321-322).⁵ The militant neighbourhood sections of Paris had already been purged and consequently, there was little popular support for the attempted insurrection (McPhee 2018: 302). In the ideological post-mortem which followed, the Directory insisted that all employees of the Foreign Ministry produce a personal statement detailing how they had supported the Republic both before and after the *coup* (Masson 1877: 378). Fortunately, this purge produced rare personal information on both Madgett's and Sullivan's careers (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141).

Madgett's personal statement dated 18 November 1795 outlines that:

- he received his early education in the *Collège du Plessis* and the *Collège de Navarre*, academies which were constituent colleges of the University of Paris respectively;
- he taught Philosophy and Mathematics for twenty years in Toulouse and Bordeaux universities, though no doubt to play down his Catholic credentials, he omitted to mention his doctorate in theology, his ordination as a priest or his *bénéfice* in the parish of Civrac;
- he returned to Paris in 1783 where he translated and taught foreign languages, except for an unidentified mission in Brittany under Navy Minister Dalbarade, and

⁵ Kleinman refers to the coup of 18 Fructidor as having caused the termination of their employment, but that coup occurred in September 1797, not 1795, and well after both Sullivan and Madgett had left their positions in the Foreign Ministry (Kleinman 2017: 7; 2018: 209). Moreover, they left at different times, Sullivan in October 1796, and Madgett in July 1797.

unsurprisingly, he omitted any reference to the disastrous investment he had made which left him impoverished after paying off his creditors;

- he describes himself as a republican on principle for more than thirty years;
- he was appointed Head of the Translation Section in the Navy Ministry in 1793 and in that capacity liaised with secret agents abroad;
- the Translation Section was then transferred to the Committee of Public Safety to whom Madgett reported; and
- he claims authorship of republican pamphlets, including an address to the Irish people to throw off the yoke of English rule (AF/III/28/97/133).

Two further features of the statement deserve to be highlighted. Madgett proclaims himself an enemy of royalism and ‘*terrorisme*’, by reference to two key occasions when he demonstrated his loyalty to the Convention. The investigation following the unsuccessful coup focussed on whether employees had stood up for the national parliament when it was under siege. The first occasion was 27 July 1794, when the Convention defied Robespierre in a trial of strength, and had him and his supporters arrested and guillotined (Doyle 2018: 281; McPhee 2017: 269). The second key occasion was the *Vendémiaire* coup attempt itself, which saw the Convention repel royalist forces on the streets of Paris on 4 and 5 October 1795, with the assistance of a young general named Bonaparte (Doyle 2018: 322). Doyle observes that this was the first time the army was deployed to put down unrest in Paris since 1789 (Ibid.).

Madgett’s instinct for political survival shone brightly here, when he denounced the Robespierre regime as terrorism. This was quite the volte-face given his previous championing of Robespierre’s speech on virtue and terror in April 1794 (AAE/PERS/1/47/85; Ferradou 2019: 555). As McPhee observes, those who had acquiesced in Robespierre’s terror quickly disparaged him after his execution (McPhee 2017: 270). Madgett’s actions may have had internal contradictions but this statement was designed for consumption by his political masters at a time when political orthodoxy was changing.

Madgett had announced his republican credentials in the early life of the new Republic in February and March 1793 (*Les Révolutions de Paris*, 2-9 février, 1793; CPA/588/20). He had recalibrated his position during the heart of the Terror in his eulogy of Robespierre’s notable speech in April 1794 (AAE/Pers/1/47/85). Now, once again, the shrewd translator found a way to readjust his political compass in order to steer a course through another challenging episode

in which his political loyalty was under official scrutiny. Jainchill has observed that there were several republican discourses during the Directory: ‘While the political language of classical republicanism predominated within the republican center, there were multiple minority currents advancing a range of political claims, from neo-Jacobin to monarchist’ (2008:109).

The second notable feature of the statement is where Madgett invokes his work on education entitled *Réflexions sur l’Éducation Publique*, in which he expounds his views on the teaching of logic, Latin grammar and philosophy. He had given his paper to the Abbé Grégoire and extracts were published in Borrelly’s *Journal de l’Instruction Publique* in 1793 (Borrelly 1793: 321). Indeed, Borrelly praised Madgett’s work for its wisdom and regretted only being able to publish extracts. Madgett was probably aware that the Directory strongly promoted public instruction, as exemplified by the periodical *La Décade Philosophique*, an intellectual organ of the government, to which he resorted in 1796 to advertise a private translation service (Jainchill 2008: 78).

Sullivan made a similar pitch in his personal statement (AF/III/28/97/141). He summarises his two years of ‘fieldwork’ in Brittany which involved interrogating and where appropriate indoctrinating prisoners of war, in addition to smuggling republican propaganda on board prisoner exchange ships. By rescuing Hamilton Rowan from jail, he was able to assist him to compose Memorials for the benefit of the Committee of Public Safety, and also a plan for a French invasion of Ireland. His statement continues to the effect that his hatred of the English as the oppressors of his ‘première patrie’ [country of birth] was implacable.

The restatement of Sullivan’s loyalty to the Republic was necessary in changing circumstances. He also claims that he had voiced his opposition to Robespierre in La Flèche. Here was Sullivan trying to position himself pragmatically within the new political dispensation which regarded the previous regime under Robespierre’s influence as terrorism (McPhee 2017: 270). It is not clear to what extent either Madgett or Sullivan ‘genuinely subscribed to Jacobin dogma’, as Kleinman has maintained (Kleinman 2012: 29).

2.9 Wolfe Tone on the horizon

Wolfe Tone’s first appearance in the French Archives is an important milestone. It presaged a period of intensive linguistic and political collaboration between Tone, Madgett, Sullivan, and, by extension, the French leadership, which preceded the Directory’s decision in

June 1796 to send a French army expedition to Ireland (SHD/B/11/1). That collaboration is well recorded in Tone's journal entries for the months of February, March and April 1796 (Tone 2001).

Tone composed a memorandum on 13 August 1795 on the subject of a French expedition to Ireland for Adet, the French ambassador in Philadelphia (CPA/589/129). It is Tone's first formal approach to a representative of the French government seeking French military support and marks the beginning of his campaign to bring about Irish independence with French military backing, a campaign in which both Madgett and Sullivan would play an important part. It contains a familiar critique of English oppression and the forced conscription of Irishmen into the British navy. An insurrection in Ireland would deplete British power, he argues, though noting that British reinforcements had been sent recently. Importantly, Tone insists that a French expedition would aim to liberate, not conquer Ireland. Whereas Tone's composition was translated by Adet in Philadelphia, Madgett was probably monitoring these contacts which culminated in Wolfe Tone's arrival in Paris in February 1796.

The Translation Section under Madgett also kept a close eye on English politics. Pitt's speech to the House of Commons on the war was translated in October 1795, as was a speech by George III, who referred to overtures about a negotiated peace with France (CPA/58/294; CPA/589/29). A typical example of Madgett's professional activities at the end of 1795 was his translation of an intercepted letter, dated 21 November 1795, from the Duke of Portland (then Pitt's Home Secretary) to a Lieutenant Bird. The letter contained secret instructions to go to Calais to rescue, by way of a prisoner exchange if possible, a number of English sailors who survived a shipwreck (CPA/589/71). Counter-intelligence and translation went hand in hand and it is not difficult to imagine Madgett's satisfaction at uncovering a secret British communication.

2.10 Loyalty Assessed

A purge of Foreign Ministry employees followed the unsuccessful *Vendémiaire* coup (AF/III/52-55/213). Madgett initially appeared on a list of employees whose future was undecided owing to lack of information, though he subsequently finds himself, together with John Sullivan, on a list of employees who were retained after the investigations were completed (AF/III/28/97). Two internal reports from Delacroix on the employees under his

authority in the Foreign Ministry bear on the status and reliability of government translators and are contained in an unnumbered file in the French National Archives (AF/III/52–55/213/1). These are significant documents identifying the function, status and working conditions of the two Irish translators in the heart of government service. The two reports underline the extent of the political loyalty expected of government translators, and the high price to be paid for any trace of disloyalty. Circumstances imposed political constraints but also brought opportunities which Madgett, in particular, astutely availed of to promote the cause of Irish independence through the medium of a French military expedition.

The first document is Delacroix's report to the Directory dated 18 December 1795, in which he explains the results of the *Vendémiaire* investigation into the political loyalty of his staff (AF/III/52-55/213/1). Masson recounts that the investigation was conducted by an anonymous body which accepted anonymous denunciations (Masson 1877: 364). Delacroix divides all employees into three categories: 1) employees who were dismissed; 2) employees who got a negative assessment and were liable to be dismissed; and 3) employees retained, or at least kept on a reserve list, on account of their *civisme* and skill. Madgett and Sullivan's protestations of their loyalty succeeded as both appear on a list of translators retained after the purge had been completed (AF/III/52-55/213/3).⁶

The second report by Delacroix is a vivid account of the ceremony at which all translators were required to swear an oath of loyalty to the Republic and an eternal hatred of royalty, both orally and in writing. Delacroix's preamble reminds the Directory that his staff were swearing the requisite oath on the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI, 'la juste punition du dernier de nos tyrans' [the just punishment of the last of our tyrants] (AF/III/52-55/213/1). All employees and diplomatic staff then in Paris gathered to hear Delacroix address them in rousing republican terms. Delacroix's account of the oath-swearing ceremony underlines the ideology all translators employed by the State were bound to observe, and conveys something of the intense political atmosphere of the occasion:

Après les avoir adressé quelques mots sur la solennité qui
nous réunit et essayé de faire pousser dans leur âme
l'énergie républicaine qui anime et soutient la mienne, je
leur ai fait lecture de l'arrêté du Directoire en dessus cité ;

⁶ Madgett and Sullivan survived what was a politically inspired purge, and more than a simple cutback, as Kleinman appears to suggest (2005:79).

j'ai prononcé à haute voix le serment d'être sincèrement attaché à la République et de vouer une haine éternelle à la royauté. Ce serment a été prêté d'une voix unanime et terminé par des cris répétés de vive la République, vivent les hommes libres de tous les pays, haine aux tyrans (AF/III/52-55/213/1).

[After explaining to them the solemn occasion which brings us together, and trying to instil in them the republican energy which motivates and sustains me, I read out to them the abovementioned decree issued by the Directory. I swore aloud the oath to be truly loyal to the Republic and a vow of eternal hatred of royalty. This oath was sworn unanimously by all present and concluded with repeated shouts of long live the Republic, long live free men everywhere, down with tyrants.]

Delacroix then invites each employee to sign the same oath. The significance of the ceremony, emphasising the premium put on political orthodoxy, cannot have been lost on either Madgett or his young nephew (AF/III/52–55/213/1). Fortunately, the French archives contain the handwritten oath and signature of both translators as a permanent record of their allegiance sworn on that occasion. These documents appear in Appendices 21 and 22.

Madgett was already well versed in the art of political pragmatism. As for Sullivan, it is hard to imagine that he needed any time to adapt to his new working environment, in the light of his political apprenticeship in the local Jacobin club in La Flèche, his military experience in the Vendée and the intelligence-related work he had undertaken for the Ministry of the Navy in the ports of Brittany (GR/2YE/3953/26; AF/III/28/97/141). Indeed, the personal statement which he furnished to the *Vendémiaire* investigation into the failed royalist coup emphasises the full gamut of his republican pedigree (AF/III/28/97/141).

One of the most important functions performed by Madgett and Sullivan in the Foreign Ministry was their analysis of the English press, a subject that has been only briefly mentioned in recent scholarship.

2.11 Translating the English Press

Any assessment of the contribution of Madgett and Sullivan to French foreign policy must include the intelligence on the political landscape of Ireland, and elsewhere, which they

gathered from diverse sources, particularly from English press reports. That collaborative intelligence informed their political masters about news emanating from all corners of the globe where French, but also British interests were at stake. It also maintained a high profile for Irish affairs. The Foreign Ministry in Paris maintained a significant holding of English newspapers, the analysis of which was part of the explicit mandate of those attached to the Bureau Intime [Private Office] (AF/III/52-55/213). It is worth recalling that Madgett saw fit to send a sternly worded reminder to his employers in October 1794 about the importance of securing a continuous supply of English newspapers (AAE/PERS/1/47/88).

Two files in the French National Archives bear witness to an assiduous work of selection and translation of extracts from English newspaper reports of interest to the French leadership during 1795 and 1796 (AF/III/58/228; AF/III/229). Prior to 1795, similar translated extracts from the English press may be found in the files of the Committee of Public Safety for the period 1793-1795, though it is not possible to attribute those translations to either Madgett or Sullivan and a detailed study of those files is beyond the scope of this thesis (AF/II/66/485-487).

The versatility of both translators may be seen in the wide range of translations completed in 1795 and 1796. Many, but by no means all, of these translations were of extracts from the English press which began to appear under Sullivan's name or in his clear hand by December 1795 and continued until his dismissal in September 1796 (AAE/Pers/1/65/58). All of these translations are included in the Table of Translations completed by Madgett and Sullivan in Appendix 15. This Table includes translations signed by them, or, attributed to them where their distinctive handwriting permits such attribution. It also includes a number of translations whose attribution to Madgett is more problematic, but where the subject-matter makes it likely that the translations were overseen or approved by him. The Table provides detailed evidence of the breadth of their reading and the diligent political filtering and analysis of material which followed.

Neither historians nor translation scholars have considered these files in detail, though Kleinman has acknowledged press analysis as a key activity and Ferradou has recognised the stream of intelligence which the activity generated (Kleinman 2005: 107; 2017: 10-11; 2018: 215; Ferradou 2019: 570, 611). The files contain extracts from both the pro- government and opposition press in London from November 1795 to September 1796 (AF/III/58/228; AF/III

229). Many of the press translations in these files are specifically marked ‘Pour le Directoire’ [for the attention of the Directory], namely for consumption by the political leadership of the Directory. A translation from *The Courier* dated 24 September 1796 explains what this annotation means:

L'extrait suivant des feuilles anglaises a paru mériter
d'être mis sous les yeux du ministre (AF/III/229).

[The following extract from the English press was
deemed worthy to be brought to the Minister.]

Out of approximately two hundred and five press translations listed in Appendix 15, sixty-eight bear this annotation, underscoring the important contribution this distinct corpus of work made to the Directory's political and military intelligence. Madgett was not the first employee of the French Foreign Ministry to appreciate the political potential of translated newspapers from across the Channel. Edme-Jacques Genet, an interpreter in the Foreign Ministry, had understood in the late 1750s in the context of the Seven Years War, the propaganda value of political reports from the English press, including from opposition sources (Dziembowski 2018: 190-191). Madgett may well have been aware that Genet was also responsible for publishing American revolutionary ideas in 1776 which the French Foreign Ministry was happy to endorse as a propaganda tool designed to undermine British control of its American colony (Dziembowski 2018: 200-210; Genet 2018: 20-21).

There is an unexplained gap in the French archival holdings of newspaper translations for the months of April, May, June and July 1796. However, the extensive translations that do survive in the French National Archives enable us to discern not just the preferred subject matter, but also, in some instances, Madgett's and Sullivan's approach to translation (AF/III/58/228; AF/III/229).

The full use of that resource by the two translators involved making a selection of certain newspapers of interest to the governing elite, extracting and then translating key passages from reports of political and military news. To complete this task competently required not only bilingual ability, but also an insight into English and international politics, and in particular, the identification of developments which were deemed important for digestion by the French political and military leadership. It seems likely that Madgett would have overseen the filtering process, certainly at the early stages, given his seniority and interest in geopolitics, though

Sullivan did most of the translation work, and no doubt over time became adept at selecting and summarising the relevant material himself.

It is notable that the archives do not appear to feature any reference to radical English newspapers of the period, i.e., *The Weekly Observer*, *The Recorder* or *The General Evening Post* (Harris 1996: 45). At that time, partisan political views were becoming increasingly common in the daily press in England (Harris 1996: 41–42). The French government subscribed to two opposition newspapers which feature prominently in the archival holdings of Madgett’s and Sullivan’s work in this period, namely, *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Courier and Evening Gazette* (‘*The Courier*’). *The Morning Chronicle* supported Fox and the opposition Whig Party (Harris 1996: 45, 47). Madgett would probably have known that the political clubs in Paris all had subscriptions to *The Morning Chronicle* (Asquith 1972: 22–23). That newspaper had heralded the French Revolution as the ‘triumph of liberty’ in 1791 (Ibid: 44) and dismissed Burke’s opposition to it (Ibid: 47–48). Its exuberance in favour of the Revolution diminished somewhat after the abolition of the monarchy and the execution of the King, both of which the *Chronicle* condemned (Ibid: 61). It maintained an anti-government stance throughout the 1790s, though its opinions became more moderate by the latter part of that decade (Barker 2000: 70, 120). There is evidence from the Diplomatic Archives that the French Foreign Ministry treated English press coverage of events in France in 1792 as a matter of some importance and it monitored the reports of *The Morning Chronicle*’s then correspondent in Paris, James Perry (Black 1991: 130). As a source of political intelligence for Madgett and Sullivan in 1795 and 1796, *The Morning Chronicle* remained an opposition publication of choice, despite its less radical political outlook.

The Courier also maintained criticism of the English government position (Pendleton 1976: 52). Barker notes that it was the only London newspaper that was critical of the moderation of the more conservative republican government in France that followed the demise of Robespierre in 1794 (Barker 2000: 180). *The Courier* features extensively in the French archival holdings of English newspapers translated by Madgett, and more especially Sullivan, in 1795 and 1796.

The early press translations in November 1795 illustrate Madgett’s *modus operandi*. He chose extracts from the pro-government newspaper *The True Briton*, dated 24 November 1795, on a debate in the House of Commons on a Sedition Bill, which was going to have immediate

ramifications for political meetings in Ireland (*The True Briton*, 24 November 1795; AF/III/58/228). Madgett's selected extracts focus on the opposition speeches against the Bill, featuring contributions by Fox, Sheridan and the London Corresponding Society. Although his translation is an incomplete version of the report, he nonetheless certifies it as accurate. Subsequently, Madgett delegated this task to Sullivan, who undertook the majority of the press translations in 1796, as can be discerned from his distinctive hand. In addition, Sullivan made occasional adjustments, particularly in relation to Irish news, as will be discussed in chapter five.

Madgett continued to provide the Directory with updated information on British politics thanks to his assiduous trawl of the press. In particular, he focussed on the impact of the Opposition in parliamentary debates and new legislation of interest to the French Directory in a long treatise on opposition politics in Britain in 1796 (AD/MD/53/208). The knowledge he acquired from that work of analysis no doubt informed his explicit political advice to the Directory.

An analysis of all the press translations contained in the two files in the French National Archives between November 1795 and September 1796 discloses Madgett and Sullivan's influence in terms of subject matter (AF/III/58/228; AF/III/229). European, Caribbean and North American developments that involved French or British interests, in addition to Irish and British news, get extensive coverage. A sample of the press extracts concerning Irish affairs will suffice to disclose the impact of the translators. Articles relating to political and military activity within Ireland feature prominently. A report of a serious food riot on the quays of Dublin in the *Lloyds Evening Post* of 15 January 1796 is infused with a strong pro-Government bias which Sullivan toned down in translation by omitting certain passages. This translation is discussed in detail in the chapter five on his translation practice (AF/III/58/228).

Madgett also included press coverage about the Defenders, an agrarian secret society committed to the establishment of a Republic, by force if necessary (Bartlett 2018: 85). The trial for treason of the United Irishman, James Weldon, in December 1795, was reported in translation (AF/III/229). The handwritten translation is an abridged version of the very detailed account of Weldon's trial published in the *Morning Chronicle* of 30 December 1795. It is unsigned and cannot be attributed on the basis of the handwriting, though Madgett was likely to have selected it for his target audience. No doubt the French leadership was absorbed by the

guilty verdict meted out to an Irishman whose crime was to profess support for France and its Revolution. Madgett also ensured that a debate in the Dublin Parliament at the end of January 1796 relating to new legislation to prohibit any gatherings by Defenders was available in translation for his political masters (AF/III/58/228).

There are also accounts of an attack by Henry Grattan⁷ on the corrupt English administration in Ireland (AF/III/58/228), two reports of Catholic persecution in County Armagh (AF/III/229), an attack on Pitt's corrupt Irish policy (Ibid.), rumours of a French invasion in Dublin (Ibid.), the strengthening of military defences in Ireland and Irish regiments being placed on full alert (Ibid.). These reports reflected how Irish affairs were projected up the French political agenda through translation by Madgett and Sullivan.

Their press translations were not just idle academic exercises, but served real political ends. For example, Madgett got John Sullivan to translate a memorandum by Tone on troop movements in Ireland in April 1796 which was then sent directly to a leading French military figure, General Hoche (CPA/589/233; GR/11/B/1). Tone's memorandum in turn had been based on an article in *The Sun* newspaper of 14 April 1796 which emerged as part of the analysis of the English press by Madgett and Sullivan (CPA/589/236).

Similarly, Sullivan's translation of an uninspiring account in *The Courier* dated 5 August 1796 of Bonaparte's campaign in Italy bears the notation: 'Envoie copie de cette ... lettre à Bonaparte' [Send a copy of this ... letter to Bonaparte,] with a further notation underneath confirming it had been so transmitted (AF/III/229).

Sullivan's political superiors were monitoring these translations carefully. The translation of an extract from the report of the trial of William Stone in *The Courier* dated 29-30 January 1796 was the subject of a handwritten comment from the Foreign Minister, Delacroix, to the effect that he recognised the invasion plan discussed at the trial as having been presented to the Convention by the American radical, Oswald (AF/III/58/228).

A brief review of a few of these translations reveals a strong translator presence in the selection of material. Sullivan translated a report of a debate in the Irish House of Commons in 1796 in which Henry Grattan denounces the English government's treatment of Ireland under William Pitt. The summary extracted from *The Courier* of 29/30 January 1796 reads:

⁷ Henry Grattan was a leading Irish parliamentarian who advocated political reform for Irish Catholics (Elliott 1982: 14).

Son système à l'égard de notre pays, dit-il, est abominable, radicalement et essentiellement vicieux et corrompu (AF/III/58/228).

[His approach to our country, he said, is atrocious, and is deeply and fundamentally vicious and corrupt.]

It is not difficult to imagine Sullivan, himself a sworn enemy of the English government, readily translating such a vitriolic attack on Pitt's government by an Irish parliamentarian (AAE/PERS/1/65/58).

A particularly virulent attack on British government policy in Ireland, again from *The Courier*, is set out in some detail in a press extract selected and translated by Sullivan. The extract begins with a dispatch from Dublin dated 4 August 1796 and recounts the incessant persecution of Catholics in County Armagh. Although the original newspaper article is not accessible, Sullivan's translation captures the graphic tenor of the report:

L'expulsion des Maures de l'Espagne, celle des Huguenots de la France ne présentent point des scènes d'un fanatisme plus farouche et depuis les jours du Roi Herode, l'horizon du monde chrétien n'a jamais été obscurci par des nuages plus sombres (AF/III/58/228).

[Neither the expulsion of the Moors from Spain nor of the Huguenots from France demonstrates a wilder fanaticism and the Christian world has never been cast in the shadow of darker clouds since the days of King Herod.]

The rise of the Orange Order led to the expulsion of hundreds of Catholics from Armagh in 1795 and 1796, a policy endorsed by Dublin Castle on the basis it would undermine the rapprochement between Presbyterians and Catholics (Whelan 1996: 123). With anti-Catholic sentiment being reported in this way, it is perhaps not surprising that Sullivan made himself available to be part of the French military expedition to Ireland under General Hoche later in 1796. Sullivan's offer, communicated by Delacroix to General Clarke, was declined (GR/2YE/3853/26). The much-anticipated invasion ended up as a miserable failure in Bantry Bay owing to poor weather and poor planning (Elliott 1990: 207).

Generally, Sullivan's translations of press extracts were accurate, an indication perhaps that military and political intelligence garnered from such sources would be of limited use if the

content was routinely manipulated in translation. There are however some rare examples of a translational presence in his press translations which are reviewed in chapter five.

The translators were not averse to including occasional advice or commentary in their press translations. Given the steady stream of political advice furnished by Madgett in 1794 and 1795, there was nothing odd about weaving advice into a translation. In a notable intervention, Madgett signs off on an unidentified extract from an English newspaper dated 15 October 1796 about efforts in London to sideline Pitt from peace negotiations with France (CPA/590/61). Madgett adds his own advice in a passage entitled *Note du Traducteur* [Note from the Translator], which is longer than the translation itself. Madgett advises fomenting anti-Pitt sentiment in England by persuading ‘patriote’ newspapers in Paris with the highest circulation in England to publish anti-Pitt articles. These would have an effect on opinion in London once translated and reported in the English press. Pitt could thus be forced out of office, and his successor obliged to negotiate peace terms. At the very least, these articles would strengthen the Opposition in London. Madgett’s advice ends with his critique of a maritime convention that all foreign ships must first salute the British navy; it was time to end ‘cette impertinente prétention’ [this impertinent conceit]. Translation and anti-Pitt propaganda went seamlessly in tandem in this composition (CPA/590/61; Ferradou 2019: 612).

Another interesting intervention appears in the translation of an extract from *The Courier* dated 22 March 1797 (AF/III/58/228). The newspaper published a letter sent by the British War Minister, Wyndham, to a French aristocrat, Le Chevalier Dunan, which discussed the sending of funds to French royalists. The translator makes his views explicit by inserting a ‘*Note du Traducteur*’ [Translator’s Note], in which he openly canvasses the expulsion of the British envoy to Paris and the need to make it clear to the British that there would be no peace negotiations with such immoral and deeply treacherous ministers who were an obstacle to peace. Although the translator is unidentified, Madgett may well have overseen it, given that he was so prolific in giving political advice and the fact that the very next press translation in the archives is a report of unrest from Ireland.

Sullivan’s outburst in June 1794 had attacked the perceived distortions of *The Times* newspaper (CPA/588/179). Sullivan intervened with his own commentary on another occasion in the archival collection of press translations. By the late summer of 1796, Sullivan was translating extensively from the English press and was confident enough to offer explicit

political advice. In a rare example of translation combined with political analysis, Sullivan translated an extract from an anonymous article on French military ambitions in a pro-government newspaper, the *True Briton* of 16 August 1796 (AF/III/229). He begins by explaining that the author of the article, *Honestus*, has chosen anonymity because this was how British Ministers sometimes sounded out public opinion on possible policy decisions. Thus, anonymity should not conceal the significance of the publication.

Sullivan translates the final part of the article but he also explains the untranslated passages for his readership as the English perception of French military ambition. The English believed that the French were intent on destroying English commerce by means of a coalition with other maritime powers, namely Spain, Portugal, Holland and Italy. However, the anonymous author concluded that these fears were exaggerated and that this was a false alarm.

Sullivan then justifies his translation of the final portion of the article on the basis that this would disclose the thinking of the British cabinet and how the British would try to counteract French ambitions by preventing a naval alliance between France and Spain. He states:

Cela posé, nous allons traduire la fin de cet article. L'on y verra les moyens que propose l'auteur pour prévenir le mal, ainsi que les intentions actuelles du cabinet Britannique (AF/III/229).

[Having stated that, we will translate the final part of this article which discloses how the author proposes to prevent this harm, but also discloses the present intentions of the British cabinet.]

This intervention by Sullivan demonstrates how, through translation, he had adopted the role of political adviser. By sifting through the latest editions of the pro-Government and Opposition press conveyed from London to Paris, he had developed increased political awareness, including knowledge of how senior British politicians operated and he showed no reticence about offering this expertise in tandem with the translation of texts.

Madgett was clever enough to realise that the French leadership would also want to be appraised of different shades of British political opinion, including pro-government opinion. Two newspapers loyal to the government and established with its assistance at the end of 1792 feature in the French National Archives: *The Star* and *The True Briton* (Harris 1996: 45). An article in *The True Briton* dated 20 August 1796 and translated by Sullivan attacked the

Opposition newspaper *The Morning Chronicle* for having, in its edition of 19 August, eulogised the French Revolution, which *The True Briton* saw as ‘universal anarchy and wretchedness’ (AF/III/229). Typical of the political news reported in translation by Sullivan is an account of the tirade in *The True Briton* dated 25 August 1796 against the opposition leader Fox, who was accused of making the most extravagant and unreasonable requests of the government as a price for his support (AF/III/229).

There are also translations from *The Sun*, a newspaper founded by Pitt’s ministers, at Edmund Burke’s suggestion. *The Sun* supported the government and its specific mission was to counteract the French Revolution (Davis 2004: 776). Sullivan characterised *The Sun* in a translation of an extract dated 5 August 1796 as a ‘feuille ministérielle’ [government newspaper]. The breadth of Sullivan’s analysis of the English press may be gauged from the Table of Translations in Appendix 15 which records, for example, that he produced translations from no fewer than five London newspapers dated 16 and 17 August 1796: *The Morning Herald*, *The Telegraph*, *The Courier*, *The Sun* and *The True Briton*.

On 9 January 1796, Sullivan translated two articles from *The True Briton* and *The Morning Chronicle* on the reported suspension of hostilities on the Rhine between French and Austrian forces, though on this occasion both took broadly the same view of French strategy. The pro-Pitt *True Briton* interprets the Directory as sending out tentative feelers for peace, but maintains that the French are in no hurry to conclude peace lest the forced loan in France not be fully subscribed. It argues that an indemnity for British war expenses and complete security would be needed in any peace treaty. *The Morning Chronicle*, in a more nuanced dispatch, reports that the French forced loan was a success and it fears that French peace with Austria would enable the French to train their energies on Britain. The writer disbelieves French peace overtures as the French know the English cabinet was divided on peace and so there was no great desire in France for peace (AF/III/58/228). What is notable in the present context is that Sullivan chose to explain why he was translating the truce from two different sources, for digestion by the French leadership:

Pour donner une idée de la manière dont les deux partis
en Angleterre envisagent l’armistice conclu dernièrement
sur le Rhin, nous traduirons les deux passages suivants,
l’un tiré du *True Briton*, feuille ministérielle, et l’autre du

Morning Chronicle, feuille de l'opposition
(AF/III/58/228).

[In order to give some idea as to how the two parties in England view the armistice agreed recently on the Rhine, we will translate the following two passages, one from the *True Briton*, a government newspaper, and the other from the *Morning Chronicle*, an opposition newspaper.]

The nuances in the English perception of the critical French approach to peace negotiations were probably deemed by Sullivan to be of interest to the French leadership. His explanation also points to a latitude enjoyed by the translators as to the selection of material for translation and transmission to the Directory.

Madgett and Sullivan made a valuable contribution to French political and military intelligence by their diligent trawl through a wide selection of English newspapers. They conveyed a broad range of political opinion in translation. This stream of information also enabled them to keep Ireland on the French political radar. On occasion, they adopted particular strategies in order to steer the end product in a certain direction, as will be examined in detail in chapter five.

By early 1796, the two translators were installed in the higher echelons of the French administration. They had survived the *Vendémiaire* purge and had sworn the oath of loyalty demanded by Delacroix (AF/III/52-55/213). Their political antennae were finely tuned and they were now well positioned to welcome Wolfe Tone to Paris and provide him with the necessary linguistic and political support in furtherance of his Irish nationalist agenda. The next chapter will explore how the translators help to propel Wolfe Tone's negotiations for a French military expedition to a successful conclusion.

Chapter 3 Collaboration with Wolfe Tone

3.1 Expecting Wolfe Tone

Madgett and Sullivan reach a new level of influence, with the arrival of Wolfe Tone in Paris in February 1796. They quickly became Tone's linguistic and political collaborators, as his journal amply records (Tone 2001). Madgett promoted the agenda for Irish independence through the Foreign Minister, Delacroix (CPA/589/111-112).

Before Wolfe Tone's arrival in Paris in early 1796, a small number of documents in the Diplomatic Archives serves as a prelude to this fascinating and important episode. In particular, Madgett briefed his Minister, Delacroix, effectively on the political situation in Ireland in preparation for Tone's arrival (CPA/589/111-112). Madgett also found the time to develop an interest in and a knowledge of American politics which would serve him well in later years, after he lost the security of full-time employment in the Foreign Ministry (CP-EU/45/64-66).

Madgett explains the situation in Ireland for the benefit of the recently appointed Minister, Delacroix, by sending him a briefing note dated 29 December 1795. The briefing document, based on two letters received from Hamilton Rowan before his departure for America, is replete with familiar subject matter (CPA/589/111-112; Ferradou 2019: 556). Ireland provided the British military with manpower, textile and food resources. Madgett recounts, in rhetorical terms, the oppressive English yoke, the penal code and the benefit to France of an independent Ireland as an ally. He reminds the Foreign Minister that the Committee of Public Safety had sent Jackson to Ireland to lay the groundwork for further French initiatives, but Jackson's letters were intercepted and used to prosecute him. He also incorporates Hamilton Rowan's narrative about the three religious denominations, and recalls the attitude of Catholics, who now wanted full emancipation after betrayal by the British government, as was evident from the report of the Meeting of Catholics in Dublin in April 1795. In addition, he suggests that the Presbyterians were making common cause with the Catholics.

As Tone and Hamilton Rowan were in Philadelphia to canvass French assistance in arms and money to overthrow English rule, Madgett proposes in the same briefing note to Delacroix, that Adet, the French envoy to the United States, should negotiate a treaty of cooperation with them. This was not merely political analysis but advice to the French Foreign Minister on how

to conduct international relations (CPA/589111-112). This exposé was a clear demonstration of Madgett's stature and probably led to Madgett being proposed by Delacroix as Tone's interlocutor on his arrival in Paris in mid-February 1796 (Tone 2001: 56). An identical version of this report in Sullivan's hand appears slightly later in the Archives dated 27 January 1796, which may have been the version sent to the Directory, given Madgett's barely legible handwriting (CPA/589/122). If so, this demonstrates how closely Madgett and Sullivan collaborated on professional tasks.

Two days later, on 31 December 1795, Madgett explains in a further note to Delacroix that he had adapted his previous advice on Ireland for the benefit of Adet, so that the envoy could have fruitful discussions with Irish emissaries in Philadelphia (CPA/589/116). Madgett was fully expecting to influence Adet in advance of those discussions. He also refers to the deliberations of the Catholic Committee in Dublin in April 1795 as an important guide to public opinion, to the point where a translation would be prepared of that Meeting. It is also clear that Madgett had been asked by Delacroix to advise him on the Trade Treaty being discussed between Britain and the United States, which was recognition of Madgett's grasp of American affairs (CPA/589/116).

3.2 American affairs: Madgett as adviser

Madgett's engagement with American politics resonates with the historiography of the international dimension of the French Revolution. Palmer (1959) and Godechot (1965) drew attention to the wider 'Atlantic' perspective of the American and French Revolutions which they considered to be part of a broader age of revolution in a connected Atlantic context. More recently, Annie Jourdan has opined that the effect of the American Revolution was that it 'proved that a radical change was possible, and thus conceivable' (2019: 103). Armitage has argued that 'Atlantic' history gives a broader perspective to national historical events (2009: 29). Jonathan Israel has explored the European and extra-European circulation of radical Enlightenment ideas from 1760 (2010). Ferradou's thesis also explores the concept of the 'Atlantic' republic and he concludes by reference to the extensive transnational circulation between Ireland, England, Scotland, the United States and France, that Irish and French republicanism in this period cannot be understood outside of its Atlantic context (2019: 772).

A separate and interesting file of diplomatic correspondence with the United States sheds some light on how Madgett may have developed a knowledge of American affairs. Whereas the historiography of Madgett and his wider circle during this period has tended to focus on relations between Ireland, Britain and France, Madgett was extending his range of translation and advice to encompass American politics, no doubt aware that Ireland was far from the main item on the French foreign policy agenda (CP-EU/45/64-66; CP-EU/45/233). Madgett's engagement with Franco-American relations coincided with Tone's arrival from the United States. Madgett went on to canvass the prospect of aid from the Irish American diaspora for a French expedition to Ireland (CPA/589/179). Later in the 1790s, Madgett's American brief extended to Louisiana (AN/Mar/G/242).

Translation was an integral part of this emerging portfolio. A translation dated 27 January 1796 of a United States newspaper report addressed the topic of protective tariffs imposed by the United States government on foreign merchandise (CP-EU 45/78). A motion was before the United States Congress seeking a reversal of such tariffs on the ground there would be retaliatory tariffs from Europe, especially from France and Britain. Though the newspaper is not identified, it is difficult to believe Madgett was not behind the selection of this extract and its translation, given his interest in American politics. Trans-Atlantic trade was an issue of pressing importance to the major trading nations on both sides of the Atlantic (CP-EU/45/64).

Madgett's memorandum, entitled *Anecdotes*, on trade between the US and Britain, probably composed in February 1796, spells out British tactics to coax President Washington and the US into a trade treaty (CP-EU 45/64). The Jay Treaty between the US and Britain was conditionally agreed by the US Senate on 24th June 1795, but not ratified until 29 February 1796. It angered France which had lobbied to have Washington replaced by the pro-French Jefferson (Baines & Jones 2018: 13). Madgett's note was based on a leaked memo from the US Secretary of State Edmund Randolph to his French counterpart, Fauchet (CP-EU/45/64).

Madgett points to President Washington's duplicity in negotiations with Britain: Washington was pro-British but was concerned about French reaction to the Treaty, particularly British demands that neutral commercial shipping bound for France could be seized. Madgett was fully *au fait* with American politics at the highest level of government and of the geopolitical ramifications of the Trade Treaty. It may well be that this advice on

international trade was not readily available to the French leadership from any other source and reflects Madgett's wide ranging brief (CP-EU 45/64).⁸

Madgett extended his American portfolio with a further, undated paper entitled '*Notes sur Washington et sur les Américains*', in which he took issue with a speech Washington had allegedly made to the US Congress containing anti-French invective (CP-EU/45/66). This presents a conundrum. Washington's final speech to Congress in December 1796 did pointedly take aim at attempts by foreign powers to influence the American elections of 1796, as there had been French attempts to do so (Baines & Jones 2018: 13), but the position of this document in the files of American correspondence in the Diplomatic Archives places it in February 1796. At that point, Washington's most recent address to Congress in December 1795 did not contain any explicit anti-French sentiment (Washington 1795).

In any event, the Jay Treaty, which Washington negotiated with Britain, was badly received by the French (Baines & Jones 2018: 13). Accordingly, Madgett concludes that the Treaty had led to general dissatisfaction. He claims Washington was trying to goad the French into an extreme reaction, but that French interests were better served by protecting its influence in Jefferson's 'democratic' party which would soon prevail and would break with Britain in favour of France (CP-EU/45/66).

The remarkable candour of Madgett's advice is evident in his assessment that Washington had sided with Britain and not France, in part because Britain's conduct internationally was more consistent than that of France (CP-EU/45/67). He concludes by predicting Washington's political demise, so that a strong response was unnecessary. This reads like a briefing note from a trusted special adviser on American affairs.

Madgett wasn't the only translator tasked with work on the American relationship. Madgett's interest in American affairs probably led to his nephew being required to translate some American documents, for example, a letter from the US Ambassador in France, James Monroe, to Delacroix dated 27 June 1796 (CP-EU/45/73). Sullivan also translated a Resolution from the US Senate of 6 January 1796 welcoming the new French envoy, together with George Washington's letter to Delacroix of the following day (CP-EU/45/3-7). Sullivan signed off on both translations. A linguistic adjustment sees Washington's reference to the French envoy's

⁸ The American correspondence in the French Diplomatic Archives is in general not discussed in recent historiography on Madgett, though it is mentioned briefly by Kleinman (2005: 182).

presentation of the French flag as ‘the colours of his nation’ translated by Sullivan as ‘le drapeau national’ [the national flag] (CP-EU/45/3-4). The translations of correspondence in February and March 1796 between Delacroix and Monroe are unattributed but Madgett may have overseen the translations and would surely have followed these dispatches as a keen observer of American affairs (CP-EU/45/142; CP/EU 45/233).

While Madgett’s brief extended to translations of and advice on American affairs, his role as adviser on Irish affairs continued apace, especially with the arrival in Paris of Wolfe Tone in February 1796.

3.3 1796: Wolfe Tone in Paris

Madgett’s collaboration with Wolfe Tone in the spring of 1796 marked the zenith of his political influence as Head of Translation. Wolfe Tone’s arrival in Paris in February 1796 needs to be seen in context. The 1790s witnessed the rise of the United Irishmen, whose political programme was separatist, democratic, egalitarian and secular (Gillen 2017: 243). The Revolutions in America and then France spawned a rejection of the status quo and a political radicalism that embraced all denominations (Ibid: 245). The exclusion of Catholics from political representation in Ireland ‘left the country in the hands of a junta’ (Whelan 1996: 60). By 1794, the United Irishmen had established links with the Committee of Public Safety through Hamilton Rowan and, subsequently, in 1796 with the Directory through Wolfe Tone (Foster 1988: 271). The objective was, ultimately, to promote a French invasion of Ireland, in order to dismantle the Protestant state and replace it with a secular one inclusive of Catholics, thereby releasing what Whelan describes as the ‘sectarian gridlock’ in Irish politics (Whelan 1996: 100). Tone rejected the native aristocracy and the British connection in favour of secular politics in an era of enlightenment (Gillen 2017: 253). He believed that only through separatism could republican values take hold in Ireland (Bartlett 1993: 8). The example of the French Revolution had radicalised opinion and showed that in Ireland too, Catholics could create a new republic. There was also a growing alliance between the Defenders and the United Irishmen by 1795 (Keogh 1998: 10). Madgett and Sullivan were imbued with the separatist philosophy of the United Irishmen which became militant in 1795 when French assistance was actively sought by Irish republicans (Elliott 1982: xiii).

Tone had to contend with contradictory war aims within the five- man Directory which governed France, with Reubell favouring an attack on Austria, whereas Carnot's preference was to confront British forces (Elliott 1982: 82). Various groups of foreign radicals had lobbied the French leadership for support in pursuing revolutionary change. Gough points out that during the Terror of 1793-1794, the Committee of Public Safety was hostile to most foreign groups as conspiracy theories about foreigners plotting a counter-revolution flourished. Tone had to contend with the Directory's cautious attitude to support for such groups after 1795 (Gough 2001: 545).

In the spring of 1796, both Madgett and Sullivan developed a professional and personal relationship with Wolfe Tone. That relationship is fortunately recorded in contemporaneous detail in Tone's journal (Tone 2001).

A draft report to the Directory by Delacroix in January 1796 notes the arrival of Wolfe Tone in the United States, the verification of his credentials by Adet and Tone's intelligence that the time was right for an insurrection in Ireland (CPA/589/117). Delacroix was going write to Adet in Philadelphia to instruct him to get Wolfe Tone to travel to France to make concrete preparations for a French expedition to Ireland (CPA/589/117). Delacroix was only two months into his tenure as Foreign Minister but was already promoting a French invasion of Ireland.

A note of caution is needed here, however, as the final version of this report which went to and was approved by the Directory contains a significant amendment (CPA/589/120). It includes a concern by the author that Catholic discontent might not necessarily translate into support for a republican government, given the strength of the Catholic religion. This suggests that the initial draft might have been amended by Delacroix, or that Madgett might not have authored the second version (CPA/589/120; Ferradou 2019: 567).

These doubts did not prevent a French expedition from eventually setting sail in late 1796. The key point however is that Madgett's advocacy, delivered both on Tone's behalf and separately on his own initiative, skilfully repeated the message that the French should intervene militarily. One can discern the influence of Madgett's rhetoric in Delacroix's submission to the Directory of 27 January 1796:

Le mécontentement des Irlandais est à son comble.
Depuis longtemps, ce peuple, opprimé par le despotisme
anglais, avili par la privation de ses droits politiques et

civils, n'attend que l'occasion favorable pour reconquérir son indépendance. Ses vœux appellent aujourd'hui la protection des français pour accomplir ce généreux dessein (CPA/589/120).

[The Irish are in a state of extreme discontent. Oppressed by English despotism, enslaved by the denial of their political and civil rights, they have waited a long time for the right moment to regain their independence. They are now asking for the protection of France in order to achieve this great objective.]

Delacroix and Wolfe Tone met for the first time on 17 February 1796, when Delacroix informed him that the Directory wanted him to speak 'without reserve' to Madgett, coronating Madgett's status as a special adviser on Irish affairs (Tone 2001: 56). Tone recorded Delacroix's instructions to the effect that Madgett was confidential and spoke both languages perfectly, thereby explicitly acknowledging the important role of translation (Ibid.). On the following morning over breakfast, Tone explained the situation in Ireland to Madgett, who asked Tone to prepare a memorandum for the Directory which he would translate (Tone 2001: 59).

Madgett sent a note to Delacroix on 19 February 1796 and prepared the French Foreign Minister for an imminent paper from Tone which he would translate. Madgett was the privileged interlocutor between Tone and the French Foreign Minister, as Tone was already spelling out the need for a ten to twelve-thousand-strong invasion force (CPA/589/154). Madgett also enclosed a memorandum on the Trade Treaty between Britain and US (CP-EU/45/64).

Between 18 and 20 February 1796 Tone drafted his first Memorial for the Directory and conferred with Madgett each day (Tone 2001: 59). Madgett in effect acted as a consultant in the drafting of Tone's text. Tone delivered his first Memorial to Madgett on 22 February, but returned to Madgett's residence on the following day to further emphasise the need for a large, armed invasion force (Tone 2001: 70, 73).

Madgett was extremely productive during this period both in terms of translation and advice, which seemed to sprout in tandem. A detailed plan for a French invasion of Ireland, *Notes sur l'Irlande*, is dated 'Pluv an 4', i.e. between 21 January 1796 and 19 February 1796, with archival numbering suggesting it predated the translation on 26 February 1796 of Tone's

first Memorial (CPA/589/159). The plan clearly drew from Tone material which Madgett already had and outlined some essential pre-invasion steps, in particular that a secret agent be sent in advance to liaise with local sympathisers, a staple feature of the Madgett invasion blueprint. The Diplomatic Archives at that time also feature contributions from another Irish radical from County Kerry, William Duckett, who was penning political observations to Delacroix on Irish affairs in the spring of 1796 (CPA/589/155; 589/157).

Madgett's invasion plan envisaged that French forces would land in Carrickfergus and Galway. Dissenters⁹ and Catholics were well organised and would be ready to immediately form a provisional Convention, whose first tasks would be to proclaim independence, abolish parliament, declare themselves the only legitimate legislative and executive authority, and conclude a Treaty with France. Another typical proposal from Madgett, ever the propagandist, was the ambitious suggestion that Irish prisoners of war would change sides if released from custody in France and could arrive in Ireland with proclamations ready for dissemination amongst the populace (CPA/589/159).

Tone met the American ambassador Monroe on 23 February 1796. Monroe told him that Madgett was honest but vain, and urged Tone to bypass Delacroix and Madgett and go straight to the Directory, and Carnot (Tone 2001: 74). Tone did just that and insisted, successfully, on obtaining an audience with Carnot the following day. He declared to the great French General that though he trusted Madgett, 'it was a business of too great importance to be transacted with a mere commis' (Ibid: 78). Tone was perhaps frustrated by his own incompetence in oral French and his reliance on someone he perceived as an underling. Nonetheless, Tone still relied on Madgett, as he records that he sat down with Madgett the following day to go through his draft Memorial to the Directory (Ibid: 80). This was a truly collaborative process.

3.4 The first Wolfe Tone Memorial

Tone's lengthy, first Memorial to the French government was translated and certified by Madgett on 26 February and then delivered to Delacroix (Tone 2001: 61; CPA/589/162; Ferradou 2019: 562; Kleinman 2005: 163). This document, neglected by historians until very recently, may be viewed as an important milestone in the history of relations between Ireland

⁹ Dissenters were Ulster presbyterians who had broken with the established protestant church and had developed a tradition of political radicalism (Curtin 1998: 6; Tesch 1993: 37).

and France. The informal leader of Irish nationalism was making direct and much anticipated overtures to the French leadership via the linguistic services of an experienced translator and political fellow traveller.

The body of the submission contains little new material from Madgett's perspective, as the papers which both he and Hamilton Rowan produced on Ireland throughout 1794 and 1795 had charted the course for this submission (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484). Tone begins with a reminder of the food and human resources which Britain and its military extracted from Ireland. An overview of the three religious groups follows, but most emphasis is placed on the common purpose now in place, according to Tone, between Dissenters and Catholics, representing nine tenths of the population. He also focusses on the United Irishmen who looked to France to help them eradicate the British presence. He summarises in critical terms the dispossession of Catholic landowners by the Cromwellian plantations, the oppressive penal laws and the severe economic hardship of the vast bulk of the Catholic population. In short, the country was ready for an insurrection which a French expedition would ignite. This was the first of two Memorials from Tone addressed to the French authorities which set out his vision for a new independent Republic established with French assistance that would be secular and fundamentally democratic (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173).

Tone made somewhat disloyal comments to General Clarke, advising him to read the original English version of his Memorials to the Directory, rather than Madgett's translations, as 'I could not answer for a translation I had never seen' (Tone 2001: 112–113). This was untypical criticism from Tone as it was the only known occasion he expressed any misgivings about the quality, as opposed to the speed, of Madgett's work. Kleinman has taken Tone's editors to task for describing the translation of the first Memorial as 'very free', whereas she characterises the translation as a faithful, even an 'almost verbatim' rendering. (Kleinman 2017: 12; Kleinman 2018: 219). However, there are a number of rhetorical adjustments and shifts which point to the translator's activist approach, the import of which will be discussed in chapter five.

Madgett's relationship with Delacroix remained strong. On 26 February, Tone was informed by Delacroix that Madgett was the only person in whom he had confided 'the affair', i.e. the French mission to separate Ireland from England (Tone 2001: 84). Moreover, Madgett was filtering Tone's Memorials for Delacroix's benefit. The first Memorial was said to be too

long, leading Madgett to mark certain passages with key words in the margin, sufficient to enable the Minister to grasp the import of what Tone was trying to convey (CPA/589/182). Madgett even went to the trouble of providing the time-pressed Minister with a separate summary of the second of Tone's Memorials (CPA/589/172; AF/IV/1671/55).

3.5 Sullivan joins in

Although Sullivan does not appear in Tone's memoirs until April 1796, he would have been well aware of Tone's arrival and its political significance (Tone 2001: 143). Even before Tone's arrival in Paris in February 1796, Sullivan had transcribed a letter from Minister Delacroix to the War Minister, dated 9 January 1796, seeking the release from French custody of Tone's brother Mathew, who had been arrested while travelling under the alias William Brown (CP-EU/45/11). Sullivan's direct interaction with Tone began in April 1796.

It seems likely that Sullivan was sworn in as a United Irishman about this time. Sir Richard Musgrave's contemporaneous *Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland from the arrival of the English*, published in 1801, record that one 'Roche, who was an officer in Humbert's Army, assured a person of veracity of my acquaintance, that he was sworn an United Irishman at Paris, by O'Coigly, or Quigley, the priest, who was hanged at Maidstone, so early as 1796' (Musgrave 1995: 563; Tone 2007: 475-476). 'Roche' is probably a reference to the name 'Laroche' which Sullivan had adopted prior to his departure for Ireland in 1798 with the French military expedition under General Humbert (GR/2YE/3853/26). Musgrave's sectarian account of the rebellion of 1798 as a popish plot, for long discounted by historians, has been rehabilitated by his editor Dickson as an accurate source of information, however tainted its political inspiration (Musgrave 1995: ii). Consistently with Musgrave's recollection of an oath in Paris, O'Coigly, the radical priest, was noted by his recent biographer to have been 'a peripatetic administrator of oaths' (Durey 2009: 114). O'Coigly had been prominent in seeking an alliance between the Defenders and the United Irishmen (Keogh 1993: 191). There is no contemporaneous record of the wording of the oath which O'Coigly may have administered. Curtin states that the oath taken in Ireland contained a pledge to promote 'a brotherhood of affection amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion' and 'an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland', aspirations that were reconcilable with the fundamental principles of the French revolution (Curtin 1998: 103). Unfortunately, no record

of Madgett having sworn a United Irishmen oath has been located, though there can be little doubt that he was a sworn member, as he features in the report by the spy Samuel Turner on the Paris Committee of United Irishmen (Woods 2011: 220-222).

Although it was Madgett who undertook the translation of Tone's Memorials to the Minister, Sullivan translated the personal, covering letter from Tone to Delacroix dated 26 February 1796 which accompanied Tone's first Memorial (CPA/589/169; Kleinman 2005: 182). Sullivan would doubtless have read that Memorial before embarking on the translation of such a key letter in which Tone explains his association with the United Irishmen, but also his advocacy of the Catholic cause. The letter emphasises the reconciliation of Catholics and Dissenters, in addition to the instructions which Tone had received directly from the Defenders.

Sullivan's translation highlights the bona fides of Tone's republicanism and the opportunity which an invasion of Ireland represents for France. Tone mentions his standing amongst the Catholic community which had appointed him their agent, Sullivan adding the epithet 'concitoyens' [fellow citizens], by reference to the Catholics, in order to lend that relationship a French republican hue (CPA/589/169). Tone makes it clear that his instructions to negotiate with France came from the Catholic and Dissenter leadership (CPA/589/169; Tone 2001: 80). Tone was collaborating with Madgett, who had probably chosen Sullivan to translate the letter and whose own translation of the Memorial bears the same date. Madgett and Sullivan were translators with a joint political purpose.

3.6 Wolfe Tone's second Memorial

Tone's second Memorial to the Directory was also translated and certified by Madgett and contains fewer, perhaps more subtle, adjustments than the first Memorial (CPA/589/173; Ferradou 2019: 562- 563; Tone 2001: 88). Tone's editors describe it as a 'free' translation, though this seems somewhat exaggerated, and is discussed in chapter five (Tone 2001: 88). Interesting features of this document include the emphasis on a Manifesto to be distributed on landing, and detailed advice on what Proclamations should be issued by a newly installed republican government. The proposed Manifesto should guarantee freedom of religion, the protection of property and should emphasise that the French expedition was to achieve the liberation of the country rather than its conquest.

A newly formed National Convention should proclaim itself the legitimate government, with France as its ally. A Proclamation should also call on Irish sailors in the British navy to, in effect, mutiny and seize their vessels. In addition, all property in Ireland in English ownership would be confiscated and all Irishmen serving abroad in British colonies should answer the call to return home. Tone expresses the likely effect of such a Proclamation in terms which Madgett would surely have endorsed: 'From such a proclamation issuing from an Irish government I am sanguine enough to expect the most powerful effects' (Tone 2001: 93).

Madgett furnished a summary to Delacroix of Tone's lengthy second Memorial on Ireland, dated 29 February (CPA/589/172; Ferradou 2019: 562- 563). All the salient points are laid out, including the following:

- a minimum of five thousand men were needed, but it would be better to send twenty thousand;
- arms and money would also be needed;
- France should request the holding of a National Convention of Defenders and Dissenters to proclaim independence;
- a blitz of proclamations should be distributed to five distinct groups, namely, 1) the Irish people; 2) the militias who supported the government; 3) Irish sailors in the British navy; 4) Irish people in Britain and 5) the English people; and
- all property in Ireland owned by the British was to be confiscated, unless support was declared for the new Republic.

One particular file of the Directory for 1796 discloses a number of unsigned, draft proclamations (AF/III/186B/859). The first of these proclamations is entitled *Liberty-Independence. No Tythes. No Hearth Money* and is addressed to *Friends and Irishmen* (AF/III/186B/859/130). A complete French version is to be found in military archives (MV/1/GG/58/1). The translation is unattributable to either Madgett or Sullivan. Whereas one might have presumed the original text was French, a separate, incomplete French version contains the annotation 'traduit de l'anglais' [translated from English]. Its style of high republican, anti-English rhetoric is accurately translated and contains references to

the cold unrelenting cruelty of their oppressors
(MV/1/GG/58/1)

la froide et incessante cruauté de leurs oppresseurs
(AF/III/186B/859/130)

and continues by asserting that

you have been the victims of profligacy and deception for
too long (MV/1/GG/58/1)

trop longtemps vous fûtes les victimes de la débauche et
de l'imposture (AF/III 186B/859/130).

Wolfe Tone himself drafted a proclamation for use in General Hoche's ill-fated expedition in 1796 (Tone 2001: 196). Ferradou claims Sullivan translated this into French, though the French version is unsigned and does not appear to be in Sullivan's recognisable hand (Ferradou 2019: 582; GR/11/B/1).

Two more proclamations in French appear in the file and are entitled '*Adresse au Peuple d'Irlande*' [Address to the People of Ireland] and '*Adresse aux habitants des campagnes d'Irlande*' [Address to the inhabitants of rural Ireland] but without an English version, although they are recorded as translations (AF/III/186B/859). A further two proclamations in French follow, but without the epithet 'traduction' [translation] and are addressed '*À la Milice d'Irlande*' [To the Militia of Ireland] and '*Aux paysans irlandais*' [To the Irish peasantry].

Madgett accompanied the translation and summary of Tone's second Memorial with his own advice, remarkably also dated 29 February 1796 (CPA/589/179). Although entitled '*Suite du Mémoire sur l'Irlande*' [Sequel to the Memorial in Ireland], it is not, however, strictly a sequel or a continuation of Tone's Memorial, although it is placed directly after it in the Diplomatic Archives. It was explicit political advice on Irish America, prefaced by 'je pense' [I think], thereby pointing up the visibility of the translator *qua* adviser. Madgett gives full expression to the breadth of his mandate. He notes the influence of the Irish diaspora in the United States, particularly in the US Senate, Congress and State governments. He suggests that the '*Commissaires Irlandais*' [Irish envoys] then in Philadelphia should tap into Irish American goodwill and assist the French government, whose finances were low, in funding the liberation of Ireland. France was portrayed as the liberator of the United States and the future liberator of Ireland.

Madgett gets somewhat carried away when contemplating that Irish American influence was sufficient to encourage the United States to declare war on Britain. It was, nonetheless, a

notable late eighteenth-century example of how an Irish political adviser tried to leverage Irish American influence in opposition to Britain.

Tone complained of Madgett's 'slowness of age' as regards his translation speed. Yet, Madgett remained useful, as Tone picked up an English newspaper from Madgett on 1 March (Tone 2001: 97–98). Tone again complained of Madgett's slowness, as he had still not translated the second Memorial by March 6: 'his slowness provokes me excessively but I keep it all to myself' (Ibid: 100). Tone may have bickered about Madgett, but the older man continued to be a close confidant and an indispensable ally in the quest for a French military expedition to Ireland. Madgett was not simply collaborating with Tone as a translator might do with the author of the original text. He was fully immersed in Tone's political lexicon and committed to the same political objective as Tone, in the fulfilment of which the translations were an integral part.

During March and into April 1796, Madgett, Wolfe Tone and also Sullivan intensified their linguistic and political collaboration (Tone 2001: 97-171). In chapter five, the translational implications of these relationships will be examined in greater detail.

3.7 Madgett, Sullivan and Tone: the relationship deepens

Madgett's relentless devotion to the cause is evident from a short note to Delacroix soon afterwards, on 2 March 1796, disclosing that he had been procuring maps of the British Isles from the Navy Ministry (CPA/589/182). He also feels entitled to nominate a French army General, Buernonville, to lead the Irish expedition. He then returns to a favourite topic, namely the recruitment of Irish sailors in the British navy. He puts forward his nephew Sullivan as the right man to indoctrinate Irish sailors captured in Livorno. Madgett may well have been aware that Sullivan had in late 1793 or early 1794 'converted' 200 prisoners of war held in Dinan in Brittany, so that they were prepared to defect from the British navy and join the forces of the French Republic (AAE/PERS/1/65/58).

Remarkably, Madgett thought he might even undertake a similar mission himself in the Paris region, which he did in late March 1796 (Tone 2001: 121). Wolfe Tone, on the other hand, strikes a discordant note and, in a meeting with Delacroix on 8 March 1796, he refers scornfully to this activity as 'the old subject of debauching the Irish seamen in the British

navy' (Tone 2001: 105). And yet, Tone ends up doing the same himself later in 1796 in Brittany, on the eve of the departure of the ill-fated Hoche expedition (Kleinman 2012: 35).

Madgett concludes his briefing note by providing the Minister with an abridged guide to Tone's excessively long first Memorial, by referring the Minister to margin notes (CPA/589/182). The term '*récapitulation*' [summary] was superimposed on the translation to spare the busy Minister from having to trudge through the entire document. This short communication encapsulates Madgett's wide brief as a translator: military advice, recruitment of 'enemy' forces and an update on the intelligence community he was deploying. Furthermore, by packaging Tone's Memorials with his own summary and his own reflections, Madgett made himself the political interpreter of Tone's contribution for the benefit of the French authorities. Tone was unaware, and would probably have been irritated to learn, given his notion of his own importance, that his submissions were being abridged and paraphrased in this way.

On 8 March, Tone asked Madgett to explain his plans for a French invasion to Bueronville, touted as a possible commander of the French expedition (Tone 2001: 103). However, Madgett dampened Tone's expectations by informing him on 12 March that the French government might change and was in financial difficulties (Tone 2001: 107–108). This was political intelligence that Tone was in no position to second guess.

Madgett continued to be the source of fresh intelligence about the intentions of the French leadership. On 15 March, Madgett gave Tone detailed information about the Directory's plans for an invasion force. There was, however, some reciprocity in this relationship as Madgett got further advice from Tone about the logistics of an invasion which he then delivered in person to Delacroix. Madgett also disclosed to Tone, Prieur de la Marne's ideas about an invasion and Reubell's support for it—both being members of the five-man Directory (Tone 2001: 114–115).

Madgett set off on 23 March 1796 to visit Irish prisoners of war in Versailles, Compiègne and Guise on a mission of indoctrination, 'his favourite scheme' according to Tone, who judged it 'damned nonsense' (Tone 2001: 121). Tone added disparagingly that Madgett was always 'hunting for maps and then he thinks he is making revolutions' (Ibid:121). However, Madgett did tell him the following day that he would look for Tone's brother, William, amongst the prisoners (Ibid:124). On his return on 2 April from the proselytising trip, Madgett announced

to Tone he had recruited 51 Irish soldiers (Ibid:141). This was hardly going to improve French military prospects in a pan-European conflict but it was a clear demonstration of Madgett's personal commitment to the overlapping causes of the French Republic and Irish independence. Madgett and Sullivan's support for the United Irishmen was reconcilable with the French Revolutionary ideals of freedom, equality and a democratic, secular form of government. Later, narrower strands of Irish republicanism would not be so universalist.

Meanwhile, Sullivan was translating the main provisions of the British Insurrection Act, dated 30 March 1796, designed to suppress the activities of the United Irishmen and the Defenders. The Act suspended *habeas corpus* and introduced the death penalty for the administration of oaths (Keogh 1993: 96). Sullivan appears to have used an outline of the legislation published in the *Morning Chronicle* of 9 March 1796. The newspaper condemned the Bill as an attack on constitutional liberty and its disparaging comments on the withdrawal of trial by jury were adopted by Sullivan in his translation (CPA/589/226). This translation was produced at a time when Madgett and he were actively collaborating in Tone's intensifying campaign for French military intervention in Ireland.

Madgett informed Tone that Minister Delacroix wanted Tone to compose a Proclamation for the landing in Ireland, though one suspects that this was probably Madgett's own suggestion, given that it always featured as a primary tool of propaganda in his prescription for a French invasion (Tone 2001: 125).

On 3 April, Madgett once again gave Tone details of the latest version of the French invasion plan, though later at dinner Tone convinced Madgett not to use the priest, Fitzsimons, as a secret envoy (Tone 2001: 142). Tone was by now working and dining with both Madgett and Sullivan. His diary records that he found Sullivan more personally engaging, perhaps because he was closer in age: 'After dinner walked with Sullivan for two hours in the Tuileries, talking red hot Irish politics. Sullivan is a good lad and I like him very well' (Ibid:143).

This was not just an idle reminiscence. Tone was extremely circumspect about who he spoke with or in whom he confided, given the desire to keep all discussions about a French invasion within the tightest possible circle of interlocutors, as Delacroix and Madgett had cautioned him to do (Tone 2001: 84, 115-116). A couple of days later, Sullivan called on Tone at his lodgings with an English newspaper (Ibid:148). Tone got Sullivan to translate an article on the arrest in Dublin of the United Irishman John Keogh for Carnot, the military leader and

member of the five-man Directory (Ibid:150). On 11 April, Sullivan called on Tone who obviously welcomed these visits ‘for it is he that brings me my secondary intelligence’, though Sullivan’s information that Dalbarade was to lead the Irish expedition proved to be incorrect (Ibid:152). The three Irishmen were dining again on 13 April at Ahern’s lodgings and drinking ‘choice champaigne’ (Ibid:156).

3.8 Sullivan’s political influence: the case of General Clarke

Sullivan was more than just a linguistic mediator. For example, he had some influence on the shaping of Tone’s opinion of a leading French military figure, General Clarke (Tone 2001: 221). Tone had frequent dealings with General Clarke whom he was trying to persuade to expedite the organisation of a French invasion force to be sent to Ireland (Tone 2001: 150-156). It is clear that Sullivan was actively discussing that question, and perhaps other political issues with Tone (Ibid:143). Tone records in his journal that in April 1796, he even suspected Clarke of disloyalty to the cause of a French invasion, on the grounds that Clarke wanted to save his aristocratic connections in Ireland and that ‘Ahern and Sullivan, who know the pavé [situation on the ground] better than I do, are satisfied he is betraying us’ (Ibid:156). Tone was thus taking advice from Sullivan about a leading French military figure, and fully acknowledging that Sullivan was in the know.

Sullivan’s and Tone’s shared dislike of General Clarke reached the point where Tone announces in his journal that ‘Sullivan will set Prieur and Laignelot on his back’ (Tone 2001: 155). Prieur de la Marne and Laignelot were prominent French political figures and both members of the Convention (Ibid: 114, 155). Tone’s comment suggests that Sullivan was acquainted enough with them to turn them against Clarke. Sullivan may well, in the course of his mission in Brittany, have come across Prieur de la Marne who had been dispatched, with Jeanbon Saint André, to Brest to quell a mutiny in the French navy in October 1793 (Cormack 1992:38). Similarly, Sullivan may well have had some previous interaction with Laignelot, who had been a deputy ‘en mission’ in Brittany in 1794 and had seen fit to question Sullivan’s status as a foreigner at the very time when Sullivan was rescuing Hamilton Rowan from jail in Brest (AAE/PERS/1/47/85; GR/2YE/3583/26). Tone’s observation gives some insight into how Sullivan may have used his position within the Foreign Ministry to establish or consolidate a network of political contacts. By July 1796, Tone records that Sullivan, together

with Ahern, another Irish radical residing in Paris, had ‘turned’ Tone against Clarke (Tone 2001: 221). Sullivan was politically useful to Tone, in addition to acting as his preferred linguistic mediator. He also passed English newspapers to Tone, including the anti-Pitt *Morning Chronicle* (Ibid: 202–203).

The Directory has been accused of lacking decisive leadership, and was divided over foreign policy (Gough 1990: 9). This may have occurred to Tone when Madgett informed him, on 9 April, that Carnot was now in charge of the Irish project and that Delacroix had been ‘superseded’ (Tone 2001: 151).

By 1796, only Austria and Britain remained at war with France and the main French focus was on defeating the Austrian army in Italy, which it did under Napoleon in late 1796 and early 1797 (Gough 1990: 9). Madgett and Tone had to work hard to promote a French military adventure in Ireland. Eventually, Tone persuaded the Directory that a French expedition ‘would detonate a general rebellion which would cripple the British war effort’ (Gough 1990: 10). Madgett’s role must also be recognised. Chapter six will discuss the suggestion that without translation, Tone’s negotiations might well have fallen short.

3.9 The secret agent

The French leadership agreed that a secret agent should undertake a reconnaissance and intelligence mission in Ireland in advance of any armed expedition, in particular to ascertain the political aims of the Defenders (Tone 2001: 158). It took some time for the precise brief for such an agent to crystallise, and Madgett was closely involved in that bilingual process. His *Note* of 13 April, undoubtedly destined for Minister Delacroix, contains draft instructions for the putative secret agent (CPA/589/221). He advises that contact should be made with the leaders of three main groups, Dissenters, Catholics, and Defenders so that they could be in a state of readiness for the imminent arrival of an armed French force.

Madgett tailors the description of these three groups for French republican digestion. The Dissenters are described as ‘des Républicains ardents et des amis sincères de la France, surtout depuis la mort de Capet’ [ardent Republicans and true friends of France, especially since the death of Capet]. The General Committee of Catholics is said to have great influence over Catholics across the island, and ‘particulièrement sur les sans culottes de Dublin’ [especially over the Dublin *sans culottes*]. The Defenders were a secret society whose members would

revolt at the first sight of a French army in order to overthrow the yoke of English rule. Madgett even prescribes the trajectory of the secret agent around Ireland, beginning in Munster where the state of preparedness was less known, and returning promptly to France on a neutral ship (CPA/589/221).

On 22 April, Tone gave Madgett, for the purpose of translation, his *Observations* on the draft instructions to a secret agent issued by the French military command, only to discover two days later that Madgett had lost them. This left Tone ‘in a rage which I could hardly conceal’, but when Madgett found them later, Tone got Sullivan to translate them instead (Tone 2001: 160, 162). Tone’s *Observations* seek to negate General Clarke’s view of the Defenders as ‘*chouans*’ led by the Catholic clergy. As the Editors of Tone’s memoirs explain, ‘*Chouans*’ were Royalist insurgents who fought republican government forces in the west of France in 1793 (Tone 2001: 140 n2). Instead, Tone advances the notion of a Catholic population no longer in thrall to the clergy and not seeking a Stuart restoration (Tone 2001: 159). Chapter five will consider some of the translator’s subtle adjustments, which were intended to enhance the impact of the text on the narrow circle of readership within the French political and military elite (CPA/589/270; Kleinman 2005: 191-192).

As a direct result of Madgett’s proposal, Delacroix requested the Directory on 1 May to authorise a secret agent to go to Ireland, England, and Scotland to prepare for insurrection (CPA/589/241). The Directory approved immediately, though with amended instructions (Ibid.). Madgett responded to a request from Delacroix to nominate a reliable person to undertake the mission with a list of four names, including his nephew John Sullivan, whom he recommended as a committed republican, a Mathematics teacher and a veteran of the campaign in the *Vendée* (AF/III/186B/859/110).

3.10 Sullivan translates Wolfe Tone

Meanwhile, on 25 April, Sullivan translated Tone’s memorandum on troop movements in Ireland, which was based on a newspaper which Tone had been given by Sullivan (Tone 2001 2001: 163, 164). Tone found the translation ‘very prettily’ done; the adjustments by way of addition and omission will be considered in chapter five (Ibid: 169; CPA/589/233). Though Tone admitted that on arrival in Paris, he spoke ‘execrable French’ (Tone 2001 2001: 83), he had learnt how to read French in Ireland. His journal records that he also attended the opera or

the theatre in Paris almost nightly. His bilingual abilities were improving with time, as Kleinman has concluded on the basis of a careful review of his linguistic interactions with Delacroix and Carnot (Kleinman 2012: 32-33; 2005: 193).

Sullivan translated extracts from *The Sun*, dated 14 April 1796, on troop movements in Ireland which may well have formed the basis for Tone's memorandum on the subject to the Directory (CPA/589/236). Sullivan had not only supplied the raw material for Tone's intervention but had also translated the end product. Political intelligence and a supply of English newspapers from Sullivan to Wolfe Tone continued into June 1796 (Tone 2001: 195; 202-203).

A few days later, on 10 May 1796, the legislature decreed the expulsion of all foreigners from France who had arrived since 1789 (Rapport 2000: 269). Tone was questioned by police but was released when he produced a personal note of exemption signed by Carnot (Tone 2001: 191). Although Tone sometimes spoke disdainfully about Madgett, it was to Madgett that he turned to have a serious personal discussion about his future, as he envisaged settling in France and buying property there (Tone 2001: 189). In particular, Tone was anxious to get Madgett's views about a possible counter-revolution. Madgett's response, although paraphrased in Tone's journal, nonetheless gives some idea of how he may have conversed in English with Tone; it is also colourful, contemporaneous testimony as to the fragility of the revolutionary government:

Madgett replied that as to a counter-revolution, he did not well know what to say, more than that it was an event far from impossible; that the Government was in the most extreme distress for money, being absolutely without any; that the *mandats* had failed in their operation and what should be substituted he could not pretend to guess; that the provisioning Paris was a work of immense difficulty, and if there once came an actual scarcity of food there, it was impossible to say what might be the result, from the fury of an enraged and starving populace, any one of whom might take it on his head to cry '*Vive le Roi*' and perhaps the whole mass adopt it; that Pitt was moving heaven, earth and hell to ruin the finance; (Tone 2001: 189)

It was also to Madgett that Tone turned when he ran out of money. In extreme penury, Tone called to Madgett on 16 July, to borrow two *louis d'or* for his rent which Madgett promised to give him (Ibid: 238).

3.11 The Directory sanctions an Irish expedition

A significant milestone had been reached. The Directory issued formal instructions to General Hoche on 19 June 1796 to head a military expedition to Ireland whose aim was to liberate Ireland from English rule (SHD/B/11). Tone's intensive lobbying campaign had paid dividends, though Madgett's contribution must also be acknowledged. This was a remarkable achievement when one considers that there were many other foreign radicals in Paris from Poland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and England competing for French government assistance. Each national group had secret interviews with Delacroix (Palmer 1964: 264-265). It was also remarkable in the light of the deep suspicion of foreign groups that the Committee of Public Safety had exhibited during the Terror (Gough 2001: 545).

Tone, who was an informal Irish plenipotentiary, believed Madgett had his eye on becoming Irish ambassador in Paris. Tone's opinion on the subject in June 1796 is a mixture of derision and respect:

He has not talents for that station and besides age is beginning to make inroads on his faculties; yet Madgett is a good fellow and has undoubtedly strong claims on the gratitude of his country if she succeeds; but he is not to be her ambassador to the French Republic. His misfortune is that he thinks it is he does everything and moves everything and knows everything and I can see that he knows no more of what is going forward than my boot. It is laughable enough to see him sometimes hiding his ignorance and want of importance under a veil of great mystery and reserve (Tone 2001: 201).

For all that, Tone was not outwardly disloyal when he informed General Clarke a few days later that he had a 'very good opinion' of Madgett (Ibid: 211).

As Tone spent the late summer and autumn of 1796 preparing for the expedition to Ireland, Madgett continued to provide the Directory with political advice. Tone records that Madgett claimed some credit, through a Memorial he submitted about discussions in the Privy Council,

for the decision by Spain to break off from the coalition with England (Tone 2001: 201). Madgett was not shy about boasting of his influence. He told Tone some days later that he had organised a revolution in Swabia, a region in south-western Germany (Ibid: 218). Whatever about his influence, his prediction of Spain's break with England, repeated a few days later on the basis of updated intelligence from London, was correct, as in October 1796, Spain joined with France and declared war on England (Tone 2001: 209; Doyle 2018: 215).

Madgett continued to busy himself with American affairs, in addition to English politics. On 5 October, he translated a letter from Monroe to Delacroix denying a report that the United States had placed an embargo on French military and commercial vessels (CP-EU 45/218). Madgett wrote a lengthy report on English politics for the French leadership, with particular emphasis on Pitt and his possible successors, Lansdowne, Sheridan, and Fox, who would be likely to negotiate peace with France (AD/MD/53/208). He begins with a stinging critique of King George and Pitt, whom he criticises for embodying a monstrous combination

de faiblesse et d'astuce, de candeur apparente et de
duplicité, de fourberie et d'hypocrisie

[of weakness and shrewdness, apparent candour and
duplicity, treachery and hypocrisy].

In addition, he blames Pitt for putting together a coalition of nations against France, as well as trying to sew internal dissent within France. Pitt's suspension of *Habeas Corpus* resulting in arbitrary detention was, according to Madgett, a system of terror as atrocious as Robespierre's (AD/MD/53/210). Madgett claims that he had persuaded the Committee of Public Safety to publish printed extracts from Paine's *Rights of Man* in *Le Moniteur* two years previously, namely, in 1794 (AD/MD/53/212). In addition, Madgett asserts that the publication of Paine's work produced a clamour for parliamentary reform in England. His knowledge of English politics was probably gleaned, in part, from his extensive reading of the English press.

Although translation may have seemed like a function embedded in the French administration during the first half of 1796, the winds of change were never far away. The translators were reminded of the precarious nature of translation when their time in government service ended and Translation Section was abolished, as will be revealed in chapter four (AAE/PERS/1/47/83).

Chapter 4 Exit and Insecurity

Madgett states that the Translation Section in the Foreign Ministry was abolished in July 1797 (AAE/PERS/1/47/83). Thereafter, the translators had to fight hard to survive. Madgett managed to resume an ad hoc advisory role in the Navy Ministry, where he continued to advance the cause of the United Irishmen and extended his advisory portfolio to the United States and Louisiana (AN/Mar/G/242). Sullivan fell back on temporary commissions in the French army, thanks principally to the loyalty of General Humbert, under whom he served during the French expedition which landed in County Mayo in 1798 (GR/2YE/3853/26). Both translators also resorted to commercial translations as a way of supplementing their incomes.

4.1 Sullivan's exit from the Foreign Ministry

One of Sullivan's final translations for Delacroix does not concern Ireland, but involves the political turmoil in the French colony of Saint Domingue. French, Spanish and English interests competed in the sugar rich territory (Knight 2000: 107,112). The British made overtures to Spanish planters on the island who were fearful of French domination. General Forbes issued a Proclamation which was disseminated to the Spanish colonists. Sullivan translated the Proclamation from reports in *The Courier* and *The True Briton*, each of which carried news of the British initiative on 12 and 13 September 1796 respectively (AF/III/229). Saint Domingue was also to be the theatre of Sullivan's demise just six years later, when he took part in Napoleon's doomed policy of re-establishing slavery on and French control of the island (Masson 1877: 367; Knight 2000: 113).

Sullivan's dismissal from his position in the Foreign Ministry in October 1796 marks a rather abrupt end to a short but intensive linguistic engagement at the highest level of the French administration. Sullivan pursued Delacroix to be reinstated, in correspondence after his dismissal, but to no avail (AAE/Pers/1/65/58; AAE/Pers/1/65/60). Although no official reason for the termination of Sullivan's employment has been located in the archives, the Foreign Ministry was under pressure to reduce costs by cutting staff numbers in the autumn of 1796, which makes it likely that Sullivan's dismissal was due to budgetary constraints (Masson 1877: 386-387).

After three years of continuous, government employment, John Sullivan's own prophecy of a change in his fortunes came to pass, even though the war was far from over. Neither the clarity of his translation, his assiduous scrutiny of the English press, nor his strong republican views were able to spare him from a departmental cull in October 1796, barely a year after he had been installed in the Foreign Ministry. It is unfortunate to record that the best documented phase of John Sullivan's career relates to his attempts to be reinstated in his job as translator and, later, to have his promised promotion to the rank of Captain in the French army officially confirmed (GR/2YE/3853/26). He did not succeed in either endeavour. His subsequent career, involving a series of ad hoc commissions in the French army, is characterised by insecurity and disappointment (Ibid.).

Sullivan's employment in the French army was perhaps unplanned, but he followed the footsteps of some estimated 25,000 fellow countrymen who entered French military service between 1716 and 1791 (Whelan 2009: 316). By the beginning of the Revolution, ninety per cent of the officers in Irish Regiments in the French army were Irish, but only some ten to twelve per cent of the enlisted soldiers were Irish (Scott 1990: 15-16). Many Irish officers in the Irish regiments were guillotined on suspicion of being 'foreigners and aristocrats' (Scott 1990: 21). Sullivan never entered an Irish regiment, so his military service was atypical. However, it was hardly unexpected that someone who had taught in a French military academy for eight years and had taken up arms on the side of the Republic in the conflict in the Vendée should find his way back to employment in the military. He survived on the basis of appointments from time to time as Humbert's *aide de camp* (GR/2YE/3853/26).

The extraordinary adventure of his involvement in the expedition to Mayo in 1798 led by General Humbert will be highlighted as an example of a translator putting his life on the line for the causes he espoused, particularly Irish independence (Ibid.). The correspondence between Sullivan and the French authorities demonstrates Sullivan's resilience in the face of bureaucratic indifference. A letter in the Diplomatic Archives dated 31 October 1796 discloses that Sullivan sought a temporary post in the Foreign Ministry not long after his dismissal, while reminding Minister Delacroix of his promise to secure a position for him outside of the Ministry (AAE/PERS/1/65/58; Kleinman 2005: 121; 2012: 30). Sullivan's sense of injustice is palpable: he complains that he should have been one of the last employees to be let go, if his length of service, his ability, morality, patriotism and the sacrifices he had made were properly

taken into account. He describes the highlights of his career, including the ‘conversion’ of more than two hundred prisoners of war in Dinan and the translation of confiscated documents in Brest. Reminding the Minister also that he had taught in the Military College of La Flèche from 1785 until 1793, Sullivan tries to characterise his teaching career as revolutionary service. He had preached the Revolution to prisoners of war, had smuggled various republican pamphlets into England and had helped Hamilton Rowan to present an invasion plan to the Committee of Public Safety. His activities were well known to the English authorities such that he could never return to his native Ireland.

He also complains about the low salary, which required great personal sacrifice to enable him to survive, giving the example of his return journey to Paris from Brest, which had to be part-funded by the sale of some of his personal effects. He reminds Delacroix again of a letter he had received from the Minister promising him a position outside the Ministry and also of his temporary appointment by Ysabeu as Head of the Translation Section during Madgett’s illness (AAE/Pers/1/65/58).

One can easily imagine Sullivan’s disappointment that such a fulsome summary of his achievements in the field did not yield any return. The best that Delacroix appears to have done for Sullivan is to recommend him to General Clarke, on 11 November 1796, as a translator who might be useful on the then imminent expedition to Ireland (GR/2YE/3853/26).

By the end of November 1796, Sullivan became increasingly desperate after the request made to General Clarke was rejected. He signs a letter dated 29 November to Delacroix as: ‘Sullivan, ancien employé du bureau de traduction’ [Sullivan, ex-employee of the Translation Section] (AAE/PERS/1/65/60). This letter seeks reinstatement in his old job, or, in default, a new position. He claims he had turned down a number of offers of employment in private schools in Paris as he believed his length of government service would spare him from the effects of a budgetary cutback:

j’ai compté sur la stabilité de ma place aux Relations
Extérieures.

[I relied on the security of my position in the Foreign
Ministry].

Despite a renewed appeal by Sullivan to Delacroix in a letter dated 4 May 1797, Delacroix ended his period as Foreign Minister on 15 July 1797 without having acceded to any of

Sullivan's requests (GR/2YE/3853). Translation may have been indispensable but translators were not. He had been close to the levers of power when he was working in proximity to the Bureau Intime [Private Office], but his subsistence would now come to depend entirely on the whims of the military hierarchy. Indeed, were it not for the loyalty of General Humbert, one wonders how he would have survived.

4.2 Madgett's exit from the Foreign Ministry

In late 1796, Madgett turned his mind to supplementing his income by private means. With his nephew departed from government service, Madgett may well have sensed the insecurity of his own position. On 10 November 1796 he advertised a private language school and translation service in *La Décade Philosophique* (10 novembre 1796, pp. 305-306; Kleinman 2017: 17). This was a periodical devoted to literature and the arts (Jainchill 2008: 78). His advertisement offered tuition in English, German, Italian, Spanish, Mathematics, and Geography. Foreigners could obtain tuition in French. In addition, there would be a translation service for business and legal purposes. The translations would be accurate, faithful and confidential.

No record of the success or otherwise of this enterprise has been found. However, two Parisian newspapers gave it a positive review. *Le Républicain* noted that the study of foreign languages was an essential part of a republican education and promoted Madgett's school in an editorial (*Le Républicain*, 2 novembre, 1796: 108). Even more praiseworthy was an article penned in the *Gazette Nationale* of 19 December 1796, in which Madgett was described as the only person who understood fully how foreign languages should be taught (*Gazette Nationale*, 19 décembre 1796: 354). Meanwhile he remained in his position at the Foreign Ministry.

An unsigned translation of a United Irishmen pamphlet entitled *The Appeal of the People of Ulster to their Countrymen and to the Empire at Large* is dated 14 April 1797, its probable publication date. The text is reproduced in *Ireland in the Age of Revolution, 1760-1805* (Dickinson (ed.) 2013: 335). Dickinson deems the original pamphlet 'a fierce response to General Lake's proclamation that virtually placed Ulster under martial law' (2013: 332). An unsigned translation into French appears in the French National Archives, though it clearly emanated from the Foreign Ministry (AF/III/58/228). The translation bears the date 26 May 1797 and given the subject matter, it is difficult to believe Madgett had no hand in either the

selection of this document or its translation. In addition, the adjustments in the translation bear a clear resemblance to Madgett's linguistic treatment of Tone's Memorials in 1796.

Madgett's presence in the Archives diminished greatly after 1796, foreshadowing the end of his tenure in government service. He reported to the Directory in March 1797 on the activities of French royalists abroad (AF/III/57/223). He produced a paper for the Directory dated 8 May 1797 on the Portsmouth Mutiny in which he opines that this was the handiwork of Irish insurgents who had infiltrated the British navy as part of a strategy to weaken British military force and to encourage the French to send arms and troops to liberate Ireland (AF/III/57/223). In a separate note dated 23 May, Madgett claims that news of the mutiny from England included a declaration of loyalty to France or Ireland by the mutinous sailors (AF/III/229). But his days in the Foreign Ministry were numbered.

On 17 July 1797, a number of employees including Madgett were dismissed by Minister Delacroix on budgetary grounds (Masson 1877: 388). Madgett claimed that Delacroix abolished the Translation section a few days before his replacement as Minister (AAE/PERS/1/47/83). This may not have come as a surprise to Madgett, who was well aware of the fluctuations of French political life, and who had predicted Delacroix's demise as far back as April 1796 to Wolfe Tone (Tone 2001: 152).

Madgett made a remarkable plea to Delacroix to be reinstated, probably in late July 1797, as it refers to Delacroix leaving the post of Foreign Minister, which he did on 18 July 1797 (AAE/PERS/1/47/83). As former Head of Translation, he describes his brief as translation into and from French, correspondence with secret agents in England, Scotland and Ireland and gathering intelligence for the Committee of Public Safety. He stresses that Delacroix should be the first to recognise his devotion to duty and the value of his multiple reports on important political topics, especially on Ireland. Elliott has pointed out that the translations of Tone's Memorials were subsequently much admired in France (Elliott 1989: 281). At close to sixty years of age, Madgett informs his Minister that he now found himself without means. He goes on to make a somewhat forlorn request to reinstate the Translation Section within the new budgetary constraints, given the broad range of public institutions that needed translation. He suggests a new centralised Translation Section to serve all government departments which needed efficient translation. However, he concedes that a number of memoranda he had

already submitted on this subject had gone without reply, echoing the unheeded calls he made in 1794 for a secure supply of English newspapers (AAE/Pers/1/47/88).

In an undated, internal note, Madgett reminds Lagarde, that he had been promised a position in government service by Merlin de Douai, one of the five members of the Directory (AF/III/276). This note was probably delivered by Madgett in the autumn of 1797. Merlin had been appointed a Director after the royalist coup of 17/18 Fructidor (3/4 September 1797) was put down (Doyle 2018: 332). Lagarde was a senior civil servant attached to the Committee of Public Safety, and subsequently ‘secrétaire général’ of the Directory (Masson 1877: 340-341, 379; Guillon 1888: 191). From Madgett’s perspective, nothing came of this short petition.

Madgett was not reinstated as a government translator, and so he had to survive by other means after four and a half years of salaried employment. A further note from Madgett records that he continued to press the Directory for a position in government service which he claims had been promised to him (AF/III/276). His influence was however diminishing, though he managed to retain an ad hoc advisory role in the Navy Ministry in 1799.

Madgett maintained some contact in 1797 with Tone, who was serving in the French army in Brussels. He was keeping an eye on Tone’s family who had travelled to Paris from the United States and Tone thanked him in July ‘for his civility’ to his wife in his absence (Tone 2007: 155). Madgett kept in touch with other Irish radicals and dined in Paris with Ahern and Napper Tandy,¹⁰ in addition to Tone, in the autumn of 1797 (Ibid: 211). However, French interest in another Irish expedition waned in 1797 (Elliott 1982: 157). Although the archives are largely silent on Madgett after his departure from the Foreign Ministry, until he reappears in early 1799 in the Navy Ministry, he was by no means inactive, as will be evident from other sources. It is probable that his only income during that period came from private tuition and translation.

The exit of the two translators from their positions in the Foreign Ministry reflects the insecurity of translators in late eighteenth-century France. Both translators claim to have received empty ministerial promises of reinstatement or alternative employment (AF/III/276; AAE/PERS/1/65/58). They both turned, in part, to commercial translation to supplement their diminishing incomes.

¹⁰ Napper Tandy was a prominent United Irishman who also lobbied the French government for military support (Elliott 1802: 170).

Madgett had risen to a position of prominence close to the centre of power in the French administration. He had become a trusted adviser to Delacroix and had a real impact on French war policy towards Ireland in 1796 (CPA/589/120). The entry in Ackerman's *Dictionnaire Biographique* of 1834 to the effect that he carried out merely secondary diplomatic functions greatly understates his impact as Head of Translation in the Foreign Ministry (Ackerman 1834: 290).

The next section examines how the translators reacted to their insecurity. Madgett remained steadfast in his commitment to the cause of the United Irishmen. Sullivan gave the most dramatic proof of that commitment by putting his life on the line during his participation in Humbert's short-lived military expedition in the west of Ireland in 1798 (GR/2YE/3853/26).

4.3 1798: Madgett in the shadows

Just as Madgett's impact on French policy towards Ireland was diminishing, so too was the political influence of the United Irishmen. The 1798 rebellion was short-lived, though the memory of the rebellion remained a potent force in Irish history. Thomas Davis's veneration of Tone was in turn inherited by the Fenians – and indeed by Irish republicans ever since- who could thus point to 'historically rooted claims of militant Irish republicanism' (Whelan 1996: ix). For Gough, the 1798 rebellion 'created a founding myth for republicanism and unionism in much the same way that, nine years previously, 1789 had created a founding myth for both left and right in France' (Gough 2001: 538).

During 1798 and beyond, Madgett continued to be active in the Paris branch of the United Irishmen, and maintained his intelligence gathering, particularly from Hamburg and Ireland (MV/1/GG/62/134; Woods 2011: 222). The file of his voluminous advices in 1799 and 1800 as archived by the Ministry of the Navy suggests that he had manoeuvred himself back into an advisory role during that period (AN/Mar/G/242).

French foreign policy in 1798 was preoccupied with Napoleon's adventures in Egypt. In 1799, the second Coalition of European powers went to war with France. By November 1799, Napoleon had seized power by overthrowing the Directory (Doyle 2017: 436). This left little appetite for a renewed expedition to Ireland (Elliott 1982: 243). It was in this unpromising political and diplomatic landscape that Madgett, now aged sixty-one, persevered in his mission

to persuade the French authorities that another military intervention in Ireland was in their interests.

In August 1798, Madgett was permitted by the French authorities to recruit an Irish legion for the French army amongst ‘enemy’ prisoners, according to the English spy Samuel Turner, who had gained Madgett’s confidence and obtained information about Madgett’s recruiting mission (Woods 2011: 223). The French authorities had separated the prisoners into English and Irish, had marched the English prisoners off to Valenciennes, leaving Madgett free to pursue his mission amongst the Irish prisoners who remained in jail in Orléans. Those recruits were to form part of Humbert’s expedition from La Rochelle. Madgett’s recruiting mission was reported by Turner in a dispatch he sent to the English spymaster, Wickham, from Hamburg in the following terms:

The day I left Paris he set out for Orléans, to tamper with the Irish prisoners there, in order to get them to engage in the expedition, on account of their knowledge both of the coast and of the country, and to serve as sailors in navigating their vessels (Castlereagh 1848: 398).

Although the French authorities permitted Madgett to form his own legion, no archival record of the outcome of that mission exists (Hayes 1949: 142; Ferradou 2019: 733-735). Turner reported that Madgett was still active in the United Irishmen network in Paris, even swearing Turner in as a United Irishman in Paris in the summer of 1798 (Woods 2011: 222). He was also, Turner claimed, ‘one of the most active instruments of the French Directory in every thing that respects Ireland’ (Ibid; Castlereagh 1848: 398). Unknown to Madgett, Turner was a British spy (Woods 2011: 185).

French military archives contain a Memorial from Madgett dated 10 October 1798 to the Navy Minister, Bruix, explaining how the large number of Irish recruits could undermine the British navy (MV/1/GG/62/134). In this Memorial, Madgett draws support for his opinion from his personal experience of interviewing Irish prisoners held in Orléans and Versailles, adding the important detail that these visits had been sanctioned by the French government.

Madgett was known in Opposition circles in England. The London anti-establishment periodical, *The Monthly Magazine*, referred to Madgett as follows: ‘Whereas Mr Madgett was a real character, an Irishman by birth, but had fulfilled the functions of a clergyman above

twenty years in France, and at the time of Dr Jackson's trial, was a public translator of languages' (The Monthly Magazine, vol. 7, April 1799: 257; Carnall 1954: 158).

4.4 Sullivan's literary translation

It has not been possible to trace any contact between uncle and nephew during Sullivan's final years in ad hoc military service. However, his uncle may have been responsible for prompting him to do a rare literary translation (Kleinman 2017: 16). Sullivan did find the time, probably out of financial necessity, to translate into French a romantic novel, *Ranspach or Mysteries of a Castle*, originally published in London in 1797 by R. Richards.¹¹ The translation, *Théodore et Olivia ou la Famille de Ranspach*, was published in Paris by Tavernier, Desennes and Pougens. The translation does not include a publication date, but it was reviewed in July 1798 and so had probably been published earlier in 1798 (*Journal des Dames*, 8 July 1798: 25-26).

The novel charts the rise of two children reared as orphans in a peasant community but subsequently reunited with their aristocratic families. The translator's name and qualifications appear on the title page of the French version as:

Roman traduit de l'anglais par Sullivan, professeur au ci-devant Collège Royal et Militaire de la Flèche.

[Novel translated from English by Sullivan, teacher at the Royal Military College of La Flèche.]

Thus, the publishers signalled the trustworthiness of the translator by promoting his affiliation with a French military academy. The demand for Gothic fiction in translation was strong in France during this period, resulting in a massive export from England of novels of the genre (Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 205). A study of the translation of ideas in the Enlightenment observes that in the second half of the eighteenth century, 'to advertise a novel as "traduit de l'anglois" enhanced its chance of success' (Andries and others 2013: 9).

The reviewer in the *Journal des Dames* praises the quality of Sullivan's translation, saying his knowledge of French is so good it reads like an original work:

Le traducteur, Anglois d'origine, connoît si parfaitement la langue François, qu'aucune expression, aucune

¹¹ I am grateful to Sylvie Kleinman for the reference.

tournure impropres ne lui échappent, et que l'on croit lire un ouvrage original, plutôt qu'une traduction.

[The translator, who is English, has such an excellent knowledge of the French language, that there are no inappropriate expressions or turns of phrase, and it reads like an original work rather than a translation.]

4.5 Sullivan in Mayo in 1798: survival through translation

The story of Sullivan's escape from the British, after the surrender of French forces under General Humbert in the west of Ireland in 1798, reflects perhaps the most remarkable episode of his short life. The armed rebellion in Ireland by the United Irishmen in June 1798 had been crushed, with horrific atrocities on both sides (Foster 1988: 279). The 1798 rebellion took the French authorities by surprise, as much of France's military strength was invested in Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt (Elliott 1990: 211). Signs of a new European coalition against France meant that resources for an Irish invasion were limited. The two French expeditions to Ireland in 1798, which landed in Mayo and Donegal respectively, were 'piecemeal' (Elliott 1990: 211). The force that reached County Mayo under Humbert was poorly equipped and badly prepared (Elliott 1990: 214). The French were labouring under a 'serious misconception about popular rebelliousness in Ireland' (Elliott 1990: 214). In the event, Humbert recklessly led a contingent consisting of one thousand untrained Irish volunteers and nine hundred French soldiers into battle against some twenty thousand troops commanded by Cornwallis (Elliott 1990: 213). Irish volunteers were slaughtered as the French were defeated (Elliott 1982: 229).

Why Sullivan was selected to go on that expedition is explained in Humbert's letter of 19 December 1798 to the Directory after the failed expedition. Humbert justifies the employment of Sullivan as he needed 'Un officier connaissant la langue et les usages du pays' [An officer who knows the language and the customs of the country] (GR/2YE/3853/26). Engagement with the local population was of course an indispensable requirement of war (Footitt & Kelly 2018: 162).

There is no direct evidence that Sullivan was an Irish speaker, and Ferradou has ventured to suggest that he was not (2019: 735). His commanding officer recruited him, in part, because he knew the local language, and accordingly, it is quite possible that Humbert was adverting to the Irish language. Humbert adds in the same letter that Sullivan was appointed as the commander

of the Irish volunteers whom he led into battle at Castlebar and it is difficult to imagine how he could have carried out such a mission without communicating in Irish, which was probably the language of many local volunteers. Details of Sullivan's education remain elusive, but if he was brought up in Tralee, County Kerry where he was born, it is likely that he received some tuition in Irish.

Sullivan was not the only Irish officer recruited by Humbert. Henry O'Keane, Mathew Tone -brother of Wolfe Tone- and Bartholomew Teeling were also on the expedition (Ferradou 2019: 735). O'Keane was a fluent Irish speaker, though his recruitment specifically as an Irish language interpreter is not recorded in French archives (Stock 1800: 60; Kleinman 2005: 234-235).

Linguistic competence in French was indeed to prove crucial to Sullivan's own survival. Humbert's letter of 19 December 1798 to the Directory is a eulogy of Sullivan's performance during the unsuccessful invasion (GR/2YE/3853/26). Humbert recounts that Sullivan was not driven by any personal interest but had exposed himself instead to real danger. Humbert also states that he had appointed Sullivan to the rank of Captain, but the departure from France was so hasty that the formal arrangements had not been put in place to confirm his rank. Humbert adds that confirmation of the rank of Captain would be small recompense for the sacrifices he made.

Humbert also provides in this letter a personal account of Sullivan's bravery at the Battle of Castlebar, which was the first French confrontation with British troops during the expedition. Sullivan's appointment as the commander of the Irish volunteers meant a promotion on the field of battle to 'chef de bataillon' [Battalion Commander] (GR/2YE/3853/26). Sullivan refused to accept the promotion, declaring himself content with the rank of Captain. Humbert's assessment of Sullivan is fulsome:

Il a constamment montré l'attachement le plus inviolable
pour la République et la haine la plus invétérée pour les
opresseurs de sa première patrie (GR/2YE/3853/26).

[He consistently showed the most unbreakable loyalty to
the Republic and the most deep-seated hatred of the
oppressors of his country of birth.]

Humbert's observation denotes a form of symbiosis between Sullivan's support for the French Revolution and the cause of the United Irishmen. Just as France had unchained itself from the

fetters of monarchy and feudal privilege, a French invasion of Ireland would free that country from the yoke of English oppression. Sullivan's active participation in the French military expedition demonstrates that he was concurrently loyal to the French Republic and a committed supporter of the United Irishmen.

Hayes also records Sullivan's bravery, by referring to the reminiscence of a French general, Fontaine, that Sullivan exhibited 'the most striking proof of individual valour' (Hayes 1937: 52). Hayes' account is however to be treated with caution, as he appears to believe that the soldier who assumed the pseudonym 'La Roche' was in fact named Captain Byrne (Hayes 1937: 51-52). A contemporaneous document, cited by Hayes, is the account of one James Fullam of his desertion from crown forces after his capture by the French at Castlebar. Fullam's printed account refers to an interview with a French officer named Captain Roche. Two elements in Fullam's account suggest that Roche was in fact Sullivan. Firstly, he claims that Roche urged captured Irish soldiers to desert to the French side: 'For every Irishman that wished to free himself out of prison to turn his coat and follow him' (Hayes 1937: 280). This rings true in the light of Sullivan's experience of proselytising English sailors in Brittany, as Kleinman has observed (Kleinman 2005: 240). This Captain Roche is also reputed by Fullam to have stated the following, in terms which resonate with Sullivan's rhetoric over the years:

But he observed to the Irishmen (as he called them) 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 Ireland and free them in their own country; (Hayes 1937: 280).

An Address to Irish Soldiers in the British army composed by Humbert is entitled *Aux Soldats Irlandois dans les armées Britanniques* [To the Irish soldiers in the British army]. It appears in British archives in the recognisable hand of John Sullivan (HO/100/82/123). The translation into English is also filed and though not in Sullivan's hand, it may well have been overseen by him (HO/100/82/125; Kleinman 2005: 240-241; 2017:15). The translation is unremarkable in itself, but if Sullivan was involved, it illustrates his bilingual military role and the trust reposed in him by his commanding officer.

Humbert confirms Sullivan's own version of his escape after defeat at the hands of the British army. It was a miracle that he did escape, which Humbert attributes to the fact that Sullivan had adopted the name of 'Laroche' before his departure for Ireland, so as to assume

the identity of a French officer (GR/2YE/3853/26). A number of documents emanating from both General Humbert and the War Ministry refer to him under the style of ‘Sullivan dit Laroche’ [Sullivan known as Laroche] in the immediate aftermath of the Mayo adventure. One such letter dated 29 December 1798 from Humbert to the War Minister, and written in Sullivan’s unmistakable hand, denominates him as ‘Le Capitaine Sullivan, connu sous le nom de Laroche dans l’expédition d’Irlande’ [Captain Sullivan, known by the name of Laroche on the Irish expedition] (GR/2YE/3863/26).

However, his escape cannot be attributed simply to the adopted French surname. Three further sources paint a fuller picture. A letter from the Ministry of War to the Directory in late December 1798 states that Sullivan was brought before a court martial after being captured by the British, but he was spared because it was not possible to prove that he had been born in Ireland (GR/2YE/3853/26). It has not been possible to confirm a court martial, though he was certainly subjected to interrogation. *The Freeman’s Journal* of 13 September 1798 records that two French officers, believed to belong to the ‘Irish Treason Union’, were taken under escort to Dublin Castle. The report adds: ‘One says his name is *La Roche* and the other *Tailon* but it is suspected they are Irishmen and their real names Roche and Teeling.’

Internal British army correspondence authored by Rupert George, dated 22 November 1798, yields further detail. This letter, located in the National Archives in London, has not previously been brought to light and explains that ‘La Roche, a French officer,’ left Dover with General Humbert on 26 October that year, when they were repatriated to France. In an attempt to explain how Sullivan had been released, the author states:

We examined him very particularly previous to his departure and had no reason to doubt the account he gave of himself ‘that he was born in France of Irish parents.’ He certainly spoke the language of a Frenchman and was detained in Ireland some days in custody after General Humbert left that kingdom, but no proofs of his being an Irishman having appeared, he was allowed to join his General at Litchfield (HO/42/45/55).

The letter strongly suggests that reservations about Sullivan’s nationality surfaced not long after his departure from Dover to France in October 1798. Why those doubts appeared so soon after his interrogation is unclear. A full copy of this letter is set out in Appendix 24. Castlereagh’s letter to Wickham of 29 October 1798, based on secret military intelligence, adds

a further detail. Castlereagh casts some doubt on the judgment of Edward Cooke, then British Under Secretary in Dublin Castle, who appears to have let Sullivan slip through the net:

...his account of the names assumed by the traitors
who accompanied Humbert is correct, though I may
doubt La Roche being Byrone; he was dismissed by Mr.
Cooke, with the other officers, having satisfied him that
he had been born in France of English parents'
(Castlereagh 1848: 415)

The Irish who landed with Humbert in County Mayo were court martialled and executed almost immediately (Elliot 1982: 230). There was also 'wholesale slaughter of Irish collaborators' (Ibid: 229). Henry O'Keane returned to France with the other French officers, according to Baeyens, because his naturalisation papers predated the Revolution (Baeyens 1981: 73). Sullivan, on the other hand, owed his life to a clear command of spoken French, indistinguishable from that of a native. His escape is all the more remarkable when one considers that he had crossed paths with a British government informer, Michael Burke, who had infiltrated the French forces in Castlebar on 31 August 1798 (Tone 2007: 344; Hayes 1937: 62). Sullivan had literally translated himself out of captivity and probable execution. He returned to Paris on 1 November 1798 with General Humbert (Ortholan 2022: 271).

On his return from France, Sullivan faced into a further period of temporary military commissions before his untimely death in 1802 in Saint-Domingue (GR/2YE/3853/26). Meanwhile, his uncle found a way to continue to advise the Minister of the Navy, if only on an ad hoc basis (AN/Mar/G/242).

4.6 Madgett as ad hoc adviser on Ireland

The navy archives contain a lengthy file of manuscript documents entitled 'Papiers Madgett' [Madgett Papers], either bearing Madgett's name, or in his unmistakable hand, dating between the early part of 1799 and late 1800 (AN/Mar/G/242). Many of them are difficult to read, as Madgett's handwriting becomes increasingly illegible with the passage of time. The receipt and retention of these documents in military archives indicates he had a continuing advisory role in the Ministry where he began his public service in 1793. This may explain how he was in receipt of a State pension in 1810 (SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632). That he was able to re-establish even an ad hoc connection to the Ministry was a tribute to his skills of political

survival in an administration which, by the end of 1799, had enshrined a Constitution that was ‘anti-democratic and anti-political, vesting final authority in an unelected body’ (Jainchill 2008: 241).

The vast majority of the documents relate to either Irish affairs, including intelligence received from United Irishmen, especially from Hamburg, or, to an analysis of French interests in Louisiana. The intelligence stream received from Irish radicals scattered across northern Europe was doubtless translated and summarised by Madgett in these advices.

His mysterious role in the negotiation of the Louisiana Purchase between France and the United States in 1803 is extrapolated from secondary sources and is discussed later (Paine 1945: 1502; Keane 1995: 482). Curiously, this neglected Navy file contains neither instructions to Madgett from the Minister nor an official response of any kind to the various reports and memorials he submitted. The entry under his name in Ode’s *Biographie Universelle* in 1847, corroborates a role in the Navy Ministry, stating that he had obtained such a position after he left the Foreign Ministry (Ode 1847: 79).

Historians and translation scholars have paid little attention to this file, perhaps reflecting Madgett’s increasingly peripheral position (Ferradou 2019: 432,767; Kleinman 2017: 8). Yet, the evident breadth of Madgett’s interest in and knowledge of international relations makes it important to consider his activity in this period, the final chapter of his presence in French government archives.

In one of the first documents in the file, Madgett describes himself as ‘M. le Secrétaire Interprète de la Marine’ (AN/Mar/G/242/4). Kleinman has observed how the roles of interpreter and translator were often used interchangeably in the period (2005:76). Madgett points to the benefits of reviving his old spy network in Ireland, England, and Scotland, which he had operated from 1792 until 1797 (AN/Mar/G/242/4). He had conducted correspondence with secret agents, either directly or via United Irishmen residing in Holland, Switzerland, and Germany, but particularly Hamburg. In addition, he had furnished reports and memorials to different government departments. He claims that the French government would have derived considerable benefit from this service had it not been terminated. He is quick to stress that a resumption of service would not be expensive, when one considered the advantages it would bring in terms of valuable intelligence on the three kingdoms, namely Ireland, England and

Scotland. Madgett was offering to deploy the full range of his linguistic and political experience.

The purpose of this note was therefore to promote translation-based intelligence services that only he could provide to the French authorities. In short, he was pitching for work. It is implicit in the documents that immediately follow that the renewal of his intelligence mandate was officially sanctioned. In the very next document in the file dated 16 August 1799 and presumably destined for the Minister, he summarises intelligence which had been received by the Committee of United Irishmen in Paris from Hamburg, via a network of United Irishmen there (AN/Mar/G/242/5). Madgett proposes that United Irishmen in the British navy in Hamburg and neighbouring ports should join any French expedition to Ireland. Madgett's *modus operandi* was unchanged. Typically, he promotes the idea of spreading revolt in the British navy by getting Irish recruits to disseminate a propaganda document he had composed, the *Address to Irish sailors serving in the British navy*. He had sent this Address more than a year before to Bruix, then Navy Minister, and copies could be distributed on board English navy vessels by republican Irish sailors. This was classic Madgett, ever alert to the power of the printed word, though it is hard to gauge his influence at this point, or whether this proposal was ever seriously considered (AN/Mar/G/242/5).

Madgett had a meeting in August 1799 with the new Navy Minister, Bourdon de Vatry, whom he refers to as '*Citoyen Ministre*', and again suggests printing his Address to Irish sailors in the British navy so that it could then be disseminated as the best way to foment insurrection. To that end, he had prepared a translation for the Minister (AN/Mar/G/242/6). Unfortunately, the 'Address' has not been located in the archives in Vincennes (AN/Mar/G/242/15).

In September 1799, he suggests infiltrating the British army in Holland with United Irishmen leaders who could liaise with Irish soldiers then serving in the British army. He repeats the familiar rhetoric of France liberating the Irish from the yoke of their cruel oppressors (AN/Mar/G/242/8). To do so, he again promotes the value of circulating his Address, which would lead to mass desertion and the destruction of British naval supremacy. Here was Madgett, perhaps unsure what reception his advice would get, dramatically overstating the potential effect of his own translated propaganda.

Madgett clearly had intensive contact with United Irishmen on the continent. On 7 October, anxious to prove he was still a valuable source of political intelligence, he sent the Minister a list of the names of 19 United Irishmen then residing in Paris (AN/Mar/G/242/13). It is hard to believe there was any great appetite in the French leadership for yet another expedition to Ireland, after the disastrous expedition of 1796 that failed to land in Bantry Bay, and the two failed invasion attempts of 1798 to Connaught and Donegal respectively (Elliott 1982: 243).

4.7 Hamburg: centre of intelligence

Hamburg was a major source of intelligence for Madgett, as United Irishmen and disaffected foreigners from many nations were drawn to the port city, which was also a transit point for journeys to or from Britain for those trying to evade detection (Elliott 1982: 259). Even as late as July 1799, Madgett was continuing to provide intelligence, received from Hamburg, to the Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, who passed on the intelligence to the police, naming Madgett as his source (AN/F/7/6217).

However, Madgett's intelligence operation in Hamburg was, in part, flawed. Madgett believed that one Samuel Turner was a reliable patriot wanted in Ireland on account of his republicanism, though in fact Turner was a British government informer (AN/Mar/G/242/15). One must therefore question Madgett's report of 12 November 1799, based on Turner's correspondence, that there were many Irish sailors in the British navy ready to defect to the French side (AN/Mar/G/242/15).

4.8 More invasion plans and intelligence

By mid-November 1799, Madgett was driven to putting forward even more audacious proposals, including a possible French invasion of England with a force of fifty thousand men (AN/Mar/G/242/17). This was undoubtedly Madgett at his most speculative and it is difficult to know how seriously this resonated, if at all, within the French hierarchy (AN/Mar/G/242/17). As Elliott has observed, there was no evidence that France was seriously contemplating sending another expedition to Ireland between 1798 and 1803 (Elliott 1982: 243).

By December 1799, Madgett was reporting to a new Navy Minister, Forfait, to whom he continued to relay translated intelligence and advice about Irish affairs from a range of sources,

including correspondence from Hamburg, from Ireland as well as information gleaned from the English press (AN/Mar/G/242/19).

Madgett takes issue in February 1800 with the proposed Union of Ireland with England and warned the Minister that its aim was to destroy the independence of Ireland, eliminate its Parliament, and then impose higher taxes. He rails against Pitt, who had used corrupt practices to buy off some Catholic bishops and made promises to others that he didn't honour. Accordingly, Madgett proposes, yet again, an invasion force of twenty thousand men to liberate Ireland and to also plan expeditions to take control of England and Scotland, and thereby thwart Pitt's plan for a Union of the two countries (AN/Mar/G/242/23).

From 1799 to 1801 the United Irishmen continued to hope for French assistance. Bonaparte overthrew the Directory in November 1799 and assumed full control of government as first Consul (McPhee 2018: 338). Bonaparte's interest in an invasion of Ireland was never really kindled, and once preliminary peace overtures with England in 1801 were announced, Irish republicans must have realised that a French-sponsored invasion was then finally off the agenda (Elliott 1982: 277).

However, Madgett's eclectic intelligence role continued into the early months of 1800, principally consisting of disparate information reaching him from Hamburg (AN/Mar/G/242/25-27). His submissions to the Minister in this lengthy file reflected his broad international interests and knowledge. Though there is hardly any mention of the translation of texts, apart from his much vaunted '*Adresse*' to Irish sailors in the British navy, he was translating continuously. He was receiving intelligence from United Irishmen scattered around Northern Europe, presumably, though not necessarily always, in English and was composing reports in French based on that source material, in addition to information gleaned from the English press. Even this somewhat peripheral role would not have been possible in the absence of translation.

4.9 Louisiana: Madgett advocates French control

Madgett signed off on two lengthy and knowledgeable reports on Louisiana, though possibly not in his hand, dated 23 September 1799 and 21 March 1800 (AN/Mar/G/242/38-65; AN/Mar/G/242/68-76). Thus, he extended his previous interest in the United States to encompass the geopolitics of the North American continent. It may also be that as French

interest in Ireland weakened, Madgett had to find other subjects that were higher up the political agenda in order to maintain his usefulness. It would be inaccurate to define Madgett exclusively in terms of his contribution to the project of Irish independence.

Madgett argues that the loss of Louisiana was a political defeat as it left the British free to pursue their ambitions of naval dominance. As a consequence, France lost influence in this part of the world where it could have caused great damage to Britain. He proposes that Spain could be given Saint Domingue (renamed Haiti), in exchange for its portion of Louisiana and advocated the trade advantages of a restoration of Louisiana to France.

He laments British-American friendship and regrets that British power wasn't diminished after the War of Independence. As for the French Caribbean colonies, they might now be eyed by the United States. He supports the existence of a separate power to Britain in North America, even claiming that Louisiana would be important for France in the current war. Therefore, Madgett was strongly supportive of the proposal to restore Louisiana to France.

Madgett projects a strengthening of the French navy and also addresses British power in India and its control of the Indian Ocean, referring to English newspapers as the source of this intelligence. He displays a thorough knowledge of the geopolitics of the Gulf of Mexico. He even broaches English advances in trade with China. He also proposes an alliance between France and Spain to protect their respective American colonies from British and, potentially American aggression. Taken as a whole, these two reports reveal a truly global knowledge of international relations on Madgett's part. He was more than just a spymaster with a network of disaffected Irishmen dotted around Northern Europe.

Translation was still part of his professional arsenal. On 11 September 1800, Madgett warns the Minister that an English invasion of Louisiana should be thwarted with Spanish cooperation (AN/Mar/G/242/78). The English had already dispatched agents to map the territory and to plot a route up as far as Nootka Sound on the Pacific coast which would confer a significant commercial benefit. Madgett claims he had specific intelligence that an English expedition was about to sail from Cork for Jamaica and from there to Louisiana. That intelligence appears likely to have been drawn by Madgett from an extract from *The Morning Post* of 18 August 1800 which reported exactly that, and which Madgett had translated and put on file (AN/Mar/G/242/79).

Madgett continues to assert that Louisiana should revert to French control in a series of undated advices that necessarily came before the Treaty of Ildefonso, signed on 1 October 1800, which saw Spain hand back Louisiana to France (AN/Mar/G/242/78; Cummins and others 2014: 87). Madgett's advice was a blend of political intelligence and aspiration (AN/Mar/G/242/78). He buttresses his submission, in a separate memorandum, with historical background on the first French outpost built in Louisiana by De LaSalle in 1682 (AN/Mar/G/242/80). In a further submission, Madgett explores the geopolitics of the Americas with a wide-ranging paper on the Gulf of Mexico and the Panama Canal (AN/Mar/G/242/86).

It is impossible to gauge the effect of Madgett's advocacy of French control of Louisiana. Bonaparte did force Spain to return the territory to France under the Treaty of Ildefonso of 1 October 1800 (Cummins and others 2014: 97). Spain continued to administer Louisiana, in effect as France's caretaker, until Bonaparte decided to sell the entire territory to the United States in 1803 for fifteen million dollars (Ibid 2014: 98). The Louisiana Purchase discloses Madgett's final role as a political adviser.

4.10 The Louisiana Purchase

The Madgett Papers contain a curious, undated dispatch from Madgett to James Monroe, described as a United States plenipotentiary (AN/Mar/G/242/82). Madgett claims that the purchase of Louisiana by the United States created the biggest empire in the world, given that Louisiana was then the size of most of western Europe. According to its place in the archives, this undated document appears soon after the extract from *The Morning Post* of 18 August 1800. However, this seems implausible, as Monroe was then the governor of Virginia (Brown 2017:10). Madgett's reference in the first paragraph to the recent transfer of Louisiana by France to the United States confirms it as a document written in 1803. Whereas the document suggests that Madgett did have a quasi-official role in relation to the negotiations, one might have expected to find reference to such a role in the navy archives alongside his voluminous advices on Louisiana. Instead, sources other than French archives add to the story.

James Monroe had been sent to Paris by President Jefferson to negotiate with France in 1803 for the purchase of Louisiana by the United States (Cummins and others 2014: 97). Keane's *Tom Paine: A Political Life* reports on a meeting between Paine and Monroe on the eve of the latter's departure for France in 1803 to secure the Louisiana Purchase, during which

Paine pressed Monroe to make contact with a friend of his in Paris, one Nicholas Madgett. According to Paine, Madgett was said to have influence in the French government for whom he had prepared a report on the Louisiana Purchase (Keane 1995: 482). Monroe already knew Madgett in 1796, when Monroe was then the American envoy to France and had assisted Wolfe Tone on his early interactions with the French Directory (Tone 2001: 74).

Kleinman has asserted that Madgett's brief was confirmed by a document reproduced in the *Memoir of R A Emmet* (Kleinman 2005: 92; Emmet 1815: 306-307). The document in question is an extract from the official record of the British interrogation of an associate of Robert Emmet's in 1802, one Michael Quigley. This source must however be treated with some caution. Firstly, a pencilled notation on its face warns the reader that 'this examination seems incoherently taken' (Emmet 1815: 306). More importantly, the critical information is in double reported speech. The document states that a group of Irishmen in Paris were told by an Irishman resident in Paris, Col McDonnell, that he thought he could get land in Louisiana from the French government 'thro the means of an Irishman whom Quigley believed to be Madgett who was employed in the Public Offices' (Emmet 1815: 307).

Another more reliable source sheds further light on Madgett's role in relation to the Louisiana Purchase. Paine's letter to Monroe, dated July 1803, as published in Foner's *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, states that Madgett had been asked by the French Navy Minister to assemble all known information about Louisiana in order to brief Napoleon (Paine 1945: 1502). It should be recalled that Monroe had by that stage already signed the Louisiana Purchase Treaty with Bonaparte in Paris on 30 April 1803 (Cummins and others 2014: 98). Madgett's advisory role, if Paine is correct, must therefore have been performed during the period prior to the signing of that Treaty. It has not been possible to confirm this mandate in French Military Archives.

Paine even claims that Madgett, with whom he was on 'very friendly terms', had wanted him to draft a constitution for Louisiana, but Paine kept his distance. Paine did however promise Madgett a safe passage to America should the French régime come tumbling down. In a remarkable display of loyalty to the elderly translator, Paine had this to say:

I told him one day and I repeated it to him on coming away, that as he was growing old, and his own country, Ireland, was no place of refuge for him, that if any new convulsion should take place in France that should render

his situation unfortunate, I would pay the expence of his passage to the Captain that brought him, in case he could not do it himself, and make his old age easy to him (Paine 1945 : 1503).

Accordingly, one may suggest that as late as 1803, Madgett was still advising the Navy Ministry when the fate of French interests in Louisiana was finally determined, although official archives do not reflect this putative but significant role. Intelligence-related correspondence from Dublin Castle dated 27 October 1803 refers to secret information about Madgett ‘who has been long employed in the Marine Department’. The author describes Madgett as William Jackson’s friend and confidant, but also suggests he was known to Napoleon:

-he certainly is very high in the confidence of the First Consul, and has always had a great deal to say in Irish affairs. He is an elderly man about 60 years of age. He was formerly a priest and lived near Bordeaux (HO/100/114; Kleinman 2005: 78).

This intelligence would be three years out of date if Madgett’s role in the Navy Ministry ended with the lengthy advices he submitted in 1800 (AN/Mar/G/242). His role as a government adviser probably continued after 1800, notwithstanding the absence of French archival corroboration. He was certainly in receipt of accommodation and a pension from the Navy Ministry, as correspondence in 1810 with the Minister bears out (SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632).

Monroe’s successful negotiation of the purchase of Louisiana by the United States from France for fifteen million dollars in April 1803 was concluded when Bonaparte decided it was in France’s best interests to cede the entire territory (Cummins and others 2014: 98-100; AN/Mar/G/242/82).

4.11 Sullivan’s final years

After the defeat of Humbert’s forces by the British at Ballinamuck, County Longford, in September 1798, Sullivan returned to France and was no longer in a position to further the cause of Irish independence. He now had to ensure his own survival in an uncertain world. The promised promotion to the rank of Captain in the French army became an overriding concern.

He could hardly have expected a stronger recommendation from a French General, in furtherance of his request for promotion, than Humbert's letter dated 19 December 1798 to the War Ministry (GR/2YE/3853/26). Humbert praises Sullivan's loyalty to the Republic and his bravery in the face of adversity during the Irish campaign. Humbert formally requests that Sullivan be confirmed in the rank of captain, as had been promised before the expedition to Ireland had set sail.

The War Minister sent a report to the Directory also dated 19 December 1798 to the effect that Sullivan had not been lawfully appointed as an officer, even though he had been promised the rank of captain on his recruitment (GR/2YE/3583/26). Sullivan communicated proof of his French citizenship to the military authorities. The somewhat bureaucratic response from the War Minister to the Directory in January 1799 initially refused Sullivan's promotion to the rank of Captain because '*le citoyen Sullivan, étant étranger, ne pouvait être employé dans les armées de la République*' (Ibid) [Citizen Sullivan, as a foreigner, could not be employed in the armies of the Republic.] However, the report then acknowledges his French citizenship and recommends his promotion, but only to the rank of second lieutenant, two ranks below that of captain. That report encloses a draft Order to that effect but no further trace of an official decision on his rank has been found.

Humbert wrote a further letter to a French politician from the Vosges, Poullain-Grandprey, on 1 January 1799, asking him to intervene to secure Sullivan's promotion to the rank of Captain, once again unsuccessfully (Ortholan 2022: 277). Sullivan's heroic participation in Humbert's short-lived invasion of Connaught in 1798 had brought him little reward.

Forest notes that a percentage of promotions to the rank of second-lieutenant were reserved for non-commissioned officers who had served the army well but who had been, for various reasons, ineligible for promotion to any higher rank under the *ancien régime* (Forest 1990: 46–47). Elliott notes that Humbert was an officer with little enough influence within the French army, as his so-called appointments made during the military campaign in Ireland were never subsequently approved (Elliott 1990: 213).

Sullivan's persistence and sense of personal injustice caused him to take matters into his own hand. He makes one last, comprehensive submission to the Directory on 5 April 1799, enclosing a number of documents in aid of his request to be confirmed in the rank of Captain (GR/2YE/3853/26). He candidly admits that he is without means. The documents which he

appends verify that he is a French citizen, that he had taught in the Military College in La Flèche, that he had converted English prisoners in Brittany and had been an employee of the Foreign Ministry. He had also fought for the Republic in the Vendée. Finally, he had led Irish volunteers into the Battle of Castlebar against the English, earning him promotion to the rank of Battalion Commander. He had escaped with his life in miraculous circumstances. The supporting documents include a personal reference from an army General. Another reference confirms his citizenship and, critically, refers to the fact he had been brought up in France from a young age. It is signed by a ‘représentant du peuple’, namely an elected politician. This suggests strongly that when he arrived in La Flèche in 1785 aged eighteen, he had already spent some time in France. A third French army reference confirms personal knowledge of Sullivan having taught Mathematics in the Military College of La Flèche and contends that the French government owed him this promotion. No record survives of any favourable response to what was an impressive and well-documented submission.

Sullivan tenaciously pursued his campaign by writing directly to the Foreign Minister Talleyrand on 13 April 1799, describing himself as: ‘Le Citoyen Sullivan ci-devant employé au Département des Relations Extérieures, et depuis Capitaine aide de camp du Général Humbert’ [Citizen Sullivan, aforementioned employee in the Foreign Ministry, and since then Captain and *aide de camp* to General Humbert] (GR/2YE/3853/26). Talleyrand replied to the War Minister on 17 May 1799. Here is one of France’s great diplomats, who later negotiated European peace at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, penning a notable, personal endorsement of Sullivan’s qualities and commending his appointment on account of:

les services qu’il a rendus, le dévouement qu’il a
montré, les dangers particuliers qu’il a courus, ses talents,
son patriotisme (GR/2YE/3853/26; AAE/PERS/1/65/64).

[the services which he has given, the devotion which he
has shown, the particular dangers to which he exposed
himself, his ability, his patriotism.]

Once again, the archives do not disclose any successful reaction to Talleyrand’s advocacy. Humbert remained loyal, and a number of routine letters appear in Sullivan’s hand from Humbert to the War Ministry seeking ad hoc appointments for Sullivan (GR/2YE/3853/26). The last ad hoc commission was for an expedition to Saint Domingue under General Humbert,

who wrote to the War Minister on 6 October 1801 for Sullivan's commission as his *aide de camp* (GR/2YE/3853/26). Sullivan continued to correspond with the War Minister on behalf of Humbert up to his departure for St Domingue, as is clear from letters dated 12 October and 6 November 1801 in Sullivan's unmistakeable hand (GR/8YD/482/62; GR/8YD/482/69).

Sullivan's last appearance in French Archives is a letter, in his own hand, from Humbert to his commander General Leclerc, dated 15 February 1802, asking for urgent reinforcements to be sent to Port de Paix in Saint Domingue (Baeyens 1981: 90-91). Sullivan died on that expedition to Saint Domingue on 21 July 1802, aged thirty-five, having been admitted to the Military Hospital in Le Cap, Saint Domingue on 18 July. (ANOM/Etat Civil/St Domingue/1802; Ortholan 2022: 314; Masson 1877: 367). His death is recorded in a French army register of soldiers who died during the expedition. The entry discloses no first name. His rank is inscribed as 'capitaine', though military archives contain no record of this rank.¹² Curiously, his place of birth is entered as 'Irlande Angleterre'. The French army sustained enormous losses estimated at sixty-five thousand, many as a result of disease, in what was a disastrous campaign (Baeyens 1981:107). It is ironic that Sullivan, the United Irishman who embraced the revolutionary concepts of liberty and equality, should perish on a mission driven by Napoleon's desire to restore slavery in the French colony (Knight 2000: 113).

The versatility that John Sullivan demonstrated in his career is evident from the multiple roles he carried out, all of which involved translation as he plotted his journey through the dangerous political landscape of the French Revolution. The correspondence is replete with references to Sullivan's patriotism and bravery, even to the point where he emphasised that any return to his native country would place him in mortal danger, but to no avail (GR/2YE/3853/26). Ultimately, John Sullivan was vulnerable to the power structures within which he operated, resulting in insecurity during the final few years before his premature death. He never regained the status of his position in the Foreign Ministry and never had his rank as a Captain in the French army confirmed, notwithstanding General Humbert's informal promise of this rank prior to their departure for Ireland, the later intervention by Talleyrand and Sullivan's French citizenship (GR/2YE/3853/26; AAE/Pers/1/65/64). It seems that his Irish birth may have remained, to an extent, an obstacle to his professional progress even though he

¹² Ferradou asserts that Sullivan did secure confirmation of his promotion to the rank of captain, though corroboration of this appointment has not been located in military archives (Ferradou 2019: 765).

had spent all his adult life in France and had risked his life in the service of the French Republic.

His uncle not only outlived him, but he published two commercial translations together with a three-volume biography of the Duke of Marlborough (Taylor 1801; Moyle 1801; Madgett 1808).

4.12 Madgett's published work: India and Ancient Rome in translation

In tandem with his informal advisory role in 1799 and 1800, Madgett was undoubtedly attempting to unlock other sources of income during this period. He was probably working on the two, co-authored commercial translations which were published in 1801. This hypothesis is consistent with the ending of his archival presence and governmental career in 1800 (apart from his role in the Louisiana Purchase discussed above).

Madgett, Dugour, and Barère co-translated Colonel John Taylor's *Letters on India, Political, Commercial and Military Relative to Subjects Important to the British Interests in the East* which was published in London in 1800 by Carpenter & Co. The translation entitled *Lettres politiques, commerciales et littéraires sur l'Inde, ou Vues et intérêts de l'Angleterre relativement à la Russie, à l'Indostan et à l'Egypte* [Political, commercial and literary correspondence on India, or the Perspectives and Interests of England on Russia, Hindustan and Egypt] was published in 1801 in Paris by Marchant. The translators' names are absent from the French version, though they are identified as the co-translators in two nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries (Arnault 1821: 116; Hoefer 1853: 495). Perol's article on Jeudy-Dugour records the unusual fact that the names of the three translators have been inscribed by hand by 'J D' on the copy of the original text held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Perol 1993: 361).

Barère was a prominent politician and member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Terror. He escaped execution in 1794 and was forced into exile for a number of years, as noted by the Editors of Tone's *Memoirs* (Tone 2001: 74 n4). The other co-translator, Dugour (or Jeudy-Dugour), was a *doctrinaire* who had taught history in the *Collège de La Flèche* in 1789 and would have known Sullivan there, perhaps explaining Madgett's connection with him (Perol 1993: 355).

The introduction to the French translation congratulates the English author on his generally moderate tone vis-à-vis France during a time of war, and compliments the translation for being faithful and for not changing the few anti-French expressions in the original. These conciliatory remarks need to be viewed in light of the realpolitik of 1801. Britain was making overtures for peace after Pitt's resignation in early 1801. Successful peace negotiations led to the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802 (Doyle 2018: 383). The translation contains few adjustments.

Taylor's work argues for a route from Russia to India via the Caspian Sea which would not be controlled by France and would serve Britain's interests. In 1798, Talleyrand believed a strong French presence in Egypt would threaten British power in India (McPhee 2017: 334). Madgett's involvement in the translation of a geopolitical text on India was in keeping with his interest in international affairs so evident in the Madgett Papers discussed above.

Madgett and Barère also co-translated into French Walter Moyle's *Democracy Vindicated: An Essay on the Constitution & Government of the Roman State* (Moyle 1699). The translators are, once again, not named in the title, but are credited with the translation in two nineteenth-century bibliographies (Querard 1834: 352; Blanc 1886: 97). Moyle was a political philosopher who favoured a constitutionally balanced form of government in which power was shared on a limited basis between the monarch and the people. Moyle has been described as a liberal theorist who contrasted the constitutional history of ancient Rome and seventeenth century Britain and concluded the British system had matured into a more stable arrangement (Trompf 2011: 35–36).

Madgett and Barère translated an updated English version, which had been published in London in 1796 with a foreword by John Thelwall (Moyle 1796). Thelwall was a radical writer who admired Moyle's essay and rationalised its republication as 'the complete vindication of popular government [...] against the oft-reiterated, but unfounded, charge of violence and depredation' (Moyle 1796: iv). Madgett knew of John Thelwall's political activities in England in 1796, as he oversaw the translation in the French Foreign Ministry by John Sullivan of two reports in *The Courier* in August 1796 concerning attempts by Thelwall to deliver public lectures, notwithstanding strong, and at times violent local opposition to his radical politics (AF/III/229).

The translation with the shorter title *Essai sur le gouvernement de Rome*, was published by Leger in Paris in 1801. In the preface to the second edition of the French translation, it is claimed that Montesquieu was inspired by Moyle's Essay, which had been published in London in 1726, eight years before Montesquieu published his work on the fall of the Roman Empire, entitled *Les Causes de la grandeur et de la decadence des Romains* (Moyle 1802: vii). Barère, Madgett's co-translator, was a long-time admirer of Montesquieu (Barère 1842: 192–193). The first edition of the translation in 1801 was quickly followed by a second edition in 1802. The French publishers claimed its success was due to the wisdom of its argument, though Moyle's influence on the work of Montesquieu was also highlighted (Moyle 1802: i-ii). The translators added to the title the words *Ouvrage utile aux Hommes d'État, et aux Philosophes* [A Useful Work for Statesmen and Philosophers].

The significance of this translation lies not just in its textual adjustments, discussed in the next chapter, but the choice of subject. This was an essay on the political system of ancient Rome, and was also a eulogy of popular government. The classics formed a major part of the curriculum of French schools in the late eighteenth century to the point where, it is claimed, the history of ancient Rome, especially the virtues of republican government, was more familiar to students than recent French history (McPhee 2016: 33–34). French revolutionary leaders infused their speech with references to figures from ancient Greece and Rome (Ibid: 201). Schama asserts that the French Revolution was obsessed with the model of the Roman Republic, especially the speeches of its great orators such as Cicero (Schama 2004: 140). Little wonder then that Madgett should participate in the translation of an essay on ancient Rome by an English liberal theorist said to have inspired Montesquieu. Religious freedom and State control of church power and property are particularly advocated by Moyle and were milestones in the creation of a secular republic in revolutionary France (Moyle 1796: 8–9, 12–13). These two translations demonstrate that Madgett was networking in translation circles and had developed a strong professional relationship with Barère.

4.13 The biography of the Duke of Marlborough: a co-authorship dispute

Madgett's remaining years are shrouded in mystery, as he no longer features in official archives after 1803, except for one brief exchange with officialdom in 1810 (SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632/Madgett). He was allegedly a *curé* in Civray, south of Poitiers in 1805,

according to Purcell, though without any reference to primary sources (Purcell 1985: 51). Purcell also asserts, again without primary authority, that Madgett and Richard Ferris were co-opted onto the Bureau running the Irish and English Colleges in Paris *circa* 1808 (Ibid.). Ferris was a successful lawyer in Paris (Purcell 1985: 46, 52). He was also a friend of Madgett's, to the point where he subsidised Madgett when the latter could not make ends meet, as is clear from the terms of Madgett's will (AN/MC/ET/1/733). It is not implausible to suggest that Madgett would have a continuing, albeit minor, role in the Irish College, although Purcell has fallen into the well-worn trap of confusing Madgett with his homonymous double-agent cousin, Madgett II.

Madgett's three volume biography of the Duke of Marlborough, *Histoire de Jean Churchill Duc de Marlborough*, assisted by Abbé Dutems, was clearly a major undertaking and was published in 1808 by the *Imprimerie Impériale* in Paris (Madgett 1808). The publication ended up creating some controversy.

Madgett sought access to personal papers from the Duke's family in a letter dated 4 September 1808, reproduced in the preface to William Coxe's 1818 edition of the *Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough* (Coxe 1818: vii–viii). This disclosed the extraordinary detail that Madgett had been asked by Napoleon to produce this biography. This was indeed some recognition for the elderly Irish translator. Madgett may have already been known to Napoleon, if one is to judge by the abovementioned report from British Intelligence in October 1803 (HO/100/114). Madgett explains Napoleon's interest in the Duke of Marlborough in the letter of 4 September 1808:

I have undertaken this work by the express order of the emperor Napoleon, a warm admirer of that great man, and far superior to national prejudices. The studied neglect with which the hero of Blenheim had been hitherto treated by French historians, excited his surprise and indignation (Coxe 1818: vii).

Chandler records that Napoleon greatly admired Marlborough's military and diplomatic skills (Chandler 1973: Introduction). Napoleon even commissioned a marble bust of the Duke for the newly refurbished Tuileries in 1800 (Marsden 2000: 303). The subject of the biography might not have been an easy one for an Irish nationalist. Marlborough had been involved in the defeat of Jacobite forces in Cork and Kinsale in 1690, not long after the defeat of Jacobite forces by

William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne in July 1690 (Colby 1937: 366; Chandler 1973: 41). Madgett went about the task as dispassionately as possible. In his introduction, he quotes from Jonathan Swift's Preface to the Letters of Sir William Temple to the effect that the best sources of history are the written testimonies of those who have themselves witnessed real events (Madgett 1808: vi).

Though it was not a translation, the composition of the biography involved the private translation of documentary sources from English, Latin, German and Italian which Madgett cites in his work. Prominent amongst these texts was Thomas Lediard's biography of the Duke of Marlborough published in English in London in 1736 which Madgett quotes from liberally in the French text, though he is also critical of Lediard in the Introduction (Ibid: viii). He adopts a nuanced approach to other historians who had written about Marlborough, including de Quincy (Ibid: xxix-xxx).

Coxe reviews Madgett's biography in the introduction to his own biography of Marlborough published in 1818. He observes that Madgett's work was written in a 'pleasing, lively and perspicuous style' and that it had made 'a considerable sensation in France and England because it was written by order of Bonaparte' (1818: vii). Having quoted Madgett's letter in full, Coxe refers to him as the 'interpreter for the marine and colonies' (Ibid: viii).

The publication of the two commercial co-translations in 1801 and the Duke of Marlborough's Biography in 1808 did little to alleviate Madgett's dire financial situation, as he made a desperate cry for help in 1810, in a rare appearance in the Archives (SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632/Madgett). That correspondence discloses that Madgett, then aged seventy-three, was in receipt of a pension from the Navy Ministry of three thousand francs per annum, the equivalent of approximately 120 pounds (Teague 2016: 63). That pension was inadequate to support his modest living conditions, given the penury that is all too evident in his will and the inventory of his personal estate, which were published just after his death in March 1813 (MC/ET/1/733; MC/ET/1/734). He had also been provided with lodgings by the Ministry of the Navy which he had to forfeit.

That particular correspondence focussed on payment of compensation of 300 francs which the Navy Minister, Decries, had awarded to him for the loss of the lodgings. Madgett's letter seeks the accelerated payment of that sum that would otherwise have been paid periodically,

and gives some insight into his wretched personal circumstances. He claims, rather pathetically, that the advance is needed:

pour m'aider à faire emplette de quelques chaises de
paille et d'un mechant grabat qui, après plus de soixante
ans de pénibles fonctions publiques, sera
vraisemblablement mon lit de repos pour l'éternité
(SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632).

[to assist me in the purchase of a few straw chairs and a
horrible pallet which, after more than sixty years of
difficult public service, will probably be my final resting
place.]

The adviser to the Minister who recommends immediate payment, refers to Madgett's plight in somewhat sympathetic terms as

La situation genée dans laquelle paraît se trouver ce vieux
serviteur de sa Majesté (SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632).

[the difficult situation in which his Majesty's old servant
appears to find himself.]

The publication of the Duke of Marlborough's biography gave rise to controversy. Madgett's co-author, Abbé Dutems, died in poverty on 19 July 1811. The copyright to the work became a matter of public dispute between Dutems's nephew, Petite, and Madgett. It appears that not long after the death of Dutems, an anonymous article was published in a number of French newspapers, presumably by Petite, claiming that the biography was the work of Dutems. Madgett wrote to the editor of the *Gazette de France* on 7 August 1811 asserting that, contrary to the aforementioned article, he was the sole author of the biography, as it was he who had been asked by the government to produce it and he had been granted permission to have the work printed free of charge by the government printer (*Gazette de France*, 7 August 1811: 868).

Madgett goes on to explain that Dutems had been a friend of forty years and on account of Madgett's age and frailty, Dutems had consulted certain books by contemporaries of the Duke of Marlborough in public libraries on his behalf and had added some notes of his own which Madgett had acknowledged. However, the work could not be credited to Dutems when he had made only a modest contribution to the end product.

This led to a renewed claim in the *Journal de l'Empire* of 4 April 1812, by Petite, that Dutems was the sole, genuine author of the biography and that Madgett's claims were false. Petite also asserts that he had a manuscript and correspondence which proved his claim. He threatens Madgett with publication of corroborating documents, should Madgett persist, in order to put the matter beyond doubt (*Journal de l'Empire*, 2 April 1812: 5).

Madgett then responded with a longer explanation on 26 July 1812 in the *Journal de Paris*. His delay in replying was due to an illness. Dutems had assisted him, and it was a joint project. Dutems only made annotations in the margin and the main body of the work was written by Madgett. Those annotations were mainly tirades against the Duke of Marlborough, and also against Voltaire and Lediard, the author of the English biography. The government had acknowledged that Madgett was the full owner of the publication, but he had voluntarily transferred one half of the title to Dutems, hence the reference to co-authorship (*Journal de Paris*, 26 July 1812: 4).

The matter didn't end there however. Petite retorts strongly on 15 August 1812 in the *Journal de L'Empire*. He claims that Napoleon had asked for a French translation of the Lediard's *Life of Marlborough* in 1802. Madgett asked Dutems, his uncle, to review the translation. No sooner had the translation been commenced by Madgett but Dutems intervened to claim that Lediard's work was untranslatable because it was so biased. The biography would have to begin from scratch using a variety of other sources and Dutems spent five years on the project. Petite maintains that he had a manuscript which would validate his claim to be the owner, by way of succession, of the rights to the work. He then sarcastically observes that if the French version was merely a translation of Lediard, then Madgett would indeed be the author, but Dutems had consulted more than one hundred and fifty works in German, Italian and French in order to compose the final French version. He concludes in acrimonious terms:

vous avez été bien payé de vos peines, et grand bien vous
fasse; gardez votre argent, mais ne troublez pas les
cendres de M. Dutems; laissez-lui sa gloire littéraire, et
ne renouvelez pas les *sic vos non vobis* (*Journal de
l'Empire* 15 August 1812: 3).

[you have been well paid for your efforts and good for
you; keep your money but do not rake over the ashes of
Monsieur Dutems; leave him his literary reputation and
do not profit from the work of others.]

Which account is the correct one? Did Dutems do the research and the drafting, or was Madgett the sole author who received only modest assistance from Dutems? No further response has been located from Madgett who was in failing health and died in March of the following year. Two, nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries give different versions of the dispute.

Michaud's entry on Dutems in his *Biographie Universelle*, published in 1855, unequivocally adopts the Dutems thesis. Whereas Madgett was originally asked to do the translation, it was then agreed between them to write the biography from scratch and most of the burden fell on Dutems. Madgett's contribution was to secure the printing of the manuscript and to add a few translated extracts from Lediard's original English version (Michaud 1855: 137).

Antoine Barbier, who claims to have dealt with Madgett personally in relation to the issue, gives a more contemporary account in his *Examen Critique des Dictionnaires*, published in 1820. He disputes the contentions of the Dutems family that Dutems was the sole author. The biography was, according to Barbier, drafted by Dutems but based on materials sourced by Madgett. Madgett was an honest man, and he was surprised and justifiably unhappy with these contentions. Barbier himself had delivered to Madgett some fifteen hundred copies of the work from the government printers. Madgett's claim was based on the materials he had furnished to Dutems to compose the biography. The book had sold slowly and the unfortunate Madgett had gone to great lengths to secure his half share in the rights to the work (Barbier 1820: 295). Madgett's own last word on the matter appears in his will. He leaves all his rights in the work to his friend Richard Ferris and specifically asks Ferris to talk sense to Petite, the heir of Abbé Dutems, and to the bookseller Pichaud (AN/MC/ET/1/733).

Madgett died on 9 March 1813 aged seventy-five, in a very poor financial situation. His will, proved on 13 April 1813, names his old friend Richard Ferris as executor (AN/MC/ET/1/733). Ferris was also his biggest creditor and as a successful lawyer, had undoubtedly come to his friend's aid, which included paying for his funeral expenses. Madgett left him all his books and personal papers. His miscellaneous creditors included his tailor, and a wine merchant with whom he was in dispute. Madgett claimed that he was billed for wine he hadn't ordered, though one may assume he drank it. Conscious of his penury perhaps, he also stated in his will that were he to obtain justice, he would be owed a considerable sum of

money, instead of being obviously insolvent. It is unclear what he meant by this. He also owed six months arrears to his landlady, Madame de Courtenay (MC/ET/1/733).

Having left Ferris the rights to the disputed biography of the Duke of Marlborough, Madgett stipulated in his will that Ferris could pay himself what he was owed, should he capitalise the value of the copyright. However, there were two obstacles. Firstly, the fact that there was a live dispute relating to the ownership of the work made any significant return problematic. Secondly, Ferris expressly disputed, as recorded by the notary in the *Inventaire après Décès* [Inventory of the Estate] of Madgett's estate, that he had received any transfer of Madgett's interests in the biography (MC/ET/1/734). The inventory lists a French, German and Latin dictionary as well as an almost worthless collection of personal belongings. His will records that he had the benefit of having inherited Sullivan's modest army pension which was undoubtedly spent by that stage.

In the event that his creditors were to be satisfied, Madgett left any surplus to his landlady Madame de Courtenay, and also to the beneficiary of the estate of the Abbé Dutems, the co-author of the biography (MC/ET/1/733). However, there was going to be no return for Madgett's creditors, let alone any surplus for the beneficiaries of his paltry estate. Nicholas Madgett's will forms a sad *postscriptum* to a remarkable and multifaceted life in exile.

The trajectories of the translators have been traced through the mutating political hierarchies of the French Revolution. Nicholas Madgett was a skilled translator who collaborated with Wolfe Tone at a pivotal moment in Franco-Irish relations (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). He made a contribution to Irish nationalism through translation. As an ex-priest with a doctorate in theology, he had lived through cataclysmic political change and had repositioned himself in a new world order as a wily political adviser, propagandist and intelligence strategist. Equally notable is his resilience after losing the security of full-time government employment when Delacroix abolished the Translation Section in July 1797 (AAE/Pers/1/47/83). He started a private language school, published two commercial translations in 1801, advised the French authorities in connection with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and finally at the age of seventy, completed a three-volume biography of the Duke of Marlborough at Napoleon's request in 1808. (*La Décade Philosophique*, 10 novembre 1796; Taylor 1801; Moyle 1801; AN/Mar/ G/242; Madgett 1808). He died in destitution.

John Sullivan also combined many roles before his premature death in a military hospital in St Domingue in 1802 (ANOM/Etat Civil/Saint Domingue/1802). Earning his living as a Mathematics teacher, propagandist, intelligence operative and translator, he volunteered for military action in support of the new French Republic in the civil conflict in the Vendée in 1793 (GR/2YE/3853/26). Sullivan's services to the French Republic went poorly rewarded. His personal letters to his uncle in November and December 1794 disclose a translator on low pay being lured into commercial opportunities in order to make provision for his impoverished, extended family (AN/W/584). He was denied a promised promotion to the rank of Captain, at one point on the ground he was not French, despite his French citizenship (GR/2YE/3853/26). Even after losing his full-time position as a translator in the French Foreign Ministry in 1796, he was prepared to take exceptional risks. He followed his republican rhetoric onto the battlefield under an assumed name, in the disastrous French army expedition to the west of Ireland under Humbert in 1798, when he dined with death on and off the field of battle (Ibid.).

In depicting the lives of the translators against the broader canvas of France in the 1790s and the early years of the nineteenth century, the microhistory has endeavoured to give some understanding of the challenges, opportunities and constraints that they encountered on their odyssey through the different phases of the Revolution. Their professional versatility demonstrates how linguistic and educational capital could create opportunities for Irish Catholics in France that were denied to them in their country of birth. They exhibited competence in a wide range of bilingual engagement, including propaganda, counter-intelligence, proselytising, political advice and analysis of the English press. The zenith of their influence came with their intense linguistic and political collaboration with Wolfe Tone. The portraits will be the springboard for a closer examination of their translation practice.

Chapter 5 Translation Analysis

5.1 Introduction

Having completed a biographical journey with the two translators, it is now proposed to look more closely at their translations. The analysis will be introduced by considering the historical context of translation in eighteenth-century Europe and how translators contributed to the late Enlightenment. An overview of the translation practice of Madgett and Sullivan will be followed by an analysis of thirteen of their translations.¹³

5.1.1 Translation in the Enlightenment

A brief review of translation during the Enlightenment will set the cultural and political context for Madgett and Sullivan's translation practice during a time of Revolution and war. Translation into vernacular languages in Europe was in the ascendant in the eighteenth century, with authors like Descartes, Locke, Hume, Rousseau and Bayle reaching new audiences through translation (Oz-Salzberger 2006: 387). Oz-Salzberger argues that Enlightenment thought became increasingly dependent on translation. Translations from French into other vernaculars were enabling Enlightenment texts to reach a non- francophone audience (Ibid: 395). In Dublin, for example, some two hundred and forty works directly connected to the Enlightenment were published in translation from French in the eighteenth century (Ibid: 388). Oz-Salzberger contends that there was a broader readership for translation comprising 'women and men, aristocratic and bourgeois, readers of high erudition and those of basic literacy' (Oz-Salzberger 2014: 47).

The reach of translation may be seen in the multiplication of translations relating to the Enlightenment from English and German into French which contributed to Diderot's *Encyclopédie* during the decade preceding the Revolution (Nies & Tran-Gervat 2014:139). Many of its contributors were also translators such as D'Holbach (Ibid.).

In his recent study, Leech traces a transnational network of eighteenth- century radical philosophers and writers who were also translators. In particular, Huguenot exiles in Holland

¹³ These translations appear in parallel text form in Appendices 1 -13.

and Britain in the early eighteenth century translated early Enlightenment literature from English to French (Leech 2020: 8). For Leech, Huguenot translators ‘sought to promote the ideals of English political and philosophical liberties to a francophone readership dominated by Catholicism and Absolutism;’ (Ibid: 19). It was indeed those forces that had expelled the Huguenots from France. Huguenot translation was a link between dissenting political and religious views in France and the protestant regime in England (Ibid: 58). Pierre Coste and other Huguenot translators were anxious to propagate Protestant reformist views and to highlight the greater religious freedom that obtained in England and Holland (Ibid: 161).

Burke observes that the Huguenot diaspora made an important contribution to journalism and translation from the late seventeenth century onwards (Burke 2008: 146). The editors of *Intellectual Journeys: the translation of ideas in Enlightenment England, France and Ireland* have emphasized the crucial role of translators in relation to the circulation of knowledge and ideas in the eighteenth century which are encapsulated by the term ‘cultural transfers’ (Andries, Ogée et al 2013: 7).

A review of some prominent eighteenth-century translators discloses their diverse professional profiles. Pierre Coste, a protestant clergyman, translated Locke and Newton into French (Nies & Tran-Gervat 2014: 162). His translation of Locke’s *Essay* in 1700 was read by Montesquieu and Voltaire and four editions of the translation followed by 1742 (Leech: 39, 41). Coste opened up Locke to a francophone readership of priests, philosophers and mathematicians in western Europe (Delisle 2012: 201). He also introduced Montaigne, La Bruyère and La Fontaine to England in translation (Delisle 2012: 200). Delisle concludes that Coste’s work as a translator contributed to the emergence of a European consciousness (Ibid: 201).

Diderot began his literary career as a translator and his contributions to the *Encyclopédie* included French versions of the works of the English philosopher, Shaftesbury, and of the works of the German philosopher, Jakob Brucker (Nies & Tran-Gervat: 168, 170; Thomas 2014: 568, 570).

D’Holbach translated thirteen radical works from English to French between 1766 and 1773 (Leech 2020: 7, 19). His translations included the anti-clerical philosophical works of the political thinker, John Toland (Kozul 2016: 2). Toland was at the centre of a European network of radical republican thinkers (Thomson & Burrows 2010: 6). D’Holbach’s coterie in Paris

included English philosophers and radicals like John Wilkes, who translated anti-clerical and anti-imperial works (Leech 2020: 73). Leech includes D'Holbach with Benjamin Vaughan in a transnational network of radicals who propagated their ideas through translation (Ibid: 81).

Étienne Dumont, theologian, protestant pastor, private tutor, Mirabeau's publicist, economist and philosopher, was also an interpreter and translator of the English jurist, Jeremy Bentham (Delisle 1999: 131). Dumont translated and rewrote Bentham's notes on jurisprudence and political theory, in the process becoming an interpreter of Bentham's work and making it more accessible to readers on both sides of the Channel (Thomson & Burrows 2010: 14)

The published translations of Mirabeau and Marat during the pre-revolutionary period were also part of the output of a transnational network of radicals. Revolutionaries could also be translators. Mirabeau's *Considérations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus* (1784) was an expanded version of the original American work by Aedanus Burke and represented an attack on the hereditary principle. It was published in London to avoid the rigours of censorship in France (Leech 2020: 86). Leech outlines how Mirabeau's translation strategy often included a broad adaptation of original, radical texts, for example the *Memoirs* of Samuel Romilly (Ibid: 91).

Marat, the revolutionary, was also a translator of political and scientific works. His translation of Newton's *Opticks* in 1787 with the title *Optique de Newton* was praised by the *Académie des Sciences* as being a clearer version of the original than Coste's translation, and could only have been produced by someone well versed in English and Mathematics (Tran-Gervat 2014: 423). His denunciation of monarchy in *The Chains of Slavery* was published in London in 1774, but the French version *Les chaînes de l'esclavage* was not published until 1792 (Leech 2020: 115).

Thomas Paine, who referred to Madgett as his friend in 1803, also fits into this context (Keane 1995: 482). Paine's attack on the British administration in 1776 and his support for American independence in *Common Sense* (1776) was translated by Labaume into French in 1792 with the title *Sens Commun*. Lounissi has explored the translation and publishing history of this text, in addition to Paine's *Letter to the Abbé Raynal* (1782) and his 1791 rebuttal of Burke's attack on the French Revolution in *The Rights of Man* (Lounissi 2021: 134). The *Letter* was translated into French in 1783 and portrayed the American Revolution as a universal and democratic phenomenon (Lounissi 2021: 136). Lounissi demonstrates how

translations of *Common Sense* and *The Rights of Man* were appropriated by a broad spectrum of French politicians for their own purposes in the 1790s (Ibid: 166).

Paine's *The Rights of Man* sold 200,000 copies in the first two years after publication in 1791-92 (Leech 2020: 105). The first French translation in 1791 was by Soulès, who together with Paine, and Labaume, was part of a Girondin circle in Paris that was particularly interested in translation as a vector of the transmission of radical ideas (Ibid: 108, 111). The second French version with the title *Théorie et pratique des droits de l'homme* was translated by F.-X. Lanthenas in 1792 and enjoyed great success (Thomas 2014: 585).

Translations were being produced of radical foreign texts by polymath translators who were also lawyers, journalists, philosophers and clergymen (Nies & Tran-Gervat 2014: 122). Oral translation was also important, though its extent is difficult to gauge. Oz-Salzberger stresses the importance of oral interaction in encounters between Europeans crossing linguistic boundaries, thereby facilitating the spread of Enlightenment ideas (2014: 47).

Burke, Leech and Oz-Salzberger, amongst others, have sketched the intellectual climate of the eighteenth century in which translation flourished. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 marked a new departure in European history. It is not part of this study to discuss just how transformative the Revolution was, but events such as the abolition of the seigneurial system, and later of the Monarchy, the reform of the Church and the Declaration of the Rights of Man must have appeared like a tectonic shift in the political fault lines of Europe. McPhee refers to the acts of Revolution in 1789 as unprecedented and momentous (2017: xi). For Gough, the Revolution changed the course of French and of world history (1990: 1). Once the Revolution began, all restrictions on publishing were removed and a free political press came into being, enabling the full spectrum of political opinion to find expression during the early years of the Revolution. Parent refers to an explosion in political journalism in this period (1996: 606). Translation accelerated the dissemination of political ideas in France after 1789 (Chappey 2013: 225). Madgett and Sullivan stepped into that intellectual space and at the same time, they achieved institutional status when they signed up to serve the government of the new Republic in 1793.

5.1.2 Observations on Madgett and Sullivan's translation practice

The detailed historical landscape helps to illuminate the translators' motivations regarding both the selection of texts and the translational strategies they adopted. Munday argues that optional shifts that are disclosed in comparative analysis may help to infer possible motivations (Munday 2018: 302). Madgett and Sullivan's professional activities were of course influenced by the events that engulfed revolutionary France and, on occasion, they assumed activist positions in translation. There were political constraints, but there were also opportunities to take personal initiatives.

For the duration of their tenure as government translators, Madgett and Sullivan were serving a regime at war with Britain and one or more of its European allies (Doyle 2018: 432-436). Ideological loyalty was expected of all translators, as demonstrated by the oath-swearing ceremony presided over by Delacroix in January 1796 (AF/III/52-55/213/1). There is no archival evidence that either translator was told *what* to translate, and they appear to have enjoyed wide discretion in the selection of source material for translation. Nor is there any indication that either was told *how* to translate.

Their antennae had to be fully attuned to the unpredictable flow of revolutionary politics. In 1793, Madgett was, for a while, reporting to Lebrun, the Foreign Minister, who was executed in December 1793, as the *Montagnard* faction gained the ascendancy (CPA/587/20, CPA/587/45). In April 1794, Madgett eulogised Robespierre's famous speech on terror and morality, only to see Robespierre guillotined in July 1794 as the Jacobins were ousted from power (AAE/PERS/1/47/85).

Sullivan had weighed in with a stinging attack on Pitt's government and those who propped it up including *The Times* newspaper in June 1794 (CPA/588/179). Both translators subsequently denounced Robespierre as a terrorist, Madgett implicitly and Sullivan explicitly, when they were held to account for their political loyalty, in the aftermath of the *Vendémiaire* coup in October 1795 (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). In that environment, they both understood how translation could carry political consequences. The translation of William Pitt's speech to the House of Commons on 30 December 1794, considered below, is an illustration of such political circumspection (CPA/588/294).

The functionalist approach to translation provides a useful framework for an understanding of their translation output. That approach derives from Vermeer's *Skopos* theory which was developed further by Nord (Nord 2018: 26). The essential principle of functionalism, as

defined by Nord, is that the translation strategy for any particular text is determined by the *Skopos* or purpose of that translation and the intended function of the translation in the target culture (Nord 2018: 135, 137). Functionalism prioritises the needs of the end users over considerations like equivalence, or the objectives of the source text producers.

Nord has posited that an experienced translator may be able to infer the *Skopos* from the translational situation itself (Nord 2018: 30). Madgett and Sullivan were well able to elucidate the communicative purpose of the translations from the sometimes rapidly fluctuating political and diplomatic circumstances, but also from the nature of the texts themselves. These include political speeches and political advocacy relating to Irish affairs. The translation of many of these texts had what Nord describes as an appellative function: ‘Directed at the receivers’ sensitivity or disposition to act, the appellative function (“conative” in Jakobson’s terminology) is designed to induce them to respond in a particular way’ (Nord 2018: 41). As institutional translators, Madgett and Sullivan understood that the overarching factor in the translational process was the intended audience, namely the restricted circle of French political and military leaders.

There was nothing novel about this approach to translation. Peter France has argued, in relation to literary translation, that ‘the principal rhetorical aim of eighteenth-century translators, in France as well as in Britain, was to assimilate their texts to the receiving culture’ (France 2005: 260). Monnier has commented, in the context of increasing French interest in English literature and thought in the eighteenth century, that this was not only greatly facilitated by translation, but that the dominant approach to translation was assimilationist:

L’impression qui s’en dégage est que, malgré la réaction de certains traducteurs pour une plus grande fidélité au texte original, prévaut encore la conception héritée du xvii^e siècle qui privilégie l’esthétique de la culture d’accueil pour faciliter la réception de l’œuvre et l’assimilation des idées (Monnier 2011 : 37).

[The impression one is left with is that, despite support from some translators for greater faithfulness to the original text, the dominant notion, inherited from the seventeenth century, was to give precedence to the aesthetic environment of the receiving culture in order to enhance the acceptance of the work and the assimilation of ideas.]

In a similar vein, Kozul's detailed study of D'Holbach's translations into French discloses a full range of interventions, including additions, deletions, summaries and rewritings to the point where the persuasive effect of the French text becomes the primary consideration (Kozul 2016: 254).

The translation strategies adopted by Madgett and Sullivan did not always follow a linear functionalist path and functionalism is not considered in this study as an interpretative model that explains everything about their translation practice. Lefevere has emphasised the importance of individual choice when observing that translators do not operate in a mechanistic universe in which they have no discretion (1992: 9). Madgett and Sullivan understood the importance of meeting the demands and expectations of the end users, but they were also driven by personal affiliation to the goals of the United Irishmen which occasionally gave their translational strategies a distinctive character. Tymoczko's observation on translational activism corresponds closely to their translation practice:

Careful attunement of translation strategy to context is driven by the political sensitivities of the target populations and the translators' investments in influencing their audiences (Tymoczko 2010: 232).

Nord identifies at least two types of purpose which are relevant here, firstly, the communicative purpose of the target text in the target culture, and secondly, the purpose pursued by a particular translation strategy (2018: 27). It is possible to identify a dual personal and institutional *Skopos* in Madgett and Sullivan's translation practice. The engagement of the French Republic in a pan-European war meant that the *Skopos*, at the institutional level, was to contribute to the military defeat of Britain. The *Skopos*, at a personal level, for both Madgett and Sullivan, was to further the cause of Irish independence. To the extent that Irish independence could be seen as essential to the objective of defeating the British, there was a convergence of translational purposes. The lexicon of Irish independence, with its emphasis on liberation from British oppression, could be conceptually accommodated to the military objectives of a French republican regime during a time of war.

The analysis that follows will argue that the potential for a convergence of the two *Skopoi* is already evident in Madgett's translation of the report of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street Chapel in April 1795 (CPA/588/494). That potential

achieves greater expression in the translation of Wolfe Tone's Memorials in the following year (CPA/589/162 & CPA/589/173).

Madgett and Sullivan were hybrids who were loyally serving the new French Republic but were also actively promoting the independence of Ireland, their country of birth. Thus, the multicultural nature of the translators' identity is revealed. As Ni Fhrigil, O'Connor & Milan observe in a review of diasporic translation, the cultural identities of 'Irish' translators may be multifaceted (Ni Fhrigil, O'Connor & Milan 2020: 132).

Other texts not concerned with political advocacy, like the translation of intelligence garnered from English newspapers, had a more informative purpose and the translation strategies were adapted accordingly (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229).

Activist interventions were not confined to the process of translation but also encompassed the selection of texts. Madgett demonstrated the ambit of his authority, in this regard, when he set the agenda in 1794 for what works would be published in translation by the Committee of Public Safety (AAE/PERS/1/47/85). For Tymoczko, a translator's position can be judged by inferences drawn from intertextual shifts, but also from the choice of text (Tymoczko 2010: 233).

It is important to emphasise that the two translators did more than simply translate or initiate a translation. Oral as well as written competence will be emphasised. Madgett tried to persuade captured Irish soldiers serving in the British army to change sides. In addition, he had a wide advisory mandate which included, but also went beyond, Irish and British affairs. Sullivan participated in direct military action in the Vendée in 1793, and in Humbert's expedition to County Mayo in 1798. These, and other confluent roles, were inconceivable without translation and will be considered as part of their extended translational activity in the next chapter.

Madgett and Sullivan have bequeathed an eclectic corpus of translation. This chapter will examine Madgett's translation practice over a four- year period of government service from 1794 to 1797, and in addition his commercial translation of Walter Moyle published in 1801. The analysis will also include a smaller number of Sullivan's translations completed during his tenure in the French Foreign Ministry.

Some of the translations discussed in this chapter will be explored for the first time. These include the report of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street, Dublin in April 1795 (CPA/588/494), Madgett's correspondence with William Jackson (MV/GG1/58/32) and his co-translation of Walter Moyle's *Essay on Ancient Rome* (Moyle 1802). Some of the better-known translations such as Madgett's translations of Wolfe Tone's Memorials to the French Government in 1796 have featured in the scholarship, but not as part of a dedicated translation history or with an equivalent degree of historical context. In addition, the review of the translation of Wolfe Tone's Memorials will encompass numerous adjustments in translation which have not been considered before (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173).

The first translation examined is of a letter from the secret agent, William Jackson, to Madgett dated 11 March 1794 (NA/HO/TS/11/959; MV/1/GG/58/32-39). It is an early example of Madgett's use of rhetoric in translation. The letter was intercepted by British intelligence and used to prosecute Jackson for treason before the High Court in Dublin.

Madgett had to display pragmatism in order to remain within the constantly fluctuating parameters of political orthodoxy, as exemplified by his translation of Pitt's speech on 30 December 1794 to the House of Commons (CPA/588/294). Through translation, Madgett was able to position himself adroitly within the new political dispensation following the demise of Robespierre.

This is followed by a review of the translation of the speeches delivered at the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street, Dublin in April 1795 (CPA/588/494). This important translation lays the ground for and is the rhetorical precursor of the translation of Wolfe Tone's political Memorials to the French government in February 1796 (CPA/589 162; CPA/589/173). Two of John Sullivan's translations of texts authored by Wolfe Tone are examined, as he collaborated closely with both Tone and Madgett in this context (CPA/589/233; CPA/589/270).

Some of Sullivan's corpus of press translations is also considered. This chapter concludes with a review of Madgett's commercial translation in 1801 of Walter Moyle's *essay on the political philosophy of ancient Rome*.

It has not always been possible to find the original texts of translations they produced. A small number of translations were signed by them, but in many other instances, the translations are attributed on the basis of their distinctive handwriting, as already explained. In some cases, translations with matching original and completed texts cannot be attributed definitively to either translator on the basis of handwriting, but are attributed to Madgett where it is probable from the subject matter that, as Head of Translation, he oversaw or approved the translations. There exists a sufficient number of matching texts signed off by, or attributable to, either Madgett or Sullivan to make a study of their translation practice possible. Appendices 1 to 13 contain a transcription, in a parallel text format, of all of the translations examined in this section.

The parallel texts are sometimes difficult to follow, for example where the translator has omitted or paraphrased parts of the original text in translation. In those instances, the texts cannot be aligned completely, but they have been arranged in parallel as far as possible. In addition, passages that are the subject of particular analysis in this chapter are shaded in the parallel texts in order to assist the reader. A separate inventory of their translations in the Diplomatic, Military and National Archives of France appears in Appendix 15.

Finally, where the original or the translated text contains spelling errors, such as the frequent omission of accents, the transcription in the parallel texts reproduces any such errors in order to remain faithful to the original.

5.2 Analysis of Translations

5.2.1 William Jackson's letter to Nicholas Madgett of 11 March 1794

William Jackson had been recruited by Madgett, on behalf of the French government, in early 1794 to undertake a secret mission to Britain and Ireland in order to assess the mood for insurrection (MV/1/GG/58/31; AN/F7/4748/1; Rapport 2000: 208). He wrote a number of letters to Madgett, including one dated 11 March 1794, from London, on the political temperature in England. This letter was intercepted by British intelligence, brought to Dublin Castle and used in the prosecution of Jackson for treason before the High Court in Dublin

(Nicholson 1943: 123). A copy is found in the Home Office files in the UK National Archives (NA/HO/TS/11/959). The translation, in Madgett's unmistakable handwriting, is filed in the French military archives in Vincennes (MV/1/GG/58/32-39).

Jackson reports on government repression and Madgett injects some rhetoric of his own in translation. Jackson writes that a biased judicial system appears to operate without protest:

the severest sentences are pronounced and verdicts are given favouring the Court, yet they are passed over as matters of no real moment (NA/HO/TS/11/959).

Madgett feels compelled to strengthen the complaint in translation, so that one may speak of injustice:

Dans les tribunaux on prononce les sentences les plus arbitraires, on fait des rapports absolument conformes aux vues du gouvernement, sans que le peuple se recrie contre ces iniquités (MV/1/GG/58/32).

[The courts pass the most arbitrary sentences and produce decisions completely in line with government thinking, without any protest from the people against these injustices.]

The hand of the translator is again evident in relation to arrests:

Men are imprisoned and dragged from their homes and families, yet no resistance is attempted (NA/HO/TS/11/959).

Madgett decides to characterise official conduct as violence:

On arrache par troupeaux des hommes de leurs maisons, de leurs familles et ces violences n'éprouvent pas de résistance (MV/1/GG/58/32).

[Men are dragged like cattle from their houses and families, and yet this violence meets no resistance.]

Jackson explores the reasons for public apathy in England and points to the official control of information, a topic which immediately stirs Madgett's interest as a propagandist. Jackson laments the absence of reliable information in England about political events in France:

Sufficient pain has not been taken to send over Decrees, intelligence and Works containing information (NA/TS/11/959).

Madgett interprets what Jackson is trying to convey as the raising of political consciousness, and makes this explicit in translation:

C'est qu'on n'a pas pris assez de soin de faire passer ici
les decrets importants de la Convention, les nouvelles
officielles et les ecrits faits pour eclairer le peuple
(MV/1/GG/58/32).¹⁴

[Insufficient efforts have been made to send over here the
important decrees of the Convention, official news and
publications designed to enlighten the people].

Between public apathy, government repression and the censorship of information, Jackson reports that the public mood is not primed for revolt:

These are signs of the times which evidently shew, that
the People at large are by no means disposed to act, as
some Persons might have supposed (NA/TS/11/959).

Madgett's translation adds an important nuance to this rather gloomy vista:

Tels sont les symptomes qui caractérisent l'état actuel du
peuple anglois. D'où les gens clairvoyants concluent qu'il
n'est pas encore mur pour la liberté (MV/1/GG/58/32).

[Such are the features of the English people at present.
Those who are enlightened believe that the people are not
yet ready for freedom.]

Jackson's image of a torpid public completely unwilling to take action for some unidentified objective is countered by Madgett's concept of a people not quite ready to fight for freedom, which leaves open the potential for future action.

Jackson returns to the point later in his letter with the question: what then are the people minded to do? His answer is rather muted:

As you now see that the mass of the people are by no
means inclined to join any external or foreign force, you
will naturally ask, what then are they disposed to do? I
answer that the principle is gathering ground and will
work its way (NA/HO/TS/11/959).

Madgett perhaps senses the opportunity to provide a more politically charged answer:

¹⁴ As already mentioned, Madgett's spelling is erratic; sometimes he inserts the correct accents, sometimes not.

Mais, me direz vous, qu'entend donc faire le peuple, puisqu'il ne veut pas de l'entremise d'aucune puissance étrangère pour lui assurer la conquête de ses droits ? Je réponds que les vrais principes gagnent tous les jours de proche en proche et finiront par tout conquérir (MV/GG/58/32).

[But, you will ask me, what do the people intend to do, given that they do not want any foreign assistance in fighting for their rights? The true principles are gaining ground all the time and will end up conquering everything.]

For Jackson, an unspecified principle was gathering momentum, but for Madgett, the 'true principles' were sweeping all before them. The intended readership of the letter, namely the French political and military elite, may well have assumed the 'true principles' to be the guiding principles of the Revolution.

Jackson's observation that many army recruits are being lured by financial inducements is simply omitted in translation:

Recruits for the Army voluntarily offer themselves in great numbers, though thoughtlessly, and for the sake of the large bounty money, from ten to sixteen Guineas a Man being given (NA/HO/TS/11/959).

One can readily see Madgett excising such a discordant account of the low political consciousness of army recruits, bearing in mind his extremely politically conscious masters. Jackson explains that the French policy of arresting British subjects in France has been counterproductive in England:

Independent of the want of information, there is another thing which has much indisposed the People that is, the general arrestation of the English (NA/HO/TS/11/959).

Madgett interprets the rather vague concept of the people being 'indisposed' and gives it a concrete meaning: the lack of sympathy for the French Revolution which is due, in part, to French legislation prescribing the arrest of all British subjects. The concept of the Revolution is absent from the original:

Outre cette cause de l'indisposition des anglois contre la révolution française, il existe une autre, c'est l'arrestation

générale de tous les sujets Britanniques
(MV/1/GG/58/32).

[Apart from this explanation for the English being hostile to the French revolution, there is another, namely the general arrest of all British subjects.]

Madgett's interventions in this translation disclose an acute understanding of his audience. He was keen to maintain the prospect of political dissent in England and was not going to lower French expectations unnecessarily. Madgett has refracted Jackson's letter through a subtle, rhetorical prism in translation. In time, the rhetoric becomes more direct.

5.2.2 William Pitt's speech to the House of Commons, 30 December 1794

Amidst increasing calls for peace negotiations after almost two years of war with France, William Pitt delivered a speech in Parliament on 30 December 1794 vigorously contesting the rationale for peace (Pitt 1806: 236-250). The translation of that speech in the French Diplomatic Archives is an abridged version of the original, but does contain some interesting adjustments (CPA/588/294). It is unclear which English version the translator was working with, but given the importance attached by Madgett to the English press as a source of intelligence (AAE/PERS/1/47/88), it is likely that the report of Pitt's speech in *The Courier* of 1 January 1795 was the source text. It corresponds to the version of the speech in the four-volume publication in 1806 of *The Speeches Of The Right Honourable William Pitt In The House of Commons* (Pitt 1806). Let us recall the immediate political context of the translation. Robespierre was guillotined, along with Saint-Just and other Jacobin radicals, on 28 July 1794. The decline in Jacobin influence and the end of the Terror which followed resulted in a move to a less radical politics (Jainchill 2008: 27). As McPhee has noted, people were quick to distance themselves from Robespierre after his execution (McPhee 2017: 270).

Madgett had established himself not only as the Head of Translation but had provided the Committee of Public Safety with detailed advice on Irish affairs in June and November 1794 (AD/MD/19/378-381; CPA/588/484). The translation of Pitt's speech is unsigned but Madgett was undoubtedly keeping a close eye on political events in Britain, especially on the subject of divided political opinion on the wisdom of peace talks with France. He did sign off on a translation of a House of Commons debate on the Sedition Bill in November 1795

(AF/III/229). It seems likely that Madgett was both the initiator of the translation, and that he either produced or oversaw the translation. In this instance, the translation is attributed to Madgett, not on the basis of handwriting, but rather the nature of the text and the translation strategy adopted. The attribution is strengthened by the particular treatment of Robespierre in the translation.

In his address to Parliament, Pitt argues that the same system of government is in operation in France since the demise of Robespierre in July 1794, though with a significant nuance:

Those who have succeeded to the government since the fall of Robespierre, have succeeded to the same sort of government. They adopt the same revolutionary system; and though they have made a more moderate use of their power than Robespierre, yet they differ from him only about as much as Robespierre did from Brissot, who incited the war against this country (*The Courier*, 1 January 1795, p. 3; Pitt 1806: 240).

The abridged translation in the Diplomatic Archives reads:

Ceux qui ont renversé Robespierre, ont maintenu le système Revolutionnaire. Il est vrai qu'ils ont substitué la douceur à la cruauté. Cependant leur haine pour l'Angleterre est toujours la même (CPA/588/294).

[Those who have overthrown Robespierre have kept the same revolutionary system. They have admittedly replaced cruelty with moderation but their hatred of England remains the same.]

The abridged French version is obviously not seeking semantic equivalence. But what is more intriguing is the translation of the second reference to Robespierre. Pitt had simply asserted that the regime which followed Robespierre was more moderate. The translation paints a much starker picture by contrasting the moderation of the new dispensation with the cruelty of Robespierre's reign. Political orthodoxy was changing rapidly in France with the decline of the Jacobins by the end of 1794 (Doyle 2018: 283). The Jacobin Club itself was closed by the Convention on 12 November 1794 (McPhee 2016: 278). The translator seems to grasp the opportunity to demarcate, in graphic terms, the political changes in France, and in the process to highlight his disapproval of the previous regime.

Later in the speech, Pitt denigrates the French law of the maximum :

a law for the maximum of the price of all commodities: a law by which no person was permitted to renounce his occupation, under the penalty of twenty years imprisonment (*The Courier*, 1 January 1795, p. 3; Pitt 1806: 248).

The translation identifies the hated law of the maximum with Robespierre:

De là les lois sur le maximum qui se sont écoulées avec Robespierre. De là les défenses de cesser son commerce et d'abandonner ses manufactures sous peine de 20 ans de fers (CPA/588/294).

[That is why there was the law of the maximum, which disappeared with Robespierre, and why it was an offence punishable by 20 years imprisonment to cease business or to stop manufacturing.]

The translator introduces Robespierre into the text in order to stigmatize the law, whereas Pitt had not mentioned him in this context. The reader is invited to have disdain in equal measure for the unpopular law and for Robespierre. Madgett had championed Robespierre's speech on virtue and terror in April of that year as a paragon of revolutionary philosophy, barely three months before Robespierre was guillotined and the Jacobins were ousted from power (AAE/PERS/1/47/85). These references to Robespierre were designed to mirror, in translation, the move away from Jacobin politics, even though they appeared as utterances by an arch enemy of the Republic. The disparagement of Robespierre served the interests of the new political dispensation of the Thermidorian regime but also the personal interests of the initiator/translator (McPhee 2017: 270).

The translator also makes a notable intervention in order to tone down the ferocity of Pitt's anti-French sentiment. Pitt asks:

Have we any right, therefore, to suppose that victory and triumph can produce so great a change in their detestable principles, or that success is such a corrective of those vicious qualities that pervade their principles and their practice? (Pitt 1806: 240)

Pensez-vous que leur étonnant succès aient en cela réformé leurs idées? (CPA/588/294)

[Do you think their surprising success has changed their ideas?]

Madgett had acquired the essential skill of self-preservation which called for heightened alertness in a time of rapid change, especially in the translation of political texts. As Tymoczko observes: ‘Insofar as conditions are volatile or in flux, these conditions can change suddenly and rapidly, necessitating strategical agility in translation as in other forms of activist interventions.’ (Tymoczko 2010: 232). Madgett’s personal statement of loyalty to the post Vendémiaire investigation in November 1795 would contain another, pragmatic denunciation of Robespierre (AF/III/2/97/133).

5.2.3 Report of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street Chapel, Dublin, 9 April 1795

Some of Madgett’s most notable contributions to the cause of Irish independence may be found in his selection of political texts and how he chose to translate them. The report of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street Church, Dublin on 9 April 1795 in the French Diplomatic Archives is one such text. The translation is entitled:

*Débats et résolutions de l’Assemblée des Catholiques
Tenue à Dublin, le 9 Avril, 1795, pour entendre le
rapport des Députés qui avaient été envoyés pour porter
au Roi le vœu des Catholiques d’Irlande (CPA/588/494)*

[Debates and Resolutions of the Meeting of Catholics
held in Dublin on 9 April 1795 to consider the report of
the Delegates who had been sent to convey to the King
the wishes of Irish Catholics].

The source text

The translation is not in Madgett’s recognisable hand and was presumably transcribed by a clerk, though Madgett did certify and sign it. He does not identify the source text of his translation. The Meeting demonstrated great hostility to the treatment of Catholics by the British government and was reported in the Opposition press in London. The *Morning Chronicle* carried a relatively short account on 15 April 1795. *The Courier*’s coverage was the most detailed in the London press and extended to three articles on 14, 16 and 18 April 1795, but it fell well short of the comprehensive account which appears in Madgett’s translation. A search for the source text in the Dublin press of the period proves more fruitful.

The three most radical Dublin newspapers of the period were *The Freeman's Journal*, the Catholic-edited *Hibernian Journal*, and the Presbyterian-run *Dublin Evening Post* (Herman 2021). The *Freeman's Journal* only gave the Meeting a short paragraph in its edition of 14 April 1795. The detail and sequence of the speeches reported in the *Hibernian Journal* of 13 April, and in almost identical terms in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 14 April, correspond broadly to Madgett's translation. The *Hibernian Journal* favoured Catholic reforms (Kelly 1993: 77, 98). In 1791 it had serialised the full version of Paine's *The Rights of Man* (Dickson 1993: 138).

The only other contemporaneous, published source with an equivalent level of detail as the translation is the version of the proceedings of the Meeting entitled *Orations Delivered At a Numerous and Respectable Meeting of the Roman Catholics of the City Of Dublin, Held At Francis-Street Chapel, On Thursday the Ninth of April, 1795; On The Grand Question of Catholic Emancipation*, which was published in Cork in 1795 by James Haly. It is an almost exact replica of, and was probably based upon, the reports published in the *Hibernian Journal* and the *Dublin Evening Post*. Madgett may have been working off the lengthy accounts carried in those newspapers, or as published later in 1795 in Cork. His translation is undated but in written advice to Delacroix on 31 December 1795, Madgett stressed the importance of that Meeting in relation to current Catholic thinking and informed the Minister that he was translating it (CPA/589/116). The analysis which follows and the parallel text in the Appendix uses the Cork publication for convenience, as it is paginated.¹⁵

The historical context: Catholic discontent

The detailed report of the Meeting in Haly's publication revealed growing impatience and anger amongst Catholics about the dismissive attitude of the British government to their demands for reform (Lindsay 1993: 204). The recall of the British Viceroy, Fitzwilliam, in early 1795 marked increased opposition by the British government to the notion of Catholic relief. A Catholic deputation had been given a cool reception by the King. There was a growing sense of betrayal by the British government and the need for radical parliamentary reform (Ibid: 204). In addition, there was a hostile reaction to the suggestion of a full Union between Ireland and Britain (Ibid: 203). The Meeting in Francis Street was attended by leading

¹⁵ The extracts discussed here may be followed as shaded passages in the parallel texts in Appendix 3.

Catholics, many of whom were influenced by the United Irishmen (Ibid: 204). The *Hibernian Journal* reported that Francis Street Church was packed with over five thousand in attendance and noted that for many of the Protestants present, it was the first political meeting they had attended (*Hibernian Journal* vol XXV, no 44 p. 4).

Why did Madgett decide to translate a record of this Meeting? What is notable firstly is the discretion which Madgett enjoyed. He appears to have been given a free hand by the French leadership when it came to the selection of source texts for translation. His rationale in this instance must have been to inform the French political and military elite about the hardening of Catholic opinion against the British government and the prospect of inter-denominational co-operation. The speeches included a call for unity between Catholics and Protestants by Lewins (Haly 1794: 27). Other speakers such as Keogh and McNeven asserted that such unity had already been achieved (Ibid: 10, 15). McNeven and Lewins spoke out in radical United Irishmen terms, although Lindsay has pointed out that claims of Protestant and Catholic unanimity in support of Catholic emancipation were ‘questionable’ (Lindsay 1993: 204). It was hardly surprising that Edmund Burke characterised the proceedings as ‘wholly Jacobinical’ in tone (Keogh 1993: 84).

In addition, Madgett has, in his unmistakable hand, inscribed on to the translated text, just under the title, the words ‘pour servir de suite au mémoire sur l’Irlande’ [a sequel to the Memorial on Ireland] (CPA/588/494). This not only confirms his editorial control of the translation, but also enables us to more fully contextualise the translation. The annotation discloses that as far as Madgett was concerned, the translation was equivalent to political advice and would therefore be fulfilling the same purpose as politically assertive texts such as Wolfe Tone’s Memorials. All that was needed was a translational strategy that produced the same effect as explicit advice.

Which Memorial was Madgett referring to? He had composed a number of reports on Ireland for the French leadership in 1794, and had notably assisted a prominent United Irishman, Hamilton Rowan, who was obliged to seek refuge in France. He arranged for John Sullivan to translate Rowan’s Memorials (CPA/588/270). Madgett does not identify the report to which this translation was a sequel, and although he produced a lengthy paper on Ireland in June 1794 (AD/MD/19/378-381), he probably had in mind the most recent written advice, which was his *Mémoire sur l’Irlande*, dated 19 November 1794 (CPA/588/484). In that

Memorial, he recounted the recent history of the adverse treatment of Catholics by the British government and in particular how Pitt's treachery had thwarted any real reforms in ease of the position of Catholics. He asserted that Irish Catholics were no longer in thrall to the clergy and were making common cause with Presbyterians. The country was ready to form a republican government with French assistance that would usher in freedom of religious practice. Therefore, the Catholic question was central to the immediate historical backdrop of Madgett's translated report of the Meeting.

The translation provided the French leadership with an important barometer of Catholic opinion in Ireland after the debacle of Fitzwilliam's recall and the frosty reception given to the Catholic delegation by the King and British Ministers in March 1795. If anything, it tended to confirm what Madgett had already told his political masters in Paris, namely, that Irish Catholics were no longer controlled by the church (CPA/588/484). This was important because French reservations about the 'revolutionary commitment' of a Catholic country were deep-seated (Elliott 1982: 81). The message was part of the broader communicative purpose which Madgett hoped the translation would serve for its addressees, the French political and military hierarchy: that Ireland was ready for French military intervention. But that *Skopos* was for the time being personal to Madgett and did not become French government policy until the early summer of 1796 (Elliott 1982: 92).

Several speakers warned that Catholics should not barter the independence of Ireland for the sake of Catholic emancipation (Haly 1795: 18, 24). In other words, do not be seduced by Pitt's offer of emancipation in exchange for the mooted Union of Ireland and Britain. From Madgett's perspective, the political rhetoric of the Meeting was indeed a natural sequel to his advocacy of Irish independence in 1794.

Madgett was not only the initiator who defined the purpose for which the target text was needed, but, as the translator, he was able to produce a text that met that purpose (Nord 2018: 29). Although he significantly abridged the original report of the Meeting in translation, as is evident from the parallel texts in Appendix 3, he did translate many passages in full, putting his own activist stamp on the original text in the process. Firstly, it is notable that in two instances where the speakers referred deferentially to the King, those references are excluded from the abridged translation. Omission was just as effective as addition. Tymoczko has argued that whereas shifts in content are strategic interventions by translators, omissions and the non-

translation of parts of texts also reveal the politics of translation in a particular context (Tymoczko 2010: 6). Two important omissions may be mentioned. Firstly, John Keogh referred to the letter presented to an English Minister on behalf of all Irish Catholics and added:

They were all attached to his Majesty — all Supplicated
that they should not be governed by a system of terror—
and all united in praying for complete Emancipation
(Haly 1795: 4).

This was precisely the sort of acknowledgement of the British monarchy which Madgett would have preferred not to reach a French republican readership, not to mention the reference to the French government as a ‘system of terror’.

Secondly, McNeven’s speech contains what Madgett would certainly have regarded as discordant expressions of royal allegiance:

At the time we last assembled in this place to prepare an
address to his Majesty, conveying to him assurances of
the fidelity and attachment of three millions of his
subjects;
[...] But although our allegiance to our King shall ever,
as it ought, remain unshaken and unaltered, we meet this
day under the certainty, that no satisfactory answer could
be obtained in England; (Haly 1795: 10).

Neither of these references appear in the paraphrased translation. Madgett also omits to translate long sections of several of the speeches, particularly the first speaker, John Keogh. The first four pages of Haly’s report of that speech is reduced to a single forceful paragraph by Madgett. As this was almost the first paragraph of the translation, Madgett no doubt wanted to ensure that it carried maximum impact for a French republican reader (Haly 1795: 3-7):

Le Rapporteur expose la Conduite impolitique du
Ministère Anglais, qui parait avoir adopté pour maxime
favorite qu’il faut dompter le peuple en le muselant :
maxime qui, de nos jours, a produit tant de révolutions.
Le Rapporteur prouve combien il est de l’intérêt du
Gouvernement de ménager le peuple d’Irlande, vu les
grandes ressources qu’il en tire pour son commerce et
pour ses armées de terre et de mer. Il trace le tableau des
manœuvres infâmes qu’emploient les agents du

Gouvernement Anglais pour desunir et opprimer les Catholiques (CPA/588/494).

[The rapporteur referred to the impolitic conduct of the English Minister whose favourite doctrine seems to be that you subjugate the people by silencing them, a doctrine that nowadays has caused so many revolutions. The Rapporteur demonstrated how it was in the government's interests to control the Irish people, given the huge resources it drew from them for the benefit of its trade, its army and navy. He listed the despicable tactics used by the agents of the English government to spread disunity and to oppress the Catholics.]

Madgett's use of paraphrase sometimes allows him the freedom to manipulate the original in order to serve the translational objective. The paraphrased or abridged translation of the following passage from McNeven's speech illustrates the point:

Catholic Emancipation may be refused, but the Catholic cannot be prevented from relinquishing a minor consideration, and meeting his fellow-citizens in the pursuit of a still more momentous object, one that will equally emancipate him, with the additional consolation that it will free his country — a RADICAL REFORM in the House of Commons. Catholic Emancipation is Irish union, because, by that event, every ground of difference is removed; the rejection of it will unite Irishmen no less, for the Catholic will no longer seek a partial freedom, — But a pursuit in which we have been so long engaged, it is first our duty to bring to a final decision (Haly 1795: 11).

This is shortened to the following:

Il démontre que de l'émancipation des Catholiques dépendraient la liberté et le Bonheur de tous les Irlandais, de quelque religion qu'ils soient ; attendu que ce grand but une fois rempli, *la réforme radicale de la représentation nationale* en sera la suite nécessaire. Il croit le moment actuel infiniment favorable pour affranchir les Catholiques et par conséquent tous les Irlandais du joug du Ministère Anglais (CPA/588/494).

[He explained that the freedom and happiness of all Irishmen of whatever religion was dependent on Catholic Emancipation. Once this great objective had been accomplished, *the radical reform of national representation* would follow. He believed that the present moment was extremely favourable in terms of liberating Catholics and as a consequence, all Irishmen from the yoke of the English Minister.]

McNeven's somewhat elaborate delivery speaks of unity amongst Irishmen and even the pursuit of freedom, but Madgett does not prevaricate and adds a much-deployed republican metaphor to give the speaker a more penetrative tone: the time has now come to liberate Catholics and all Irishmen from the English yoke.

One notable feature of the Meeting was the unexpected arrival, during the course of John Keogh's speech, of a group of sympathetic students from Trinity College Dublin who expressed their solidarity with the Catholic cause. The report of their arrival at the Meeting and Madgett's translation are worthy of consideration. The source text recounts:

In the course of Mr Keogh's speech a great body of the Students of the University, who had been that day to present an Address to Mr Grattan, appeared, and were received with the most enthusiastic acclamations; every man was eager to inconvenience himself for their accommodation; they were placed in the front of the meeting, and upon their taking their seats, a fresh burst of acclamation arose that shook the edifice to its foundation (Haly 1795: 10).

Madgett translates this intervention as follows:

M. Keogh avait été interrompu au milieu de son discours par l'arrivée d'un corps très nombreux des étudiants de l'université, tous protestants, qui, après avoir présenté une adresse au membre patriote du parlement, M Grattan, vinrent fraterniser avec leurs freres Catholiques (CPA/588/494).

[Mr Keogh was interrupted in the course of his speech by the arrival of a large number of students from the university, all protestants, who, having presented an Address to the patriot member of parliament, Mr Grattan, came to fraternise with their Catholic brethren.]

Madgett's translation strangely omits the rapturous welcome given to a group of Trinity students, though he does refer to it towards the end of the translation (CPA/588/301). For the uninitiated French reader, Henry Grattan was, the translator explains, 'un membre patriote' [a patriotic member] of the Dublin Parliament. More significantly, he adds the epithet 'tous protestants' [all protestants] to describe the visitors from Trinity College. Furthermore, the translator makes explicit the purpose of their visit by introducing the notion of solidarity between these Protestants and their Catholic brethren, thereby lending an inter-denominational hue to the occasion. The putative reconciliation of Catholics and Presbyterians was to loom large in Wolfe Tone's representations to the French government the following year, and religious rapprochement was seen as the antidote to French concerns about the influence of the Catholic Church (CPA/589/169).

The theme of religious unity, exemplified by the presence of students from Trinity College, ran through several of the speeches. Two of the students, Moore and a Joseph Byrne, addressed the Meeting and their contributions were reported and translated (Haly 1795: 22-24; CPA/588/494). These were probably the same radical group of students that are identified in R.B. McDowell's article 'Trinity College Dublin and Politics'. In April 1795, the fellows and scholars of the College went to Dublin Castle to welcome Camden, the new Lord Lieutenant, as was the tradition, but a group of radical scholars broke away from the main procession to meet at Hyde's Coffee House and voted an Address to Grattan, thanking him for supporting Catholic emancipation and reform (McDowell 1992: 123).

Several of the speakers heralded the presence of Protestant students as proof of a spirit of religious reconciliation. Madgett would have been all too aware of the significance of such an alliance in the eyes of the French authorities. Dr Ryan echoed the mood of the Meeting:

And if a further argument is desired to prove that religious prejudices, if not altogether removed, are in a state of rapid decline, I find it in the very place where I now address you. I find it in the appearance here today of so many respectable persons of the Protestant communion; and particularly in the visit with which we have been honoured by the gentlemen of the University (Haly 1795: 21).

Dr Ryan's tribute to the students strikes a stronger chord in translation:

Enfin, dit le Docteur Ryan, nous voyons dans la visite que tant de personnes respectables de la Religion protestante et surtout la jeunesse de l'université, viennent de nous faire aujourd'hui, une preuve éclatante que le siècle des préjugés religieux est passé (CPA/588/494).

[To conclude, Dr Ryan said that we can see from the visit here today by so many respectable Protestants, particularly younger persons from the university, striking proof that the era of religious prejudice is over.]

Where Dr Ryan found proof of this phenomenon, Madgett decides that there was striking proof. More significantly, Dr Ryan's assessment that religious prejudice was rapidly declining was too tentative for Madgett, who instead delivers to his French audience a slate wiped entirely clean of religious prejudice. The effectiveness of the translated message was the pre-eminent consideration.

Lewins's speech emphasised the advent of religious unity, and concluded with a declaration that is italicised in both the English and French versions. In this part of his speech, Lewins refers to the unity of the Irish people, to which Madgett gives an explicitly religious characterisation in translation. 'The whole people of Ireland' is rendered as 'les Irlandais de toutes les religions':

Let the Ministers of Ireland, and the Ministers of England, know this truth: *the whole people of Ireland are now united, and will continue to be united, whether the Catholics of Ireland be emancipated or not* (Haly 1795: 29).

Mais qu'ils sachent, ces Ministres, que *les Irlandais de toutes les religions sont unis, et qu'ils continueront de l'être, soit que les Catholiques soient émancipés ou non* (CPA/588/300).

[But these Ministers should know that *the Irish people of every religion are united, and will continue to be so, whether the Catholics are emancipated or not.*]

Madgett intervenes frequently to embellish the orator's rhetoric, an unsurprising strategy in the translation of political speeches for an already radicalised French readership. Dr McNeven is quoted in the same report to have said:

our honour and our pride should be to break our fetters,
remove the stigma of degradation, and assert the freedom
of our country¹⁶ (Haly 1795: 12).

Madgett's translation reads:

votre honneur vous commande impérieusement de briser
vos fers, d'effacer la honte de l'esclavage dégradant où
vous avez croupi, et de conquérir la liberté de notre pays
(CPA/588/494).

[your honour compels you absolutely to break your
fetters, to remove the stigma of degrading slavery in
which you have wallowed, and to assert the freedom of
our country.]

The speaker's call to action seeks to persuade and encourage his audience, whereas in the translation directed at French politicians who had lived through the turbulence of years of the Revolution, the call to action becomes an overriding imperative. The heightened rhetoric also transforms 'degradation' into 'the degrading slavery in which you have wallowed'.

A translation replete with imperatives and rhetorical questions is a classic indicator of Nord's appellative function of a translation: it is directed at the receivers' disposition to act and designed to induce them to respond (Nord 2018: 41). At times, one can almost sense Madgett imagining how such a patriotic, anti-British speech should be delivered in Paris. Madgett was aware of the potency of rhetoric in political speechmaking. Dr McNeven's dismissal of unpatriotic Irishmen is not strong enough for Madgett. McNeven states:

And those degenerate Irishmen who would pander to
foreign power, let them not deceive themselves (Haly
1795: 13).

The term 'foreign power' is judged too neutral when it comes to the British State, as is manifest from the translation:

Et qu'ils ne s'y trompent pas, les Irlandais dégénérés qui
voudraient se rendre les vils instruments d'une tyrannie
étrangère (CPA/588/494).

¹⁶ Where a portion only of a long sentence is analysed, the entire sentence is not quoted, but may be consulted in full in Appendix 3.

[And they should not deceive themselves, those degenerate Irishmen who want to become the despicable pawns of foreign tyranny.]

McNeven's speech referred to

the spirit of harmony and co-operation which pervades all sects and descriptions of Irishmen. Not to mention innumerable instances of it afforded by other bodies (Haly 1795: 15).

Madgett ensures that the translation would bear not just a strong sense of religious unity, but also of unity across social class, as emerges from his translation:

l'esprit d'union et d'harmonie dont sont pénétrés les Irlandais de toutes les sectes et de tous les rangs. Pour ne point faire mention des exemples sans nombre qui ont été donnés par plusieurs autres classes de nos concitoyens (CPA/588/494).

[the spirit of harmony and co-operation which pervades all sects and ranks of Irishmen. Not to mention innumerable instances of it provided by several other classes of our fellow citizens]

The word 'rang' [rank] encompasses the notion of a social hierarchy absent from the neutral original which refers to 'descriptions of Irishmen'. Such social distinctions are now being swept up in a spirit of unity. This the translator combines with an egalitarian dimension, by replacing the somewhat innocuous notion of 'other bodies' by a more expansive and democratic cohort of fellow citizens that spanned the social classes. The translator/initiator projects into an Irish context the notion of shared citizenship, a potent symbol of the political transformation heralded by the French Revolution and familiar to the addressees of the translation (Schama 2004: 724-725).

That Madgett was ever mindful of his target audience is clear from such translational shifts. Ryan extols the increase in knowledge:

Commerce and the press, have gradually extended the sphere, and increased the circulation of knowledge (Haly 1795: 17).

The translator manages to insert a reference to the Enlightenment which would have resonated with the narrow but educated circle of French political and military leaders:

Le commerce et la presse ont étendu le sphère de vos connaissances et accéléré parmi vous la circulation des Lumières (CPA/588/494).

[Commerce and the press have extended your sphere of knowledge and have accelerated the spread of the Enlightenment amongst you.]

Madgett's tendency to republicanise the original emerges again in the translation of the address by Dr Ryan, who hypothesises on what might transpire were Catholics admitted to a full participation of the rights and privileges of the constitution (Haly 1795: 20).

The French text refers to

les mêmes droits que les autres classes de citoyens
(CPA/588/494).

[the same rights as the other classes of citizens.]

Rather than retain a generic, and consequently vague reference to the constitution, the translator clarifies that the hypothesis is predicated on an equal enjoyment of rights by citizens of all classes.

The vexed question of the mooted Union of Ireland and Britain agitated the speakers. Lewins speculates on the effects of political unity amongst Irishmen determined to resist that Union. This would disable the English from continuing to drain the country of men and resources to serve and feed its army and navy. He continues:

In order, therefore, to prevent this direful consequence, the Minister of England concludes with himself that some extraordinary means must be used;- he thinks that in some time he shall not be able to influence, and therefore he will hazard before that time to annihilate (Haly 1795: 28).

The translation truncates the original but discloses, in addition, two striking adjustments:

C'est donc pour éviter les terribles conséquences d'une pareille révolution, qu'il cherche à vous anéantir comme Nation (CPA/588/494).

[Accordingly, to avoid the terrible consequences of such a revolution, he would seek to annihilate you as a Nation.]

For the speaker, a coalition of Irishmen would produce terrible consequences for the English military; for Madgett, this would be nothing short of a revolution. The English retaliation in advance would, for Lewins, be an attempt at annihilation. But Madgett once again steps in to give that pre-emptive strike by the English a new, more sinister characterisation: the annihilation of a Nation.

On another occasion, the translator broadens the original to lead to a more politically conscious outcome. Dr McNeven deplores the sacrifices made by Irish Catholics in the service of the British army and navy and asks rhetorically:

May not these brave fellows be informed of the real truth,
that their valour, employed in the cause of strangers,
terminates only in the degradation of their brethren and
themselves? (Haly 1795: 13)

Madgett introduces a subtle adjustment in translation:

Ces braves gens ne pourrons-ils pas apprendre, un jour,
que leur valeur est employée dans la Cause des étrangers,
et ne tend qu'à l'avilissement de leur pays?
(CPA/588/494)

[Might these brave fellows not discover, some day, that
their valour is employed in the cause of strangers, and
only leads to the enslavement of their country?]

The enslavement of a country, as opposed to Irish Catholic soldiers and 'their brethren', is conceptually an enhanced political message.

An ambiguity arises in Dr McNeven's speech. He apprehends that a decisive moment in Irish history is at hand and asks:

The problem will be now resolved, whether Ireland is a
free and imperial nation, or only an outlying province to
Great Britain (Haly 1795: 14).

It is unclear what he meant by an 'imperial nation'. To the extent it may connote some connection to the British empire, the connotation is excised in the translation:

mais le moment approche où nous saurons si l'Irlande est
une Nation Libre et indépendante ou une province
étrangère Conquise par l'Angleterre (CPA/588/494).

[but the moment is coming when we shall know whether
Ireland is a free and independent Nation or a foreign
province Conquered by England.]

Madgett's activist translational strategy was raising the profile of the Catholic movement to an inter-denominational, egalitarian groundswell that was opposed to the British administration in Ireland. This in turn would make the prospect of an invasion force more politically and strategically attractive to the French leadership. The translation was a rhetorically powerful text whose effect was enhanced by the translator's interventions. It also marked the potential emergence of the dual *Skopos*: the French might in time be persuaded that the armed liberation of Ireland could be integrated into the wider military battle with Britain and thus become a strategic objective.

The translation had an afterlife, as the report of this Meeting was emphasised by Madgett in advice he furnished to the Foreign Minister Delacroix, on the political temperature of Ireland in December 1795, in anticipation of the imminent arrival of Wolfe Tone from the United States (CPA/589/111-112; CPA/589/116). It is not difficult to see why Madgett would make much of his translation of a 'live' meeting. The oral quality of the text must surely have resonated with a French leadership familiar with the declamatory nature of public political discourse.

5.2.4 Translating Wolfe Tone: the prelude

At the beginning of 1796, Wolfe Tone was on the final leg of his circuitous journey to Paris via the United States, where he had made his introductions to the French envoy to Philadelphia, Adet, the previous autumn (Tone 2001: 23-24). In France, a more conservative republicanism had been ushered in by the Constitution of September 1795 (McPhee 2017: 296). That did not mean, however, that a premium was not still put on political loyalty, as was evident in the post *Vendémiaire* purge (AF/III/52-55/213/1).

France was still at war with Britain and Austria. The five-man Directory was divided over French foreign policy, with Reubell favouring an attack on Austria, whereas Carnot's preference was to confront British forces (Elliott 1982: 82; Gough 1990: 9). Carnot was particularly hostile to Britain after it had assisted a force of royalists to land at Quiberon in Brittany in June 1795 (Elliott 1982: 85-6). The United Irishmen had become radicalised and were pursuing a separatist and democratic political agenda (Gillen 2017: 243). Wolfe Tone set

himself the difficult task of persuading the French leadership, amidst these contradictory war aims, that a military invasion of Ireland was the most opportune way of defeating the British.

On 1 October 1795, Adet alerted the Directory to Wolfe Tone's arrival in Philadelphia and forwarded Wolfe Tone's first formal submission to the French government on a French military expedition to Ireland (CPA/589/23). Madgett, from his position as Head of Translation in the Foreign Ministry, was aware of these contacts, and furnished comprehensive advice to the newly installed Foreign Minister, Delacroix, on how Irish independence would benefit France (CPA/589/111-112). Madgett's lobbying was effective and by January 1796, in advance of Wolfe Tone's arrival in Paris, Delacroix was promoting the idea of a French invasion to the Directory. Delacroix wanted Tone to travel to Paris to make detailed preparations for such an expedition, though this was not yet official French policy (CPA/589/120).

It was hardly surprising then that when Wolfe Tone eventually arrived in Paris in February 1796 with little oral competence in French, Delacroix named Madgett as Tone's primary interlocutor. Tone was told to speak to Madgett 'without reserve' (Tone 2001: 56). Thus began an intensive personal and professional collaboration between Tone and Madgett which culminated in the translation of Tone's two Memorials to the French Government (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). John Sullivan would also play his part (CPA/589/233; CPA/589/270).

5.2.5 Collaboration

Wolfe Tone's diary enables us to reconstruct the close interaction between author and translator which characterised the translational process. Tone met Delacroix for the first time on 17 February 1796. The Minister instructed him to go without delay to speak with Madgett, which he did the same day (Tone 2001: 56-57). Tone then called to Madgett's lodgings on the succeeding days, 18, 19 and 20 February, when he conferred with Madgett in the course of preparing his first Memorial (Ibid: 59). Crucially, Madgett informed Delacroix on 19 February that he had asked Tone to draft a Memorial which he would then translate and deliver to the Minister (CPA/589/154). This is corroborated by Tone in his journal (Tone 2001: 59). The final version of the original was delivered to Madgett on 22 February (Ibid: 70). Madgett's translation bears the date of '7 Ventôse an 4' [26 February 1796] (CPA/589/162).

Meanwhile, Tone secured an interview with Carnot on 24 February and told him that the mooted French expedition to Ireland was too important ‘to be transacted with a mere commis’ (Tone 2001: 74,78). However, his collaboration with Madgett continued. He clearly still relied on Madgett with whom he read over a draft of his second Memorial the next day (Ibid: 80).

Tone delivered the second Memorial to Madgett on 29 February and complained in his journal about Madgett’s slowness (Ibid: 97). Madgett not only translated the second Memorial but composed a *précis* of it for the Minister. Both translation and *précis* bear the same date, 29 February (CPA/589/173; CPA/589/172). However, the real date of the translation was probably a few days later, because Madgett wrote to Delacroix on 2 March to say he had received the second Memorial and was working on it. He also enclosed a copy of the first Memorial, explaining that it was too long for the Minister to read and so he had inserted marginal notes by way of summary (CPA/589/182; Kleinman 2005: 174-175).

What emerges from the the genesis of the first Memorial is that Madgett and Tone discussed the detail of a French military expedition (Tone 2001: 58-59). Madgett was the initiator of both the source texts and the translations, but in addition, he acted as a consultant to Tone during the drafting of the documents in English. Accordingly, from his close participation in the composition process, he had a detailed knowledge of the author’s intentions when he set about translating the two most important political documents produced by Tone in this period. As a committed supporter of Irish independence and a trusted political and linguistic adviser to the French leadership, Madgett was uniquely placed to exercise real influence over the translational process and to promote and align both the institutional and personal *Skopoi* identified above.

Informal promises of French support for an expedition to Ireland were made to Tone by Delacroix and Carnot almost as soon as he arrived in Paris (Tone 2001: 77, 83, 85). Madgett’s activist approach to translation was entirely compatible with these encouraging signs. The institutional *Skopos* of the French government was coming into sharper focus. The impetus from the ‘Francis Street’ translation, carried forward by a stream of political advice, was now reaching its full potential. As befitted Madgett’s broad role, advice and translation circulated in tandem, so that he also provided Delacroix with summary marginal notes and a *précis*, respectively, of the two Memorials (CPA/589/182; CPA/589/172).

The translator was doing more than simply translating texts but was giving a broader definition to translational activity. Another document in the Diplomatic Archives in Madgett's hand and bearing the same date as the translation, namely 29 February, purports to be a sequel to Tone's second Memorial entitled *Suite du Mémoire sur l'Irlande* [Sequel to the Memorial on Ireland] (CPA/589/179). In fact, it is Madgett delivering political advice to Delacroix on how the Irish-American diaspora could be persuaded to contribute financially to French plans to secure Irish independence. It again confirms that from Madgett's perspective, advice and translation were entirely compatible activities. Madgett, the initiator and translator, was also a trusted, special adviser on Irish affairs. Delacroix even informed Tone that Madgett was the only person in whom he had confided the 'affair', namely the plan for a French expedition to Ireland (Tone 2001: 84).

5.2.6 Wolfe Tone's first and second Memorials to the French Government

As the first and second Memorials were the product a short period of intensive collaboration between author and translator, the translations will be reviewed together. Using Madgett's interventions and adjustments in translation as components of a narrative, it is possible to extrapolate his views on how Irish independence could be achieved through a French military expedition. Tone was nudging the French leadership towards an invasion force but Madgett gave that enterprise additional propulsion. Madgett's adjustments in the course of translating Tone's Memorials may be divided into the following two broad categories:

- 1) Identifying the Adversary; and
- 2) The Response: Religious Unity and Revolution.

The adversary

In the first Memorial, Wolfe Tone explains the history of the religious composition of the country. Cromwell had distributed Catholic lands to his supporters in 1650, and after the defeat of James II in 1691, the final residue of property in Catholic hands was confiscated and divided amongst the conquerors. He continues:

By these means the proprietors of estates in Ireland, feeling the weakness of their titles to properties thus acquired, and seeing themselves as it were, a colony of strangers forming not above one tenth part of the

population, have always looked to England for protection and support; (Tone 2001: 63).

Madgett stakes out his own position in the translation:

On sent bien que tous ces usurpateurs, ainsi que leurs descendants, convaincus de leur injustice, et se regardant comme une Colonie d'Etrangers placés au milieu d'un peuple dont ils ne faisoient pas la dixieme partie, ne pouvoient attendre de protection et d'appui que de la part de l'Angleterre ; (CPA/589/162-163).

[It is clear that these usurpers and their descendants, aware of the injustice of the situation, and seeing themselves as a colony of outsiders consisting of less than one tenth of the population, could only look to England for protection and support.]

Madgett interjects his own view of Protestants who inherited confiscated land. They were not just landowners with a somewhat tenuous title, they were usurpers.¹⁷

Tone continues his hostile analysis of the Protestant population of Ireland. Enjoying most of the landed property,

They are devoted implicitly to the connection with England, which they look upon as essential to the secure possession of their estates; (Tone 2001: 63).

Madgett again deploys the notion of usurpation for added rhetorical effect in translation:

Leur liaison avec l'Angleterre est ce qu'ils ont le plus à cœur, comme l'unique garantie de leurs possessions usurpées (CPA/589/163).

[Their connection to England they hold most precious, as the only safeguard of their usurped properties.]

Tone foresees resistance from the Protestants 'in case of any attempt to emancipate Ireland' (Tone 2001: 63). However, the translator is keen to spell out for his French readership precisely what they would be liberating Ireland from, thereby expanding on the original text:

en cas d'une tentative pour affranchir l'Irlande du joug Britannique (CPA/589/163).

¹⁷ The first edition in 1755 of Dr Johnson's Dictionary defines a usurper as 'one who seizes or possesses that to which he has no right' (Johnson 1755). The fifth edition of the Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française offers a similar definition of 'usurpateur' as a person who takes property which does not belong to him (1798: 710).

[if an attempt is made to liberate Ireland from the British yoke.]

Accordingly, this was not simply the gaining of independence by a small neighbouring country; it was releasing Ireland from the oppressive grip of France's enemy.

Given the reconciliation between Catholics and Presbyterians which Tone extols, the Protestant population was the adversary, aided and abetted by its *alter ego*, the British government. The government's reaction to the rise of the United Irishmen is recounted by Tone:

A similar club was immediately formed in Dublin which became speedily famous for its publications and the sufferings of its members, many of whom were thrown into prison by the Government, whose terror at this rising spirit of union amongst the people may be estimated from the severity with which they persecuted those who were most active in promoting it (Tone 2001: 66).

The translation amplifies the suffering inflicted on United Irishmen by the Government, with Madgett at his most interventionist:

On peut juger de la frayeur que ces associations suscitent au gouvernement par les Incarcérations, les poursuites criminelles et par les violences de toute espece auxquelles il a eu recours pour punir ceux qui avoient montré le plus d'activité et de zele à former ces assemblées (CPA/589/165).

[The government's fear of these clubs may be gauged by the imprisonment, prosecutions and violence of every kind meted out to punish those who were most active and diligent in organising these meetings.]

The persecution mentioned by Tone is given an explicit and graphic elaboration. United Irishmen were not just pursued in the criminal courts and imprisoned, but, as far as the translator is concerned, they were the victims of State-sponsored violence of every kind.

Tone castigates the government for outlawing the meetings of the Catholic Committee, ...which has still more alienated their minds from the British Government in Ireland (Tone 2001: 68).

Madgett is not content to reflect the rather neutral tenor of the original:

Cette défense [...] n'a fait que les irriter encore
d'avantage contre la tyrannie du gouvernement
(CPA/589/166).

[this prohibition [...] has only hardened them further
against the tyranny of the government.]

Sometimes the translator's presence is hardly noticeable. In Tone's lengthy tirade against the treatment of Catholics and their wretched living conditions, Madgett adds his own opinion in one adjective:

Such is the condition of the peasantry of Ireland, above
3,000,000 of people (Tone 2001: 65).

Tel est le déplorable sort d'environ trois millions
d'hommes (CPA/589/164).

[Such is the appalling plight of approximately three
million men].

In these extracts, Madgett has though his own adjustments, conjured up in translation the image of a double adversary: a tyrannical and violent government supporting the domination of a usurping Protestant class. This coincides with Tone's rejection of the Protestant aristocracy and the British government (Gillen 2017: 253). As a rhetorical strategy, it would enhance one of the main communicative intentions of Tone's submission, namely, that Irish independence would seriously weaken British military power.

5.2.7 The response: religious unity and revolution

A central tenet of Wolfe Tone's advocacy in the Memorials was the common cause between Catholics and Presbyterians (Tone 2001: 65). This was to be the key prescription to unlocking the grip of British control of Ireland and would surely bring in its wake revolutionary change (Ibid: 64). Madgett would have been aware of French misgivings about how receptive a Catholic country would be to the arrival of a French republican force (Elliott 1982: 81). Wolfe Tone believed that political change would reduce the influence of the Catholic church and that the example of French Catholics in overthrowing their monarchy demonstrated that Catholics could also be good republicans (Bartlett 1993: 15). To assuage French fears, Madgett presses an agenda of reconciliation in translation, which provided continuity from the translational activism so evident in the 'Francis Street' translation.

Whereas the Dissenters in the North were traditionally the enemies of the Catholics, all that was changing (Tone 2001: 64). Tone invokes the experience of the French Revolution to signal a shift in Presbyterian thinking:

the establishment of unbounded liberty of conscience in France had mitigated their horror of popery (Tone 2001: 64).

Madgett had adjusted, through translation, a speech from the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street in April 1795 to announce the end of religious prejudice. He was not going to miss another such opportunity:

La loi qui etablissoit en france une liberté illimitée de conscience, les fit revenir de leurs préjugés contre le papisme (CPA/589/163).

[the law allowing freedom of conscience in France induced them to cast aside their prejudice against popery.]

Tone's original depicts a religious denomination moving away from prejudice, but Madgett is anxious to proclaim that this process was complete.

Before Tone went on to claim that the two religions had been at last reconciled (Tone 2001: 64), he introduces the genesis of a religious rapprochement as follows:

Among the innumerable blessings procured to mankind by the French Revolution arose the event which I am about to mention, (Tone 2001: 63).

However, Madgett decides that the issue warrants more explicit treatment:

Parmi les bienfaits sans nombre que la revolution francaise a valu au genre humain, on peut compter la réconciliation des Catholiques avec les presbytériens (CPA/589/163).

[The innumerable blessings procured to mankind by the French Revolution include the reconciliation of Catholics and Presbyterians.]

Here is the translator and political adviser on Irish affairs to the French government inserting the historic reconciliation of Irish Catholics with Presbyterians as an established fact before the author has led his readers to that point. French fears about religious strife had to be allayed as soon as possible.

Wolfe Tone does eventually reach the same point later in his submission, but once again, Madgett strengthens the original. Tone emphasises the overriding relevance of the point:

I beg leave again to call the attention of the French Government to this fact of the national union, which from my knowledge of the situation of Ireland I affirm to be of importance equal to all 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 turned in concert against the common enemy (Tone 2001: 64).

Madgett's translation abridges but fortifies the original:

Je ne saurois assez insister auprès du gouvernement français sur la nécessité de bien peser cette circonstance de la réunion des Catholiques et des presbytériens irlandais. Liés d'intérêts entre eux, et abhorrant le joug de l'Angleterre, ils forment plus des huit neuvièmes de la nation (CPA/589/164/5).

[I cannot emphasise enough to the French government the need to fully appreciate the alliance of Irish Catholics and Presbyterians. United by common interests and hating the yoke of England, they comprise eight ninths of the population.]

For Tone, the two sects were ready to turn their arms against the common enemy; for Madgett, their hatred of the English yoke, an image absent from Tone's draft, conjured up the driving force of this collaboration.

In the second Memorial, Tone asserts that the Presbyterian population in the northern part of the country was 'where the people are in the greatest forwardness as to military preparation' (Tone 2001: 89). Madgett converts military readiness into political enlightenment in translation, referring to the north as the part of the country 'où le peuple est plus mûr pour une révolution' (CPA/589/173/2) [where the people are most ready for revolution].

Revolution is an irrepressible theme of some of Madgett's interventions. In the concluding part of the second Memorial, Madgett inserts the following sentence not found in the original:

Telles sont les réflexions et les vues que j'avois à
presenter sur l'Irlande et sur la Révolution à y opérer
(CPA/589/173/12).

[Those are my reflections and opinions on Ireland and on
the Revolution to be achieved there.]

Madgett uses the process of translation in order to promote and anticipate revolutionary upheaval in Ireland for a readership that was establishing sister Republics in Holland and Italy. Madgett also manipulates the military content of Tone's lobbying. Tone's prescription for a French landing was to ensure sufficient numbers of French troops so that a knockout blow could be delivered to British forces:

If an imposing force such as I have mentioned could be
sent in the first instance it would save a great effusion of
blood and treasure (Tone 2001: 88-89).

Madgett's translational response, going well beyond the original, is quite simply to predict the rapid and bloodless liberation of the entire country from British control:

Avec une pareille force il n'y auroit ni effusion de sang,
ni perte de tems pour l'affranchissement total du pays
(CPA/589/173).

[With such a force there would be no loss of blood or
time in liberating the entire country.]

Tone also wanted a sufficiently strong French invasion force, so that a national government could be immediately established and could assume legislative and executive functions:

Without such an arrangement, our commencement would
have more the air of an insurrection than a revolution
(Tone 2001: 92).

Madgett reverses the order in translation:

Notre début auroit alors l'air imposant d'une révolution,
et non d'une insurrection (CPA/589/175).

[Our beginning would accordingly have the impressive
appearance of a revolution rather than an insurrection.]

Madgett overturns the negative structure of Tone's original by pleading in positive terms for a revolution, lending it an air of authority by adding the epithet 'imposant' [impressive].

Shortly afterwards, Madgett again intervenes to exclude the notion of a mere insurrection. Tone recommended a series of proclamations to be published by the newly established National Convention, the first of which would announce independence and establish its sovereign authority on matters such as taxation and the protection of property. For Tone, this measure would alter the nature of the conflict:

It would then be a war, not an insurrection; (Tone 2001: 93).

Although Madgett chooses not to invert the order on this occasion, he does give a sharper profile to the potential significance of such a development, mapping out a path to legitimacy:

Notre entreprise ne passeroit plus pour une rébellion mais
pour une guerre légitime (CPA/589/176).

[Our actions would no longer be regarded as a rebellion
but as a legitimate war.]

Tone suggests that a proclamation would be targeted at Irishmen serving in the British navy who would be encouraged to seize their vessels and escort them into Irish ports. Tone assesses the effect of such an exhortation:

I will not say that this proclamation would bring one ship
into the Irish harbours, but this I say, that if human nature
be human nature, it would raise such a spirit of distrust
and jealousy in the naval service of Great Britain as must
most essentially serve the cause of the Republic (Tone
2001: 93).

Madgett was a persistent advocate of fomenting insurrection within the ranks of Irish sailors in the British navy (AD/MD/19/378-381; AN/G/242/5-6). Ever aware of the power of the printed word, he decides that the effect of such a proclamation has to be taken to another level, so that fatal damage would be inflicted on the navy:

Supposons pour un moment que cette proclamation n'ait
pas l'effet d'ammener un seul vaisseau ennemi dans nos
ports elle aura toujours celui de porter un coup mortel à la
puissance maritime de l'Angleterre (CPA/589/173/8).

[Let's assume for the moment that this proclamation does
not result in a single enemy ship being brought into our
ports, it will nonetheless strike a fatal blow to English
maritime power.]

Tone continues in a similar, though less assertive vein:

It would be in her navy that England would be, then, first found vulnerable (Tone 2001: 94).

Once again Tone's somewhat tentative conclusion on the consequences of the proclamation finds a much stronger resolution in translation:

Le moyen que je propose porteroit un coup mortel à la marine angloise, (CPA/589/173/9).

[The measure I am suggesting would deal a fatal blow to the English navy.]

Madgett's message to the end users of his translation is unequivocal. The power of the British navy would be destroyed if Irish sailors could be reached through the printed word and encouraged to switch allegiances. In those servicemen, Madgett saw a fertile breeding ground for anti-British propaganda and the rhetoric of Irish independence.

The translation of these two Memorials sees the institutional and personal *Skopoi* converging. The French government received a translated text that was steering them towards a military option in the war with Britain that would undermine the British navy but would also liberate Ireland. Whereas the 'Francis Street' translation involved the manipulation of a report by a third party (*The Hibernian Journal*) about third parties (Catholic radicals) addressing a public meeting in Dublin, this time Madgett was the political and linguistic pivot through whom every part of the translational transaction passed. Through his advice and lobbying, he helped to carve out the political space for Tone to step into, and he initiated the translation. Collaborating intensively with Tone in the drafting of the source text, Madgett then completed the translations. Simultaneous with the delivery of the translations to Delacroix, Madgett provided advice to his employer which complemented the translations and were, like the translations, appellative and designed to elicit the most favourable possible response from the French readership (CPA/589/172; CPA/589/179; CPA/589/182). He influenced the translational process from beginning to end.

The editors of Tone's *Memoirs* have described Madgett's translations of the two Memorials as very free and free, respectively (Tone 2001: 61, 88). Kleinman has taken issue with this characterisation, arguing that the editors have painted an incorrect, or even a misleading picture of translations that are balanced and faithful (2017: 12; 2018: 219). The adjudication of that disagreement is unnecessary as it is not the point of the present discussion. The translations were determined by the target culture they were designed to influence and by

the *Skopoi* they were intended to achieve. The analysis above demonstrates that the translations had a clear appellative function. The discussion has moved beyond the question of whether the translations were ‘faithful’ or ‘free’ to the relative function of the text in its new context and how the translator has adjusted the original to serve that function. Madgett had no hesitation in leaving an unmistakable rhetorical footprint in the translation of both Memorials. His interventions and adjustments are sufficiently clear to be the components of a narrative. The initiator/translator/adviser was in full flow when portraying a tyrannical regime propping up Protestant usurpers who now had to contend with a legitimate, revolutionary groundswell propelled by a Catholic/Presbyterian consensus.

The translated Memorials were admired in France (Elliott 1989: 291). Writing a history of France and Ireland during the Directory over ninety years later, Édouard Guillon observes that the translated *Mémoires* provided a most lucid, comprehensive and interesting account of the politics of late eighteenth-century Ireland (Guillon 1888: 174). A survey of Madgett’s translations of Tone’s compositions would be incomplete without considering the contribution and impact of John Sullivan, Madgett’s nephew and colleague.

5.2.8 Sullivan translates Wolfe Tone

Although Madgett was designated as Wolfe Tone’s primary interlocutor by Delacroix and translated Wolfe Tone’s Memorials to the Minister in February 1796, Sullivan quickly became part of the tight linguistic and political network that enabled Tone to carry forward his negotiations with the Directory in March and April 1796 (Tone 2001). He was well attuned to the importance of political loyalty. Even though he had served in the republican forces against the counter-revolution in the Vendée in 1793 and had completed two years of intelligence work on the ground in the ports of Brittany, he was still required to demonstrate his political credentials in late 1795, as the *post Vendémiaire* purge demonstrated (AF/III/28/97/141). By then installed in the Translation Section in the Foreign Ministry headed by his uncle, he was tasked with translating some shorter, but nonetheless, important documents authored by Wolfe Tone for the French leadership (CPA/589/233; CPA/589/270).

5.2.9 Wolfe Tone’s Memorial on the number and position of troops in Ireland, 1 May 1796

Tone's relationship with Madgett deepened, and inevitably, Sullivan was drawn into Tone's company. By the month of April, Sullivan was delivering English newspapers to Tone, which contained a report of the arrest of John Keogh in Ireland (Tone 2001: 148). This was the same John Keogh who had spoken at the Francis Street Meeting of Catholics in April 1795 referred to above. On 12 April, Tone was deferring to Sullivan's assessment of General Clarke's questionable support for French military intervention in Ireland (Tone 2001: 155-156).

By the time Sullivan got to translate Tone's paper on troop movements in Ireland on 26 April 1796, he was squarely within the inner circle of advisers, nay sympathisers, who were promoting Tone's mission to procure a French-led invasion force (CPA/589/233). This had direct ramifications for their working relationship. A translator may sometimes be unsure what a source text author means by a certain expression or phrase, but in this instance, translator and author were in close contact throughout.

Indeed, it seems likely that Tone's paper was based on an English newspaper which Sullivan had given him only the day before (Tone 2001: 163). That was a report in *The Sun*, dated 14 April 1796, which was also translated by Sullivan and appears in the Diplomatic Archives immediately after Sullivan's translation of Tone's paper (CPA/589/236). Tone acknowledges that his source is a report in the 'English Gazettes' (Tone 2001: 164). Sullivan had become a prolific translator of material from the English press and enjoyed considerable discretion in the selection of texts, as is evident from the Table of Translations in Appendix 15. The account of troop movements is unremarkable, save for Tone's comments about the Irish Brigade. This was a new regiment formed in 1794 by the British government, which invited the services of emigrant Irish officers who had previously served in the French army (Tone 2001: 130; Kleinman 2005: 194-195). Tone had this to say about recruitment difficulties encountered in Ireland by the Irish Brigade:

The difficulty the officers of these corps have found in raising recruits marks very strongly the sentiments of the peasantry of Ireland (Tone 2001: 169).

Sullivan takes the opportunity to make these 'sentiments' explicit:

La difficulté qu'ont eu les officiers à faire des recrues montre jusqu'à l'évidence l'esprit dont les Paysans Irlandais sont animés et combien ils sont indignés de la

lacheté que ces officiers ont montrée en quittant le service de la République française (CPA/589/234).

[The recruitment difficulties which these officers encountered demonstrate clearly the attitude of the Irish Peasants and how they are outraged by the cowardly behaviour of those officers in leaving the service of the French Republic.]

Tone's original denotes, in a general way, the hostility of the peasantry to the idea of serving under officers who have in effect switched sides. Sullivan's disapproval of such behaviour leads him to add a strident condemnation not found in the source text. It must be recalled that he had fought alongside republican forces against the counter-revolutionary insurgency in the Vendée in 1793 (AF/III/28/97/141). For Sullivan, the officers who jumped ship were cowards who had no popular support, and he must have known how such military duplicity would be viewed by his target audience of high-ranking French politicians and army personnel. In addition, Tone must have approved of this strategy, as he commented that Sullivan's translation was 'very prettily done' (Tone 2001: 169-170).

A more subtle adjustment arises at the end of the translation. Tone extols the advantages of an army composed of soldiers with different religious affiliations:

the great advantage of having the army composed of the different religious sects, in order to remove all possibility of jealousies, is too obvious to need further observation (Tone 2001: 169).

Les grands avantages qui resulteroient d'une pareille organisation de l'armée, où l'on recevroit indistinctement des individus de toutes les sectes religieuses, sont trop évidens pour exiger ici un plus grand développement (CPA/589/235).

[The great advantages of organising the army in such a way as to welcome persons from all religious sects are too obvious to need further explanation.]

Sullivan's omission of the phrase 'in order to remove all possibility of jealousies' was intended to exclude, in translation, any hint of religious conflict and to preserve the image of Catholics and Dissenters making common cause.

5.2.10 Wolfe Tone's *Observations* on French government instructions to a secret agent, 22 April 1796

Inter-denominational unity reverberates again in another translation which Sullivan completed in April 1796. The Directory had decided that a secret agent should undertake a reconnaissance mission to Ireland in advance of the arrival of French troops (Elliott 1892: 88). Draft instructions to that agent were furnished to Tone for his comments (Tone 2001: 160). Tone originally gave his *Observations* to Madgett for translation. Much to Tone's irritation, Madgett mislaid the *Observations* but then found them again, whereupon Tone decided to have them translated by Sullivan instead (CPA/589/270; Tone 2001: 162; Kleinman 2005: 191).

Tone acknowledges the need for co-operation between Catholic and Presbyterian leaders:

It would require some address in the chiefs on both sides at first to prevent any possible misunderstanding; but as they perfectly understand each other, there is very little apprehension of any difference of sentiment between the parties (Tone 2001: 159).

Il faudroit peut-être un peu d'adresse pour prévenir des mesintelligences entre les deux partis mais comme les chefs sont du plus parfait accord, on ne doit nullement craindre aucune différence de sentiment entr'eux (CPA/589/270).

[Some tact might be necessary to prevent any misunderstanding between the parties, but as the leaders are in full agreement, there is absolutely no reason to fear any difference of opinion between them.]

Once again, Sullivan has excised even the slightest possibility of disagreement between Catholic and Dissenter. Where Tone discerns 'very little apprehension' of disagreement, Sullivan eliminates that prospect entirely, echoing Madgett's treatment of Dr Ryan's speech in Francis Street.¹⁸ The absence of religious conflict was clearly regarded as central to maintaining French confidence in Ireland as fertile soil for a revolutionary incursion and Sullivan's translational strategy was adapted accordingly.

Continuing French disquiet about popular support for a monarchical form of government may have led Sullivan to make an almost unnoticeable modulation (Elliott 1982: 81). Tone

¹⁸ See page 185

dismissed the existence of any lingering Jacobite support for the Stuart dynasty since the defeat of James II in 1691:

As to the Stuart family, they are held in contempt by the Catholics [...] (Tone 2001: 159-160).

Sullivan translates by heightening the level of contempt:

La famille des Stuart est dans le plus grand mépris chez les Catholiques [...] (CPA/589/270).

[As to the Stuart family, they are held in the greatest contempt by the Catholics.]

John Sullivan would have known instinctively how the translation of texts drafted by Wolfe Tone was capable of serving both the French political and military goal of weakening Britain, but also his personal objective of Irish independence. If the adjustments he made were less conspicuous than Madgett's, they nonetheless reflect an intention to make a military incursion a more attractive proposition for the French leadership.

The translational strategies deployed by Madgett and Sullivan were heavily determined by the politics of the receiving culture which was not surprising in a time of revolutionary upheaval and war. The translations of Tone's writings were 'adequate', in the functionalist sense defined by Nord, in that they served the communicative purposes assigned to them (Nord 2018: 34, 134). The principal purpose was to contribute to the military defeat of the British, but this was supplemented and given additional impetus by the second, more personal purpose which was the concomitant independence of Ireland. The combined translational advocacy of Madgett and Sullivan was rewarded in June 1796 when the Directory instructed General Hoche to prepare a military expedition to Ireland (SHD/B/11/1). This was the ultimate recognition of how 'adequate' the translations were.

5.2.11 Sullivan's press translations

Sullivan's press translations were generally accurate. Parallel texts of two translations from *The Sun* are set out in Appendices 8 and 9 as indicative examples of the routine translation of military news. In the first example, Sullivan carefully translated strident anti-French reports of pillaging by Napoleon's army in Italy. *The Sun* reported on 5 August 1796 on

the infamous conduct of that Republican General
BUONAPARTE whom we have always designated as a
desperate Marauder, and the leader of a Banditti

Sullivan makes no attempt to assuage the indignation in translation:

la conduite infame du Général Bonaparte que nous
avons toujours désigné comme un pillard désespéré et
comme un chef de Brigans (AF/III/229).

[the infamous conduct of General Bonaparte whom we
have always called a reckless pillager and the leader of a
gang of bandits.]

The second indicative text, in Appendix 9, is typical of Sullivan's many translations from the English press about naval news. It is an extract from *The Sun*, dated 17 August 1796, on the safe arrival of the Brazilian fleet in Lisbon under the protection of the British navy (AF/III/229).

There were, nonetheless, some exceptions to this faithful rendering of press-based intelligence. News reports from Ireland seem to trigger a more interventionist approach. Omissions were sometimes an effective translational device. *The Lloyds Evening Post* of 15-18 January 1796 included a report of a food riot on the quays in Dublin on 10 January. Although the translation is not in Sullivan's hand, he certified it, along with extracts from *The True Briton* and *The Morning Herald* of the same period (AF/III/58/228).

A sudden increase in the price of potatoes in Dublin appears to have provoked a strong local reaction, and between two and three thousand people were threatening to storm a ship laden with potatoes. The translator's first intervention arises in the following excerpt from the report:

The mob, increasing in numbers, seemed disposed to
commit great outrage, until happily the arrival of the Lord
Mayor was announced among them, when they
vociferated, "Bread or potatoes, we are starving."

Sullivan shortens the report to omit any reference to the crowd's violent disposition:

Le Lord Maire fut obligé de s'y transporter, mais dès
qu'il fut annoncé, la populace le reçut avec les cris de du
pain des pommes de terre ; nous mourons de faim
(AF/III/58/228/1).

[The Lord Mayor had to go there, but once his arrival was announced, the crowd shouted at him ‘Bread, potatoes, we are starving’.]

Sullivan seeks to delete any suggestion that the crowd was intent on unlawful conduct. In addition, there was no reason to be happy about the Lord Mayor’s arrival. The report and the translation continue in tandem to report that the Lord Mayor persuaded the cargo owners to lower the price of potatoes. But this didn’t seem to pacify the crowd. The report in the *Lloyds Evening Post* continues:

Numbers of the mob showed a strong disposition to riot, and appeared extremely refractory at being disappointed of committing depredations on those vessels, still calling aloud for “Bread or potatoes.” The immediate and timely attendance of the Lord-Mayor happily prevented those irreparable and devastating acts of outrage, which generally ensue from the assemblage of such mobs.

This entire passage has been excised from the translation. The end result is that there was no hint of trouble or violence from the crowd in translation. Sullivan would doubtless have been aware that food riots were an occasional feature of Parisian life during the Revolution, and was quite possibly content to allow his sympathy for the starving populace of Dublin to influence his editorial decisions in translation.

Two further press reports, both from *The Courier*, suggest that Sullivan may well have taken a more activist approach when it came to the translation of Irish news. An article from an unidentified Dublin newspaper is reproduced and indeed praised in *The Courier* of 17 August 1796, in which the author laments the recall of Fitzwilliam in 1795 and the repressive and corrupt administration which replaced him in Dublin. Sullivan has not only selected a stinging critique of British policy in Ireland, but has strengthened the rhetoric of the original.

The author rues the return of a malevolent style of government:

Popular expectation was wound to an unusual height; and in a moment the prospect was rendered more dismal by a return of old persecutions, old jobs, old grievances, old odious Ministers, and all the old corruptions, by which the character of government had become despicable, and its support a matter of odium with many, and of more indifference than it ought to be to all, with the exception of those to whom its vices afforded bread.

Sullivan's editorial presence may be seen in the translation of the final part of this passage:

Après avoir porté à un point extraordinaire l'attente du Peuple, la perspective se changea tout d'un coup et ne devint que plus décourageante par le retour des anciennes persécutions, des anciennes malversations, des anciens Ministres justement détestés, et de l'ancienne corruption. Par ce moyen le gouvernement s'est fait mépriser, et ceux qui le soutiennent se sont attirés une haine universelle (AF/III/229).

[After raising public expectation to an extraordinary level, prospects changed suddenly and became more depressing by the return of old persecutions, old misfeasances, old Ministers rightly loathed, and old corruption. Because of this the government was despised and its supporters were universally hated.]

Although the Dublin article speaks of how many people found government policy odious, Sullivan accentuates the political division it created and speaks not only of how the government was despised, but by way of addition, asserts that government supporters were hated across the board.

Sullivan also chooses to translate a report from *The Courier*, dated 27 August 1796, relating to sectarian violence in County Armagh involving a Protestant secret society known as the *Peep O Day Boys* (AF/III/229). Sullivan had already translated a report in *The Courier* of 4 August 1796 about the persecution of Catholics in County Armagh (AF/III/229). He returns to the subject, in this instance translating a report from *The Courier* on the destruction of a Catholic farmhouse by a gang of *Peep O Day Boys*, led by a Protestant clergyman:

The Rector of a parish in that county, we are well assured, put himself at the head of these wretches, about ten days ago, promising that they should shortly receive pay, and marched them on to the demolition of a farmer's house, whose only crime was that of professing the Roman Catholic religion.

On nous a assurés de bonne autorité qu'un Curé protestant se mit à la tête d'une troupe de ces Scélérats, il y a environ dix jours, en leur promettant qu'ils seroient bientôt payés comme des troupes réglées et qu'ensuite il

fut¹⁹, lui et sa troupe, démolir la maison d'un fermier dont le seul crime était de professer la religion Catholique (AF/III/229).

[We have been informed on good authority that a Protestant rector placed himself at the head of a gang of these scoundrels, about ten days ago, promising them they would receive pay like the regular army, and he and his gang then demolished the house of a farmer whose only crime was to profess the Catholic religion.]

The original report indicated that the clergyman directed the gang to demolish a farmer's house, whereas Sullivan makes it clear that the clergyman took part himself in the actual destruction of the farmhouse. The translator is unafraid to manipulate the original in order to fortify the message in the end product.

5.2.12 Extracts from Madgett's published co-translation of Walter Moyle

Walter Moyle was interested in the republican political philosophy of ancient Rome. His study of Roman government was written in 1699 and published in 1726 with the title *An Essay upon the Constitution & Government of the Roman State*. He explored popular participation in government in the context of the rise and fall of the Roman Republic. The English radical, John Thelwall, republished the Essay in 1796, adding to the title the words *Democracy Vindicated*. Thelwall argues in the preface that the rationale for republishing Moyle's essay so long after its initial publication in 1726 was the vindication of popular government and the refutation of the charge that it led to violence and 'depredation' (Moyle 1796: iv). The significance of the translation lies in the choice of source text, but also in the adjustments in translation. The parallel texts of this translation do not reproduce the entire volume of the original and the translation, but only the relevant extracts discussed here.

Madgett would have been aware that French revolutionaries revered republican antiquity (McPhee 2016: 201; Jainchill 2008: 8). But there was another, more specific factor in the success of the translation, which saw a second edition published in 1802, just one year after the first edition. The editors of the French translation suggest in the introduction that Moyle's essay provided Montesquieu with the inspiration for his famous work *Sur les Causes de la*

¹⁹ This should probably read 'fit'.

Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains (1734) (Moyle 1802: i-ii). That introduction also reminds the readership that Moyle's essay had been published in London in 1726 and that Montesquieu had travelled in England in the intervening period. The editors define the purpose of the publication in these terms:

Nous ne travaillons qu'à enrichir la littérature politique
d'un ouvrage utile aux hommes d'état et aux philosophes
(Moyle 1802 : viii).

[We only seek to enrich political literature with a work
that is useful for statesmen and philosophers.]

There are no clues as to why Madgett chose to co-translate this particular text with Barère. It may well be that Madgett was himself a moderate republican attracted to the model of classical republicanism. When Madgett translated Moyle's work in 1801, he no longer enjoyed the security of full-time employment in government service, having departed from the French Foreign Ministry in July 1797. His audience for a commercial publication of this nature was more indeterminate, and was wider than the restricted readership of his earlier translations. In this instance, he was not commissioned to produce propaganda, nor was he offering advice to his political masters. Nonetheless, one can recognise his presence as a translator.

The concept of democracy and republican government feature prominently in Madgett's translation. Moyle extols the advantages of 'popular government' in ancient Rome (Moyle 1796: 27, 40). Madgett converts this notion into 'la démocratie' (Moyle 1802: 71, 110).

Moyle enumerates the various factors which prevented a return to aristocratic rule in the Roman Republic. His introduction to this point states:

In the next place, I shall examine upon what laws and
orders the popular frame of government was erected, and
by what policies and institutions secured from a relapse
into any of the old forms (Moyle 1796: 24).

Although Moyle explains in the subsequent paragraphs how the power of the aristocracy was diminished, Madgett deems it necessary to explicate, in this introductory paragraph, what was intended by the expression 'the old forms', namely, the oppressive 'yoke' of the monarchy and the aristocracy:

C'est ici le lieu d'observer les fondemens sur lesquels
reposa la forme du Gouvernement populaire, et par

quelles institutions Rome évita de retomber sous le joug des rois et de l'aristocratie (Moyle 1802: 62).²⁰

[I shall now examine the foundations of popular government and the institutions which enabled Rome to avoid a return to the yoke of kings and the aristocracy.]

Moyle describes the new political dispensation in Rome, once the power of the aristocracy had been broken by the commons. It was the commons who appointed new magistrates called tribunes,

under whose conduct they gradually diminished the power of the aristocracy, till at last they utterly extinguished it, and established the whole body of the people upon an equal foundation of liberty (Moyle 1796: 32).

Madgett again is keen to press the notion of democracy in translation, preferring this more direct concept to the rather vague notion of an 'equal foundation of liberty':

ce furent les *Tribuns*, dont le pouvoir abattit sensiblement celui de l'aristocratie, et la détruisit enfin pour lui substituer le Gouvernement démocratique (Moyle 1802 : 85).

[These were the tribunes, who significantly weakened the power of the aristocracy, and ultimately destroyed it in order to replace it with democratic Government.]

Madgett promotes the notion of a Republic, when he translates Moyle's reference to the political changes whereby the Romans

by degrees moulded the government into a more popular model (Moyle 1796: 23).

et, par degrés, la Constitution se forma sur le modèle d'une République (Moyle 1802 : 58).

[and in stages, the Constitution came to be based on a Republican model.]

Dr Johnson defines the commons as 'the vulgar' or 'the lower people' (Johnson 1785: 426).

Madgett seeks to dispel the plebeian connotation. Moyle describes how Numa, a Roman king,

²⁰ The analysis is drawn from the second edition published in 1802.

had sought to limit the power of the commons which Madgett capitalises with a more modern profile as ‘le pouvoir du Peuple’ [the power of the People]:

But Numa, by an artful policy, curbed this mighty privilege of the commons for he instituted a college of Augurs, or Diviners, who were to consult the gods upon the creation of their officers (Moyle 1796: 15).

Mais Numa, par une politique habile, abaissa le pouvoir du Peuple : ce fut en instituant un collège d’Augures, qui devoit consulter les Dieux dans la création de tous les officiers. (Moyle 1802 : 37)

[However, Numa’s skilful policy diminished the power of the People by setting up a college of Augurs, which had to consult the gods on the establishment of all their officers.]

Shortly afterwards, Madgett again intervenes when he elevates ‘the commons’ and the ‘common people’. Moyle extols the institution of the Augurs:

may the Augurs be kept for the use of the commons, and for other great services of the common people (Moyle 1796: 16)

Madgett replaces the commons by the capitalised ‘le Peuple’ [the People], but also elevates the services of the common people to the great affairs of State:

les auspices sont destinées à diriger ou contenir l’opinion du Peuple dans les grandes affaires de la République ;
(Moyle 1802: 39)

[the augurs are intended to direct or control the opinion of the People in relation to the great affairs of the Republic.]

Madgett’s democratic impulse also leads him to promote the concept of citizenship, just as he had done in the translation of the Francis Street speeches. The very word ‘citizen’ had become an iconic revolutionary term (Schama 2004: 724-725). Moyle postulates:

For it is a certain maxim, that as good laws make good men, so good men defend good laws, and are both a mutual defence to each other (Moyle 1796: 40).

Car c’est une maxime constante que, comme les bonnes lois font les bons citoyens, de même les bons citoyens

maintiennent les bonnes lois, et qu'il résulte de cet accord un soutien mutuel (Moyle 1801: 109).

[For it is an invariable maxim that just as good laws make good citizens, good citizens defend good laws, and that consensus creates mutual support.]

To discriminate amongst citizens based on their wealth was clearly anathema to Madgett.

Moyle describes Roman military recruitment:

The Romans took particular care never to trust the state in mercenary hands, and seldom listed any of the poorer ranks of citizens in their armies, but upon great extremities. (Moyle 1796: 14)

Madgett alters the structure and meaning to reflect a more democratic standard of recruitment:

Les Romains eurent toujours soin de ne point confier le soin de l'État à des mains mercenaires. Plutôt que de recourir à cette ressource, on les vit, dans les grandes extrémités, prendre indifféremment tous les citoyens dans leurs armées. (Moyle 1802: 36)

[The Romans were careful not to entrust the well-being of the State to mercenaries. Rather than resorting to such a measure, in extreme circumstances they recruited all citizens without distinction into their armies.]

The recruitment of poorer citizens is replaced by a cohort of recruits drawn from all ranks of society. Madgett's republican mindset may be discerned in several of the adjustments, where he has given Moyle's treatment of Roman government a more contemporary, democratic dimension in translation.

5.3 Conclusion

Madgett and Sullivan were ever mindful of their target audience, but also sometimes adopted an interventionist stance that was inspired by personal affiliation. This is evident in both the selection of texts and the adjustments they made in the translational process.

The translation of the letter from the secret agent, William Jackson, in 1794 discloses early signs of Madgett's use of rhetoric (NA/HO/TS/11/959; MV/1/GG/58/32-39). He was also a pragmatist with a sense of self-preservation, as the Pitt translation bears out (CPA/588/294).

The translation of the Francis Street Meeting in 1795 is a milestone in the development of the dual institutional and personal *Skopoi* (CPA/588/494). Oratory may be seen as the natural habitat for political rhetoric, to which Madgett lends a revolutionary hue in translation. That rhetoric is heightened in the translations of Wolfe Tone the following year (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). Madgett, and in time Sullivan, manage to promote their political aspirations, through translation, at the centre of political power in Paris. The dual *Skopoi* converge in the translation of Tone's Memorials. Madgett's influence is present through the entire translational process. Does translation advance from being just an instrument of political advocacy to become a force which ultimately contributes to the Directory's decision to launch an invasion of Ireland? This question is addressed directly in the next chapter.

Although Sullivan's many press translations appear routine, and generally accurate, he was not averse to occasional, though more subtle, interventions (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). Finally, Madgett's republican impulses still surface in the Moyle translation, albeit in a different, less frenetic context, away from the pressures of government service (Moyle 1802).

A biographical portrait of the two translators followed by an exploration of their translation practice leads us to consider the principal question of the thesis, namely, the political influence of translation in a defined historical context. This will also entail a consideration of the wider, confluent roles they assumed which were made possible by translation.

Chapter Six Influence and Insecurity

Introduction

A microbiography of the two translators, embedded in the political context of the Revolution, has informed an analysis of their translation practice. What does this synthesis of history and translation studies disclose about the historical role of translation?

Translation historians have sought to explain the influence of translation in differing historical contexts. Rundle observes that there are historical moments in which the importance of language in the exercise of power is even greater than usual, for example, in colonial situations in which one culture is trying to dominate another or where a regime seeks to control its people by means of language (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 37). Rafael has emphasized the role of translation in relation to religious conversion as part of the Spanish conquest of the Americas in starkly causal terms: ‘without translation, no conversion; and without conversion, no colonization’ (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 25). Delisle has pointed out in this context that translators employed by the Spanish monarchy in the New World were expected to spread Christianity and consolidate Spanish rule (2012: 142). Palmer (2001) and Rafael (2016) have shown how translation was used as an instrument of linguistic and cultural subjugation in two quite different imperial contexts: the Tudor conquest in early modern Ireland and the American appropriation of the Philippines.

How can one postulate that a translation produced a political impact at a particular historical moment? This is in essence the challenge of the principal research question. A range of factors that made this influence possible will be examined, including Madgett and Sullivan’s immediate political milieu in 1793 when they entered government service, their status as institutional translators, the confluent functions they performed in the context of the broader international conflict and their understanding of the power of the printed word, particularly the place of rhetoric in translation.

The proposition put forward by Rundle and Leech that translation provides an epistemic lens on the course of history will be considered. This prompts a discussion of the political influence of translation, including a detailed, evidence-based assessment of the impact of two translations on a specific historical event. The texts in question are Madgett’s translations of

Wolfe Tone's two Memorials to the French Government in February 1796 and the historical event is the Directory's decision to sanction a military invasion of Ireland in June 1796 (CPA/589/163; CPA/589/173; SHD/B/11/1).

Any exploration of the influence of translation would be incomplete without an account of the wider roles assumed by Madgett and Sullivan. The second section of this chapter will discuss their confluent functions, which were inconceivable without translation.

The final section will consider the vulnerability of the translators to political and economic forces beyond their control which made translation a precarious business. Madgett and Sullivan's translational odyssey discloses the paradox of influence and insecurity.

Chapter 6 (1) The Political Influence of Translation

6.1.1 Madgett and Sullivan's political milieu

Paris in early 1793 was in turmoil, on the eve of the recruitment of Madgett into government service. Louis XVI had been executed and a Republic declared. France was at war with Britain, Holland, Spain, Prussia and Austria (Doyle 2018: 431-432). Madgett was consorting with British and French radicals who were celebrating the new Republic (AN/C/241). He had translated a republican tract by the English political theorist, Robert Merry, for the Convention in late 1792 (Rogers 2016: para.11). He was making himself known in national political circles by offering advice on propaganda and counterintelligence to the Convention (*Les Révolutions de Paris*, 2-9 février 1793, 187, pp. 298-299). In March 1793, once Madgett was ensconced in government service, he provided the Foreign Minister, Lebrun, with a list of reliable British 'patriotes' in Paris who could be recruited for counter-intelligence work (CPA/587/45). Meanwhile, Sullivan was getting a political apprenticeship from the Jacobins in La Flèche, and was also actively assisting republican ranks to fight counter-revolution in the Vendée in 1793 (GR/2YE/3853/26).

Madgett and Sullivan were both acutely aware of the volatile political landscape of Paris in 1793 as the Terror took hold, and of the need to be politically vigilant in the light of increasing anti-foreigner suspicions which materialized into sweeping anti-foreigner laws.²¹ Revolutionary politics were volatile (Rapport 2000: 111). There was no single, immutable

²¹ Appendix 14 contains a table of anti-foreigner legislation.

republican discourse in France in this period, as Jainchill has commented (Jainchill 2008: 109). Like all foreigners in Paris trying to survive in this political maelstrom, Madgett and Sullivan had to tread carefully amongst the fluctuating currents of revolutionary orthodoxy.

6.1.2 Translators in government service: an institutional platform

The ancien régime did create some full-time translation positions close to the centre of power, but these were a rarity in early modern Europe (Burke 2008: 13). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, royal translators employed by the King known as ‘secrétaires-interprètes du roi’ assumed increasing importance (Nies & Tran-Gervat 2014: 124). The post often passed down from father to son, and sometimes entailed quasi-diplomatic as well as linguistic duties (Ibid: 124- 125).

Madgett and Sullivan were fortunate to gain an institutional foothold as full-time translators in the Navy Ministry in 1793, where Madgett established a Translation Section (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). This was an increasingly important Ministry. The French navy had played a key role in the American War of Independence (Cormack 1995: 19). After war was declared on Britain in 1793, the navy had become ‘vital to the survival of the Republic’ (Cormack 1995: 143). Madgett and Sullivan now had a captive if restricted audience for their translations, but they had to remain useful to their political masters in a time of war between France and many of its neighbouring states (Rapport 2000: 226).

Leech notes that many radical translators had a difficult relationship with their ‘home’ culture, for example, Huguenots fleeing religious discrimination, philosophers publishing their work anonymously and radicals under threat of arrest (Leech 2020: 163). Madgett and Sullivan were, in effect, religious exiles forced to leave their country of birth to be educated and to forge a career abroad. However, they both retained a strong allegiance to their homeland and promoted Irish independence in a manner which would have been treated as sedition or treason had they done so in Ireland. Unlike many eighteenth-century radical translators who functioned independently of, or even in opposition to the State, Madgett and Sullivan were foreign insiders in a republican, revolutionary government able to promote the dual objectives of the military defeat of Britain and Irish independence. Although they were full-time ‘translators’, they were able to assume confluent roles while in government service.

Translation scholars have emphasized the crucial role of language in modern warfare and how translators and interpreters became part of the landscape of war (Footitt & Kelly 2018: 162; Wolf & Fernandez-Ocampo 2014: 5). It is no coincidence that Madgett and Sullivan were recruited after France and Britain went to war. The need for bilingual skills became pressing and the two Irish translators were in a position to adapt their skillset to a range of different functions, thereby meeting the demands of a country engaged in a widespread, international conflict. Madgett and Sullivan proved their usefulness to a regime trying to face down its enemies both internal and external (Rapport 2000: 226).

Sullivan was immediately dispatched to Brittany on ‘translation’ duties that encompassed intelligence and propaganda with an explicit bilingual dimension (AF/III/28/97/141). Madgett serviced the translation needs of the powerful Committee of Public Safety, where he set the agenda for translation in 1794 in a document explicitly linking translation and propaganda (AAE/PERS/1/47/85). Madgett transferred in late 1795 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Head of the Translation Section under Foreign Minister Delacroix. His nephew, John Sullivan, then aged twenty-eight, was enrolled as the youngest of eight translators (AF/III/52-55/213). Madgett developed a close working relationship with the Foreign Minister Delacroix. In February 1796, Delacroix informed Wolfe Tone that Madgett was the only person in whom he had confided the French plan to liberate Ireland (Tone 2001: 84).

Madgett’s translations had a transnational dimension, for example, the translation of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street, Dublin in April 1795 (CPA/588/494). The original report was published in two Dublin newspapers, *The Hibernian Journal* and in *The Dublin Evening Post*, and in more summary form in the London press. However, a detailed report of the Meeting was subsequently translated into French in Paris by Madgett and circulated to the French political and military elite (CPA/588/494). Wolfe Tone’s Memorials were conceived in Ireland, and their genesis may be traced to other documents which circulated clandestinely in Ireland (Tone 1998: 505; Nicolson 1943: 122), but the Memorials themselves were drafted by Irish exiles in Paris, firstly in English and then translated into French before being submitted to the Directory (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173).

It is important to recall that this was far from the first time that a transnational dimension is disclosed in the output of diasporic Irish translators. Cronin has tracked significant diasporic periods in Irish translation history all of which involved a strong transnational dimension: the

Latin translations of Irish monks in Europe between the sixth and ninth centuries, the translation into and from Irish in Irish seminaries and colleges in continental Europe in the seventeenth century and the translation that followed mass emigration as a result of the famine in the nineteenth century (2003: 78).

Both translators enjoyed broad discretion as to the subject-matter for translation, as is evident for example, from the prolific press translations of 1795-1796 (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). Madgett and Sullivan also had latitude on translation strategy. Madgett furnished a stream of political advice to the French leadership from 1794 onwards and became an ad hoc special adviser on Irish affairs (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484). Elliott observes that Madgett 'had been tireless in keeping the Irish issue before succeeding French regimes' (1989: 287). By keeping Ireland on the French political radar in 1794 and 1795, Madgett laid the ground for Wolfe Tone's political advocacy in 1796 which eventually bore fruit when the Directory decided in June 1796 to appoint General Hoche to lead a military expedition to Ireland (SHD/B/11/1). Translation would have a critical part to play in that process.

Political advice and political advocacy from Madgett often went in tandem with translation and these activities were at times indistinguishable, for example, when his political advice and lobbying complemented the translation of Wolfe Tone's two Memorials (CPA/589/172; CPA/589/179; CPA/589/182). Tymoczko argues in *Translation, Resistance, Activism* that translation may be seen as a political or ideological activity, rather than as a purely linguistic transfer (2010:3). This characterisation seems apposite in this context, where Madgett and Sullivan were seeking to foment, from within the French republican government and through translation, political opposition targeting the British regime in Ireland. Having been initially recruited in 1793 by the Navy Ministry, Madgett and Sullivan had by 1795 reached a higher sphere of influence close to the centre of power in the Foreign Ministry (AF/III/52-55/213/1). This institutional platform yielded opportunities to advance their own political aspirations.

6.1.3 Rhetoric and translation

An important element in Madgett and Sullivan's translation practice is how they understood and exploited the power of rhetoric for the purpose of enhancing the effect of a

translation. It is necessary to trace the influence of Classical Greece and Rome in eighteenth-century France in order to understand the role of rhetoric in translation.

Rhetoric was used in Athens by those who appeared in the courts or who needed to influence popular opinion through public speaking (Hadley & McElduff 2017: 122.) Greek rhetoric and oratory spread to Ancient Rome. Roman translators turned to translation from Greek in order to improve their own work (Hadley & McElduff 2017:123). For example, in *De optimo genere oratorum* [On the Best Type of Orator], Cicero eulogised Greek orators such as Demosthenes and Aeschines (McElduff 2013: 112).

Richard Lanham has explored in *The Economics of Attention* the history of capturing attention from Greece and Rome to the present day and characterises rhetoric teachers in Classical Athens as ‘the primary economists of attention’ (2006: 226). Lanham states a general proposition about oral performance that resonates through the centuries: ‘In a culture where speaking is fundamental, not writing, the self is necessarily a dramatic self, an actor, and the conversation a drama’ (2006: 109).

In *De Inventione* [On Invention], Cicero explains how the first orator persuaded and converted wild and savage people into gentle and tame men through the power of speech (McElduff 2013: 98). Human beings rather than texts are controlled and translated by the transformative power of the orator (Ibid). Cheyfitz describes this ‘primal scene of eloquence’ (Cheyfitz 1991: 115) as being also a ‘primal scene of translation’, where verbal incoherence is rendered into coherent speech (Ibid:116).

Cicero makes the ultimate purpose of rhetoric explicit when he states in *De optimo genere oratorum* that ‘The supreme orator, then, is one whose speech instructs, delights and moves the minds of his audience’ (Cicero 1997: 8). Cicero then articulates the connection between translation and rhetoric in a commentary on his own method:

And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the forms, or as one might say, the ‘figures’ of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language (Cicero 1997: 9).

As Peter France points out, Cicero’s passage implies that an *interpretes* follows the original source text slavishly, whereas the orator has freedom of force and emphasis (France 2005:

259–260). France compares the translator to the public speaker in the sense that both are in a rhetorical situation negotiating between subject and audience (France 2005: 261, 268). Consequently, France concludes that ‘communication is inescapably rhetorical’ (ibid: 268). France’s comparison is particularly apposite in respect of Madgett’s translation of the proceedings of the Francis Street Meeting of Catholics.

Copeland analyses Cicero’s method as conferring on the source text, once translated, a new value of its own: ‘Once converted into Latin currency, the text takes on a kind of primary status, so that the translation can virtually supplant the original as a rhetorical model.’ (Copeland 1991: 34). For Cronin, this amounts to a transformative power (2006: 104-105). Cronin explores the Classical notion of the capacity of eloquence to move an audience and emphasizes the abiding pre-eminence of oratory as a voice of Western authority (Cronin 2006: 95). Those who use the right word at the right time may unlock the persuasive force of rhetoric and harness it to their purpose.

The classics ‘saturated’ the curriculum of eighteenth- century education in France (McPhee 2016: 33). As a result, classical antiquity was what Jainchill refers to as ‘the foundational political experience of late eighteenth-century republicanism’ (Jainchill 2008: 8). Madgett had been fully immersed as both student and teacher in the intellectual legacy of a classical education. He had been educated in two well-known schools in Paris, the *Collège du Plessis* and the *Collège de Navarre*, followed by a doctorate in theology in Toulouse University (AF/III/28/97/133; Brockliss & Ferté 2004: 43). His education was delivered entirely through Latin. John Sullivan taught for eight years in the College de La Flèche where tuition was also through Latin (Waquet 2001: 8,11). Rhetoric featured prominently in the curriculum of the Military College (Fonds Digard/251/2/252-255).

Oratory was a prominent part of that tradition. French politicians sought to emulate the oratory of great classical figures who inspired them, such as Cicero (Schama 2004: 140). Public utterance assumed a strategic political importance, such that Schama can claim in *Citizens* in relation to revolutionary orators that ‘public diction, then, was public power’ (2004: 139).

Madgett’s understanding of the declamatory power of rhetoric in speech is demonstrated in his translation of the Francis Street Meeting of Catholics in April 1795 (CPA/588/494). The text upon which Madgett made adjustments was reported speech, namely, a verbatim report of

a sequence of political speeches made at a public meeting. Madgett's translation caught the essentially oral, performative quality of the material. Peter France's comparison of the orator and the translator is to the point. Both are striving to harness the power of rhetoric. One senses that Madgett has adopted the persona of the orator in translation. To the extent that rhetoric in translation caused the reader or interlocutor to see the content in a different light, it did usher forth a new reality.

The transformative impact of rhetoric in translation is underscored by Rafael's exploration of language as a potent instrument in imperial conquest in 'Targeting Translation: Counterinsurgency and the Weaponization of Language' (2016: 120-148). Madgett and Sullivan's translation practice discloses that they were both aware of the potential for language to become a powerful tool of resistance. For example, the metaphor of the English yoke was frequently deployed to heighten the impact of the translation. Madgett adjusted Tone's first Memorial to the French government so that the hatred of the English yoke became, in translation, the driving force behind the reconciliation of Catholics and Dissenters.

The last chapter reviewed a broad range of interventionist practice, including commentary, adjustment, paraphrase and omission. Madgett and Sullivan were visible translators, at times signing off or certifying their translations, and occasionally inserting commentary. The rhetorical devices in their translational arsenal enhanced the political effect of the texts. Rhetoric contributed to the force of translation, but so also did circumstance.

6.1.4 Symbiosis

Political circumstances had produced a symbiosis, albeit temporary, between the objectives of French foreign policy and the translators' personal aspirations for Irish independence. This symbiosis, in reality an historical coincidence, created the possibility of influence through translation. Madgett and Sullivan were able to assume, in tandem with the translation of texts, an array of confluent, bilingual roles that were deemed beneficial to a regime waging war against a coalition of European states including an anglophone power. Many of these roles, particularly propaganda, counter-intelligence and a network of secret agents could pragmatically encompass the twin political objectives of undermining the British war effort and promoting Irish independence. The aspiration of the United Irishmen to a

secular, democratic form of government was broadly compatible with the fundamental principles of the French Revolution.

There was French recognition of this symbiosis, when General Humbert, Sullivan's commanding officer, wrote in praise of him in December 1798:

Il a constamment montré l'attachement le plus inviolable
pour la République et la haine la plus invétérée pour les
opresseurs de sa première patrie
(SHA/GR/2YE/3853/26).

[He consistently showed the most unbreakable loyalty to
the Republic and the most deep-seated hatred of the
oppressors of his country of birth.]

Out of this symbiosis emerged an activist dimension to their translations. This was mirrored in Madgett's political advice, which often morphs into political advocacy, for example, when he repeatedly talked up the readiness of the Irish population to rise up against the British (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484). For Madgett, a suitably worded proclamation could foment revolution amongst Irish sailors in the British navy and deal a fatal blow to British naval power (CPA/589/173/8).

There was undoubtedly an element of chance. Madgett and Sullivan were in the right place at the right time when Wolfe Tone needed sympathetic and skilled linguistic and political support in his negotiations with the French government. Whereas both Madgett and Sullivan understood the effect of putting the right word in the right place in a translation, history and circumstance had put them in the right place at the right time. Madgett and Sullivan's tenure in the French Foreign Ministry brought them close to the centre of political power in France and their translation practice represents a form of activism in response to what they perceived to be the political suffocation practiced by the British regime in Ireland.

The symbiosis would be transient. Both translators would lose their tenure in government service (AAE/Pers/1/65/58; Masson 1877: 388). In addition, French *realpolitik* diminished the importance of an expedition to liberate Ireland (Elliott 1982: 243). Whereas France was always anxious to weaken British military power, there was no overriding ideological imperative to replace British rule in Ireland with an independent Irish state, as the poorly planned and poorly manned expeditions in 1798 demonstrate (Elliott 1990: 211, 214). The symbiosis had already

reached its peak in 1796. When political circumstances became less propitious, the translators saw their influence decline.

6.1.5 Translation as a lens on history

The approach adopted by Rundle and Leech that translation can act as a prism through which to view and interpret historical events is an important milestone in the journey leading to an assessment of influence (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 45; Leech 2020: 14). That proposition is considered by reference to four translations, namely, a speech by William Pitt to the House of Commons in December 1794 (CPA/588/294), the Report of the Francis Street Meeting of Catholics (CPA/588/494), Tone's two Memorials to the French government (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173), in addition to Sullivan's press translations (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). An exploration of that proposition allows us to approach the main research question relating to the political influence of translation.

Madgett's translation of a speech in the House of Commons by Pitt in December 1794 introduced the notion of the cruelty of Robespierre's reign that is absent from Pitt's delivery (CPA/588/294). Madgett's intervention reflected the shift away from the hardline politics of Robespierre to the more moderate republicanism of the Directory (Doyle 2018: 283; McPhee 2017: 298). Madgett was displaying the political circumspection needed by those employed in a revolutionary government. The translation reflects the same circumspection to be found in the personal statements submitted by Madgett and Sullivan during the post *Vendémiaire* purge in November 1795. Insiders had to display loyalty and pragmatism in order to take advantage of the opportunities which their privileged position in government offered them (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). Madgett refers to 'terrorism' in disparaging terms, implicitly targeting the disgraced politics of Robespierre.

Sullivan makes the link between Robespierre and terrorism explicit in his *Vendémiaire* statement (AF/III/28/97/141). Thus, a micro-historical perspective of the translator can connect to a broader historical canvass. Translators working in politically sensitive roles who could adapt to the new political orthodoxy and thus work within the system could position themselves to press their own political agendas. Madgett and Sullivan were bilingual Irishmen pushing an Irish republican agenda in the heart of a French revolutionary government that

demanding absolute loyalty of its employees, including the swearing of a public oath in support of the new republican dispensation in January 1796 (AF/III/52-55/213/1).

In 1795, Madgett ensured that the French leadership was informed about the state of public opinion in Ireland. The translation of the Francis Street Meeting captured a significant shift in moderate Catholic opinion by means of a first-hand account of a large, public meeting in Dublin attended by prominent Irish Catholics (CPA/588/494). Madgett attempted to manipulate the reception of the message in France by the injection of additional rhetoric into the translation in order to give Catholic opinion a more republican, inter-denominational profile, as is evident from the analysis of that translation in chapter five. Madgett probably hoped that the translation would demonstrate that Catholic opinion in Ireland had hardened and that the speeches at the Meeting would counter the suspicion harboured in some political circles in France that Catholic Ireland would not be a receptive rallying point for a French republican adventure (Elliott 1982: 81). This was translation as a quasi-propaganda tool designed to plant the seed of a French revolutionary expedition to liberate Ireland from British rule.

Wolfe Tone's overtures to the French government, presented through translation in the two Memorials, emphasised the themes of religious rapprochement in Ireland and the severe logistical blow to the British navy which would be triggered by the defection of large numbers of Irishmen in the British navy on the arrival of a French military expedition (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). The Irish nationalist agenda was promoted through these key documents, which were aimed at steering the French towards the military option that would encompass the independence of Ireland in the broader context of the war with Britain. The production and circulation of the translations illuminate the course of the negotiations between the putative leader of Irish nationalism, Wolfe Tone, and the French leadership, which preceded the decision of the French Directory in June 1796 to appoint General Hoche to lead a military expedition to liberate Ireland (SHD/B/11/1).

Sullivan's press translations disclose the geopolitical agenda of the French Directory by virtue of the range of international military and political news which he selected and translated (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). One can extrapolate the preferred subject matter of the narrow circle of readers, namely, the French political and military elite. There was also scope for the translators to project news on Irish affairs into that agenda. For example, Sullivan's translation

of Tone's memorandum on Troop Movements in Ireland illustrates how military news about Ireland reached the highest levels of the French administration (CPA/589/233). Tone's observations were drawn substantially from the edition of *The Sun* newspaper dated 14 April 1796 (CPA/589/236). Sullivan's translation was forwarded directly to General Hoche, who was soon to be appointed head of the Irish expeditionary force (GR/11/B/1). The press translations shine a light on the role of newspapers as a source of political and military intelligence in a time of war.

This review illustrates how translation may provide a fresh perspective on historical events and thus may yield insights into subjects not ostensibly connected to translation (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 36). In doing so, translation deepens our understanding of the history of Franco-Irish relations and transnational Irish republicanism in the 1790s. But in the course of this scrutiny, can one also discern the possibility that the role of translation in history is more than simply a prism refracting historical events, but may be an active force influencing the course of events?

6.1.6 The assessment of influence: a case study

What is the genesis of the political influence of translation in this study? A number of factors outlined above combined to provide a fertile platform for the translations of Madgett and Sullivan to potentially exert a political influence. Political circumstances had created a republican regime in France that was at war with Britain. The two translators enjoyed institutional status and were in a position to advance their own political aspirations within the parameters of the ideology of the French State. They were able to promote Irish independence through activist translation. The wider functions they assumed not only enhanced the potency of their translations, but brought opportunities to exert political influence.

It is easier to explain the circumstances that made influence possible than to establish or define the nature or extent of influence itself. Self-evidently, without translation, there is no text in the target culture. Whereas the effect of individual translation strategies may be difficult to calibrate, those strategies may optimise the success of a text. Madgett was conscious of the power of the printed word, including the effect of an activist translation (AAE/Pers/1/47/85). Madgett's influence as a translator reached its apogee with the circulation of the translations of Wolfe Tone's two Memorials in 1796 (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). Those texts were

unpublished and so their influence is harder to gauge. The question will be discussed under four headings:

- 1) the circulation of the translated Memorials;
- 2) political advice and advocacy from Madgett which supplemented the translations;
- 3) the counterfactual perspective and
- 4) the historiographical view.

6.1.7 Circulation

The circulation of the translated Memorials is a key indicator of influence. It is important to recall that it was Madgett who conceived of these Memorials by asking Tone on February 18 1796 to draft them (Tone II 2001: 59). The texts were in effect being heralded as the formal demands of Irish nationalism. Madgett then delivered the completed translations to Delacroix (CPA/589/154).

Madgett sent the translated Memorials to General Clarke, who forwarded them to the Directory, and at Carnot's request, to Truguet, the Navy Minister (Guillon 1888: 184; Desbrière 1900: 104). Truguet promised Clarke he would read the Memorials with the attention they deserved (AF/III/205/939). The Foreign Minister, Delacroix, informed Tone on 11 March 1796 that he had read the Memorials carefully (Tone 2001: 104).

Tone was invited to dine at the Luxembourg Palace on 12 July 1796 with leading French political and military leaders including Carnot, Clarke, Truguet, and most importantly General Hoche, who had recently been appointed by the Directory to lead the force earmarked for an invasion of Ireland. Before dinner, Tone was introduced to Hoche, who questioned him about the content of the two Memorials (Tone 2001: 233). The fact that the military commander leading the French expedition to Ireland wished to discuss the detail of the texts makes it clear that Tone's stature within the French political elite was enhanced by the circulation of the Memorials. The translations had become important documents that were having a tangible effect and were laying down a roadmap for a French invasion.

6.1.8 Political advice and advocacy

The detailed review of the genesis of the translations of the Memorials in chapter five, largely based on Tone's journal, reveals how those texts became entwined in the negotiations between Wolfe Tone and the French authorities during the months of February, March and April 1796 (Tone 2001). Madgett was the initiator and translator, in addition to acting as a political consultant to Wolfe Tone in the composition of the Memorials.

Tone's translated Memorials, and the translations of related texts by Sullivan in the spring of 1796 (CPA/589/233; CPA/589/270), were supplemented by political advice and advocacy. Madgett delivered the two translated Memorials in late February and early March 1796 (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). He supplemented the translations by a *précis* of the second Memorial and margin notes to facilitate a rapid reading of the longer, first Memorial (CPA/589/172; CPA/589/182). In addition, Madgett produced a memorandum of advice on the Irish-American diaspora for Delacroix in which he suggested that Irish-American goodwill could provide funding for a French invasion force. That memorandum is dated 29 February 1796, the same date as the second Memorial (CPA/589/179). Furthermore, the Diplomatic Archives contain a detailed plan for a French invasion of Ireland drawn up by Madgett during the same period, as it is dated 'Plûv an 4' ie., between 21 January and 20 February 1796 (CPA/589/159). Madgett's additional functions as a political adviser and advocate in February and March 1796 were improving the prospects of a receptive audience for the translated Memorials.

The conjunction of translation and political advocacy was nothing new. Madgett had been projecting Irish affairs up the French political agenda since 1794 through a series of political submissions (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484; CPA/589/111-112). The translation of English press extracts about Irish affairs also contributed to that end. As a result, by January 1796, Delacroix, the Minister to whom Madgett was answerable, was taking up the cause of Irish nationalism in graphic terms with the Directory, even before the Memorials were composed. He castigated English despotism as the cause of oppression in Ireland (CPA/589/120).

The Memorials may therefore be seen as the natural culmination of political advocacy in translation over a longer period. Ferradou is correct to contextualise the Directory's decision to send a military force to Ireland in this way (Ferradou 2019: 604). However, Ferradou does not

advert to the fact that all political advocacy emanating from Irish nationalists in this period required translation in order to be effective in France.

6.1.9 The counterfactual perspective

The influence of translation under Madgett and Sullivan may also be considered in counterfactual terms, though one must tread carefully. What if the Memorials had never been translated into French? In *Virtual History*, Ferguson contrasts two species of counterfactualism, namely imaginative speculation and plausible alternative outcomes. He discredits the former, but is prepared to countenance the latter, provided it is empirically based (2011: 18, 84-87). Equally, D'Hulst insists one must distinguish between 'more plausible and less plausible counterfactuals' (2018: 280).

Madgett's translations of Wolfe Tone's Memorials enabled Tone's political advocacy to reach an elite French audience with a sharpened profile. Without linguistic support from Madgett and Sullivan, the Directory might never have received such a political submission in translation, advocating a French invasion of Ireland. Tone's negotiations with the French hierarchy might have taken a different course, or indeed might have stalled. To argue baldly that there would have been no French decision to dispatch an invasion force to Ireland in 1796 without Madgett's translations would be implausibly counterfactual. However, the counterfactual perspective does suggest that the translated Memorials made a substantial contribution to that decision.

Equally, one may posit that without the translation by Madgett of the Report of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street Church in April 1795, the shift in Catholic opinion in Ireland, as reported in the Dublin press, might not have reached an influential French audience at all, or at least not in such assertive terms (CPA/588/494).

6.1.10 The historiographical view

Elliott and Gough credit Wolfe Tone with the decision by the Directory to launch a French invasion of Ireland (Elliott 1990: 206; Gough 1990: 10). More specifically, Elliott contends correctly that Tone's two Memorials had made their way rapidly through the French ministries

by April 1796. She adds that the Memorials were ‘much admired in France, both at the time and later’ (1989: 291). But that was surely due to the fact that the Memorials circulated in translation.

A later admirer was undoubtedly Édouard Guillon, who published his work on the French Revolution in 1888 entitled *La France et l’Irlande pendant la Révolution: Hoche et Humbert*. Guillon emphasized the historiographical importance of the two Memorials:

De ces conférences avec Madgett sortirent deux Mémoires sur l’Irlande, que Wolfe Tone rédigea et que Madgett se chargea de traduire. Ces documents sont certainement de ceux qui peuvent nous renseigner le mieux sur l’état politique et moral du pays, à la fin du dix-huitième siècle. On ne trouverait rien dans les historiens du temps, de plus complet, de plus clair et de plus intéressant (Guillon 1888: 174).

[These meetings with Madgett produced two Memorials on Ireland which Wolfe Tone drafted and Madgett translated. These documents provide us with the best information on the political and moral state of the country at the end of the eighteenth century. Nothing as comprehensive, as clear or as interesting has been produced by historians of that period.]

Those observations by Elliott and Guillon do not suggest any causal connection between the Memorials and the decision to send an expedition to Ireland. However, later in his study, Guillon doesn’t shrink from making a direct causal connection and concludes that the circulation of the Memorials within the French hierarchy, particularly Clarke, Carnot and Truguet, gradually led to the idea of a French military expedition to liberate Ireland becoming part of French government policy (1888: 184).

The Editors of Volume II of Tone’s journal, themselves distinguished Irish historians of the eighteenth century, state in 2001 that although it is not possible to attribute the Directory’s decision to launch a military expedition to Tone, his two Memorials ‘provided the most convincing exposition of the arguments in favour of a major thrust at Ireland.’ (Tone 2001: xvi).

Ferradou, on the other hand, does conclude that Tone convinced the Directory to send an expedition to Ireland, but with the assistance of exiled nationalists like Madgett and Sullivan

and the cumulative effect of political advocacy stretching back to 1794 which included the two Memorials (2019: 433, 525, 604). Kleinman makes the causal link explicit in 2018 by asserting that ‘it was Madgett who had translated the two most influential of Tone’s briefing documents, which in the end sealed the Directory’s approval of Hoche’s massive expedition to Bantry Bay in December 1796’, though she does not explain how influence of such extent was achieved (2018: 218).

The historiographical view of Tone’s two Memorials may yield an indication of influence but cannot be conclusive on its own, as historians have mostly ignored the role of translation. Indeed, it is notable that in this discussion by French and Irish historians on the significance of the Memorials, only Kleinman adverts to the fact that it was the French versions which circulated (2005: 163). Without the availability of the translated versions, the discussion could hardly have taken place. The influence of the original texts, if untranslated, might well have been negligible, notwithstanding the force of Wolfe Tone’s personality and his ever-improving competence in oral French.

6.1.11 The influence of the Memorials

Translation was skillfully deployed by Madgett and Sullivan to contribute to the attainment of a political objective, namely a French military campaign in Ireland. Madgett’s carefully crafted translations, the confluent roles he undertook in relation to the Memorials, how the translations were circulated in the French hierarchy and the counterfactual perspective support the conclusion that the translations of Wolfe Tone’s Memorials contributed substantially to the Directory’s decision in June 1796 to send a military force to Ireland (SHD/B/11/1). Accordingly, translation is not just an interpretative tool, but it may, in certain circumstances, also have a causative role in relation to historical events.

6.1.12 The Influence of Sullivan’s translations

The translation of Tone’s Memorials were not the only texts making an impact. Sullivan’s influence was also at its height in 1796, perhaps embodied in the flurry of translations from the English newspapers that were secretly ferried across the Channel from London. The presence in the French National Archives of two files of press translations is official recognition of the

importance of that translated material (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). The editing and selective translation of extracts from a wide range of political journalism provided the French leadership with an important source of international military and political intelligence. The occasional modulations which Sullivan introduced in the press translations disclose his perception of what needed to be adapted in order to achieve maximum impact on the narrow circle of target readers.

The importance of the press translations may also be gauged, in part, from the contemporaneous, manuscript annotation which many of them bear: 'Pour le Directoire' [For the Directory]. Sullivan's translations were vetted by a political superior who decided which texts were suitable for transmission to the five-man Directory which governed France. Approximately sixty-eight press translations from the files of the French National Archives were specifically earmarked for transmission to the Directory in this manner between July 1795 and September 1796 (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). Fifteen of the translations annotated in this way are attributable to John Sullivan, as set out in Appendix 15. All of the translations from the English press produced during this period would have been overseen by Madgett as the Head of the Translation Section. The English press was having a transnational effect through translation.

Any discussion of the influence of translation in this context must also take account of the multiple bilingual functions underpinned by translation which Madgett and Sullivan assumed. The role of translation extended well beyond the textual transfer of semantic meaning.

Chapter 6 (2) Confluent Functions

6.2.1 Introduction: the figure of the translator

The microhistory of Madgett and Sullivan in this thesis underscores the importance of the personal agency of the translator. Robinson's *The Translator's Turn* (1991) reflected an increasing focus on the translator as agent, rather than on the text or the process of translation. Pym's work *Method in Translation History* argued that if the emphasis is on the lives of translators and their social context, rather than simply on the translated texts, this may help to explain why translations were produced at a particular historical moment (1998: ix). That focus was carried forward by Delisle and Woodsworth's *Translators Through History* (2002). Chesterman contends that this direction taken in Translation Studies could more aptly be entitled '*Translator Studies*' (2009: 13). The emphasis on Madgett and Sullivan's broader professional activities should be seen in this context.

There was nothing novel about translators who combined translation with other professional activities. As the eighteenth century progressed, more European languages were taught, publishing expanded and the professional profiles of translators became more diverse (Nies & Tran-Gervat 2014: 121). Actors, law clerks, journalists, teachers and writers were also translators (Nies & Tran-Gervat 2014: 113, 122; Moel 2014: 92).

A consideration of the influence of translation would be incomplete if confined to text, as Madgett and Sullivan were translating in other modes. The full breadth of the polymath, confluent roles undertaken by Madgett and Sullivan depended on translation. This perspective invites a reconfiguration of the translators' agency as multimodal. Historians using the term 'translation' may also need to reconsider its meaning because in this context, translation encompasses much more than interlingual mediation.

Political advice on Britain and Ireland would have been inconceivable from a monolingual French official or adviser, as contact with local and exiled insurgents, unofficial envoys and the processing of printed material in English, were necessary raw materials for such advice and all needed translation. The propaganda necessary to wage war against Britain or to defend and disseminate revolutionary ideals beyond the frontiers of France was also inoperable without translation. Thus, translators like Madgett and Sullivan who could combine these roles were

especially useful in a time of war with an anglophone power. In addition, interpreting and a range of oral skills were an integral part of Madgett and Sullivan's professional arsenal. The influence and effect of translation radiated through the myriad channels of communication that supported the various confluent functions. Each of these, at times overlapping, functions, will be considered. Proficiency in one didn't necessarily mean proficiency in another.

Beyond the translation of texts, Madgett and Sullivan assumed the following roles which, cumulatively, comprise their professional activity:

- 1) political advice;
- 2) political advocacy;
- 3) propaganda;
- 4) intelligence;
- 5) military action and recruitment; and
- 6) teaching.

6.2.2 Political advice

Madgett was operating as a special adviser on Irish affairs. The stream of political advice which he generated on Irish affairs between 1794 and 1796 required a deep understanding of the political context (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484; CPA/589/112). Detailed advice often elided or combined with political advocacy, especially where a particular political outcome was pursued, such as Irish independence. His political radar was global and the range of advice broadened from British and Irish politics to American politics, and in time, the future of Louisiana (AN/G/242/38-76).

The juxtaposition of political advice and translation in the prolific output of the end of February 1796 discloses the close connection between Madgett's multiple roles. Between 26 February and the first week of March 1796, Madgett translated Wolfe Tone's two lengthy political Memorials to the French Government (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). He also furnished a précis of the second Memorial on 29 February (CPA/589/172). On the same date, he penned political advice to Minister Delacroix on the Irish-American diaspora (CPA/589/179). Two days later, on 2 March, Madgett sent further advice to Delacroix on an invasion of Ireland and how to indoctrinate Irish servicemen in the British navy (CPA/589/182).

Madgett's adjustments in the translation of the report of the Francis Street Meeting and of Wolfe Tone's Memorials were not disconnected from the stream of political advice he was furnishing: translation and political advice were not just running in tandem, one was infusing the other. The foundations of his political advice included correspondence from secret agents, and reports from leading United Irishmen which were privately processed from English into French, before advice was then formally presented to the French government (NA/HO/TS/11/959; MV/1/GG/58/32-39; AN/MAR/G/242/4). It seems likely that during Madgett's time in government service, contact with political figures like Foreign Ministers Lebrun and Delacroix, and Navy Ministers Dalbarade and de Vatry would have included discussion in French (CPA/578/20/ CPA/587/43; AF/III/28/97/133; AN/Mar/G/242/6).

His career as a political adviser survived on an ad hoc basis after his dismissal as a government translator in July 1797, when Delacroix abolished the Translation Section in the Foreign Ministry (AAE/Pers/1/47/83). He furnished lengthy advices to the Navy Minister in 1799 and 1800 on international politics, including in particular, Louisiana (AN/G/242).

6.2.3 Political advocacy

It is difficult to draw precise distinctions between advice and advocacy. Madgett and Sullivan were politically active even before they joined government service in 1793. Madgett had gained the confidence of republican-minded students in the Irish College in Paris in 1792 in opposition to the more conservative superiors of the College (AN/F/17/1399). His interaction with those students was probably in English, though the conflict with the superiors, which spilled over to the local Commune and in time the Convention, was probably conducted in both English and French (AN/F/17/1399; DDA/121/8/1; CPA/587/43).

Madgett addressed the Convention in French in early 1793 on how to wage war with Britain, as reported in the *Les Révolutions de Paris* (2-9 février, 1793, pp 388-391). Madgett's translational activism has already been considered in detail. He was able to bring his bilingual skillset to bear on political issues, for example, when helping to secure the release of the United Irishman, William Jackson, who was detained under anti-foreigner legislation in Paris in 1794 (MV/1/GG/58/31). He persuaded the Committee of Public Safety in 1794 to publish extracts from Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* in *Le Moniteur* (AD/MD/53/212).

Madgett's stream of advice to the French government on Irish affairs continued through 1794 and 1795 and reached a high point in 1796 (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484; CPA/589/112; CPA/589/159). The advice often had a distinctively activist dimension, combining pragmatism and aspiration. The dual *Skopos* of his translation practice reflected twin political objectives. A French military expedition to Ireland could inflict serious military damage on the British war effort and simultaneously assist Irish independence. The intelligence and political knowledge forming the basis of Madgett's advocacy came from his network of secret agents, discussions with Irish political leaders such as Hamilton Rowan and Wolfe Tone, and extensive scouring of the government and opposition press in London (AN/MAR/G/242/4; CPA/588/484AD/MD/19/378-382; AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229; Tone 2001). This material, mainly in English, was then refracted through translation into political persuasion directed at his French superiors. The high point of Madgett's political advocacy was reached in 1796 with the translation of Wolfe Tone's two Memorials to the French Government (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). Those translations involved a politico-linguistic collaboration.

Sullivan's bilingual skills were also deployed. Sullivan's contribution was motivated by the same political aspirations as his uncle. Sullivan's activism began when he made patriotic speeches in political debate in the local Jacobin Club in La Flèche (SHA/GR/2YE/3853/26). Sullivan called upon his bilingual skills more directly, and in the process contributed to the cause of Irish independence, by rescuing Hamilton Rowan from jail in Brittany, and helped to secure preferential treatment for the exhausted United Irishman (CPA/588/274). He subsequently assisted Hamilton Rowan in the composition of written political submissions to the French leadership which included a plan for a French invasion of Ireland presented to the Committee of Public Safety (AF/III/28/97/141; AAE/PERS/1/65/58; CPA/588/262; CPA/588/268). Those activities were fully bilingual.

6.2.4 Propaganda

Madgett had a complete understanding of the importance of propaganda in defending and disseminating the ideals of the Revolution, but also in furthering the cause of Irish independence. The propaganda apparatus he helped to develop served the new French Republic in a time of war (CPA/587/20; CPA/587/45).

Madgett was aware of the intended or likely effect of a translation being published or disseminated. His address to the Convention in February 1793 emphasised the power of the printed word in a time of international conflict, as reported in *Les Révolutions de Paris* (2-9 février, no 187, pp. 298-299). Madgett set the translation agenda in 1794 for the printing and publication of certain key documents in a proposal to the Committee of Public Safety. That proposal adopts as its main criterion the effect of a translation on its audience and explicitly links translation and propaganda (AAE/PERS/1/47/85). In 1796, Madgett canvassed French government support for a campaign denouncing Pitt in the French press. Those newspaper articles, he contended, would then find their way through translation into the Opposition press in London, and the effect would neutralise Pitt's reluctance to contemplate peace negotiations with France (CPA/590/61). Propaganda would accordingly operate transnationally through translation.

These are not isolated examples. Madgett claims in his statement to the Commission investigating the *Vendémiaire* coup in October 1795 that he had composed revolutionary tracts in English, including *L'Adresse au Peuple d'Irlande* (AF/III/28/97/133). That document has not been located but a summary of it has been found in a report (*Compte Rendu*) in the French National Archives (CPA/588/480). The very first sentence appears to be classic Madgett propaganda:

Cette adresse a pour objet de reveiller la haine du Peuple
Irlandais contre l'Anglais son éternel oppresseur.

[The purpose of this address is to stir up the Irish people's
hatred of the English, their eternal oppressors.]

The report concludes with Madgett's own view that his Address would only have an effect if it were disseminated in large numbers in Ireland, a core propaganda strategy which he repeatedly proposed (AD/MD/19/378-381; AN/MAR/G/242/5-6). The Diplomatic Archives disclose that on other occasions during his tenure in government service, Madgett called for the translation into English of French political news (AD/MD/19/382-388), the distribution of a pamphlet on the mistreatment of Irish Catholics (CPA/588/484), the printing and dissemination of his denunciation of English tyranny (CPA/588/440), and the distribution by Irish volunteers of Proclamations during the French expedition in 1796 (CPA/589/159). Translation was fundamental to the conception and execution of political propaganda.

Madgett's 'Adresse' to the Irish sailors in the British navy which he claims to have presented to the Navy Ministry in 1799 has not been located, despite his assertion that the document exists in French and English (AN/G/242/5-8). Nonetheless, four draft proclamations in primary and secondary sources with corresponding French and English texts have been located, two from the 1796 Hoche expedition and two from the Humbert expedition of 1798 (MV/1/GG/58/1; Tone 2001: 196; GR/11/B1; HO/100/82; Castlereagh 1848: 384-391). These drafts are sufficient to yield a picture of the declamatory, high rhetoric genre. Only one of these drafts can be attributed with any confidence to either Madgett or Sullivan. The French version of Humbert's address to Irish soldiers in the English army in 1798 is in Sullivan's distinctive hand. Sullivan may well have translated it into English though the translation is unattributed. The French original exhorts Irish soldiers in rhetorical terms to switch allegiance by painting a picture of French solidarity:

Les vainqueurs et les libérateurs de l'Europe et de
l'Amérique ont généreusement résolu de verser leur sang
pour l'indépendance d'un peuple qui par les efforts qu'il
a faits s'est montré digne de la liberté (HO/100/82).

The conquerors and liberators of America and Europe
have generously determined to shed their blood in
effecting the independence of a people who have shown
they are worthy of liberty by the struggles they have
made to obtain it (HO/100/82).

Sullivan too understood the importance of propaganda, and like his uncle, also composed propaganda. He arranged for republican tracts to be smuggled into England from the ports of Brittany on prisoner exchange ships and claims credit for having drafted portions of the documents himself (AF/III/28/97/141; AAE/PERS/1/65/58). Only bilinguals familiar with Irish and English politics could produce effective wartime propaganda, or indeed advice about propaganda, both of which were forms of activism enabled by translation.

6.2.5 Intelligence

Madgett confirms that he ran a network of secret agents who collected intelligence for him in other European countries (AF/III/28/97/133). Madgett organized secret intelligence missions

by well-known republicans like William Jackson, who travelled to Britain and Ireland (CPA/588/378; AF/II/76), and Eugene Aherne, who was dispatched to Scotland (Ferradou 2019: 487). Coded correspondence from William Jackson to Madgett was read out in the course of Jackson's trial for treason in the Dublin High Court (Sampson 1795: 30, 55). The intelligence extracted from these contacts was then privately translated by Madgett and embedded in political advice presented to the Committee of Public Safety, and later to the Directory (AAE/PERS/1/47/83). It is no surprise to find that when the Directory decided to send a secret agent to Ireland to assess the appetite for insurrection in 1796, Madgett was at the heart of the process of selecting a suitable agent, recommending four names to the authorities including his nephew, John Sullivan (AF/III/186B/859; CPA/589/221).

Even as late as 1799 after Madgett had departed from full-time government service, he continued to filter intelligence received from United Irishmen scattered across Europe, particularly from Holland, Switzerland and Hamburg (AN/G/242/4). Madgett was receiving reports in English but presenting the salient points in French to the Navy Minister (AN/G/242/79).

Another important source of political and military intelligence was the English press which Madgett and Sullivan trawled assiduously in 1795 and 1796 (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). Madgett continued to draw intelligence from the press in translation even as late as 1800, when he relayed news to the Navy Minister about an English Naval convoy setting out from Cork for the Caribbean and Louisiana, as reported in *The Morning Post* of 18 August 1800 (AN/G/242/79). The full benefit of this resource required a detailed understanding of Irish and British politics. The targeted selection and interpretation of press extracts was predicated upon a knowledge of the political leanings of the English press, together with an appreciation of the French hierarchy's demand for foreign military and political news. This was a skilled, complex, bilingual exercise.

A more direct source of intelligence was provided by the interrogation of English and Irish prisoners, a task which formed part of John Sullivan's official duties while stationed in Brest and Dinan between 1793 and 1795. He not only translated confiscated documents but questioned the prisoners about enemy plans (AF/III/28/97/141). Sullivan is likely to have performed such interrogations in close consultation with his French superiors. This was intelligence gathering with a direct military focus.

Intelligence also flowed from French into English. Madgett and Sullivan were also themselves valuable sources of intelligence for Wolfe Tone during the intensive negotiations between Tone and the Directory in the early months of 1796. On 12 March, Madgett informed Tone of potential resignations from the French government (Tone 2001: 107-108). Three days later, on 15 March, Madgett was able to notify Tone that the subject of a French expedition to Ireland was now formally before the Directory and that Dominic Fitzsimons, a priest, was possibly going to be nominated to go to Ireland, secretly, in advance (Ibid: 114-115). By 3 April, Madgett was informing Tone about the strength of the proposed French force, and on 9 April, he told Tone that Carnot, a member of the five-man Directory, had now taken charge of the expedition to Ireland (Ibid: 141, 151).

John Sullivan also conveyed political intelligence to Tone, who remarked about Sullivan that 'it is he that brings me my secondary intelligence' (Tone 2001: 152). For example, Sullivan's knowledge of French politicians was sufficient to enable him to express a negative opinion to Tone on the question of General Clarke's support for Irish independence (Ibid: 155-156). Through their interaction with French political and military figures, Madgett and Sullivan were delivering translated, political intelligence in English which Tone was in no position to second guess.

6.2.6 Military action and recruitment

The activist roles assumed by Madgett and Sullivan also had, at times, a direct military dimension. These roles included:

- (i) military action and planning; and
- (ii) the recruitment and indoctrination of prisoners.

(i) Military action and planning

Sullivan volunteered to fight on the republican side in the civil war in the Vendée in 1793, despite being exempt from conscription regulations, and he is said to have carried out his duties efficiently as a gunner (SHA/GR/2YE/3853/26). After his time as a translator in government service came to an end in 1796, he survived through ad hoc commissions in the French army, which included his dramatic involvement in General Humbert's expedition to Ireland in 1798 (Ibid.). Sullivan's move from text to action appears seamless. That expedition

was a fully bilingual engagement as Sullivan was given responsibility for leading the Irish volunteers into battle against British forces at Castlebar, County Mayo (Ibid.). He would have taken instructions in French, would have issued instructions in English, and possibly in Irish also, and then reported back to his superiors in French.

Madgett's activism led to several, detailed military plans for a French invasion of Ireland (CPA/589/159; AN/MAR/G/23; AD/MD/19/378; CPA/588/480; CPA/588/484). His invasion blueprint invariably included an intelligence and propaganda dimension, namely, an advance reconnaissance mission by a secret agent, and the distribution of proclamations in English to the local population. An invasion plan put forward in 1794 advised landings by French troops in Wexford, Galway and Cork (AD/MD/19/378-382). By early 1796, he was again submitting an invasion plan in granular detail, suggesting landings by French forces this time in Galway and Carrickfergus (CPA/589/159).

(ii) Recruitment and indoctrination

Sullivan was not slow to remind the French authorities that he successfully recruited 200 prisoners held in Dinan, in Brittany (AF/III/28/97/141). These were sailors serving on captured British navy vessels, many of whom were Irish. Sullivan 'converted' them to the side of the French Republic, an achievement which he attributes to his devotion to spreading the principles of the Revolution (AAE/PERS/1/65/58).

Sullivan's military experience may well have informed his translation practice. An example is Sullivan's interventionist translation of Tone's pejorative reference to the British recruitment drive targeting Irish officers in the French army who had switched sides, discussed in chapter five (CPA/589/234). That intervention is hardly surprising from an Irish nationalist who had fought on the republican side in the Vendée and who had also persuaded captured Irish servicemen in Brittany to switch their allegiances from Britain to France.

Madgett did exactly the same with Irish prisoners serving in the British navy being held in Versailles and Compiègne in March 1796 (Tone 2001: 121, 141). He conducted a further recruitment mission in Orléans in August 1798 (Woods 2011: 223). Once again both Madgett and Sullivan would have obtained instructions in French, and would then have directed their conversion rhetoric at the Irish prisoners in English, before reporting back to their military or political superiors in French.

Madgett's rather euphemistic reference to the rhetoric of conversion in his address to the Convention in 1793 is noteworthy, and one wonders just how gentle his own persuasion techniques were:

Les agens du comité, dans les ports de mer, seront chargés d'instruire les prisonniers, & de les amener à l'amour de la liberté & de l'égalité par la voie de la douceur & de la persuasion (*Révolutions de Paris*, 2-9 février 1793, pp. 298-301)

[The committee's agents stationed in the ports would be required to give instruction to the prisoners and inculcate an attachment to freedom and equality by gentle persuasion].

6.2.7 Teaching

Both Madgett and Sullivan had extensive teaching experience with a bilingual dimension. Madgett taught Philosophy and Mathematics for twenty years in Bordeaux and Toulouse Universities (AF/III/28/97/133). He doesn't specify when exactly that was, but he obtained his doctorate in Theology in 1764 and returned to Paris in 1783, so his university teaching career most likely spanned the intervening period (Brockliss & Ferté 2004: 43; AF/III/28/97/133). Latin was the language of instruction in eighteenth-century French universities. According to Waquet, higher education in France up to the end of the ancien régime remained 'profoundly Latin' both for lectures and examinations (Waquet 2001: 11).

When Madgett returned to Paris in 1783, he taught foreign languages, prior to his recruitment into full time government service as a translator in 1793 (AF/III/28/97/133). Although he doesn't specify which languages, they certainly included English, and possibly German also, as a German dictionary was one of the very few personal possessions listed in his estate (MC/ET/1/734). Madgett's experience as a teacher may have inspired him to write a book about logic, Latin grammar and philosophy entitled *Réflexions sur l'Instruction Publique*, extracts from which Borelly published in his *Journal de l'Instruction Publique* (Borelly 1793: 321). Madgett subsequently established a private language school in Paris in November 1796, offering tuition in English, French and German, but also a private, commercial and legal translation service (*La Décade Philosophique*, 10 novembre 1796, p. 305). Madgett was translating throughout his teaching career.

Sullivan taught English for three years in the military *Collège de La Flèche*, a professional assignment that also involved continuous translation. He also taught Mathematics in addition to working as a substitute teacher, all of which involved tuition in a range of subjects through Latin (AF/III/28/97/141; Waquet 2001: 8).

6.2.8 Interconnectedness

The functions outlined above do not correspond to self-contained, neatly compartmentalised categories of activity. Many of the functions overlap to a significant extent. For example, advice about propaganda and the effect of certain translations may also be regarded as a form of political activism. Political advice is closely connected to political advocacy, and often elides with propaganda and intelligence strategies. However, a good propagandist might not necessarily have the capacity to provide broader political advice. Equally, a skilled intelligence strategist may well know exactly how and where to obtain intelligence, but have little idea about how to compose and disseminate propaganda. To obtain good intelligence requires a good understanding of the political context and may in itself be a form of political activism.

Military action may encompass political activism, though not inevitably. Approximately 25,000 Irishmen were recruited into regiments of the French army across the eighteenth century, without necessarily having the radical political aspirations which Sullivan had (Whelan 2009: 316). Teaching may be seen as a natural concomitant of translation, though neither activity necessarily presages political activism, propaganda or intelligence. Madgett and Sullivan appear to have assumed all these roles in an effortless, confluent manner.

It is instructive to look in more detail at a small number of archival records in order to appreciate how interconnected some of these functions were in practice, making the distinctions between them somewhat indistinct. In Madgett's address to the Convention in February 1793, as reported in the *Révolutions de Paris*, (2-9 février 1793, pp 298-301), he proffers political advice on the wisdom of establishing a revolutionary committee composed of like-minded foreigners who would carry out a range of functions. They could instruct their compatriots on the progress of the French Revolution and disabuse them of the anti-French lies being propagated in their own countries. They could persuade prisoners to convert to the side of the Republic and the Revolution. In addition, these agents would be stationed at the French

ports, where they could arrange for revolutionary tracts to be conveyed to their home countries. They would also gather local intelligence and report back directly to the Convention and the War Minister. Thus, we have an early example of Madgett combining political advice, a strategy for revolutionary propaganda and an intelligence operation. Here was a republican sympathiser offering insights on a range of related issues and encapsulated by the theme of waging war on Britain. Madgett the translator was the point of interconnection.

A notably similar strategy is included in one of Madgett's first archived communications after his recruitment into government service. In his memorandum to Lebrun, the Foreign Minister, in March 1793, Madgett advises Lebrun to set up a committee of republican British agents in Paris who would root out British government spies circulating in Paris (CPA/587/20). In addition, Madgett advocates a secret mission by English or Irish 'patriots' to go to both countries in order to spread the revolutionary principles of freedom and equality. Political advice neatly incorporates both a propaganda and a counter-intelligence strategy.

In November 1794, Madgett makes a submission to the French government, one of several of its kind, in which intelligence on the political climate in Ireland is juxtaposed with political advocacy and a propaganda strategy (CPA/588/484). He asserts that the Catholics of Ireland were now ready to rise up and proclaim independence with French assistance. A new Parliament would proclaim freedom of religion. Madgett gives advice about organising an invasion. In addition, he offers to draft an Address to the Irish population which could be disseminated using neutral American ships.

Intelligence and propaganda invariably coalesced in Madgett's invasion template. In February 1796, as Tone's negotiations with the Directory were about to begin, Madgett is at his most activist in a submission to the Foreign Minister, Delacroix (CPA/589/159). He offers political intelligence on the mood of the Catholics and the Defenders in Ireland, and suggests that a secret agent be sent to Ireland to liaise with local insurgents before the arrival of any French force. He puts forward detailed suggestions about an invasion force and how to trigger an uprising in Dublin. Furthermore, he proposes that Irish prisoners serving in the British navy but detained in France, could be released from prison in order to join the French invasion force. They could be armed, amongst other things, with printed republican proclamations.

The precious personal statements by Madgett and Sullivan generated by the purge after the *Vendémiaire* coup in 1795, together with their correspondence with Delacroix after the

termination of their employment, provide graphic illustrations of how their multifaceted roles were interconnected (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141; AAE/Pers/1/65/58; AAE/Pers/1/47/83). For example, in October 1795, Sullivan lists his accomplishments to Minister Delacroix. The translator appears as the point of interconnection of many of the roles considered above:

- he taught in a military academy;
- he translated documents confiscated from English naval vessels;
- he interrogated English prisoners seeking to obtain military intelligence;
- he composed republican propaganda in English and smuggled it into England;
- he 'converted' 200 prisoners to the French republican side; and
- he rescued a well-known United Irishman and helped him to present an invasion plan to the Committee of Public Safety in Paris (AF/III/28/97/141).

1798 also saw a striking example of a translator as a man of action. Sullivan had translated a romantic novel from English into French²² but also found himself engaged in military combat between French and British forces in the west of Ireland (GR/2YE/3853/26).

The interconnectedness of Madgett and Sullivan's activities points up the common thread of translation, including oral translation. Indeed, the conversion missions undertaken by both translators were a form of oral propaganda whose content would have closely mirrored the written propaganda and advocacy encountered above (Tone 2001: 121; Castlereagh 1848: 398; AF/III/28/97/141).

6.2.9 Oral translation

A number of the related roles required the full gamut of Madgett and Sullivan's oral competence, both from French to English and vice versa. Madgett developed a close working relationship with Foreign Minister Delacroix and for that reason was appointed as Tone's designated interlocutor by the French government (Tone 2001: 56). That position of trust was no doubt earned in part through oral communication in French, as informal advice was undoubtedly conveyed orally, and not recorded in official archives. But as the designated interlocutor, Madgett was instructed by Delacroix to confer with Wolfe Tone, implicitly in English, but that also meant taking instructions and subsequently reporting on the fruits of such

²² *Théodore et Olivia ou la famille de Ranspach*. (1798)

discussions in French. Even when carrying out the ostensibly written function of the translation of texts in the Foreign Ministry under Delacroix, Madgett and Sullivan were part of a team of translators working in proximity to French and Italian colleagues (AF/III/52-55/213/1). The working language of the Translation Section was probably French and there would doubtless have been frequent discussion about the nature and content of source texts requiring translation. Analysing the English press would also have involved discussion and probably oral instructions from their political masters. The logistics of secretly importing a regular and representative supply of English newspapers, the selection of the appropriate extracts, and the delivery of the fruits of their analysis probably included oral as well as written communication in French.

In Madgett and Sullivan's case, the power of rhetoric in oral translation is a matter of inference rather than explicit record, as there are no primary transcriptions of their speech. Madgett must have deployed rhetoric during his proselytising missions in 1796 and again in 1798. He was fully alert to the power of rhetoric in propaganda and political advocacy, as is evident from the report of his address to the Convention in 1793 in *Les Révolutions de Paris*.

The character reference from the *Société Populaire* in La Flèche does allude to the rhetorical objective of Sullivan's speechmaking as being to enlighten his fellow citizens on patriotic and revolutionary values (GR/2YE/3853/26). More importantly, not long afterwards, his rhetorical powers were used to significant effect when he 'converted' some two hundred prisoners of war to the republican cause at Dinan in Brittany. Sullivan attributes this success in part to:

mon zèle à prêcher aux prisonniers de guerre les
principes de notre révolution (AAE/PERS/1/65/58).

[the zeal with which I preached the principles of our
revolution to the prisoners of war.]

Sullivan forthrightly emphasizes his own rhetorical intensity in a professional task which demanded nothing less.

The translation into French of documents seized from English prisoners would very likely have involved discussion with his superiors, and oral instructions. Sullivan's composition of propaganda leaflets in English from, presumably, French drafts, would once again have involved discussion and instructions in French. His 'conversion' mission to Brittany would

presumably have involved taking instructions in French prior to persuading English-speaking prisoners of war to change sides before then reporting back to his French superiors. Those missions would have been unthinkable without oral fluency.

The extraordinary part played by Sullivan in the French expedition under Humbert to the west of Ireland in 1798, where he commanded a regiment of Irish volunteers at the Battle of Castlebar, once again would have been impossible without oral competence (SHD/GR/2YE/3853/26). He was subject to orders from his French commanding officers and then mediated those instructions to manage and lead a group of Irish volunteers into battle. It was after all Humbert himself who had requested Sullivan's appointment on the Ireland expedition as someone who knew the language and the customs of the country (Ibid.). Sullivan's role as ad hoc commander of the Irish volunteers in the Battle of Castlebar undoubtedly required the full range of his linguistic skills.

Following the defeat of the French invasion force, Sullivan was closely interrogated by his English captors who put his oral command of French and his rhetorical powers to the ultimate test. He succeeded in convincing them that he had been born in France of Irish parents, a story that was believed because his English interrogators concluded 'he certainly spoke the language of a Frenchman' (HO 42/45/55/folios 475-476). Sullivan was, however, born in Ireland, though he had been granted French citizenship in 1793 (GR/2YE/3853/26). He was spared from certain execution by his linguistic fluency and the rhetorical impact of his speech in translation. It was through translation that he was able to perform a military role but also to survive its perils.

The emphasis on the orality of their professional activities is relevant not just because oral, as opposed to written, linguistic practice is often underestimated (Cronin 2006: 76; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002: 48), but also because not one of these related roles would have been feasible without strong oral competence. Oral skills enabled them to operate with remarkable versatility. The power of rhetoric was deployed in the translation of texts, but it also permeated the crosswinds of concurrent bilingual functions.

6.2.10 Influence enhanced

The first section of this chapter examined the influence of translation in terms of the production and circulation of a text. The influence of translation as a driving force in the

interconnected roles assumed by Madgett and Sullivan should also be acknowledged. Some of the milestones in their careers make the point.

In Madgett's case, the activism underlying the Wolfe Tone and Francis Street translations, a consistent stream of political advice and advocacy on Irish affairs, his mysterious role in the Louisiana Purchase and the biography of the Duke of Marlborough commissioned by Napoleon would never have materialised without strong bilingual competence (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173; CPA/588/494; AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484; CPA/589/112; CPA/589/159; Paine 1945: 1502; Keane 1995: 482; Madgett 1808).

In Sullivan's case, the rescue of Hamilton Rowan from prison in Brittany in 1794, the collaboration with Wolfe Tone in 1796, the intelligence-based press analysis and the miraculous escape from detention by the British army after the defeat of Humbert in 1798 are inconceivable without translation (Tone 2001: 336; CPA/589/233; CPA/589/270; AF/III/58/228; AF/III/229; HO/42/45/55).

The effectiveness of these confluent functions is attributable in great measure to the power of translation. The broader roles, as mediated by Madgett and Sullivan, complemented the translated texts and gave them added potency. For example, the impact of Wolfe Tone's two Memorials was strengthened by means of oral explanation and elaboration, not to mention the political advice and advocacy which closely accompanied the translations (CPA/589/159; CPA/589/162; CPA/589/172; CPA/589/179; CPA/589/182).

Considered collectively, all of the translators' professional activities proclaim the extended reach of translation in its written and oral manifestation. One may say that these confluent functions were themselves modes of translation. Tymoczko has argued that translation can also be regarded as a mode of spying, intelligence gathering, counter-espionage and rebellion (2010:16). In the case of Madgett and Sullivan, translation, in its wider sense, became a form of political expression, mirroring or indeed influencing political developments. The confluence of functions, made possible by translation, reached its apogee in the collaboration with Wolfe Tone. In the highly charged political atmosphere of the Spring of 1796, Madgett was the pivot through whom everything passed: translator, adviser and overseer. He networked with Tone as one activist might do with another.

The skills required to perform the interconnected roles went beyond bilingual competence, but translation constituted the lifeblood without which those skills would have remained

redundant. Translation was the indispensable engine delivering the performance of these functions, whether it was recruiting Irish prisoners to switch sides, distributing pro-republican propaganda, procuring intelligence from secret agents or lobbying the government in Paris for a French invasion of Ireland (Tone 2001: 141; AF/III/28/97/141; Whelan 2015: 120; SHD/BB3/24/19; AD/MD/19/378-382; CPA/588/484; CPA/589/111-112). The versatility of the two translators enabled them to move seamlessly across these overlapping roles. Oral competence and an almost innate appreciation of the force of rhetoric enhanced the performance of these duties.

6.2.11 The agency of the translators

Milton and Bandia, in their article entitled ‘Introduction: Agents of Translation and Translation Studies’, envisage an extended definition of an agent of translation as encompassing those who take on cultural and political roles through translation, even if they are not necessarily translators themselves (2009: 14). Bastin’s chapter on the Venezuelan nationalist Francisco de Miranda in the same book of essays charts the influence of ‘acts of translation’, whereby Miranda promoted the independence of Hispanic America through not only translation, but also through propaganda and the dissemination of political texts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (2009: 19). Miranda even established an Hispanic-American newspaper in London, *El Colombiano*, which was shut down by the British government as being subversive (Ibid: 37). His activities evoke parallels with the confluent functions of his contemporaries, Madgett and Sullivan.

The roles undertaken by Madgett and Sullivan give an extended meaning to the term translation. The emphasis on the translator in translation histories such as Delisle and Woodsworth’s *Translators Through History* has resulted in an understanding of translators in the social and political contexts in which they worked (2012: xv). Kaindl, in his introductory chapter to *Literary Translator Studies*, underlines the need to comprehend the ‘complexity and multifaceted nature’ of the translator (2021: 13).

The translators’ agency has to be configured in terms of several related functions which are dependent on translation. The agency discussed in this study encompasses a range of interconnected, bilingual roles, many of which are not ostensibly connected to the translation of a text. The agency of the translators has become multimodal.

Chapter 6 (3) Vulnerability and Survival

The influence enjoyed by Madgett and Sullivan, as well-positioned translators in government service, was of limited duration. They had to contend with the paradox of translation as an activity that was both valued and devalued in an unpredictable political climate.

6.3.1 The subordinate status of translation

Historically, translators have had little or no impact on the availability or the conditions of their work. For Delisle, translators have been ‘excluded from the power relationships that really matter’ (Delisle 2012: 127). He does, however, nuance this generalisation by conceding that their work may have an impact where they succeed in persuading an institution of power to disseminate their work (Ibid:128). In a broad perspective, Delisle contends that translation is not, and perhaps never has been ‘an isolated activity carried out independently of the power struggles within and among societies’ (Delisle 2012: 148).

If one considers the life journeys of Madgett and Sullivan, the paradox of influence accompanied by vulnerability comes into focus. Just as the political orthodoxy of the French Revolution fluctuated, so too did their personal fortunes as translators.

6.3.2 The paradox of translation

For translators seeking government employment during the Revolution, much depended on their perceived usefulness. Madgett enjoyed status and trust from a volatile revolutionary regime, especially during the Terror in 1794 when he set the translation agenda, and again in 1796 when the Foreign Minister Delacroix appointed him as Wolfe Tone’s privileged interlocutor (AAE/Pers/1/47/85; Tone 2001: 56). His symbiotic advocacy of British military defeat and Irish independence was a defining feature of his contribution in government service. Sullivan’s ‘useful’ activities in Brittany from 1793 to 1795 were followed by a flurry of intelligence-based press translations in Paris (AF/III/28/97/141; AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229).

However, the vulnerability of the translators surfaces in a variety of warning signs, including their arrests in 1795, the purge in the Foreign Ministry after the *Vendémiaire* coup in late 1795

and continuing police suspicion about their political loyalty in 1796 (AN/F/7/7107; AF/III/52-55/213). The eventual loss of full-time government employment, together with the abolition of the Translation Section revealed the ambiguous status of translation in the new Republic (AAE/Pers/1/47/83; AAE/Pers/1/65/58).

Even in the heat of revolutionary duty, translators could be subject to official scrutiny, and suspicion. Sullivan reported to the Committee of Public Safety in April 1794 that a well-known Irish radical was mistakenly languishing in jail in Brittany. He was promptly instructed to bring Hamilton Rowan to Robespierre in Paris (CPA/588/274; Tone 2001: 336). At the same time, the Convention's Representative in Brest, Laignelot, made enquiries about Sullivan's own status: as a foreigner, was he subject to the Decree ordering the arrest of all foreigners in port towns? (SHD/2YE/3853). The authorities decided he was exempt because of his French citizenship, but it is ironic that there was a shadow of suspicion about Sullivan while he was serving the Republic in demanding circumstances (Ibid.).

Sullivan's poignant account of his own vulnerability, and hardship, in personal correspondence at the end of 1794 with his uncle, proved to be prophetic (AN/W/584). In 1795, Madgett and Sullivan were arrested during the course of the police investigation into Madgett's cousin, Madgett II, who was charged with espionage. Both translators had been mentioned in documents found in the possession of the accused (AN/W/548). Madgett was arrested on 25 May 1795 as he was leaving his office and was taken for questioning to a prison in central Paris, *La Maison des Orties*. It is not known for how long he was detained (F/7/7107). Police also searched Madgett's apartment and his office in July 1795 and found the personal correspondence from his nephew (AN/W/548). Two weeks later, Sullivan was arrested in Brest on 18 July in connection with the same investigation, but he was released on 4 August (F/7/7107).

The translators were acutely aware of the need to reconfigure their antennae in response to political upheavals, especially in 1794 after the demise of Robespierre, and again in 1795 during the purge which followed the royalist *Vendémiaire* coup of October 1795. The ideological post-mortem after the failed coup required Madgett and Sullivan to submit personal statements of their commitment to the Republic (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). Madgett and Sullivan retained their positions, but they would have been in no doubt that a premium was put on obedience to the regime and its ideology. Though they survived the purge, they must

have felt the ill winds of arbitrary, political decision-making, as a number of employees in the Foreign Ministry were dismissed after the purge (AF/III/52-55/213).

Police suspicion about their loyalty lingered into the following year, unbeknownst to them. In a Paris Police report dated 11 March 1796, continuing police surveillance of Madgett and Sullivan was said to be ‘très important’ (F/7/7107). In a further police report dated 28 April 1796, the fact they were both foreigners was again emphasized (F/7/7107).

It is indeed ironic that such suspicions should persist at a time of intensive collaboration between Madgett and Wolfe Tone in the Spring of 1796 which was endorsed by the French leadership. Influence and status turned out to be transient. Madgett and Sullivan displayed remarkable versatility in different roles, and political adroitness in surviving the most tumultuous phases of the Revolution in government service. This did not however spare them from an official cull of State employees, as both translators were dismissed from government service on budgetary grounds, Sullivan in October 1796 and Madgett in July 1797 (AAE/Pers/1/65/58; Masson 1877: 388). Sullivan’s account of his own vulnerability and hardship, in personal correspondence with his uncle in 1794, had presaged his exit from a government translation post (AN/W/548).

Both translators claim to have received ministerial promises of reinstatement or alternative employment which turned out to be empty promises (AF/III/276; AAE/PERS/1/65/58). In July 1797, Delacroix abolished the very Translation Section he had established in late 1795 (AAE/PERS/1/47/83).

6.3.3 Survival

Madgett and Sullivan both sought reinstatement, but to no avail (AAE/PERS/47/83; AAE/PERS/1/65/60). They had lost their privileged status, and regular income, as State translators. They each managed to obtain temporary work on the basis of ad hoc commissions (GR/2YE/3853/26; AN/MAR/G/242). Translation remained essential to their survival, particularly in Madgett’s case, though its impact was more modest.

Madgett was not entirely abandoned by the State. A memorandum of advice furnished by him to Navy Minister Bruix in 1798 on how Irish personnel could destabilise the British navy is evidence of an ad hoc advisory role (MV/1/GG/62/133). He was permitted to undertake a personal recruitment mission amongst Irish prisoners of war in 1798 (Woods 2011: 223).

Madgett's advisory role continued, as the voluminous file of advices to the Navy Minister in 1799-1800 confirms (AN/MAR/G/242). This includes intelligence gathered from Madgett's network of United Irishmen across northern Europe which he then filtered in French for the Minister. Madgett also furnished detailed advice in this file on Louisiana. In August 1799, he met the Navy Minister, de Vatry, once again to suggest how insurrection could be fomented in the British navy (AN/G/242/6). Madgett was also still garnering intelligence from the English press and translating and editing the results for the benefit of the Minister (AN/G/242/78-79). Madgett turned his hand to two commercial translations on India and Ancient Rome which were published in 1801. Madgett's republican impulses continued to surface in the translation of Moyle's essay on Rome. The first edition of that translation in 1801 was quickly followed by a second edition in 1802.

A report from British Intelligence in 1803 and Napoleon's request that Madgett produce a French biography of the Duke of Marlborough indicate that Madgett was known to Napoleon (HO/100/114; Coxe 1818: vii-viii). The completion of the three -volume biography of the Duke of Marlborough in 1808 was remarkable in itself, when one considers that Madgett was over seventy years of age. The undertaking involved translation into French of English, Latin, German and Italian sources which are cited in the three-volume work (Madgett 1808). A contemporaneous English biographer of the Duke praised Madgett's work and claimed it had made quite an impact in France and England as it had been requested by Napoleon (Coxe 1818: vii).

This impressive range of work did not provide Madgett with a steady income. The sad correspondence with Navy Minister Decries in 1810 reveals that Madgett was finding it difficult to make ends meet (SHD/CC7/Alpha/1632). An annual pension of three thousand francs was clearly inadequate to cover his living expenses. Madgett's near destitution, also evident from the terms of his will and the inventory of his estate, reflects how the French state valued and devalued translation. He died in 1813 owing money to his landlady, his tailor and his wine merchant, not to mention his old friend Richard Ferris who subsidised his living expenses towards the end of his life (MC/ET/733; MC/ET/734).

Sullivan survived on temporary commissions as *aide de camp* to General Humbert from 1798 until his premature death in St Domingue in 1802 (GR/2YE/3853/26). Despite Sullivan's French citizenship, his subsequent career was marred by official indifference, on one occasion

justified by his status as a foreigner. Sullivan's dogged campaign to secure the rank of Captain which he had been promised was unsuccessful, despite support from his commanding officer, General Humbert, and, more notably, from the new Foreign Minister, Talleyrand (SHD/2YE/3853). He made a comprehensive submission on 5 April 1799 supported by political and military references, but without success (Ibid). He was now just an ordinary soldier. Where he was once useful because of his bilingual talents, neither these nor his experience as an active combatant for the Republic yielded much continuing leverage. Notwithstanding, Sullivan was still prepared to put his life on the line in 1798 in the service of the French Republic. Sullivan needed the full gamut of his oral competence just to survive, in disguise, after his capture by British forces during Humbert's campaign in Ireland in 1798 (HO/42/45/55).

Can one attribute Madgett's or Sullivan's vulnerability as translators exclusively to their nationality? It is arguable that high-level, political translation or interpreting of material emanating from England or Ireland could only be done competently by a linguist who understood the dynamics of Irish and British politics. In other words, the services of a 'foreigner' would probably be required. To the extent that the Revolution spawned anti-foreigner suspicions, that brought inherent instability to the professional status of English language translators recruited by the French State.

However, the whims of politics could also affect French translators. Jean Luc Chappey has tracked the highs and lows of a prominent French literary translator, Antoine-Gilbert Griffet de Labaume, whose career also straddled the Revolution (Chappey 2013: 233). Labaume translated anti-slavery tracts from English and German, in addition to work by Thomas Paine (Ibid: 235-236). He frequented progressive English-speaking circles in Paris and he was one of the men of letters in receipt of a modest State allowance from the Convention during the Directory (Ibid: 237).

Labaume turned away from literary translation towards political journalism. He was a contributor to the *Décade Philosophique* and joined the *Société des Amis des Noirs* in 1798 (Ibid: 240, 239). He also found a position in the Interior Ministry that year, though his tenure in government service only lasted until 1800, when he was in effect dismissed (241). Chappey concludes that Labaume was vulnerable to political changes and to the fluctuations in the market for translated material (242). This reflected the uncertain status of translation.

According to Chappey, translation under the Directory was seen as a vehicle of republican progress, enhancing communication between people of different nationalities, whereas under Napoleon's regime, translation enjoyed only secondary, instrumental status (Ibid: 243).

6.3.4 The ambiguous status of translation

In Chapter 4, we discussed the abolition of the Translation Section by Delacroix in July 1797 (Masson 1877: 382). By the end of the eighteenth century, there were some tentative signs that translation might be established on a more institutional footing. The new Republic discussed a publicly funded translation institute. Constantin-François Chasseboeuf, Professor of History in the École Normale in Paris, promoted the establishment of a public translation institute that would translate works from the humanities and the sciences, particularly given the lack of resources that bedevilled translators (Nies & Tran-Gervat 2014: 112-113).

This call echoes Madgett's proposal for a government-funded translation function, admittedly made in the shadow of Delacroix's abolition of the Translation Section in the Foreign Ministry in 1797 (AAE/PERS/1/47/83). Madgett wanted Delacroix to reinstate the Translation Section on a permanent basis which would serve a broad range of public and private users of translation. Such a body would benefit all those in need of a translation service, which Madgett saw as including

Les deux conseils, le Directoire exécutif, les différents départements du ministère, les tribunaux, l'institut national, le commerce, et généralement tous ceux qui auroient besoin de traduction et d'interprètes pour les langues étrangères (AAE/PERS/1/47/83).

[The two Councils, the Executive Directory, the various sections of the Ministry, the courts, the National Institute, business, and in general all those who may need translation and interpreting from foreign languages.]

The desirability of a permanent translation function funded by the State was once again voiced at the very beginning of the nineteenth century by the agronomist, Augustin-François de Silvestre, who advocated the benefits to the State of translating foreign works on economic matters, though this did not materialise (Pickford 2012: 151). Pickford points to an increased

professionalisation of translation in the nineteenth century, in her chapter entitled ‘Traducteurs’ in the *Histoire des traductions en langue française: XIXe siècle 1815-1914* (Pickford 2012: 149). However, translators employed by the State had no security of tenure and often supplemented their income by teaching or working in publishing (Ibid: 152). The vulnerability which affected Madgett’s and Sullivan’s careers in public service did not disappear.

6.3.5 Influence diminished

Chappey well describes the uncertain status of the translator in that period in his article on Labaume:

Reste que le statut de traducteur se caractérise par sa fragilité tant il est soumis, d’un côté aux aléas du marché éditorial, de l’autre aux changements rapides des protections politiques et administratives dont il reste dépendant. (Chappey 2013: 234)

[The translator’s status may be defined by its insecurity, as he is caught between the vagaries of the publishing market on the one hand, and on the other hand, the rapid changes in political and administrative arrangements on which he depends for protection.]

Madgett and Sullivan had reached a level of influence through translation and had extended that influence through a web of confluent bilingual functions. The heady days of the Spring of 1796 - when they plotted the demise of British rule in Ireland with Wolfe Tone from within the French Foreign Ministry - had shown that translation could be more than simply a secondary function. In certain circumstances, translation could have an impact on historical events. The high point of influence in 1796 was not to be repeated. Although translation continued to provide Madgett with some support, the perception of its value had altered. The transience of that influence and the vulnerability of translation to political forces were now exposed.

Conclusion

An interdisciplinary approach has guided this journey in translation history relating to the lives and work of two Irish translators during a tumultuous period of European history. A translation microhistory and an analysis of their translation practice frame the principal research question relating to the political influence of translation at a particular historical moment. This concluding chapter will reflect on the significance of this research for translation studies.

1. A translation microhistory

This thesis is the first microhistory of Irish translators. The theoretical basis of the research is an interdisciplinary study combining history and translation studies. The Introduction outlines the conceptual debate on the intersection of the two disciplines. Rafael, an historian interested in language, observes that historians generally ignore the perspectives offered by translation studies (Rundle & Rafael 2016: 27). Rundle contends that translation can be both a legitimate object of historical enquiry in its own right, and an approach to interpreting other historical subjects (2014: 7). In his recent Introduction to the *Routledge Handbook of Translation History*, Rundle terms the relationship between history and translation as close and co-dependent (2022: xxii). This study has approached the relationship between the two disciplines in a similar spirit of complementarity. The microhistory relies to a great extent on primary records housed in the French National, Diplomatic and Military Archives. A guiding principle has been that translation history should acknowledge the importance of connecting translation and the lives of the two translators to the wider historical context.

Consequently, the portraits of Madgett and Sullivan avoid a potential pitfall, namely, getting lost in a microhistory that is disconnected from the bigger picture. It is the very activity of translation that has lifted microhistorical figures towards a macrohistorical level, thus intrinsically providing the wider connection which microhistorians warn is indispensable. In other words, translation is shown to possess an inherent capacity to connect microhistory to macrohistory. Madgett and Sullivan, seemingly marginal, displaced figures, managed to project themselves into an orbit of influence, so that their translational action may be contextualized against a broader historical landscape. Once they entered the corridors of the

French Navy and Foreign Ministries, they became actors on a bigger historical stage. Translation brought ‘unimportant’ figures into the institutions of the new French State, indeed by 1795 into the upper echelons of the Foreign Ministry (AF/III/52-55/213/1).

As discussed in the Introduction, historians have generally been uninterested in the mutual benefits of interdisciplinary engagement. How can one nurture an engagement by historians with translation? Historians are more likely to be persuaded by example than by sweeping theoretical assertions. This thesis offers a concrete example of what interdisciplinarity can achieve.

A study incorporating history and translation studies is particularly appropriate in the case of Madgett and Sullivan. They were both recruited as translators to serve the newly established French Republic in 1793 in a time of revolutionary upheaval (AF/III/28/97/133; AF/III/28/97/141). The war between France and Britain provides the context for many of the translation-based functions which they carried out concurrently. Each translator took part in public political discourse, thereby demonstrating republican reliability (GR/2YE/3853/26; *Les Révolutions de Paris* 1793: 298). The microhistory presented here interweaves the personal odysseys of the translators with the social and political upheavals of the Revolution and war. It brings together a range of diverse elements, some known and some previously unknown, which are drawn principally from French archival sources. The translators’ broader professional activities are considered in their totality. The end result is the first translation microhistory of Irish translators which enhances our understanding of the historical role of translation. The microhistory also lays the foundation for the main research question: did Madgett and Sullivan’s translations, and their confluent, bilingual functions exert a political influence in France a time of Revolution and war? The thesis provides a structured, interdisciplinary response to that question. In addition, it reflects on the historiographical implications of that response.

2. The genesis of influence

Firstly, the genesis of influence is considered. What made the influence of translation possible? Three interrelated factors which had the potential to enable translation to exert a political influence will now be explored, namely, Madgett and Sullivan’s activist translation

practice, the convergence of personal and political circumstances and the confluent functions assumed by the two translators.

2.1 Activist translation

Their individual translational initiatives have been appraised with the benefit of a detailed understanding of their life journeys. Those initiatives had to respect the parameters of a closely monitored official ideology. Madgett and Sullivan were mindful in their translation practice of their target audience, but sometimes took an interventionist stance which was driven by personal affiliation to the cause of the United Irishmen. They spent all of their adult lives in France, but were committed Irish nationalists. The discretion they enjoyed may be traced to both the selection of texts and the adjustments they made in the translational process. The review of their translation practice in Chapter 5 discloses an activist translational presence.

Of particular significance is the translation by Madgett of the lengthy report of the political speeches delivered at the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street Church in Dublin in April 1795 (CPA/588/494). Adjustments, additions and omissions are interpreted in light of the political context of the Meeting. That translation is a milestone in the development of the dual institutional and personal *Skopos*. The translation had transnational reach and conveyed the hardening of moderate Catholic opinion to the French political elite (Ibid.).

The political rhetoric in the Francis Street translation is sustained in the translations of Wolfe Tone in 1796 by Madgett and Sullivan in which a potent political message is transmitted to the French political hierarchy (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173). A new interpretation of Madgett's translations of Wolfe Tone's Memorials to the French Government is proposed in Chapter 5. The adjustments in translation may be regarded as the components of a narrative which discloses the translator's political outlook: a tyrannical government supported by a usurping Protestant class was being met with an increasingly radical, Catholic and Presbyterian consensus. The translators' understanding of the power of rhetoric added to the impact of their translations. Translation was the pivot through which the Madgett/Tone and Madgett/Delacroix relationships crystallised in early 1796 and which propelled Madgett, and the resulting translations, towards a higher sphere of influence.

2.2 Convergence of circumstances

Political and personal circumstances also helped. It is no coincidence that Madgett, and his nephew, Sullivan, were recruited when France and Britain went to war. The bilingual services which they offered were especially important in a conflict involving an anglophone power. Political circumstances had produced a symbiosis, albeit temporary, between the objectives of French foreign policy and the translator's personal aspirations for Irish independence. The translators succeeded in striking a balance between the personal *Skopos* of Irish independence and the institutional *Skopos* of the military defeat of Britain.

Madgett and Sullivan were foreigners in France adopting and promulgating the secular values of the French Revolution and the new French Republic, and were also bilinguals seeking to erode the political hegemony of Britain by promoting Irish independence. According to Elliott, militant Irish republicanism was born in 1795 when the United Irishmen sought military assistance from France to overthrow British rule, but Madgett and Sullivan had already arrived at that position well before 1795 (Elliott 1982: xiii). Having lived through turbulent political developments in France, they contributed to the reshaping of Irish nationalism in a more assertive, separatist direction. Initially recruited in 1793 by the Navy Ministry, Madgett and Sullivan had by 1795 reached a sphere of influence close to the centre of power in the French Foreign Ministry (AF/III/52-55/213/1). There they worked in close proximity to, and supported the functions of, the Minister's *Bureau Intime* [Private Office]. Wolfe Tone needed sympathetic and skilled linguistic and political support in his negotiations with the French government in early 1796 and the two translators were opportunely positioned to provide just that.

2.3 Confluent functions

Madgett and Sullivan were able to undertake a range of interconnected, bilingual roles which were deemed useful by a French regime waging war against a coalition of European states. Many of these roles, including propaganda, counterintelligence, a network of secret agents, analysis of the English press and even indoctrination could pragmatically encompass the twin political objectives of undermining the British war effort and promoting Irish independence (AN/MAR/G/242/4; AF/III/28/97/141). The hybrid nature of the translators' professional profile was an important ingredient in the process of influence. Political advice from Madgett often went in tandem with translation. He was not only the translator but was

also the political interpreter of Wolfe Tone, as his contemporaneous advices to Foreign Minister Delacroix explaining Tone's documents testify (CPA/589/172). He had in addition acted as an ad hoc political consultant to Wolfe Tone during the drafting of the original texts (Tone 2001: 58-59). Most importantly, Madgett's persistent stream of political advice and advocacy since 1794 had laid the ground for the Wolfe Tone translations to produce an effect by enhancing the receptiveness of the French political elite to the political message contained in the translated Memorials (AD/MD/19/378; AD/MD/19/382; CPA/588/484; CPA/589/111-112; CPA/589/159). Madgett invariably signed off on those advices (Ibid.). Delacroix's conversion to the cause of Irish independence by January 1796, even before Wolfe Tone's Memorials came into being, is testament to the impact of Madgett's political advocacy (CPA/589/120).

The wider mandate depended on and spawned a mosaic of translation that radiated through many channels. The potential impact of translation was thus enhanced by the versatility of the translators. The circumstances were propitious for translation to achieve a political impact.

3. Translation may be interpretative and causative

The thesis demonstrates in chapter six how translation acts as a lens, illuminating a precise moment in history. Four particular episodes in the translational odysseys of Madgett and Sullivan enhanced our perception of a particular historical moment, namely, a speech by William Pitt to the House of Commons in December 1794 (CPA/588/294), the Report of the Francis Street Meeting of Catholics (CPA/588/494), Tone's two Memorials to the French government (CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173), in addition to Sullivan's press translations (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). Translation can act as a means of interpreting history. However, the role of translation may be more than purely refractive of historical events.

The translations of Wolfe Tone's Memorials by Madgett were proposed as a case study on the political influence of translation. The success or impact of published translations may sometimes be measured by the print run or the number of subsequent editions. These Memorials were instead unpublished translations, making an assessment of their influence more intractable (CPA/589/162 & CPA/589/173). The adjustments by Madgett in the translational process intensified the rhetoric of the original texts. For example, the Protestant landowning class were 'usurpers' and the British administration had tried to suppress the

nationalist movement by State-sponsored violence of every kind (Ibid.). But an important supporting factor was the impact of the range of translation-dependent functions which complemented the translations and enhanced their receptiveness.

Two further factors completed the analysis of influence. The circulation of the translated Memorials within the narrow cohort of French political and military leaders was identified as critical. The translations could be traced going to the five-man Directory, including in particular Carnot, who was central to the Directory's war policy (Elliott 1990: 203). In addition, the transmission of the translated Memorials could be tracked to other prominent figures outside the Directory including Truguet, the Navy Minister, Delacroix, the Foreign Minister, General Clarke and General Hoche, who was appointed to lead the military expedition to Ireland later in 1796 (Guillon 1888: 184; AF/III/205/939; Tone 2001: 104, 233). The translated documents had been read and discussed, and were having a tangible impact. The quality of the Memorials was acknowledged almost a hundred years later by the nineteenth-century French historian, Édouard Guillon (1888: 174).

The analysis also included a counterfactual perspective: what if those Memorials had not been translated into French? Even adopting a tentative approach to counter-factualism, it is indeed difficult to imagine Wolfe Tone's negotiations succeeding if his call for Irish independence with French assistance had not been made in translation.

The factors explored in the case study support the conclusion that translation was not just a narrowly instrumental function, but was a potent force capable of having an influence on the course of history. Translation could be not only interpretative but also causative of historical events. In this instance, translation produced a political impact at a precise historical conjuncture by contributing in a substantial way to the decision of the French Directory in June 1796 to launch an invasion of Ireland (SHD/B/11/1). This conclusion enhances our understanding of the role of translation in history and deserves to be taken seriously by historians.

Historians have considered the impact of the Memorials, though not generally with the benefit of any translation studies perspective. Ferradou and Guillon attribute causative force to the Memorials, but what is striking is the general absence of any reference to the role of translation, with the exception of Kleinman (Guillon 1888: 184; Ferradou 2019: 604; Kleinman 2005: 163). Her assertion that the translated Memorials 'sealed the Directory's approval' of the

Bantry Bay expedition is broadly consistent with the conclusion reached here, though there is no discussion of how the Memorials achieved that effect or, more generally, how translation came to exert a political influence (2018: 218).

The approach by historians to the impact of the Memorials does not answer the main research question, at best yielding indirect intimations of the influence of translation. In contrast, this thesis does offer insights to historians. Translation was not just the point of mediation between the United Irishmen and the French political elite. It contributes to a deeper and more diverse history of Irish Nationalism to that recounted by those who are indifferent to translation studies. The microhistory of Madgett and Sullivan disrupts the orthodox view of translation as a peripheral activity. Their activities are often visible as both translators signed off on a number of political translations, including the Francis Street Meeting and the translations of Wolfe Tone (CPA/588/494; CPA/589/162; CPA/589/173; CPA/589/233; CPA/589/270).

Madgett's translations of Wolfe Tone's Memorials to the French government in 1796 can be viewed, from a translation studies perspective, as a manifestation of the pivotal role of translation at a crucial moment in Franco-Irish history. Madgett was immersed in the lexicon of the French Revolution but also of Irish nationalism. His activist presence in the translation process was part of his collaboration in Tone's political project. The translations are important documents in the history of Irish nationalism. Tone and Madgett were invoking republican principles and calling for French intervention to remove the English presence in Ireland.

Could Irish nationalism have functioned in quite the same way in revolutionary France without translation? Absent the skilled bilingual and politically knowledgeable support of the two translators, Wolfe Tone's negotiations might never have succeeded as his political submission would have been less effective and less targeted. These translations made a difference and historians should acknowledge the insights which an interdisciplinary approach can yield. Without an understanding of the role of translation in Wolfe Tone's Memorials, one excludes from the historiography of transnational Irish nationalism and the history of Franco-Irish relations how the power of rhetoric through translation was wielded to great effect. Translation not just enabled Tone's message to be disseminated where it mattered most, it empowered and enriched it. Thus, translation is not merely an incident of, or an addendum to, history; it can at times have a causative role.

4. Translator agency: a multimodal approach

The research has not been confined to a study of the translation of texts but encompasses the broad range of translation-dependent functions carried out by the two translators. Chapter six has detailed how Madgett and Sullivan each broadened the translator's mandate through the multifaceted bilingual roles they assumed.

Such a range of professional activity gives the term translation an extended meaning which may be unfamiliar to historians used to regarding translation simply as interlingual transfer. Vald  on, in his chapter entitled 'Comparative History' in *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge*, emphasises this divergence between translation scholars and historians concerning the concept of translation itself (2018: 259). To adopt a narrow view of what constitutes translation would produce a very incomplete picture of its influence in the context of this study.

The impact of Madgett and Sullivan's confluent functions is attributable to the power of translation, as all these interconnected activities were inconceivable without translation.

Madgett was not simply Tone's linguistic shadow, but was making his own contribution towards the ultimate objective of persuading the French to organise an expeditionary force. Madgett was indeed more than what Tone pejoratively referred to as a 'mere commis' (Tone II 2001: 78). Far from being peripheral linguistic pawns, Madgett and Sullivan became agents of political change through translation. The notion of the translator's agency needs to be configured differently and cannot be confined to the impact of the text: it has become multimodal. Bilingual competence was the lifeblood of that multimodality.

5. New archival material

The archival research underpinning this study has uncovered material relating to the personal and professional lives of the translators that is either new, or has not been previously considered.

New information on the family connections between Nicholas Madgett and his nephew, John Sullivan, came to light in Baptismal Certificates located in the National Library of Ireland, which place Reverend John Madgett, a brother of Nicholas Madgett, at the Christening in

Tralee, County Kerry, of two of John Sullivan's younger siblings in 1773 and 1774. The Certificates name the parents as Patrick Sullivan and Ellen Madgett, who is probably John Sullivan's mother and Nicholas Madgett's sister (NLI/mf/042691; NLI/mf/04270/05).

Neglected translations have been considered in detail, including coded correspondence sent to Madgett by William Jackson before his arrest on a charge of treason (MV/GG/1/58/32). The Report of the Meeting of Catholics in Francis Street Church in Dublin in April 1795 is perhaps the most important translation that has not been considered in previous scholarship (CPA/588/494).

The candid, personal correspondence between John Sullivan and Nicholas Madgett in November and December 1794, located in the French National Archives, has disclosed a rare insight into the vulnerability and insecurity of the young translator struggling to make ends meet, while acting as a French army interpreter for English, and Irish prisoners of war in Brittany (AN/W/584).

Documents from the French National Archives have provided an inside view of how translation was organised in the French Foreign Ministry in 1795 and 1796 under Delacroix, and have in particular disclosed that the two Irish translators supported the functions of the Minister's 'Bureau Intime' [Private Office] (AF/III/52-55/213). From that institutional platform, they swore loyalty to the principles of the new Republic and incorporated their quest for Irish independence into the French revolutionary agenda. Each translator was arrested separately in 1795 (AN/F/7/7107). They needed political skill and circumspection to ensure that they stayed in the correct ideological space in a rapidly fluctuating political climate, especially after the fall of Robespierre in 1794 and after the failed *Vendémiaire* coup in 1795. This period was the zenith of their influence as State translators but was also marked by the shadow of suspicion generated by the restrictive anti-foreigner laws in France.²³

Other important documents which had not previously been brought to light bear upon the close official monitoring of the political affiliations of translators in government service, for example Delacroix's reports on the outcome of the purge which followed the unsuccessful *Vendémiaire* coup of October 1795. The demands of political loyalty are reflected in the personal statements each translator had to submit in November 1795 to the Commission investigating the coup. Both translators survived the purge (AF/III/52-55/213).

²³ See Appendix 14

In the same file in the French National Archives, we unearthed the colourful account by Delacroix of a ceremony in the Foreign Ministry in January 1796 where all translators, including Madgett and Sullivan, were required to sign and swear aloud an oath of loyalty to the French Republic (AF/III/52-55/213). The long arm of the law continued into the Spring of 1796 as police suspicion lingered about their bona fides, ironically at the very time that they were collaborating intensively with Wolfe Tone in pursuit of a Franco-Irish alliance with the backing of the Directory (AN/F/7/7107).

The thesis examined the two files from the French National Archives of translated extracts from the English press for the years 1795 and 1796 which have not been considered in any detail before (AF/III/58/228/1; AF/III/229). Although Madgett and Sullivan signed a small number of these translations, many of the unsigned translations were attributed to John Sullivan on account of his clear handwriting. The provenance and subject matter of the press extracts reveal the geopolitical interests of the French leadership but also the translators' discretion on the selection of material relating to Ireland.

The extraordinary circumstances surrounding Sullivan's release from custody by the British army, after his detention and interrogation in the wake of General Humbert's surrender in County Longford in 1798, are disclosed in an internal British army report found in the UK National Archives in London (NA/HO/42/45/55). A translator saved his own life by translating himself out of captivity.

Madgett and Sullivan were foreigners in the service of one State trying to undermine the authority of another. Being both insiders and outsiders in France gave them opportunities, but also exposed them to the vagaries of revolutionary politics. By following the fortunes of the two translators as their influence declined after leaving government service, the thesis has reflected on the transience of that influence, and the paradox of translation being both valued and devalued by the new French Republic. The later correspondence between Sullivan and the French authorities in 1798 and 1799 to be found in French Military Archives in Vincennes, reveals Sullivan as a forlorn figure whose campaign to secure his promised promotion in the French army was met with official indifference, notwithstanding the intervention of Talleyrand on his behalf (GR/2YE/3853/26). Sullivan might well have asked himself for what had he risked his life in Ireland in 1798 disguised as a French army officer.

The French National Archives also house a neglected file of advices from Madgett to the Navy Minister in 1799-1800 (AN/MAR/G/242). The now elderly translator extended his advisory brief to Louisiana, whilst maintaining his intelligence network on Irish affairs. But his gradual decline into destitution could not be halted, even by the biography of Marlborough which Madgett co-authored at the age of seventy. A three-volume work of history produced at Napoleon's request yielded little or no financial return owing, in part, to a public copyright dispute which was traceable through French newspapers in 1811 and 1812.

Appendix 15 contains an inventory of their translations drawn principally from the French Diplomatic, Military and National Archives. This is the first attempt to catalogue their translations, which are divided into the following categories:

- a) translations signed by the two translators;
- b) translations attributable to them on the basis of their handwriting and
- c) translations of unknown origin but where the subject matter makes it likely they were overseen or authorised by Madgett as Head of Translation.

6. Further research

The relationship between translation studies and history is a broad question which merits further study. Historians have tended to neglect the linguistic dimension of exchanges between different societies across the centuries where translation has been omnipresent. The conceptual approach and methodology adopted in this research could be used to investigate the influence of translation in other defined historical contexts, especially where translators were also engaged in political activism.

Kleinman has analysed the political content of the correspondence between William Jackson and Madgett, but the letters could be the subject of further research from the perspective of coded language as a form of translation (2005: 113-114).

The press translations for the period 1795-1796 warrant a dedicated study, especially given their circulation within the narrow cohort of French political leaders. A particular aspect that could be researched further is how the translation of press extracts enabled Madgett and Sullivan to project Irish affairs up the French political agenda. Further research on the files of translated press extracts in the French National Archives for the period 1793 to 1795 might

well lead to a more comprehensive understanding of how the Committee of Public Safety drew intelligence from the English press (AF/III/66/485-487).

French archival records contain files with unsigned draft proclamations in French and English that were intended to cross the Channel, or were destined for dissemination during the French military expeditions to Ireland in 1796 and 1798 (AF/III 186B/959; MV/1/GG/58/1).

Though many of those documents cannot be attributed to either Madgett or Sullivan, they would provide useful material for a study of the role of translation in wartime propaganda. Further archival research may shed light on how Sullivan spent the first eighteen years of his life, and where he was educated, though his recruitment by a well-known French military academy to teach English at the age of eighteen makes it probable that he had been educated, at least in part, in France. His time as a military interpreter in Brittany might well repay further research in the Military Archives in Vincennes, or in the Naval Archives in Brest.

Madgett's three-volume biography of the Duke of Marlborough is worthy of further consideration, for example, the extensive use of multilingual sources drawn from historians who had written about Marlborough in Latin, English, German and Italian, many of which are discussed by Madgett in the Preface (Madgett 1808). In addition, the fact that it was Napoleon who commissioned this biography, as claimed by a later English biographer, William Coxe, is also a subject that deserves additional research (Coxe 1818: vii).

There are no responses from the Navy Minister contained in the lengthy file of advices which Madgett furnished to the Minister in 1799 and 1800 (AN/MAR/G/242). He claims to have met with the Navy Minister de Vetry in 1799 (Ibid.). Military and National Archives might well shed light on ministerial interaction with Madgett in those years. Similarly, the advisory role he appears to have had in relation to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, based on secondary sources, might also be reflected in ministerial files of the period (Paine 1945: 1502; Keane 1995:482).

7. A final word

What Madgett and Sullivan accomplished must be viewed in the context of the times in which they lived. They survived in an adopted homeland and were always under threat of arrest and execution if they returned to Ireland. The personal sacrifices which they made and their contribution to Irish nationalism through translation have been largely unrecognised by

historians, until recent contributions by Kleinman and Ferradou. John Sullivan's escape from detention by the British army- in disguise as a French army officer- was in itself a remarkable bilingual feat (NA/HO/42/45/55).

The translators also lived in the shadow of restrictive anti-foreigner laws in France, which they had to circumnavigate in the light of a constantly fluctuating political orthodoxy. That both translators were able to promote the agenda of Irish independence from 1793 to 1796, close to the centre of power and in such an unpredictable political climate, is a measure of their achievement, but also of the political impact of translation itself. Madgett and Sullivan were protean hybrids oscillating between three cultural spaces: Irish Catholics in exile seeking educational and professional pathways denied to them in their country of birth; foreigners promoting the principles of the French Revolution; and Irish nationalists trying to undermine the British presence in Ireland through translation and contingent forms of engagement. They deserve to be remembered.

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Abbreviations

The documents relied on in the ‘Correspondance Politique Angleterre’ [Political correspondence England] files in the French Diplomatic Archives are abbreviated to CPA.

The documents relied on in the ‘Correspondance Politique États Unis’ [Political Correspondence United States] in the Diplomatic Archives are abbreviated to CP-EU.

The personal files of John Sullivan and Nicholas Madgett in the Diplomatic Archives are referenced using the abbreviated reference codes applied by the Archives themselves. AAE abbreviates ‘Archives Affaires Étrangères’ [Foreign Affairs Archives] and PERS abbreviates ‘Personnel’[Personal].

MD abbreviates ‘Mémoires et Documents’ in the Diplomatic Archives.

The French National Archives use the abbreviation ‘AF’ for ‘Archives Françaises’ [French Archives]. ‘Mar/G’ is the abbreviation used for the navy file of Madgett papers in the National Archives.

John Sullivan’s personal file in the French Military Archives has the abbreviation ‘GR/2YE’ applied to it which denotes an army officer file. General Humbert’s file is abbreviated by GR/8YD.

MV/CC is the abbreviation in the Military Archives for personnel files. MV/GG denotes military files emanating from private sources. MV/BB3 is the abbreviation for correspondence relating to secret agents.

GR/B/11 (sometimes GR/11/B) is the abbreviation in Military Archives for documents relating to the Irish expeditions of 1796 and 1798.

ANOM abbreviates the ‘Archives Nationales d’Outre-Mer’ [Overseas National Archives].

HO is the abbreviation for Home Office in respect of documents in the National Archives in Kew, London.

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Gazette Nationale ou Le Moniteur Universel, 19 décembre 1796
Le Journal des Dames, 8 juillet 1798, pp. 25-26 (Frankfurt)
Gazette de France, 7 août 1811
Journal de l'Empire, 2 avril 1812
Journal de Paris, 26 juillet 1812
Journal de l'Empire, 15 août 1812

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Hibernian Journal, 13 April 1795
Dublin Evening Post 14 April 1795
The Freeman's Journal 13 September 1798

English Newspapers

The following newspapers are discussed in the text of the thesis, whereas the full list of newspapers consulted appears in Appendix 15:

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The True Briton, 24 November 1795
The Morning Chronicle, 23 December 1795
The Oracle, 24 December 1795
The Times, 25 December 1795
The Morning Chronicle, 30 December 1795
The Morning Chronicle, 9 January 1796
Lloyds Evening Post, 15 to 18 January 1796
The Morning Chronicle, 12 February 1796
The Sun, 14 June 1796
The Sun, 5 August 1796
The Times, 5 August 1796
The Morning Chronicle, 5 August 1796

The Morning Chronicle, 6 August 1796
The Telegraph, 16 August 1796
The True Briton, 16 August 1796
The Sun, 16 August 1796
The Sun, 17 August 1796
The Courier, 17 August 1796
The Courier, 22 August 1796
The True Briton, 25 August 1796
The Morning Chronicle, 25 August 1796
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Appendix 1. Parallel text of Letter from William Jackson to Nicholas Madgett, 11 March 1794, translated by Madgett

The translations analysed in chapter 5 are set out as parallel texts in Appendices 1 to 13. It is not always possible to precisely match the source text with the translation, for example where the translator has used paraphrase or omission, but the texts have been arranged to be in as parallel a configuration as possible. Relevant passages from the texts which are discussed in chapter 5 have been shaded for ease of reference. A question mark denotes a word in Madgett's handwritten translation that is undecipherable.

Page	English	French	Page
	Letter from William Jackson to Madgett, 11 th March 1794 (NA/HO/TS/11/959)	<i>Traduction d'une lettre de Jackson, 11 mars</i> (MV/GG/1/58/32)	
	London, Tuesday 11 th March 1794		p. 32
	<i>To Mr De Chapeaurouge at Hambourg</i>		
	As I well know your Loyalty and attachment to England and Holland, the Country you live in, I have the more readily executed the Commission with which you entrusted me; I have endeavoured to find out what the leading Characters think, what the Mass of the People are disposed to do, and the events which may naturally be expected to happen in this Country.	Comme je connois votre attachement pour l'Angleterre et pour l'Hollande ou vous faites actuellement votre séjour, je n'en ai été que plus exacte à remplir la Commissions dont vous m'avez chargé. En conséquence je n'ai rien négligé pour savoir 1 ^e ce que les hommes les plus éclairés de ce pays pensent sur la situation présente des affaires ; 2 ^e quelle est la disposition générale des esprits ; 3 ^e à quels evenements on doit naturellement s'attendre dans ce pays ci.	
	To collect the disposition of a Nation, we must observe certain	On ne peut connoitre la disposition générale d'une nation que par	

	signs of the times, and see how far they are favourable, or unfavourable, to the prevailing system.	certain symptômes généraux qu'annoncent le degré de faveur ou de défaveur que le peuple attache au système dominant.	
	On this principle we may perceive the following remarkable circumstances.	D'après ce principe voici ce que j'ai observé.	
	The most rigorous prosecutions are almost daily commenced against Persons for maintaining Opinions, yet no outcry is raised; the severest sentences are pronounced, and Verdicts are given favouring the Court, yet they are passed over as matters of no real moment; men are impressed and dragged from their homes and families, yet no resistance is attempted.	On exerce ici tous les jours les rigueurs les plus violentes contre des personnes qui n'ont d'autre crime que d'avoir manifesté leur opinion... cependant le peuple ne murmure pas. Dans les tribunaux on prononce les sentences les plus arbitraires, on fait des rapports absolument conformes aux vues du gouvernement, sans que le peuple ne se récrie contre ces iniquités ; on arrache par troupeaux des hommes de leurs maisons, de leurs familles, et ces violences n'éprouvent pas de résistance.	
	Recruits for the Army voluntarily offer themselves in great numbers, through thoughtlessness, and for the sake of the large bounty money, from ten to sixteen Guineas a Man being given; New Taxes, more Debt, and immense expenses levied and incurred, without the People at large caring much about the matter.	On impose tous les jours de nouvelles taxes, la dette publique s'accumule, les dépenses sont excessives ; et cependant le peuple garde le silence.	
	The loss of Toulon made scarcely any Impression.	La reprise de Toulon n'a presque point fait de sensation.	
	The safe arrival of the French East or West Indiamen, I forget which, caused a murmur of two days at the Exchange, and then passed over; Lord Chatham is still suffered to continue at the head of the Admiralty, although he has scarcely common sense; every body knows this, yet no one complains.	On s'est récrié à la bourse sur la négligence de la marine que a laissé entrer à bon port la flotte française des Indes orientales, mais cela n'a duré que deux jours. On souffre que lord Chatham reste à la tête de l'amirauté, tandis que tout le monde le connoit pour un imbécile.	

	The Dissenters, with Doctor Priestly, are going to America, yet it is not thought about as an Evil.	Les dissidens partent en foule avec le Docteur Priestley pour l'Amérique septentrionale et à peine y fait-on attention.	
	These are signs of the times which evidently shew, ²⁴ that the People at large are by no means disposed to act, as some Person might have supposed; knowing this the leading Characters think that time and misfortune only can rouse the sleeping Multitude.	Tels sont les symptômes qui caractérisent l'état actuel du peuple anglois. D'où les gens clairvoyans concluent qu'il n'est pas encore mûr pour la liberté ; il n'y a que le tems et les revers qui puissent le réveiller de son assoupissement.	
	There are from fifteen to sixteen thousand little societies associated for the purpose of debating and mutually informing each other, in the principles of social Duties and Equality.	Il y a dans ce pays environ 15 ou 16 000 petites sociétés dont le but est de s'instruire et s'éclairer mutuellement sur les principes de la liberté, des devoirs sociaux et de l'Egalité.	
	The gross number of these societies is stated at Twenty thousand Persons.		
	There are as many who agree perfectly with these Societies in principle but do not join their body from prudential or other motives.	Il y a à peu près 20 000 autres hommes qui pensent parfaitement comme ces Sociétés mais qui n'osent pas y assister de peur de s'y compromettre.	
	There is a middle order of men, rising of late years into existence: these are mechanics of every description, and a certain class of Tradesmen, among whom there is an abundance of good sense, and they are very respectable, as being much informed and enlightened.	Il s'élève encore depuis peu de tems d'autres sociétés composées d'artisans de toute espèce. Ce sont des gens de beaucoup de bon sens qui s'attachent singulièrement à s'instruire sur tout ce qui est relatif à la politique et à la morale.	
	They think, converse and read a great deal, and as all their thinking, reading and conversation are directed to the principles of Governments, they will in time have their just weight, but the time is not yet come.	Il resultera un jour de très grands effets de ces associations. Mais le tems n'en est pas [invisible] venu.	
	The seed is sown, and the Harvest is sure.	La graine est semée et la récolte infaillible.	

²⁴ According to Dr Johnson's dictionary, 'show' is often written as 'shew' (Johnson: 1755).

	If any foreign power were to attempt to force this Harvest, it would retard, instead of hasten, the event; such foreign power would not be joined but resisted, for the best disposed among the People here will not be dictated to.	Mais il n'en faut pas forcer la maturité – ce fera retarder au lieu d'accélérer l'évènement.	
	Their principle is not to have their opinions warped or directed by any external force whatever.		
	There is no danger of a foreign force landing, but were that the case, such force could only cause a change by the misfortune they would occasion.	Si une puissance étrangère venoit ici tout le monde se réuniroit pour lui résister. Elle ne pourrait [illisible] un changement qu'en jettant le peuple dans la plus grand misère.	
	That misfortune would call up a dispirit which must bring great events to pass.		
	It would strike a panic, and it is supposed by the most intelligent Persons that fifty thousand men would overrun the Country.	Cependant les gens éclairés pensent qu'une armée de 50 000 hommes suffiroit pour parcourir le pays d'un bout à l'autre	
	As the proof of a disposition to a panic, when a report lately prevailed that a landing was effected, there was a gloomy stupor seized on the People; for any where to the Northward of the Downes, there is not any thing, or very little, to oppose an Enemy.	et semer partout la terreur et quand le bruit s'est repandu dernièrement que l'ennemi étoit débarqué, une stupeur sombre s'est emparée de tous les esprits. Cela n'est pas etonnant car dans toute la partie qui est au nord des downes il n'y a que très peu de force à opposer à l'ennemi	p. 33
	Were a foreign force to land, the most violent Patriots, as they call themselves, must offer their services to the Government, or they would be imprisoned.	en cas qu'il voudrait s'y présenter. Mais alors les Republicains seraient forcés de prendre les armes, autrement il seroient tous incarcérés.	
	But if there be any real intention to effect a landing, unless it be soon done, it will have no consequence, and the force landing must expect nothing from the People; if they do, they will be greatly deceived.	Au reste si on pensoit sérieusement à nous faire une [?], il faudroit que ce fut bientôt, autrement elle n'auroit pas d'effet. Il ne faut pas même que l'armée débarquée compte sur aucun secours de notre part. Ce seroit une erreur grossière que d'y compter	

	I give you these opinions, not as my own, but as the opinions of the highest and most leading Characters here, who, after meeting together and deliberating on the business, have given their final thoughts.	Au reste je ne vous donne pas ces idées comme venant de moi. Elles sont le résultat de plus d'une conférence tenue par des gens du mérite le plus distingué.	
	The force, to do any thing effectual, must be an imposing one sufficient to conquer, and thus cutting up the Sinews of War, and destroying the public credit, would undoubtedly unhinge every thing.	Il faut une force importante pour produire l'effet qu'il est naturel d'en attendre. Elle doit l'être au point de pouvoir faire seule, la conquête du pays. Par là le nerf de la guerre seroit détruit, le crédit public anéanti et le système actuel absolument renversé.	
	But even in such a case the People must be left to manage their own affairs in the way they choose; to adopt this or any other Government, to have Tyranny or freedom as they best like.	Mais dans ce cas même, il faut laisser au peuple le soin d'agir pour lui-même de la manière qu'il le juge propre, qu'il adopte telle ou telle forme de gouvernement ; qu'il préfère la tyrannie à la liberté, n'importe, il faut le laisser faire.	
	As you now see that the mass of the People are by no means intent to join any external or foreign force, you will naturally ask, what then are they disposed to do?	Il ne veut point, je le repete, d'influence étrangère. Mais, me diriez vous, qu'entend donc faire le peuple, puisqu'il ne veut pas de l'entremise d'aucune puissance étrangère pour lui assurer la conquête de ses droits ?	
	I answer that the principle is gathering ground, and will work its way.	Je reponds que les vrais principes gagnent tous les jours de proche en proche et finiront par tout conquérir.	
	The People are disposed to be enlightened, and to enlighten each other.	Le peuple ne demandent mieux que d'être éclairé et de se communiquer réciproquement ses lumières.	
	They are disposed to persist in obtaining a Parliamentary reform, and they are averse to the War; they are disposed to persist in murmuring, but they are not ripe for any thing else, at least not here.	Il insiste sur une réforme parlementaire et ne veut point de la guerre. Il murmure, mais s'en tient là. Il n'est pas mur, tel est du moins la disposition des esprits ici. Je le répète, ils ne sont pas murs pour la liberté	
	Were they so disposed, do you imagine they would have suffered four Gentleman of Education and talents, and men of fortune, to have been sent like common	S'il l'étoient, croyez-vous qu'ils eussent souffert qu'on envoyât à Botany bay, comme de vrais malfaiteurs, quatre hommes d'une fortune, d'un mérite et de talens	

	thieves to Botany Bay, ironed and their heads shaved.	reconnus, et les eut marqués d'un fer rouge, rasés ?	
	The Dissenters not being assured of personal liberty in France, are going, and will go to America.	Les dissidens, n'étant pas sûr de leur liberté personnelle en France, partent et continueront à partir pour l'Amérique septentrionale.	
	There is another thing the leading Characters think, and which has contributed to render the Mass of the People not disposed to act as perhaps they would have been.	Il y a une autre raison qui, de l'avis des gens éclairés, n'a pas peu contribué à empêcher le peuple d'aller aussi loin qu'il eut été disposé à le faire,	
	Sufficient pain has not been taken to send over Decrees, intelligence and Works containing information.	c'est qu'on n'a pas pris soin de faire passer ici les décrets imprimés de la Convention, les nouvelles officielles, les écrits faits pour éclairer le peuple.	
	All the Accounts which the People here see from France are garbled, and so mutilated as to what is material that there are not grounds sufficient to form a judgement.	Tout ce qu'on lit ici relativement aux affaires de la France est si tronqué, si altéré, surtout dans les objets essentiels, que le public ne peut pas asseoir un jugement certain.	p. 34
	The leading Characters here think that it would answer a very good purpose to have a trusty Agent at Havre, to whom Decrees of importance with the motives for proposing them, and various other Productions should be sent, and that he should forward them here by neutral vessels as often as possible.	Nos amis ici croient qu'il seroit très à propos d'avoir au havre un agent assidu pour envoyer par les vaisseaux neutres tout ce qui paraît chez vous d'intéressant, tant en décrets avec les motifs qui ont fait rendre, qu'en autres ouvrages faits pour éclairer.	
	Debrett, Bookseller, in Piccadilly would gladly receive them.	Debrett, libraire à Piccadilly, seroit enchanté de les recevoir et les distribuerait avec plaisir.	
	The majority of the People are, even at this moment, entirely at a loss to know the real grounds on which the King was executed.	On en est encore à savoir en Angleterre pourquoi le roi a été mis à mort.	
	The Papers which prove his Treachery, duplicity and Negotiation with foreign power, are kept back from publick view.	Le public n'a aucune connaissance des pièces qui prouvent ses trahisons, sa duplicité et ses négociations secrètes avec les cours étrangers. Le gouvernement a pris les plus grandes précautions pour les soustraire à la connaissance du public.	

	Yet the Government here have every intelligence they want.		
	It is a fact that a Courier comes regularly from Paris to Mr Pitt with intelligence every three days.	Un fait très certain est que tous les trois jours, régulièrement, il arrive chez M. Pitt un courrier chargé de dépêcher de Paris.	
	No pains have hitherto been taken to send useful information from that place to the People here.	Et on n'a pas pris de peine chez vous pour faire passer ici les instructions dont le peuple auroit besoin !	
	How a Courier can come so frequently as every three days from Paris, and escape the vigilance of the several Committees, I cannot conceive, but you may depend on the fact being so.	Comment se peut-il que les choses soient déposées par le ministre de manière qu'il lui arrive un courrier tous les trois jours ? La vigilance des comités est ici en défaut.	
	It is as well known here to be the case as it is known that we are at War.	Au reste ce fait est connu de tout le monde ici.	
		(les feuilles angloises rendent compte, cinq jours après l'avènement d'elle, de tout ce qui arrive à Paris)	
	Independent of the want of information, there is another thing which has much indisposed the People, that is, the general arrestation of the English.	Outre cette cause de l'indisposition des Anglois contre la révolution française, il en existe une autre, c'est l'arrestation générale de tous les sujets Britanniques.	
	This measure has given the greatest offense.	Cette mesure a déplu sommairement.	
	The leading Characters here think that it would be magnanimous, and have great good effect, to pass an Act of general liberation, and permit such as choose to return their Country.	Les gens de poids ici pensent qu'il y auroit de la magnanimité, que ce seroit une politique très bien entendue, d'élargir tous ces prisonniers, sauf à renvoyer chez eux tous les gens qui seroient [?] soit peu suspects.	
	It is wished also, that Christianity, devoid of all absurdity, were cherished as a Religion <i>sans culotte</i> and favouring the principle of equality.	Ces mêmes personnes désiroient aussi que le christianisme, le christianisme dépouillé de toutes ses absurdités, devint le dogme chéri des <i>sans culotte</i> , attendu qu'il est si favorable à l'Egalité.	
	It is said that it is sufficient to direct the War against superstition and fanaticism.	C'est bien assez, disent ces personnes, de diriger la guerre contre la superstition et la fanatisme.	

	From what I have observed respecting the disposition of the Mass of the People, we may collect the events that will happen; this Campaign will certainly be continued, as all the arrangements are made.	D'après mes observations sur la disposition générale des esprits, je crois pouvoir prédire les evenmens. La campagne aura certainement lieu puisque tous les arrangements sont pris à cet égard.	
	Earl Moira, they suppose, is to force a way on some part of the Coast for his troops, and Lille is to be the place of general attack.	On croit que le Comte de Moira effectuera une descente sur quelque point de la côte, et que l'attaque sera dirigée sur Lille,	p. 35
	Unless some signal misfortune happens, such as a landing effected, and the force successful, another Campaign will take place.	et, à moins d'un échec extraordinaire, ou d'une descente heureuse sur nos côtes, une autre campagne aura lieu.	
	If a landing were effected to the Northward of the Downes, at the Whitehaven, Newcastle, and the Coal Works were destroyed, the panic would be general.	La consternation seroit générale si cette descente avoit lieu au nord des downes à Shields, Whithaven, Newcastle, parce que il en resulteroit la destruction totale de nos mines de charbon.	
	The mere report as I before observed, made as many long faces as there are People.	Le seul bruit, comme je l'ai déjà dit, d'une pareille nouvelle a fait allonger la figure à tout le monde ici dans tous les parages.	
	There is only the militia to oppose, as to the land force.	La seule resistance qu'on pourroit éprouver, seroit celle de la milice, du moins pour ce que regarde la force de terre.	
	But not a man of the People would join.	Mais elle ne seroit secondée par aucun des habitans de pays.	
	I am fully persuaded of this by the most enlightened Conversation.	C'est là un fait dont je suis pleinement convaincu d'après les renseignements les plus authentiques.	
	The enclosed Paper you are to consider, and make it known, are the result of the deliberate opinions of the first leading Characters here, by whom it has been seen, and who have each approved the different articles, and added some one of their own.	Il faut que vous regardiez l'écrit ci-inclus comme le résultat des délibérations les plus mûres de la part des personnes les plus éclairés de ce pays ci. Elles l'ont examiné conjointement et séparément et y ont ajouté leurs reflexions individuelles.	
	When I mention leading Characters, I mean Lansdowne, Lauderdale, Stanhope, Fox,	Ce sont M. M. Landsdowne, Lauderdale, Stanhope, Sheridan, Smith, Whitebread, Grey, Vaughan,	

	Sheridan, Smith, Whitbread, Grey, Vaughan, Lord Lansdowne's right-hand man, the author of the <i>Calm Observer</i> , in the <i>Morning Chronicle</i> .	le bras droit de Landsdowne et auteur du <i>Calm Observer</i> (l'observateur calme) dans le <i>Morning Chronicle</i> .	
	It is he who wrote the printed Letter I enclose.	C'est lui qui a écrit la lettre imprimée ci incluse (elle n'est pas dans le paquet) [?]	
		Suite de la lettre de Jackson, 11 mars	
	All these men, and Lord Wycomb, Lansdowne's son, have ratified the articles in this Paper, and [illegible] the whole as their opinion.	Tous ces Messieurs, ainsi que le Lord Wycombe, fils de Landsdowne, ont ratifié et donné pour leur opinion tous les articles contenus dans cet écrit.	p. 36
	They are not to be named publickly.		
	What weight the Paper will have I know not, but I think I have done great things to get it you [sic], for it is of more consequence than all the random conjecture that wishes could form or hope believe.	Je crois avoir beaucoup fait en vous le procurant car il est infiniment préférable à toutes ces conjectures en l'air enfantées par le désir ou l'espoir de les voir se réaliser.	
	Men of great abilities, well wishers, intimately acquainted with the temper and disposition of the County.	Les personnes de qui je tiens ces détails sont des hommes du premier mérite, des hommes ardemment zélés pour la bonne cause, et parfaitement instruits de la disposition générale des esprits.	
	I should add that if an attempt were made to land and that it fails, or if, on a landing being effected, the force should not succeed, the Nation would unanimous in carrying on the War to eternity.	Je dois ajouter ici qu'une descente, si elle étoit tentée sans succès, si elle n'étoit pas soutenue par une force suffisante, exciteroit des clameurs unanimes pour la continuation de la guerre.	
	On the subject of supply, our friend's brother will engage to send any article you want in your trade to any Amount, but in this manner only would he do it.	Quant aux livres (les approvisionnements de toute espèce), le frère de notre ami (Stone) s'engagera à en fournir la quantité dont vous (la France) aurez besoin, mais pour cet effet,	
	A confidential Agent on whom he could rely must be stationed at Hambourg, with a Warehouse to receive the Articles consigned to him.	vous (le Comité de Salut public) devez établir à Hambourg un agent en qui il ait plein confiance, et qui ait à sa disposition un magasin pour recevoir les marchandises (le bled,	

		les farines, cuirs, savons, fer blanc, draps, toiles, etc.)	
	Being unshipped, his vessels return for more.	Dès qu'elles seront déchargées, ses vaisseaux retourneront pour en prendre de nouvelles cargaisons.	
	The Agent must find means to forward them to you.		
	Would this plan suit? Inquire?	Voyez si ce projet convient.	
	If it should, the sooner an Agent is fixed on the better.	Dans ce cas le plus tôt l'exécuter ne sera que le mieux.	
	The mode of Payment, all should be hastened.	Il faut aussi prendre des arrangements pour le prompt payement de tout	
	I have mentioned the mode of addressing in a Letter, which does this day to our Friend, and I trust I shall hear as soon as possible.		
	This Letter, although not very long, yet I hope you will think satisfactory.	Je [?] flatter que cette lettre, quoique peu bien longue, vous donnera toute satisfaction.	
	I therefore dismiss the subject and advert to a matter of a private nature.		
	The bill for twenty-six pounds, which I gave Swan, was paid, consequently you may get my watch; let him deduct what I owe him, and you or our Friend account to me for the remainder; pray do it immediately.		
	Remember me to all who know me, and believe me truly your Friend.		

Appendix 2. Parallel text of Extracts from William Pitt's speech in the House of Commons 30 December 1794, translation attributed to Nicholas Madgett

Page	English	French	Page
	Extracts from <i>William Pitt's speech in the House of Commons 30 December 1794</i> (Pitt 1806: 236-250)	<i>Discours de Pitt dans le Parlement concernant la situation de la France</i> (CPA/588/294)	
p. 240	The arguments used by my honourable friend, in support of his amendment, may be divided into two classes: The impolicy of continuing the war, and the insecurity of peace.	Mon honorable ami (M. Canning) a proposé, en poursuivant la guerre avec vigueur, de rechercher les moyens de faire la paix.	p.294
	One of the arguments which he uses in support of the impolicy of continuing the war, is grounded on the recent changes that have taken place in France.	Il croit que la dernière révolution en France nous en facilitera les moyens.	
	My right honourable friend's speech was a sufficient answer to that argument.		
	The change that has taken place in France is only the change of an attachment to a name, and not to a substance.	On lui a déjà répondu que ce changement n'était guère que celui des noms.	
	Those who have succeeded to the government since the fall of Robespierre, have succeeded to the same sort of government.	Ceux qui ont renversé Robespierre, ont maintenu le système Révolutionnaire.	
	They adopt the same revolutionary system; and, though they have made a more moderate use of their power than Robespierre, yet they differ from him only about as much as Robespierre did from Brissot, who	Il est vrai qu'ils ont substitué la douceur à la cruauté. Cependant, leur haine pour l'Angleterre est toujours la même : leurs principes (?) ceux qui triomphoient avec Robespierre dans le temps où l'on nous déclara la guerre.	

	incited the war against this country.		
	The present government, therefore, deserves no more the name of moderation, than that established by Brissot and his followers, who committed the unprovoked aggression against Great Britain.		
	The system of the present governors has its root in the same unqualified rights of man, the same principles of liberty and equality – principles, by which they flatter the people with the possession of the theoretical rights of man, all of which they vitiate and violate in practice.	C'est toujours la même théorie de liberté et d'égalité malentendue et destructive de tout ordre social.	
	The mild principles of our government are a standing reproach to theirs, which are as intolerant as the rankest popish bigotry.	Notre système politique est une éternelle [?] contre le leur.	
	Their pride and ambition lead them not so much to conquer, as to carry desolation and destruction into all the governments of Europe.	Ils cherchent moins des conquêtes que la destruction de tous les gouvernements.	
	Have we any right, therefore, to suppose that victory and triumph can produce so great a change in their detestable principles, or that success is such a corrective of all those vicious qualities that pervade their principles and their practice?	Pensez-vous que leurs étonnant succès aient en cela réformé leurs idées ?	
p. 248	It may be asked, could any man have imagined that such a plan would have been resorted to?	Depuis 1793, on s'aperçoit qu'il y a trop de papier : qu'il tombe dans un discrédit progressif, que la terreur seule avait pu lui conserver une apparence de valeur.	p.295
	That it was resorted to – that it succeeded, has been proved.		
	Let us look to the principles of it.		

	There was a law which compelled every man to take at par, that which was worth only one sixth of the sum for which it was take: a law for the <i>maximum</i> of the price of all commodities: a law by which no person was permitted to renounce his occupation, under the penalty of twenty years imprisonment.	De là les lois sur le <i>maximum</i> qui se sont écoulées avec Robespierre de là les défenses de cesser son commerce, d'abandonner ses manufactures sous peine de 20 ans de fers :	
	But you will tell me, that this proves how unlimited the powers and resources of the French are.		
	My reply is, that such a system could neither be undertaken nor succeed but by means which could not last.	moyens forcés qui ne pouvoient durer à cause de leur violence même,	
	I will not detain you by detail, but merely mention the other means of terror: the constant activity of the guillotine; the ferocious despotism of the deputies on missions.	qui avoient besoin d'avoir pour appui les guillotines persistantes, la féroce extravagance des représentans en mission,	
	In addition to all the other engines of torture, Cambon, the mouth of the convention in matters of finance, tells us, that, in every district, there were revolutionary committees to watch the execution of the decrees of the convention, and to enable the convention to seize the spoil of the people; the pay of these committees amounted annually to 26 millions pounds sterling.	et ces [?] de Comités révolutionnaires qui s'emparaient de tout et dont la solde montoit à 26 million sterling.	
	I say this standing army of revolutionary committees is a mean adequate to produce so mighty an end.		

Appendix 3. Parallel text of Report of Meeting of Catholics, Francis St Church, Dublin, 9 April 1795, translated by Nicholas Madgett

Page	English	French	Page
	ORATIONS DELIVERED AT A NUMEROUS AND RESPECTABLE MEETING OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, HELD AT FRANCIS-STREET CHAPEL, ON THURSDAY THE NINTH OF APRIL 1795; ON THE GRAND QUESTION OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION (James Haly 1795)	<i>Débats et résolutions de l'assemblée des Catholiques tenue à Dublin, le 9 Avril, 1795, pour entendre le rapport des Députés qui avaient été envoyés pour porter au Roi le vœu des Catholique d'Irlande</i> , translated by Nicholas Madgett (CPA/588/494)	p. 494
p. 3	FRANCIS-STREET CHAPEL		
	THURSDAY – APRIL THE NINTH		
	THIS day, a most numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman Catholics of this city was held in Francis-street chapel, for the purpose of receiving the report of the Delegates appointed at a meeting on the 27th of February last, to present an Address to his Majesty, in respect to the event of their mission on that occasion.		
	About two o'Clock the Delegates arrived, and JOHN SWEETMAN, Esq; being unanimously voted into the chair,		
	Mr. E. BYRNE rose and said, that the Delegates having performed the duties of their mission, were come now to make a report of their		

	proceedings; but, conscious of his own inadequacy to make that report in so ample a manner as the importance of the subject required, he entreated permission to impose, that duty on another of his colleagues, much more competent to the talk. [He alluded to Mr. Keogh.]		
	Mr. KEOGH reported, that in obedience to the orders of the last meeting of the Carbolie of Dublin, assembled here on the 27th of February, Baron Hussey, of Galtrim, Mr. Byrne, and himself, had proceeded immediately with their Address to his Majesty, that they had presented it at the levee, on the 15th March, and were honoured with what is generally understood to be a gracious reception.	M. Keogh, rapporteur, informe l'assemblée que la Députation s'était rendue à la cour de St James, elle avait présenté au Roi l'adresse des Catholiques, et qu'elle avait eu ce qu'on appelle une gracieuse réception.	
	That they considered it their duty to request an interview with the Secretary of State for the home department [the D. of Portland] to receive such information as he should think fit to impart, relative to his Majesty's determination on the subject: of the Address — that the Secretary of State declined giving any information whatsoever — save that his Majesty had imparted his pleasure thereon to the Lord Lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel through which that information should pass. — Their solicitations to obtain any intimation of his Majesty's pleasure having proved ineffectual, they considered that the object of their mission was terminated, and immediately after returned.	Qu'ayant ensuite demandé une audience au Duc de portland, pour savoir les intentions de sa Majesté relativement à cette adresse, le Secrétaire d'État lui avait refusé tout explication à ce sujet, et lui avait annoncé que sa Majesté ne faisait savoir sa réponse que par le canal du Gouverneur d'Irlande.	

p. 4	Mr. Keogh having here finished the report, proceeded. It may gratify this meeting to know, that on an object so important to them, and to every Catholic in Ireland, your deputies did not omit to give that weight to your humble and just expectations, in which they knew they were justified. They represented to the Secretary of State, that the Catholics, in obedience to the laws, which they had never ceased to respect, could not meet by delegation, and therefore, the Address entrusted to our care, professed to speak for the Catholics of Dublin only, but that we wished his Grace to understand that the sentiments contained in that Address, would be supported by the Catholics of every part of Ireland. They were all attached to his Majesty — all Supplicated that they should not be governed by a system of terror— and all united in praying for complete Emancipation.		
	Your deputies stated, that they were not ignorant that they had enemies in those who were interested in the present monopoly— so oppressive to the Catholic— and so injurious to his Majesty’s service— that we protested against the injustice of any decision by his Majesty’s Ministers, against so great a portion of his subjects, upon the evidence or misrepresentation of one party, and that an interested party, without hearing the other in their own defence. We therefore solicited, on the part of the Catholics, to know what were the		

	objections or reasons, that our opponents urged, for keeping the Catholics under the present restrictive laws ; or were there any allegations against their loyalty, peaceable conduct, and obedience to the laws? — That we were willing and ready to meet any charges, if any such there were, that were likely to influence his Majesty’s Ministers— that there were then in London, some of those known to interest themselves against Catholic relief; we therefore called upon the Secretary of State, that his Majesty’s Ministers, before they decided on their representations, should call these, your enemies and your Deputies, face to face, and if they were able to substantiate any one charge against you, that we would retire without complaint ; but that we knew the moderation of your conduct, and the justice of your expectations, would support us against any superiority of abilities.		
	I am sorry to state to this meeting, that this application to the Secretary, and a letter to another of his Majesty’s Ministers, to solicit an interview — both failed of success. On this I shall make no comment. I cannot, I will not suppose, that the fate of a whole people will be decided by Ministers, without the decency of a hearing, save on one part; a late publication, it is true, of part of the correspondence supposed to be between Earl Fitzwilliam, and one of his Majesty’s Ministers, has torn away that veil that was before thrown over the interference of		

	British Ministers in the affairs of Ireland.		
	But let us not believe that an Irish Parliament will not support its own independence, and hear and comply with the voice of the Protestant and the prayer of the Catholic.		
	But as this publication, attributed to Earl Fitzwilliam, points out an interference so barefaced and avowed, in the affairs of a country, said to be independent ;— we are led to enquire what motive, or interest, or policy, can decide an English Minister to repulse, or disgust, or perhaps to alienate; a whole people ?	Le rapporteur expose la conduite impolitique du Ministre Anglais, qui parait avoir adopté pour maxime favorite qu'il faut dompter le peuple en le muselant : maxime qui, de nos jours, a produit tant de révolutions. Le Rapporteur prouve combien il est d'intérêt du Gouvernement de ménager le peuple d'Irlande, vu les grandes ressources qu'il en tire pour son commerce et pour ses armées de terre et de mer. Il trace le tableau des manœuvres infâmes qu'emploient les agents du Gouvernement Anglais pour desunir et opprimer les Catholiques.	
	Is the affection and the attachment of the inhabitants of Ireland, a matter of small importance to England ? Could England, who has so often been the arbiters of Europe, could she hold her rank, or even exist as a powerful nation, without Ireland ?		
	In England, Wales, and Scotland, the present population is about nine millions ; Ireland alone contains four millions and a half.		
	Has England on this earth one nation so great a customer for her		

	manufactures and for the produce of her colonies ?		
p. 5	Are we not impoverished by the immense sums we remit annually to our Absentees, who spend them in England ?		
	Do not our brave and hardy countrymen, in the hour of danger, crowd their armies and man their fleets ?		
	Have we not, within the last 22 months, furnished his Majesty with 120,000 men ? Is it not a moderate calculation to say, that 110,000 of these were Catholics ?		
	The navy of Britain is justly her glory, as it is her best defence. Is not one-third of that navy composed of Irish Catholics ? We see in the debates of the British Parliament, Ministers continually resorting to the glorious victory obtained on the first of June, as some counterpoise to the misfortunes of this war. Could Lord Howe have obtained that victory with one-third less force ? He would not say so. Is it then just, is it wise, without provocation, with all these merits pleading for us, with our Protestant friends and countrymen pleading for us, for the Ministers of England to become our opposers — our enemies ?		
	A month has scarce elapsed since all was peace, union, and happiness in Ireland ; a Viceroy, and the men he called to his councils, possessing the confidence of the nation. We were		

	promised support for the repeal of laws oppressive to us — laws which serve no living creature, save a few, a very few monopolists. In the moment of gratitude supplies were voted beyond the means of the nation, without opposition in Parliament, or a murmur from the people who must pay them.		
	Is it honourable, is it honest, in the people of England to suffer their Minister to take our money to support their wars, and to shuffle us out of that relief which would cost them nothing ?		
	Is not this descending to the vice of commerce ? Is it not swindling ? If this treatment can admit of aggravation, it is by stating the simple fact, that we ask nothing from England.		
	Have we applied to them for a subsidy to enable us to defend ourselves ? No. — We grant supplies to aid them. Have we called upon them to surrender up to us any one manufacture No.— We consume largely their manufactures. Have we sought to lessen one prerogative of the Crown ? We have not. Have we demanded the exclusive trade of any one island in the West Indies or settlement in the East ? No. — But we are her best customers for their produce. What then do we ask ? That in our native land we should be bound by the same laws, enjoy the same privileges, be interested in defence of the constitution, equally with the rest of our countrymen, and this is the		

	wish of a great and respectable part of the Protestants of Ireland ; and of all the Catholics : but it may be said, we are not to infer from the Minister's refusal to hear us, that the determination of the British Cabinet is adverse ; if it be not so, why are the Government prints in England and Ireland let loose against our claims ? When relief is petitioned for, why is no hope held out ? Why are soldiers daily arriving at this crisis ? Are these the politics of a great Minister ? Is this the mode he takes to conciliate a people without whose aid England cannot exist ? We hear a murmur, I hope unauthorized, that the people must be PUT DOWN AND MADE TAME !— it is easy to put down a mob, or punish any burst of illegal passion ; but he must be a shallow Minister indeed, and unfit for that high station, who would not rather conciliate than alienate the affections of a whole people.		
p. 6	If in England, from North to South, and from East to West, the Minister knew that in every city, every village, every house, the people united in ONE request: ; a request that would gratify them, and cost him or the country nothing; would he disgust them by refusal ? would he talk of PUTTING THEM DOWN ? — a nation may be silenced for a time, but cannot be put DOWN. Your Deputies not able to ascertain the determination of the English Cabinet, could not shut their ears to those reports and topics, adverse to our hopes circulated in London, by men who avowed themselves the		

	friends of Mr. Pitt ; however, weak or contemptible they may appear to you, to communicate all that relates to your interests, is the duty of your Deputies.		
	What do you think of its being said in London, that you do not wish for Emancipation ? [A general laugh.]		
	Think of the kind attention of gentlemen in London, gravely expressing their apprehensions for the safety of Protestant property in Ireland, so grievously to be endangered by your Emancipation ! These vigilant guardians will not submit the care of their own estates to Mr. Conolly or Mr. Knox in the North of Ireland, or to the Duke of Leinster, or the Ponsonbys in the center, or to Lord Donoughmore in the South. — Have not those our illustrious friends property in Ireland ? Are they ignorant of their own and their country's interests ? Have they no knowledge of the dispositions of their grateful countrymen ? How happy is Ireland in having such watchful and kind friends in London to defend their estates and their properties !		
	But it is urged in a more firm tone, that no change must be hazarded, at a time when Europe is convulsed with revolutions.		
	If revolutions are admitted to be conclusive against our Emancipation, we must submit, for it cannot be denied, that the annals of mankind never furnished so		

	great a number in so short a period — for not to mention the revolution in America, but to confine ourselves to the short period of the present war, we have witnessed.		
	That wonderful revolution, which has taken place in France.		
	A revolution in Brabant.		
	A revolution in Geneva.		
	Two revolutions in unhappy deserted Poland.		
	And now a revolution in Holland.		
	But whether these should decide a Minister, not to relieve or redress the just complaints of a people, or whether it should decide him to give them a substantial cause to complain — I confess, I, for one, have my doubts. — The Majority of this meeting must recollect perfectly that when America made a part of the British empire, they complained that although British subjects, they were excluded from the privileges of the British Constitution; they addressed, and petitioned, and remonstrated for years — but they addressed and petitioned in vain ; they sent Deputies to London, but without effect — even the venerable Franklin was insulted when sent as the American advocate to the British Ministers. — It was the fashion to treat them with neglect, if not with contempt. — They were to be PUT DOWN AND MADE TAME ; an armed force was sent to America — conciliation was		

p. 7	neglected — the people's affections were alienated — and all the world knows the result. Great Britain rues it, for she not only lost America, but is now paying taxes for the interest of one hundred millions of debt, for not timely repressing the rashness of her then Ministers, and still continues under the burden, and must continue under it, from this day until the day of judgment, if her government shall last so long.		
	Brabant one of the finest and most improved countries of Europe— is inhabited by an industrious, moral, and brave people ; they were denied the privileges of their constitution ; they petitioned their Emperor and King ; they sent Deputies to Vienna— but all in vain ; he had desperate Ministers, who had nothing to lose by the event. — The people of Brabant were to be PUT DOWN AND MADE TAME ; an armed force was sent among them ; their affections were alienated ; 100,000 men have fallen ; immense treasures have been exhausted ; the Emperor has been cashiered, and Brabant is gone from the House of Austria, for ever.		
	The people of Holland complained that their constitution was invaded— their complaints were also in vain. — The people of Holland were to be PUT DOWN AND MADE TAME ; an armed force of 40,000 Prussians was brought among them; their affections were alienated, and they preferred any government, to that which oppressed them ; and		

	though England entered into this war, for the preservation of Holland — yet that country, which could never be subdued, if the people were attached to their government, is now lost to the Stadtholder, and to England ; she is joined in alliance with France—and the people of England have taxes to pay for 70 millions more contracted in this war.		
	The Catholics of Ireland were excluded from the privileges of the constitution of their country ; their sole prayer was to participate in them : they have, for several years past, addressed and petitioned the throne and the legislature ; they have sent deputies to London in 1793, and now again in 1795 ; they are a large majority of the inhabitants of Ireland : they pay a great portion of the taxes ; and I have already dated the important strength they add to the army and navy.— I shall briefly hint at the treatment they received from a government they so much contributed to support.		
	In an Address to Lord Westmoreland they expressed a modest and feeble Hope, that, by a perseverance in loyalty, and obedience to the laws, they might, at some FUTURE period, receive some mitigation of the penal laws; will it be believed, that Lord Westmoreland refused to receive the Address unless the paragraph containing even a distant HOPE should be erased ?— Hope, the last comfort of the wretched, was denied to the Catholics.	Les Catholiques, dit M. Keogh, dans une adresse qu'ils ont présenté au Lord Westmoreland, ont exprimé <i>une modeste et faible espérance</i> que par leur attachement à sa Majesté et leur soumission aux lois, ils obtiendraient, à quelque époque future, un adoucissement à la rigueur des lois pénales : eh bien ! le croirait-on ? Le vice-Roi a refusé de recevoir cette adresse, à moins que les passages concernant l'espérance n'en fût effacé ; l'espérance, la dernière consolation	

		des malheureux a été refusé aux Catholiques !	
	After this they framed a most humble petition to Parliament, and Members to whom they applied were willing to present it. — Indeed, I believe there is no instance of the most petty corporation, or pot-walloping borough meeting having the smallest difficulty in bringing a dutiful petition before Parliament. — Yet the influence of the Castle was exerted to such a degree, that the Members who had been applied to declined presenting it : and the petition of the three millions and a half of people could not find its way to those we call the Representatives of the People.		
p. 8	These instances only I shall recall to your recollection, better suited to Algiers or Constantinople, than to a country of freemen. — I will not enter into the manoeuvres by county and Grand Jury addresses, to agitate and distract this country ; nor will I remind you, that when a petition was afterwards presented and lay upon the table of Parliament, to add insult to refusal, it was dragged from the table, and rejected with contempt — But not to repeat more of these attempts to put down the people, whose indignation and spirit increased by these insults, we will pass on to 1793, when, by his Majesty's gracious interposition, a law passed in our favour ; we fondly hoped all acrimony was at an end, and that pursuant to the Royal wish, we would be permitted to unite with our fellow subjects.	Se montre dans tout son jour l'infamie des agents du Gouvernement, qu'entretiennent à leur solde une foule de faux (?) témoins et de délateurs, pour persécuter les Catholiques, les plus remarquables par leur Vertu et leur patriotisme.	

	The Catholics had then a Convention, possessing the confidence of three millions and a half of their brethren ; their first act was unsolicited to dissolve the Convention, never to meet again ; to bury all former heats in oblivion ; to forget every thing past, except their obligations to their Protestant friends. At this time every man was disposed for conciliation, but when we were sure of relief, and of enjoying the benefit of the law, this was the moment seized upon to disappoint us, and to dash the cup from our lips ; parties were encouraged against us ; we were shut out from the city, and many other Grand Juries ; the corporation of Dublin was permitted to go on in their bigotry and exclusion ; the Government prints let loose against us, and some of our brethren, men of property and character, in the midst of their trade, dragged from their compting-houses, thrown into prison in Navan, Dublin, and Drogheda, escaping punishment, nay death, but by a miracle, upon the accusation of a known perjurer, a felon taken from his dungeon.— Who encouraged the villain ? Who clothed him at Drogheda previous to the trial ? Did it not come out on the trial, in the presence of Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Curran, and the whole Court, that the clothes were ordered by GENTLEMEN ? Who were those gentlemen ? Did not this villain perjure himself anew on the trial ?		
	During this alarming time, before the trial of our friends, were there		

	not reports spread to intimidate others of our body ? Was not Mr. Byrne, threatened ? The presence of that gentleman withholds me from stating his known character, his fortune, and his services to the commerce and revenues of his country. — Was there not also threatened another gentleman, whose absence in the country enables me to say what we all think of him ?— A man of as much honour, truth, integrity, and friendship, as this or any nation can boast ; a man who, from his youth, has spent his time in acts of benevolence to his fellow-citizens. — Even I was threatened ; but with such men, I felt myself honoured in being included. — Had any of us, to escape a prison, fled or concealed ourselves, then your enemies might cry out that there was a presumptive evidence of some plot ; that conscious guilt made us fly.— Your character, and our own honour, determined us at all events, to face the storm ; but when our brethren at Drogheda and Navan escaped the snare, it put a flop to the scheme of Plots.		
	The country remained silent, but not PUT DOWN by these attempts ; at length we were delivered from the horrors of that administration, and comforted and cheered by the appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam. — In his short stay among us, we were again persuaded, that distrust, and bitterness, and persecution would cease, and that the remnants of the penal code that keeps discord alive, would be for ever removed. — The cup was thus		

	again brought to our lips, only to be dashed away a Second time.		
p. 9	Whether the history of the Catholics of Ireland, in their conduct, bears any resemblance to the history of America, of Brabant, or of Holland, I cannot say ; but if it does, the similarity holds only while they had recourse to constitutional redress. To these only the Catholics have resorted, or will I hope, resort — and would it not be equally wise and just if Ministers would prove to the world, that they are ready to redress the grievance of those who will make use of no force but that of reason and of argument ? Will they give by treaty to America more than Ireland asks ? and will it not be better to attach Ireland by affection, and by interest, than by severity, or attempts by putting her down — to alienate her ? Let us ask, which of those modes will gratify most his Majesty's enemies, or those who have the Government of France? How rejoiced will they be, if they hear that a British Minister is unnecessarily and wantonly disgusting a brave and populous country ; but it cannot be ! Let us confide in our Parliament, and in the King of Ireland to repair this rashness ; they are the best friends to both, who remove discontents, and unite the people — for the true strength of Ireland, and the best security for its connection is to make the people happy and content.		
	I have to relate one more objection made in England to your		

	Emancipation. It was reported there that some person taking advantage, even of his Majesty's virtues, of his known zeal for religion and morality, had attempted to insinuate that your total Emancipation was inconsistent with the coronation oath. Surely none but a Jacobin, or a maker of Jacobins, would propagate such an opinion. I cannot conceive that any friend to the Crown — or to coronations — or to Monarchs— -Would instil into their subjects an apprehension that coronation oaths were inconsistent with their liberty and happiness ; but let not Catholics give credit to such incendiaries ; one fact or two will put this out of doubt. Is the Constitution of Canada inconsistent with the coronation oath ? Certainly not. Is not the Constitution of the new acquired kingdom of Corsica, confident with the coronation oath, where the Officers, Judges, and Parliament, are Catholics, and not of the most liberal cast, for they are of the Italian school ? And can it be believed that the Corsicans shall possess privileges from which the faithful Irish are to be debarred ? — It cannot be.— What is their superior claim ? How many millions annually will Corsica grant in aid of the empire or of the war ? Not a shilling. How many hundred thousand pounds will her absentees spend in England ? I fancy not sufficient to support a Cook's shop.		
	Has Corsica sent 120,000 men ? Has she sent a single regiment to fight the battles of England in		

	Germany ? Did they man one-third of the navy on the 1st of June ? or will they ever man a single cutter in her service ?		
	Can it then be possible that the Catholics of Ireland will be denied a share in their own Constitution, when without difficulty such a constitution is guaranteed and allowed to Corsica, more especially when it is the desire of our illustrious and affectionate Protestant countrymen ?		
	I have now done, and shall only add, that our present demand is just, moderate, and humble ; it is that we may obtain an equal interest in the defence of the Constitution of our country, by an equal participation in its blessings.		
p. 10	<i>[In the course of Mr. KEOGH's speech a great body of the Students of the University, who had been that day to present an Address to Mr. Grattan appeared, and were received with the most enthusiastic acclamations — every man was eager to inconvenience himself for their accommodation — they were placed in the front of the meeting, and upon their taking their seats, a fresh burst of acclamation arose that shook the edifice to its foundation. It was a most interesting spectacle, and powerfully agitated the best feelings of the human heart — many shed tears, but they were tears of rapture. —When the enthusiasm of the assembly had somewhat abated, Mr. Keogh proceeded to congratulate that meeting, and the whole nation, on</i>	M. Keogh avait été interrompu au milieu de son discours par l'arrivée d'un corps très nombreux des étudiants de l'université, tous protestants, qui, après avoir présenté une adresse au membre patriote du parlement, M. Grattan, vint fraterniser avec leurs frères Catholiques. M. Keogh a adressé un compliment très flatteur à cette députation, et a assuré l'assemblée qu'il voyait dans cette démarche généreuse de la jeunesse protestante, un gage assuré de l'amitié sincère qui [?] unir à jamais les Irlandais de toutes les Croyances.	

	<i>the glorious spectacle which then presented itself to their view, the strongest proof, the surest pledge of that spirit of union so beneficial to the Catholics, so essential to Ireland. If they could want any additional incentive to their wish to cultivate the affections of their Protestant brethren, they would find it in their generous patriotism, the glowing liberality of the rising generation, the learned and ingenuous youth of Ireland, the future legislators of the land, whose early and uncorrupted spirit of patriotism had induced them on that day to exhibit so striking a proof of justice, liberality and wisdom ; they would find it, where they had from the originating of the Catholic question ever found it, in the uniform and steady support of their friends in Belfast, men who had asked for the complete Emancipation of the Catholics, at a time when they durst scarcely venture to ask any thing for themselves ; who had defended their cause with irresistible force of argument and fervor of truth ; who vied with each other, clergy and laity, who should be foremost in the glorious contest of restoring to their just rights three millions of their oppressed and unhappy countrymen, and thereby raising Ireland to her just rank among the nations of the earth. — The example of that great and liberal body had been followed, and now there was but one sentiment in the land — the nation was united, and, for the first time, Irishmen were one people – that union he hailed as the surest pledge of the Emancipation of the Catholics—</i>		

	<i>and the strength—the glory —and the happiness of Ireland.</i>		
p. 11	Dr. M'NEVEN. At the time we last assembled in this place to prepare an address to his Majesty, conveying to him assurances of the fidelity and attachment of three millions of his subjects ; in a period too when so many dangers invest his throne, I had formed hopes, that when we should meet again it would only be to pour out to him the effusions of an ardent and heart-felt gratitude, for the favours which we presumed to solicit, and well deserved. But although our allegiance to our King shall ever, as it ought, remain unshaken and unaltered, we meet this day under the certainty, that no satisfactory answer could be obtained in England; and under the prevalency of a report universally believed, that his confidential servants on this side, mean to resist our Emancipation. I was sanguine enough to flatter myself that our loyalty for an age, the justice of our cause, the importance of our services in his Majesty's fleets and armies, the treasure we expended, and the blood we shed for him, would have risen in our behalf, and impressed the Royal mind. I could little think that Ministers would become intolerant as the times grew liberal ; that what the patriotism of our Protestant countrymen would willingly confer, an English Cabinet should dare to frustrate. But such is the fate of Ireland. The Catholic is confined within a narrower circle, of which you every where see the limits; the Protestant has a wider	Le Docteur MacNeven s'étonna de la mauvaise [?] de la députation. Il croyait fermement, lors de la dernière adresse, que s'il devait encore s'en tenir une autre, ce ne serait que pour remercier le Roi et la Législature de leur bonté [?] en accordant aux Catholiques l'objet de leur juste demande.	

	range, but in reality is as much imprisoned. Hitherto he has been honoured with the office of gaoler to the Catholic, and therefore thought himself free ; but touched at length with a sense of justice, he wishes to enlarge his captive, and then perceives an external barrier, and feels that he is himself no less retrained.		
	When I consider the smallness of the concession we solicit— that it naturally flows from the acquisitions we have made, and that all classes and descriptions of our countrymen, those only excepted who live upon monopoly and the continuation of abuses, are eager and solicitous for that broad measure and healing policy— the Emancipation of the Catholics. I can find no motive for its rejection, save only the old and profligate practice of fomenting disunion amongst the people of Ireland. But its enemies shall be disappointed ; we will not be disunited from our countrymen, nor our countrymen from us; because a power that is foreign and hostile to both would, for its own purposes, retain us in different conditions. Catholic Emancipation may be refused, but the Catholic cannot be prevented from relinquishing a minor consideration, and meeting his fellow-citizens in the pursuit of a still more momentous object, one that will equally emancipate him, with the additional consolation that it will free his country — a RADICAL REFORM in the House of Commons. Catholic Emancipation is Irish union, because, by that event, every	– Il démontra que de l’émancipation des Catholiques dépendaient la liberté et le Bonheur de tous les Irlandais, de quelque religion qu’ils soient ; attendu que ce grand but une fois remplie, <i>la réforme radicale de la représentation nationale</i> en sera la suite nécessaire. Il croit le moment actuel infiniment favorable pour	

	ground of difference is removed ; the rejection of it will unite Irishmen no less, for the Catholic will no longer seek a partial freedom, — But a pursuit in which we have been so long engaged, it is first our duty to bring to a final decision.	affranchir les Catholiques et par conséquent tous les Irlandais du joug du Ministère Anglais.	
	We must manifest to our brethren a perseverance unwearied, whilst it could be honourable or successful— and present to our opponents, for the last time, that cause of true policy and justice, which has found advocates in all the liberal and enlightened, and has left no impartial man its enemy ; that so we may acquit ourselves, and the consequences of its failure may remain with the proper authors. On this account and notwithstanding, the kind of reception given to our Delegates, and the reports that are abroad, I am for immediately proceeding upon the petitions of so many millions as at this moment heap the floor of the House of Commons. It is a sinister project which would defer this great question until after the war— for sure I am, that the hour of England's calamity is the season of our success.— Such has been evermore the nature of the English Government, that the losses and misfortunes of the empire were necessary to the welfare of an Irish subject. When were you permitted to hold long leases and purchase lands. Not until defeat and disgrace had humbled English tyranny in America. When did Ireland resume a free trade, and the independence of her legislature ?	« Ce serait une bétise funeste, dit le Docteur, que de différer l'exécution de cet important projet jusqu'à la paix. Il [?] évident que ce qui est un moment de calamité pour l'Angleterre, [?] pour nous un moment de Bonheur, et que les pertes et [?] de ce Royaume ont toujours été une source de prospérité pour l'Irlande. À quelle époque nous a-t-on permis de prendre des baux et d'acquérir des propriétés ? à l'époque où des disgrâces répétées venaient d'humilier la Tyrannie Anglaise en Amérique. Quand nous a-t-elle accordé la liberté du commerce et une législature indépendante ? pendant les désastres de la guerre d'Amérique. Nous a-t-elle jamais donné quelque marque de faveur ou d'indulgence que lorsqu'elle s'y est vue forcé par la nécessité ? Et n'a-t-elle pas toujours taché de les reprendre, au premier retour de la prospérité ? Le droit que nous avons obtenu de voter aux Élections, est le fruit de la guerre actuelle : et quand l'avons-nous obtenu ? après que les hordes de Despotes Coalisés eurent pris la fuite devant l'armée de la Liberté. Profitez donc du moment présent pour réclamer le reste de vos droits.	p. 495

p. 12	During the disasters of the American war. We received no favour or indulgence from England but what from necessity she was forced to grant, and endeavoured with the first return of prosperity to retract.— She manifested an equal contradiction in her sentiments and conduct towards the Catholic and his country. The immunities and protection of the last bill, were attempted to be frustrated by the system of exclusion and severities that followed ; as the independence she was constrained to recognize in the declaration of rights, she endeavoured to take back in the propositions. The acquisition of the elective franchise is the fruit of the present disastrous war, obtained after the hordes of confederated despots, had fled before the armies of Liberty. Employ then the present opportunity to obtain the remainder of your rights.		
	Away with every silly scruple—our honour and our pride should be to break our fetters, remove the stigma of degradation, and assert the freedom of our country. Did we wait in silent acquiescence until peace should return, until the locks of Sampson should be renovated, and restore the destructive vigour of his arm, we should, indeed, disregard the lessons of experience, erase the records of our memory, suspend the ordinary faculties of combination— all of which proclaim this fact, that an age of passive loyalty was requited with cold approbation and continued	Loin de nous tout sot scrupule ; et pour attaquer ce Samson avec avantage, n’attendez pas que les cheveux repoussent et que la vigueur de son bras soit rétablie. Votre honneur vous commande impérieusement de briser vos fers, d’effacer la honte de l’esclavage dégradante où vous avez croupi, et de conquérir la liberté de notre pays. »	

	oppression, but that from the first moment you displayed firmness and spirit, your condition began to improve.		
	To me the policy of England appears to be this : to maintain a Protestant Ascendancy party, which shall be solely employed in preserving its own little superiority ; and a Catholic party to be occupied, session after session, in looking up to Government for Emancipation : that thus the people, diffracted about different objects, and a counterpoise to one another, may not have time, or power, or inclination to achieve any thing for Ireland.		
	But, thank God, the mist of religious bigotry is fast dispersing, and such clumsy machinery no longer eludes the public eye. Neither the Catholic or Protestant will endure to be duped by a conspiracy so injurious to both. But the moment the irresistible union of Irishmen is likely to become serviceable to the country, we are apprized from authority, that their parliament must be sunk and extinguished in the legislature of another kingdom ; and thus, Ireland be precluded for ever from attaining that rank amongst nations, to which nature had called her by her extent and population, the productiveness of her soil, and the genius of her inhabitants. Then adieu, the sublime and disinterested attachment which identifies man with his country; adieu to generous exertion and heroic enterprise.	Le Docteur MacNeven considère le plan d'union, que projette les Ministres Anglais entre l'Angleterre et l'Irlande ; union pour laquelle le parlement de ce dernier Royaume doit être fondu dans celui d'Angleterre,	

	What more than a selfish gratification can be the object of his pursuit, who becomes an isolated being, that great family dispersed in which mingled so many kindred affections — to which the patriot proudly devotes his services, and which shares with him its glory ; adieu the national renown, which gave rank to every member of the community, that partnership in generations, which illustrates with the deeds of other days, and honours by the virtues of the hallowed dead !		
	More fatal could not be the consequences of a conquest ; a conquest which I do not dread over the valour of our people — but which the breath of slander presumes to insinuate may be bought from the venality of Parliament ; but Parliament is incompetent to such an act of national suicide. Can the creature of the people, with parricidal arm, destroy the author of its existence ? The attempt would be high treason against the nation, and put it out of the protection of society.	« une conquête nous serait infiniment plus fatale que cette union ; notre parlement n’a pas le droit d’y consentir, et de commettre ainsi un suicide national : un pareil attentat serait un crime de <i>haute trahison nationale</i> .	
p. 13	A Union would not give you a free trade, but it would again enable an English King to assure his Commons, THAT HE WOULD DO ALL IN HIS POWER TO DISCOURAGE YOUR WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE, your cotton, and all the manufactures you possess. It would leave of the city of Dublin but a splendid ruin ; instead of Commerce crowding the port, an odd bark might convey, occasionally, to your shore, the	Cette union serait funeste à votre commerce et à la prospérité de votre grandes villes. – Une union avec l’Angleterre serait une union avec la dissipation même ; avec la frénésie d’une ambition incorrigible ; elle ruinerait l’Irlande sous tous les rapports, et ne serait utile qu’à ceux qui nous détestent et nous méprisent.	

	inquisitive traveller, who wished to view the monuments of former prosperity, and to learn upon the spot the difference between the imperial metropolis of a free commercial nation —and the fallen and impoverished, and crumbling capital of a province. A Union with England would be a Union with the incumbrances of dissipation— with the frenzy of incorrigible ambition; a Union ruinous to Ireland in every shape and point of view, and only useful to those who already hate and despise her ; a Union, it is true, which would bring the British Minister a great accession of complaisant voters ; a Union against which every Freeman of either this country or England mould raise his hand, as equally subversive of the liberties of both, and which would effectually leave the British Parliament but a house for registering the King's edicts.		
	If this Union, so confidently spoken of, and to my apprehension so clearly intimated in Lord Fitzwilliam's letter, be only held out as a state artifice, to indispose against us our Protestant countrymen, as if it were to be the price of our Emancipation ; we assure them, for ever, and for ever, that we renounce it upon such terms.		
	That would not be freedom to the Catholic which would only give him a community of slavery : but if the British Cabinet shall seriously venture to disregard the opinion of a united nation, to resist the Catholic and deny the	– Mais si les Ministres persistent dans cette [?], s'ils méprisent les remontrances réussies du Protestant et du Catholique, qu'ils ne s'y trompent pas ; nous avons les moyens de leur faire sentir notre juste ressentiment. Nous pouvons	

	Protestant, let it not deceive itself, we have the means of retaliation. Who does not remember the effect of the non-importation agreement ? What it has done here, and what in America ? Nor will any of you doubt but the sense of injury and a just revenge would cause it to be again adopted.	prendre l'engagement de ne nous servir d'aucun article des manufactures anglaises, comme les Américains, et mêmes nos propres compatriotes ont fait il y a quelques années.	
	A great proportion of the army and navy consists of Irish Catholics. Why may not England be made to feel the efficiency of their inaction ? How would the sufferings of poor Hyland, and the lash of military execution suspended over conscience, recommend the service to our peasantry ? May not these brave fellows be informed of the real truth, that their valour, employed in the cause of strangers, terminates only in the degradation of their brethren and themselves ? that when they obtain a victory for England, they prepared an insult for their native land ; when they pluck a laurel for one they plant a cypress for the other ? Never cheered in all their toils by the consolation of bequeathing a legacy to Irish fame, their exploits swell the reputation of another people, and help to found its haughty pretensions on virtues not its own.	— D'ailleurs, une partie considérable des armées de terre et de mer est composée de Catholiques. Ces braves gens ne pourront-ils pas apprendre, un jour, que leur valeur est employée dans la cause des étrangers, et ne tend qu'à l'avilissement de leurs pays ? Ne pourront-ils pas voir qu'en gagnant des victoires pour l'Angleterre, ils préparent les fers pour l'Irlande, et que toutes les fois qu'ils cueillent un laurier pour l'une, ils plantent un cyprès pour l'autre.	
	And those degenerate Irishmen who would pander to foreign power, let them not deceive themselves. The proudest dominations has vicissitudes ; but the foil and the people shall endure forever. Better for to deserve well of their country than of Mr. Pitt, that BOASTER, who never	Et qu'ils ne s'y trompent pas, les Irlandais dégénérés qui voudraient se rendre les vils instruments d'une tyrannie étrangère. La domination la plus orgueilleuse éprouve des vicissitudes ; mais le sol et le peuple dureront à jamais. Il vaut infiniment mieux bien mériter de son pays que de M. Pitt ; de la	

p. 14	advanced from threats to action, but he proved that his arrogance was outdone by his incapacity. Endowed I confess, with abilities enough to dissolve a patriotic phalanx, and seduce that shadow of greatness whom prejudice alone had placed at the head of a party he could not serve ; gifted with perfidy enough to defraud him of the reality of power, and of the recompense of apostacy ; and sufficiently subtle to seduce the unfortunate, who embraced him, to found a new character upon consistency in prostitution: a minister who may be the Richlieu of his age — in extending despotic power, and putting down religious sectaries, but who never, in peace or war, will be its Sully or its Chatham.	fanfaron qui n’a jamais fait un pas des menaces à l’exécution, sans prouver que son arrogance était surpassée par son incapacité ; assez adroit, je l’avoue, pour dissoudre une phalange patriotique ; pour séduire ce fantôme de Grandeur (le Duc de Portland) que le préjugé seul avait placé à la tête d’un parti qu’il ne pouvait servir ; et assez perfide ensuite pour priver les fantômes de son pouvoir réel, et les frauder des salaires de son apostasie : un ministre qu’on peut appeler le Richelieu de son siècle, par son astuce à étendre le despotisme et à établir des persécutions religieuses : mais qui, en paix ou en guerre, n’en sera jamais le Sully ni le Chatham...	
	With every allowance for the contempt which England is pleased to entertain for us and for our countrymen ; it can, however be nothing short of the utmost rashness and infatuation, in a moment so perilous to the Empire, to alienate the affections of the united people of Ireland. But what have we to expect at another period — if she will run such hazards in the midst of a most unsuccessful war ? Her Continental army destroyed by the sword of the enemy ; her West India army wasted by disease, and baffled by that glorious and immortal decree which gave freedom to the Blacks, and is alone sufficient to wrest from her all her conquests ; her naval army — her boasted bulwark, from which not Irish gallantry nor Irish numbers		

	could be well spared on the first of June, disabled by the effects of that dreadful, and I fear ominous conflict, from appearing for whole months upon the seas, whilst her enemy, displaying more prompt resources, commits depredations upon her in her own channel. What may we not expect from the madness of her returning prosperity, when amidst the wreck of all her greatness, by a treatment equally irritating and unjust, she seems to solicit insurrection amongst the people, or to command a dereliction of their rights !		
	But no where in the annals of mankind could I learn it was wise to try the full extent of a people's patience. A people whom union has made powerful, and common danger taught to co-operate. For it is no longer a question between the Catholic and Proteftant, a demand of rights — and a selfishness to retain them ; it is that question in which the Catholic and Protestant must coalesce and agree — must concur and assist, to save the liberty of the nation from foreign encroachment, and its treasure from domestic rapine. By a late event the mask is completely torn off. When the wishes of ALL the people are declared in vain, we cannot be at a loss to discover from what quarter the opposition proceeds.		
	The moment is at hand when the world shall know how to estimate the connection of both countries, and the independence of our state : whether they be the interests of	Mais le moment s'approche où nous saurons si l'Irlande est une Nation libre et indépendante, ou une province étrangère conquise par l'Angleterre.	p. 496

p. 15	Ireland that shall prevail in her own Senate, or the instructions of an English agent. The problem will be now resolved, whether Ireland is a free and imperial nation, or only an outlying province to Great Britain— a mere draw-farm to nurse her army, supply her navy, and consume her manufactures. We shall see for what purpose it is that we run all the hazards of her ambition, and incur every danger which her folly or her avarice prompts her to provoke. Without her, we would have had an equal destiny with some of the most respectable nations in Europe ; we would have at least held that fortunate state of mediocrity which, amongst nations, as well as individuals, is most conducive to human happiness, improvement, and virtue : presenting too formidable a front to be with impunity attacked, and too wise, as well as too incapable to be seduced into an aggression against others ; possessing the same condition of uninterrupted industry in which prosper the Swiss Cantons, the Republic of Venice, the States of America, and which Holland enjoyed until she was ruined by English protection. It is the protection of England which has taken away our regular army to be employed in her impious crusade, and put the country to the expense of raising a militia army for its defence. Her protection has not left you a port from Bilboa to the Baltic, and involved you in a war in which, had she been successful — had not the judgment of GOD overtaken her — she would have the power, and, I doubt not, the	– Sans l’Angleterre, nous aurions joui d’un sort égal à celui des peuples les plus respectables de l’Europe ; ou du moins nous nous trouverions dans cet heureux état de médiocrité, qui pour les peuples, aussi bien que pour les individus, est une source de vertu et de félicité publique – grâce à la protection des Ministres Anglais, tous les ports depuis Bilbao jusqu’à la Baltique vous sont fermés, et vous vous trouvez envelopé dans une guerre où, s’ils eussent été heureux, si le jugement de Dieu ne les eût arrêté, ils auraient eu le pouvoir et certainement l’envie de river vos fers à jamais, et d’enlever au peuple Anglais le peu de liberté qui lui reste encore. La protection de l’Angleterre peut bien se comparer au Chêne orgueilleuse au milieu	

	inclination, to rivet your bolts for ever, as well as to annihilate the little that remains of the liberties of her own people.— Her protection has been well compared to that of the exalted oak in the thunder storm, to the unphilosophic clown, who seeks its shade ; the tree serves to conduct more unerringly the lightning's force upon his head.	d'un orage : le voyageur croit trouver un abri sous ses branches ; mais l'arbre ne fait que servir de conducteur pour diriger la foudre plus infailliblement sur sa tête.	
	I have heard of the Prussian protecting Saxony in the seven years war, by expelling the Electoral Family ; forcing the inhabitants into his army— appropriating the taxes, and imposing heavy contributions, in order to save it, in his great goodness from falling a province to Austria. We have seen the Russian extend her protection to Poland, and send her apostle, Suwarrow, to Warsaw, to preach the blessings of order and good government, and save it from Jacobinism and the French— but open the pages of your history, and neither the humane Frederick nor the pious Catherine shall stand a comparison in kindness with the liberal protection of our sister country.		
	But although my credulity is at end, and I form no expectation from English gratitude or English justice, I well know they are a calculating race, and will balance the difference between your goodwill and your resentment, — so that you have it in your power to buy by acts of firmness, that attention to your interests which no other consideration will obtain. But if contrary to every principle	Quoique je n'aie plus de foi à la reconnaissance anglaise ou à l'équité Anglaise, je crois cependant que vous pouvez, par la fermeté, arracher à l'Angleterre cet égard pour vos droits que vous n'obtiendrez jamais par aucun autre moyen. Mais quand bien même les derniers vœux des Catholiques seraient rejetés, je me console en considérant l'esprit d'union et d'harmonie dont sont pénétrés les	

	of sound policy, our present and last application as a Catholic body, shall be rejected— still I derive consolation from the spirit of harmony and co-operation which pervades all sects and descriptions of Irishmen. Not to mention innumerable instances of it afforded by other bodies—the present unexpected offering brought to the temple of Irish Union, by the rising hopes of their country — the future ornaments of her senate, the future dispensers of her laws— is a testimony no less flattering than important. By our divisions have we been enslaved, by our union we must be freed. Under this impression I shall move you the following resolutions. [See third and fourth resolutions in the latter part of this Book.]	Irlandais et toutes les sectes et de tous les rangs. Pour ne point faire mention des exemples sans nombre qui ont été donnés par plusieurs autres classes de nos concitoyens ; l'apparition inattendue qui vient de faire dans ce temple de la Concorde : cette jeunesse généreuse, l'espérance de la partie, en est une preuve également flatteuse et importante. Par nos divisions, nous avons été asservis : par notre union, nous serons rendus à la liberté : je propose à l'assemblée les résolutions suivantes (voyez les résolutions à la fin du mémoire)	
	Dr. RYAN. The resolution which was last agreed to concluded by inculcating the propriety and necessity of national union ; — and I now hold in my hand two other resolutions, which go to deprecate the idea of union with any other country. These resolutions I shall have the honour of submitting to you : but first I must beg to express my hearty concurrence in the vote of thanks which was just given to your Deputies for the zeal and fidelity with which they executed the trust reposed in them. I am sorry they were not able to get some information in London concerning the intentions of the English Cabinet ; — but what they could do, they have done.— They laid your petition at the foot of the Throne— but the British Minister	Le Docteur Ryan exprime son indignation de l'injustice faite aux Catholiques dans la personne de leurs délégués par les Ministres Anglais, au mépris du droit qu'ont tous les citoyens d'adresser des pétitions au Gouvernement.	

	did not condescend to give them an answer — or left them at liberty to apply for it to the new Administration ; or in other words to those against whom they petitioned.		
	Whether the conduct of the British Minister in this instance was marked with wisdom or folly, I will not pretend to determine ; but this I know, that in treatises on Government and Politics which were formerly considered as authorities, but which must now, I suppose, be given up as superannuated and useless, it is laid down as an axiom that an interchange of opinion and sentiment between rulers and subjects is the best security not only for the liberties of the latter, but also for their obedience.		
p. 16	It is true that the right of the subject to petition may open a door to complaints that are ill-founding in a courtly ear ; — and it is equally true that the freedom of the press may pass into licentiousness ; but every idea of inconvenience is lost in the manifold and superior advantages which result from these rights. They prepare an easy vent for the angry humours of a nation, and prevent those alarming collections of discontent which sometimes appear, when it is too late to remedy them, in countries where men's minds are incumbered with unnecessary restraints. — According to my conception of the matter, they have made the difference between the manners of England and the		

	manners of Italy ; — they have converted the dark and deliberate assassin into an enemy who does not shun the light, and have, I will say substituted the pen in place of the poignard.		
	Whenever those rights shall perish, the loss, I apprehend will be great both to the people and to Government. Government will lose a criterion to judge of the people's dispositions; and the people denied the benefit of remonstrance and complaint, will either remain sullen and intractable, or will snatch at means to do themselves justice, that no man can think of without horror ; and surely those rights may be said to be virtually extinguished, when the exercise of them is attended with no benefit, and when those who petition for redress of grievances are heard without being answered, or turned over for an answer to men who make a part of their grievances.		
	I confess I cannot think of the present period without alarm. — I cannot conceive how the British Minister can take upon himself the responsibility of of the measures which are now pursuing in Ireland. I cannot account for his conduct upon any other principle but that of infatuation ; nor can I read the history of the famous Earl of Chatham, without lamenting the degeneracy of the son, who combats in the cause of oppression like a German mercenary, and endeavours to put down as far as he is able, all those liberal and lofty sentiments of the mind to		

	which his father owed his fame, and which England owes her Hampdens and her Sydneys.		
	But although the present period is alarming, I am far from giving myself up to despair. The opposition of a British Minister will fall before you, if you are faithful to yourselves. — The people of Ireland can neither be swindled nor enslaved, if they are not accomplices in forging their own chains ; indeed it is not long since you were entitled to the name of people — it is only the other day that you ceased to be a multitude thrown together without any sense of a common interest, without a common will, or a common language ; but the conduct of the British Cabinet has hastened an event, of which it was not aware. It has rallied all the inhabitants of this island under the same standard, and I trust you will long continue together united and cemented ; for it was by the discord of her people that this country lost its rank and character among the nations of Europe; and it was upon the presumption of discord still existing, that a late blow was offered to your pride and independency.	« Malgré cette insulte, dit le Docteur, je suis loin de m'abandonner au désespoir ; la digne que le Ministre Britannique oppose à vos efforts, s'anéantira devant vous, si vous restez fidèles à votre propre cause.	
	I feel the firmest conviction, that the Nobleman, whose departure we all regret, and the conciliating temper of whose Government would have done much service to Ireland, and still greater service to the empire, would not have been recalled if it was thought that Protestants were disposed to come forward, so very generally, and		

p. 17	with so much generosity and spirit in favour of Catholics, for I am sure the support of forty-one Common Council-men, though they derive their blood from conquerors, and found their claims on conquest, would be no encouragement to any Minister to put his heel upon millions.		
	I will not take upon myself to say, when you will be finally emancipated, but it is impossible that a British minister can keep you long in your present state of relative inferiority. He might as well attempt to put fetters upon the ocean. Your cause does not owe its birth to the heat of a summer's day.— Years have been laying up the materials of your freedom. — Commerce, and the press, have gradually extended the sphere, and increased the circulation of knowledge, and when men know their rights, they are half in possession of them. The influence of opinion in society is too weighty to be long resisted by any individual, or set of individuals ; when once set in motion, it will not stop until it finds its level — if driven out of one channel, it will appear in another, and the soldier who stands centinel at the Palace gate, may call to arms, if he is ordered to do so, but it will pass on.	– Je ne prendrai pas sur moi de prédire, au juste, l'époque de votre affranchissement : mais il est impossible qu'on vous [?] longtemps dans votre état présent d'abaissement. Autant vaudra entreprendre d'enchaîner l'Océan. Les sentiments qui vous animent ne sont pas l'effet d'une chaleur éphémère. Vous avez rassemblé pendant des années entières les matériaux de votre liberté. Le commerce et la presse ont étendu la sphère de vos connaissances et accéléré parmi vous la circulation des Lumières ; et vous savez que connaître ses droits, c'est déjà les avoir au moitié.	
	It is an error to suppose, that your question is merely a local one, growing out of the politicks, and confined to the limits of this island. Far, very far from it ; it is connected with principles and opinions that have long been	– La question que nous agitions n'est point une question locale bornée aux limites de cette île ; c'est une question intimement liée avec celle de l'indépendance des Nations. C'est un arbre dont les racines sont en Amérique ; et Nous	

	gaining ground, and gathering strength ;— it grew up in the same soil with the question of Irish independence ; its roots are in America — and history will tell you, if that may be called history which relates to an event of the other day, that the arm of a British minister cannot reach across the Atlantic to pull them up.	avons vu que le bras d’une Ministre Anglais ne peut pas s’étendre [?] de l’Atlantique pour les arracher.	
	Do not, therefore, attend to the calumnies and misrepresentations of your enemies. Suffer them to struggle against the chain of nature, if they choose to do so— you know they cannot break it ; — for the presumption of man has as little power over the motions of the moral world, as it has over the vicissitudes of seasons, and the interchanges of light and darkness.	L’orateur expose ensuite toutes les mauvaises conséquences qui résulteraient à l’Irlande de l’union projetée avec l’Angleterre.	
	But I do not rise so much to argue the merits of your cause, or to encourage you by prospects of ultimate success, as to call upon you to do an act of advantage to yourselves, by doing an act of generosity to your advocates and supporters ; and so give to the world a solid and honourable proof, that you are above all selfish and contracted views, and that you are as much alive to sentiments of patriotism and national honour, as any description of your countrymen.		
	It must be within your recollection, that when the Catholic question became the subject of discussion about three years ago, it was said by several not well disposed to your interests, that the agitation of it was encouraged by the British		

	minister, in order to produce dissensions in this kingdom, and thereby prepare all parties to acquiesce in AN UNION with a sister kingdom.		
p. 18	This suggestion did not make much impression at the time, and therefore was disregarded by you, and by your advocates ; but a letter was published the other day, entitled, "a letter from a venerated Nobleman, recently retired from this country, to the Earl of Carlisle;" which, among other remarkable particulars, contains two very striking passages. The first is to be found in page 14; and is to the following effect : — "Then, for the first time it appears to have been discovered, that the deferring it, (the Catholic question) would be not merely an expediency, OR A THING TO BE DESIRED for the present, but the means of doing a greater service to the British empire, than it has been capable of receiving since the Revolution, or at least since the Union."— The second is in page 18, and is as follows: — "He, (the Secretary of State) observes, that, if the consideration of this great question could be deferred 'till the peace was established, he should have no doubt but that it would be attended with advantages, which are not to be hoped for in any other supposeable case." It is unnecessary for me to trouble you with any notions of mine, concerning the inference to be drawn from these paragraphs. It is enough that the impression made upon the public mind, is, that the service to be done the British		

	empire is AN UNION of Ireland with the sister kingdom ; and that the Catholic question is to be deferred until the peace shall be established, when your acquiescence in this measure may be obtained by the concession of privileges, which a few months ago there was reason to think this year would have put into your hands ; and this letter has made the stronger impression, and excited the greater alarm, because it is the production of a person of high authority, and who held an high station in this country — and because it is grounded upon a correspondence with another person, who if not a director in the British Cabinet, may at least be supposed to be in its secrets.		
	It is not improbable that the British Minister entertains very romantic and extravagant ideas of his power, to bring other men over to his opinions, and to engage them in support of his measures. — He has been so much in the habit of wielding and managing majorities, that he may suppose that he has only to beckon, and that he will be followed ; but I am disposed to think that you will not be very ready to answer his signals, or assist in working your own ruin, by an exchange, which for every guinea it took out of your Exchequer, would scarcely put in one farthing. — It is good sense in any man to sacrifice his arm to save the remaining part of his body, but it would be an act of insanity in any man to strike a dagger into his breast in order to save his arm ; and this illustration	L'Émancipation des Catholiques, dit-il, est un objet important mais l'indépendance de notre pays en est un infiniment plus important encore.	

	is perfectly applicable to your case. — Catholic emancipation is a desirable object, but the independence of your country is an object of much more value; and you will not be so extravagant as to give up the greater for the lesser good.		
	I will not take upon myself to discuss the question of Union at large, because it is too odious to be entitled to the forms and civility of debate, even if I were capable of discussing it. You all know what it means — it means the annihilation of the Irish Parliament ; inadequate representation in the English Parliament ; increase of taxes ; and a consequent increase in the price of all the necessities of life ; Ireland mortgaged for the public debt of England, amounting to three hundred millions sterling — a surrender on your part of all the blessings which Providence may have in reversion for posterity ; and above all the total extinction of the public mind in Ireland.	– Vous savez, d’ailleurs ce que suppose nécessairement cette union : l’anéantissement absolue du parlement d’Irlande ; une représentation inégale dans le parlement d’Angleterre ; l’augmentation des impôts, et par conséquent le sur-haussement du prix de tous les articles nécessaires à la vie ; elle nous assujettit à supporter notre part de la dette publique de l’Angleterre ; d’elle qui monte à 300 millions livres Sterling ; à renoncer à tous les bienfaits que la providence ?] réserver à notre postérité ; elle entraîne surtout l’extinction totale de l’esprit public en Irlande.	
	Nations that are separated by nature are made for independence, and not for union.— They may be connected by reciprocal ties of interest, and a common head; but union, such as I have just spoken of, would be eternal superiority to the one, and eternal inferiority to the other. — Superiority to the country to which the seat of legislative authority was transferred, and inferiority to that from which it was removed.	Les Nations qui se trouvent [?] par la Nature sont faites pour être indépendante l’une des autres, et non pour être unies... L’union dont il s’agit ne serait qu’une supériorité éternelle pour l’une, et une infériorité éternelle pour l’autre...	p. 497
	Standing, however, as we now do, I am sanguine enough to look		

p. 19	forward to the time when Ireland shall rise to a level with England ; but if once you commit yourselves to the care of England, and wear the livery of her Parliament, all your chances and prospects of future grandeur and importance are entombed for ever.		
	But I feel that I am wasting time in proving what must appear self evident to any man of common understanding ; and my intention in obtruding myself at all upon your patience, was to give you an opportunity of proving that you are above treachery and a bribe.		
	The question then comes to this. If the British Minister should come forward with Union in one hand, and Catholic Emancipation in the other, would you acquiesce in the former for the sake of the latter—would you barter the rights of Ireland for Catholic freedom ? [A loud cry of No ! No ! resounded from every part of the meeting.] I know you would not, and I only put the question in order that you may dismiss it with the stamp of your indignation. — It is morally impossible you could harbour such a dishonourable intention. — The Catholics are the great majority of the people of Ireland ; and it is impossible that the majority of any people can be guilty of an act of treachery to the land that gave them birth. A party may betray the people, but the people cannot betray themselves ; for self preservation is the first law in the breast of nations, as well as in the breast of individuals ; and even if you were to stoop to so disgraceful	La question revient donc à celle-ci : si le Ministre Anglais vous présentait l'union dans une main, et l'émancipation des Catholiques dans l'autre, celle-là à raison des avantages résultants de celle-ci, troqueriez-vous le droit de votre pays pour l'affranchissement des Catholiques ? (ici les cris unanimes de <i>non, non</i> , ont retenti de toutes les parties de la salle) Je savais que vous ne l'auriez point acceptée, et je ne vous ai fait cette question, que pourqu'en la rejetant, vous lui imprimassiez le sceau de votre réprobation solennelle. Les Catholiques forment la grande majorité du peuple Irlandais ; et il est impossible que la majorité d'un peuple trahisse son pays. Une faction peut trahir le peuple : mais le peuple ne peut pas se trahir lui-même.	

	an act as to bargain for your own rights, by selling the rights of your countrymen, you would not long survive the ruin or profit by the disasters you had spread around you. The slavery you caused would be communicated to you back again, and you would soon ascend the same hearse that brought your country to the tomb. But I know the honesty of your nature ; I know you will not purchase benefits by ignominy ; even if it were one to hold your freedom, at the expense of your country — If you are to have the constitution, you will shew yourselves worthy of it. — Let a Minister of State climb to power by sordid compliances and the back-stairs, but it is below the dignity of a people to climb in the same way. — As for my own part, I declare I should rather submit to any disgrace in my native country, than bend my neck to a foreign yoke — for it is better that I should do penance for Ireland, than that Ireland should do penance for me.	Qu'un ministre d'État monte aux grandeurs par de viles complaisances et par l'escalier dérobé : mais une pareille route est au-dessous de la Dignité du peuple. Quant à moi, je me soumettrais à tout, plutôt que de courber le Col sous un joug étranger ; car il vaut mieux que je fasse pénitence pour l'Irlande, que de voir l'Irlande faire pénitence pour moi.	
	And while I argue in this manner against your will to surrender the liberties, and to scald the slavery of present and future generations of your countrymen, I deny that any power on earth has a right to do it for you. The public good is the end and destination of all government— Kings, Parliaments, and Ministers are its conservators and its priests.— They may have a power to watch over the public safety, to keep the high roads of the constitution in repair, and to point out the channels through which its waters are to flow ; but		

	omnipotent in matters of jurisdiction, they have no power to annihilate. To stop up the fountain of public life and happiness; and to fend a nation into captivity, the hand of the Almighty is alone competent.		
p. 20	I am sure this disposition, on your part — to abandon the pursuit of your own particular question, if the security of Protestants, and the existence of your country should require it, will be allowed to be fair and honourable, and I make no doubt that you will have full credit for it. And as, on your part, you are ready to make this sacrifice of your interests for the good of Protestants, I trust they will, before it is long, lay aside the prejudices which may still remain in some of their minds against you. I am very well persuaded they will do so because there is no longer any motive for the continuance of such prejudices.		
	I know it is said that the character of the Catholic religion is intolerant, and therefore that Catholics, if admitted to a full participation of the rights and privileges of the constitution, would employ their power in compelling the adoption of their creeds. There is no idea more false; a religious war is one of the last things to be dreamt of in the present state of men's minds ; because the enthusiasm which formerly produced such wars no longer exists.	Il combat l'opinion de ceux qui prétendent que la religion Catholique est intolérante par la nature, et par conséquent qu'il ne faut pas admettre les Catholiques à la jouissance des mêmes droits que les autres classes de Citoyens. Il prouve que l'enthousiasme qui a produit autrefois tant de guerres de religion, n'existent plus ;	
	Who is he that seriously apprehends the return of such a	que les persécutions qu'on rapproche aux Catholiques, étaient	

	distempered race of bigots and fanatics, as made their appearance in the days of Oliver Cromwell ? No one, I am sure. The phrensy which gave rise to them exists no more ; and if any thing like phrensy enters into the taste of the present day, it is of a very opposite kind, being strictly and purely political. — Notwithstanding, however, this change of sentiment, men seem to think themselves called upon rather to revenge the errors of the last century, than to undertake the management of the present ; and thus we are deafened with daily shouts against Popery— as if such a thing were really in existence. — And, indeed, if you look back to former periods of history, you will find that in all contests, or nearly in all contests, concerning creeds, INTEREST was the real motive— and RELIGION only the pretext. It was the union of politics with religion that soured the temper, and closed up the hearts of sectaries against one another ; and, therefore, the character of religionists is rather to be fought for in their civil history, than in the particular tenets of their faith. The Christian religion no where prescribes force as as an instrument of conversion ; but the professors of each form of Christianity being men, and subject to the frailties of men, have all, in their turn, been vindictive and intolerant ; and this I conceive to have arisen from the systems of favouritism and hostility which European governments have thought proper to employ, with	plutôt l'effet des circonstances politiques, que de la Religion elle-même ;	

	regard to different religious classes of men.		
	Power is too valuable in itself, and too fascinating to the mind to be easily relinquished ; and, if one party be inverted with it, to the exclusion of another – it is not surprising there should be suspicion on one side, and discontent on the other : suspicion on the side of the favoured party—and discontent on the side of the party excluded. The animosity of sects I do not conceive to have proceeded from a difference of opinion on abstract and speculative points, but from the temporal rewards which were reserved for certain modes of religious belief, and the penalties that were imposed upon others. And, accordingly, we find that the manners and conduct of sects varied just as they happened to be placed high or low in the scale of political favour and protection ; and that their language, or rather the language of their leaders, was, in many respects the language of <i>men in or out of power</i>.		
	Those who were connected with the state were, like all men conscious of strength and protection, haughty, dogmatic, and inquisitorial. As they had little to gain, and much to lose by a departure from rigid and lofty maxims, they made their stand behind prescription and precedent, and declaimed against innovation, not only in ecclesiastical, but also in civil concerns; and when spiritual weapons did not afford them sufficient security, they did		

p. 21	not hesitate to call in the aid of the secular arm. This was certainly intolerance ; but it was the intolerance of power and office ; for though the object to be defended had a relation to religion, yet the motive which suggested so much preparation against danger, was a worldly and temporal one. With regard to those sects who were out of the pale of courtly protection, as they had different views, so they had different principles :— having withdrawn themselves from established authority, they asserted the right of private opinion ; and not having the benefit of prescription and usage in their favour, they appealed to the immutable principles of natural justice, and the original rights of human nature. What they asked for themselves they could hardly refuse to others, particularly while they were carrying on THEIR CANVASS ; and —therefore from necessity as well as choice, they became advocates for toleration, and thus the competition for power, pre-eminence and sway — and not the genius of any form of religion, led the way to persecution and oppression.		
	If it be alleged that Catholics, under the same circumstances with other sects, have been more intolerant, I deny it, and the penal laws will be my proof; laws which were more severe and more destructive, than all the inquisition courts of Spain or Italy.	que, d’ailleurs, toutes les autres Religions, et notamment la religion Anglicane, ont été aussi intolérantes que la Catholique. Et pour preuve de cette vérité, il rappelle les lois pénales, établies contre cette dernière religion en Irlande, lois beaucoup plus sévères que celle de l’inquisition en Espagne ou en Italie.	

	But the intemperance of sects is at an end — and against the disorders which they formerly occasioned, I see a strong barrier in the spirit of the present times, and in the sense so generally prevalent that to inflict penalties on religious opinions is both improper and useless— improper, because no one has a right to step in between man and his Creator ; and useless, because it is now known that to punish opinions is to make them more obstinate. I have as little idea that men will again relapse into theological disputes as that they will relapse into the errors of paganism ; — and I will say that I have reason to think that Catholics, so far from being willing to subvert one establishment in order to substitute their own in its place ;— would not, if all establishments were levelled to the ground, desire or consent to build up an exclusive establishment for their own clergy and their creeds.	Il soutient que les Catholiques d'Irlande, bien loin de chercher à renverser la religion protestante pour y substituer la leur, ne feraient pas un établissement en faveur de celle-ci si les privilèges de toutes les autres venaient à être renversés.	
	And if a further argument is desired to prove that religious prejudices, if not altogether removed, are in a state of rapid decline, I find it in the very place where I now address you. — I find it in the appearance here to-day of so many respectable persons of the Protestant communion — and particularly in the visit with which we have been honoured by the gentlemen of the University. Their ancestors and our ancestors were unfortunately at variance, and Ireland fell in the contest ; — but they are come here to sign a truce, and to abjure, as I do, and as I am sure we all do from the bottom of	Enfin, dit le Docteur Ryan, nous voyons, dans la visite que tant de personnes respectables de la religion protestante et surtout la jeunesse de l'université, viennent de nous faire aujourd'hui, une preuve éclatante que le siècle des préjugés religieuses est passé. Leurs ancêtres et les nôtres ont été ennemis et l'Irlande a succombé dans leur querelles : mais les voici qui viennent aujourd'hui abjurer du fond de leurs cœurs, comme je le fais, et comme nous les faisons tous, le souvenir des anciennes inimités. Adorons, si nous voulons, l'être supérieur dans des temples différents ; mais il y a un temple où	

	our hearts, the remembrance of ancient hostility. — Although we may continue to ask pardon for our sins in different temples and with different ceremonies, there is one temple in which we shall all meet, and pay the same homage— the temple consecrated to our common freedom.	nous nous trouverons tous réunis, où nous ferions tous le même culte : le temple de notre commune liberté.	
p. 22	But I feel that I have detained you too long. I hope that, though your old enemies are returning to power, and the terror of a strong government is perhaps hanging over your heads, you will not be led into acts of intemperance ; but that you will pursue the same conduct of firmness and moderation which you have hitherto pursued with so much advantage to your cause, and do much honour to yourselves. It is very possible that plots may be conjured up again, as was done, not long ago, at Navan and Drogheda, to prepare the way, and give a colour to, new persecutions. If they are, I trust you will meet them with a firm undaunted countenance. The strong hand of power may oppress you, but it cannot dishonour you. The glory of Kosciusko is not tarnished by his chains. In defiance of the Janissaries that surround him, the benedictions of the people approach and sustain him. His captivity is Paradise to the liberty of his oppressors, who have the range of the world with the curses of its inhabitants. It is not the warrant of a privy Council, or a Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, that can unsettle the foundations of right and wrong, or make that		

	culpable in you which was glorious in others. — Three millions of people struggling for liberty, with the arms of reason, cannot be criminal ; or if they are criminal, the people of England were criminal at the period of the Revolution. The Revolution itself was rebellion — and James the Second was a beneficent Monarch, who ought to have been retained, and not a tyrant that ought to have been dismissed.		
	Whether your bill will pass or not I cannot conjecture. — Government, if wise, will not resist it. I am not altogether certain that it would not be a bill of as much influence and patronage to them, as of advantage to you. Except Parliament, it would confer nothing but eligibility. Your measure would be taken, no doubt for certain polls and employments, but you might remain for ever without filling any of them, from the highest to the lowest, unless Government was pleased to appoint you. It would, however, be of essential service to you, to be restored to the remaining privileges of the Constitution, as such restoration would leave all the inhabitants of this kingdom upon the same footing, and thereby put an end to claims upon one side, and concessions on the other. At all events, whatever the fate of the bill may be, I agree in opinion with the gentlemen who preceded me in the debate, that the question of Catholic Emancipation, if not successful this season, should be, on our part laid asleep. I believe you will have no objection to serve	Je ne saurais prédire si le bill de votre émancipation passerait ou non ; mais quel que soit le sort de ce bill, je suis de l'avis des préopinants, que si de la question de l'émancipation des Catholiques ne réussis pas aujourd'hui, on la laisse dormir pour le présent. Je suis persuadé que vous êtes décidés à joindre vos efforts à ceux des protestants, vos frères, pour soutenir les intérêts de notre commune patrie. C'est donc pour consolider les fondements de parfaite intelligence et de la sincère	

	your country upon other questions, in conjunction with your Protestant fellow-subjects— and in order to lay the foundation of good understanding, and a cordial alliance, I beg leave to move you the following resolutions ;— [See 6th and 7th resolutions in the latter part of this book.]	amitié qui doivent régner entre tous les Irlandais, que je propose la résolution suivant (voyez les résolutions VI et VII à la fin).	
	Mr. JOSEPH BYRNE, [student of the University,] here rose, and after apologizing for his inexperience, proceeded to address the assembly in a very animated oration, to which we regret that our limits will not allow us to do justice — After declaiming, with great energy, against the system of deceit and oppression under which Ireland had so long laboured, and shewing the madness of trifling with the feelings and affections of the people at a period so alarming as the present, he added, nothing less than a total Emancipation— a reform of all abuses should be fought ; this point will be carried, if demanded with courage, and your enemies will be confounded. I believe I can confidently assert, that England never conferred on this country a voluntary favour. — Did she give us a free trade ? The part, the petty trifling part, was wrung from her in her distress, and her apprehensions when surrounded by external danger and alarmed by Irish spirit. Did she give it to encourage our industry and improve our commerce ? No : — She gave it to calm the then exasperated people, who came forward with steadiness and resolution to demand their rights and assert their claims — their just	M. Joseph Byrne, étudiant de l'université, développe dans son discours très énergique le système d'oppression sous lequel l'Irlande a gémi si longtemps. Il montre que jamais l'Angleterre n'a conféré sur l'Irlande une faveur volontaire, et que toutes les cessions qu'elle a faites à ce dernier pays, lui ont été arrachés dans ses moments de détresse. Il assure que le moment de l'affranchissement de la patrie n'est guère éloigné.	p. 498

p. 23	claims to the freedom of a commercial intercourse with the inhabited globe— an intercourse which Nature has denied to none, made free to all, but still refuted to you— a base, unwarrantable monopoly refuses it ; it is your interest to annihilate this monopoly ; the glorious exertions of your volunteers, their manly conduct, their firm resolutions opened the way to the bosom of Liberty, that liberty which has been attempted to be wrested from you since, by the wreckless and unprincipled villainy of a foreign influence : defeat this influence ; open a wider passage to the benefits of Nature ; your situation on the globe is an happy one ; your ports and your harbours promise you innumerable advantages ; what independence, what blessings may not flow from such a source! what an opportunity of increasing our wealth, and what a prospect of promoting the most active industry through the land, were we possessed of these enchanting blessings — independence, liberty and peace !		
	The time is fast at hand, when the Great God of Reason will pour forth upon the whole world such a flood of intellectual light as will break and dissipate the dark clouds that have obscured the human understanding, and concealed, alas ! too long concealed from man, the energies of his soul.		
	Mr. LYONS. Unprepared as we were for the auspicious visit we have this day received, it will necessarily occur to our young	M. Lyons, pour témoigner aux étudiants de l'université, combien l'assemblée est reconnaissante de la	

	associates, that no previous arrangements could have been made for expressing our sense of the honour they have this day done us. This circumstance, however, far from rendering the tribute or our thanks less acceptable, will, I am confident, procure it a readier welcome at their hands. They will receive it as the spontaneous effusion of immediate and undisguised feeling, the more unstudied, the more sincere.— and too recent from the heart not to represent its impressions faithfully. The resolution I hold in my hand, is, I feel, extremely inadequate to my own feelings, or to those which I know actuates the present Assembly ; but that inadequacy, I the less regret, conscious that the truth and energy of our sentiments will make ample amends for the defects and imperfections of the language which gives them utterance. — I therefore move the following resolution. [See 8th resolution in the latter part of this book.]	démarche généreuse qu'ils viennent de faire, propose la résolution VIII.	
	Mr. MOORE [chairman of the meeting of the Students of the University] then rose, and spoke nearly as follows : — Totally unaccustomed to offer an opinion on any public occasion, and but partially acquainted with the object of your meeting, I labour under vast difficulty in rising to address so numerous and so respectable a body as the Catholics of Dublin. But your generous reception of the Gentlemen of the University ; your gratitude so strongly expressed for small services ; the magnitude of the subject, in short the glory and	M. Moore, président de l'assemblée des Étudiants, remercie l'Assemblée de la réception gracieuse qu'elle vient de faire à la députation de l'université. Il voit dans les transactions de cette journée une preuve évident que toutes les disputes religieuses sont terminées, et que les Irlandais de toutes les religions sont unis. Il termina ainsi son discours :	

	honour of the empire, call aloud to every individual to raise his voice, not only to wrest from the despotism of Ministers your emancipation, but to rescue the country from the convulsion into which they would plunge it.		
p. 24	What mind can reflect without indignation on the abominable avarice with which your freedom has been detained ; — in what pitiful portions it has been dealt out — prostituted power grasping at your liberty, would hold you in slavery and chains ; your liberty flies from its grasp, and this day hovers around you, whilst Justice but slowly visits those, who, slaves themselves, would perpetuate the slavery of others. But whilst the mind dwells with contempt and anguish on the depravity of some, it finds a consolatory resting place in the magnanimity of others ; whilst it abominates the unprincipled opponents of your emancipation, it glories in contemplating those exalted characters who, in the most critical situations, have been, are, and will continue to be, its supporters. It glories in the firmness of Catholics themselves, in their peaceable demeanour : a demeanour which, from the conduct of those now around me.		
	I see they are willing, if permitted, to observe. It rejoices in the integrity of Catholic advisers, in the consistency of their designs, and energy of their execution.		
	There was a time, Mr. Chairman, when divisions existed in this		

	country ; when religion was made the tool of politics, and schisms separated the Protestant from the Catholic, and the Catholic from Ireland. You have this day declared your wish never more to meet as Catholics ; then there is an end to religious differences ; and political sectaries and Ireland are united. This day presents to my beloved country a glorious instance of unanimity, liberality, and generosity, — the lettered youth of Ireland expressing, through the pure medium of a GRATTAN, the Father, would I could say, of your constitution, — as he is the deliverer of his country ! Expressing what ? Indignation at Catholic slavery — supplications for Catholic emancipation. In declaring their sensations on this day, at this important period, the youth of Ireland, the nation's rising sun, bursting from the clouds of bigotry, opacity, and darkness, with which they have been enveloped — give you, — give Ireland, — a solemn instance of uncorrupted honour, and pure integrity ; an instance, at which the Minister of Britain, in his plenitude of power, must stand appalled, and conclude that the “rising, as well as the passing generation,” unite in one voice, — the voice of reason and justice ; for your emancipation,— that basis of liberty, that pledge of reform.		
	For myself, for the students of our University, in the name of posterity for ever, Gentlemen, I thank you. — I thank you not only for the generous gratitude your attention has this day exhibited,	Mais j’ai à vous remercier, Messieurs, au nom de l’université, des sublimes et généreux principes qui ont dicté votre dernière résolution. Vous êtes décidés à porter encore vos chaînes, plutôt	

	but for the noble, exalted principle and sentiment of your last resolution. — You revolve to wear your chains rather than barter Emancipation for Union. No ! generous men, you will not assuage your pain, by plunging a dagger into the bosom of your highly complimented youth, now around you, of posterity for ever. It is true, Ministry have brought you to the Rubicon, but they will not drag you into the plains of Pharsalia. You will permit the dark body that eclipsed the sun of our liberty to pass away -, you will not arrest it in its course ;— you will not exchange for the twilight shadow of an Union, your Emancipation, and thus content to plunge your country in eternal and everlasting night. One boon I ask of Heaven — for myself, may death arrest me ere I see the day a Union takes place; for Ireland, may the Atlantic close, and bury it for ever in an immeasurable gulph !	que d’accepter votre émancipation, au prix d’une union avec l’Angleterre ; union qui plongerait votre pays dans une nullité éternelle. Quant à moi, je ne demande qu’une chose au ciel : puissé-je périr, le jour où je verrai effectuer cette union si funeste pour mon pays ; puisse l’Atlantique s’ouvrir et l’engloutir à jamais dans des gouffres profonds !	
	Mr. Lyons's motion was here put, and carried with the loudest acclamations, again and again reiterated.	Ici, la motion de M. Lyons est mise aux voix, et arrêtée au milieu des plus vifs applaudissements répétés plusieurs fois.	
	Mr. LEWINS. When we last met in this sacred edifice, the business upon which we were assembled was of the utmost importance indeed ; it was to anticipate the wishes and the prayers of our country, which it since has poured forth with a voice more unanimous than ever yet it has done, for the continuance of a Nobleman and his friends in the administration of Ireland, who felt and who acted as	M. Lewins. —	

p. 25	Irishmen : it was to supplicate for the adoption of measures necessary, I will not say for the prosperity, but for the very existence of our Island ; but the business of this day is of a different complexion — it is awful to a degree, that we cannot contemplate without emotions of anxiety and terror, which we have not hitherto experienced ; it is to tell five millions of faithful and of loyal subjects, (for I conceive this day as I did the last) that the cause, which is now agitated, is not the cause of three millions only ; but of five ; not the cause of the Catholics, but of Ireland ; the business of this day then is to tell these millions, it is to tell all Ireland, that the Minister of England has been deaf to their voice, and rejected their supplications. The last day we met here we could scarcely suppose it possible that this Minister would venture to prefer the claims of one family to the claims of an entire nation ; we could scarcely suppose it possible that he would venture to tear from five millions of loyal subjects a Nobleman whom they venerated and whom they loved. To-day we are undeceived ; to-day we perceive that the Minister of England dare venture any thing in Ireland ; to-day we perceive what weight the prayers of the Irish people have in the decisions of the English Cabinet ; to-day we see that English Cabinet in its true point of view ; what that is I think it not necessary now to say ; you all feel it ; every man in the kingdom feels it : but this much I will not hesitate to affirm, and	Nous nous trouvons assemblés aujourd’hui, pour dire à tout le peuple d’Irlande que le Ministre Anglais a été sourd à sa prière et a rejeté ses supplications. Lors de notre dernière assemblée, nous ne pouvions pas croire que le Ministre eût osé arracher à cinq millions d’hommes un Gouverneur chéri, adoré. Mais aujourd’hui nous voyons qu’il n’y a rien qu’il n’entreprenne ; nous voyons, nous sentons quel poids nous avons dans les délibérations du Cabinet Britannique ; nous sommes enfin pleinement convaincus de cette grande vérité : que <i>le peuple d’Irlande ne doit jamais demander soulagement ou protection au Cabinet Britannique.</i>	

convinced I am, that there is not a man in this assembly, nor an independent man in Ireland who will not affirm it along with me— THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND ARE NEVER MORE TO LOOK UP TO THE CABINET OF ENGLAND FOR PROTECTION OR RELIEF. — This secret, perhaps, was not unknown before to a few ; but it now stands revealed to all in the broad day light of conviction, which no man can dissemble or doubt of. During these four years past, other nations in Europe have been agitated and convulsed — Kings have bled and thrones have disappeared ! we remained quiet ; but it should seem as if we were no longer to be privileged ; as if we could no longer count upon an exemption from the scourge that is abroad ; but that we too were to be visited in our turn, and that the hour of visitation was at hand. Almost every county, city, and town in Ireland has resolved, or addressed, or petitioned, for the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam in the government of Ireland. The Cabinet of England takes Fitzwilliam from Ireland — laughs at your resolution, your addresses, and your petitions; and the Minister of England, in answer to them all, comes forward and tells you, not by words or by writing, but by an act more explicit than either could have been, that he is determined to plunder you, to lash you, and despise you ;— and here I will go into the explanation of that fact which has already gone abroad ; a fact which every man in Ireland ought to know, because	Presque l’universalité de ce peuple avait demandé que le Lord Fitzwilliam fut continué dans le Gouvernement d’Irlande : eh bien ! Le Cabinet Britannique non seulement vous arrache le Gouvernement, mais encore il rit de vos adresses, vous insulte et vous fait voir par la conduite la moins équivoque, qu’il est déterminé à vous piller, à vous outrager, à vous mépriser. — Ici, je [?] vous exposer un fait qu’il est de l’intérêt de tout Irlandais de connaître, et qui n’est pas suffisamment connu.	

	every man in Ireland is insulted ; a fact which that same gentleman, who has already given you the sad history of your deputation, did, on his arrival in this kingdom, detail with his usual candour and ability, to the Committee appointed by you for conducting your affairs ; a fact which he has now avowed himself, if called on, willing to explain, but which, as I am on my legs, and as it does not seem to be contrary to his wish, I mail give you the detail of.		
p. 26	You send deputies to England to lay your petitions at the foot of the Throne, praying for a continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam, and his friends, in the administration of this country, and deprecating a return to power of the administration which had preceded ; and the Minister of England, in answer to this deputation ; and to shew how much he approves of this preceding administration, whose return you deprecate, comes forward with the leading puppet of this preceding administration in his hand, and makes it bask in the sunshine of courtly favour for nearly one entire hour, while our deputies were silent spectators of the humiliating scene, and every mark of Ministerial preference was lavished on this puppet in the very presence of the deputies of this very people, whom while it was moving on the Irish stage, it would not permit to entertain even a hope that the chain with which they were galled, should be lightened of a single link ? Why get up this insulting pantomime ? Why practice this wanton outrage on	Vous avez envoyé une députation pour demander la continuation du Lord Fitzwilliam dans le Gouvernement, et pour pétitionner contre le retour de l'Administration qui l'a précédé ; eh bien ! Comment le Ministre Anglais a-t-il reçu cette députation ? Dans l'audience donnée à vos députés, pour les mortifier plus sensiblement, il introduit cette administration que vous avez tant de justes raisons de détester ; il la comble de marques de faveur, et leur donne pendant une heure entière toutes les preuves possibles de prédilection ministérielle. Mais pourquoi faire un outrage si sanglant au peuple d'Irlande dans la personne de les délégués ? C'est pour prouver que non content de rejeter votre juste supplication, il voulait encore insulter à votre orgueil national ; c'est pour montrer que son but n'est pas uniquement de se refuser à votre demande, mais encore (?) de vous avilir. Avilir, a toujours été le système du Cabinet Britannique.	

	Irish feelings ? To prove to Irishmen, that the English Minister did not think it sufficient to refuse the supplications of Ireland, but that he thought it necessary to insult the pride of Ireland ; to shew that his chief object was not to deny ; but to degrade, Sir, the universal policy of this Minister, has been to degrade. Has he not seduced some of the leading characters in both Houses of the British Parliament, by holding out promises, which he never meant to perform, and rewards which he never meant to realize ? And when he had so reduced these weak and short-sighted men, when he had robbed them of their popularity, and their fame, did he not break that faith which he had pledged to them ? Did he not treat them with all the contempt of a remorseless libertine, who with a flinty heart and shameless front turns aside from the remonstrance and supplication of that honour which he has rifled, and that virtue which he has debauched ? These are not my sentiments only, they are the sentiments of that venerated Nobleman, who along with his friends in this country, the friends of Ireland had likewise been destined as victims to this same system of seduction and degradation. But thanks to their virtues they have risen, not been put down. They perceived ere yet it was too late, the meditated treachery, and spurned away with indignation the traitor and his offers. Now, Sir, will the English Minister learn wisdom from his defect ; he will not stop here ; he wishes if possible to go yet further,	Aujourd'hui, il cherche à avilir votre parlement et à le rendre odieux et méprisable à vos [?] pour que vous consentiez plus facilement à son extinction totale, qu'il voudra bien vous offrir. Et c'est là la récompense du sang et des trésors que vous avez prodigués pour l'Angleterre. C'est pour ces retours que l'Irlande a fourni le tiers de la Marine Britannique, et renforcé les Armées Anglaises de 120,000 de ses enfants ! Mais ces outrages n'ont servi qu'à établir entre tous	p. 499

	and to complete the horrid system he has adopted ; he wishes to degrade even the Parliament of Ireland itself in such a manner, and to render it odious and contemptible in the eyes of the Irish people, to that degree, as to reconcile them to its total extinction, on any terms he may think proper to propose. — Is it then for this, that the treasures of Ireland are poured out, and the blood of Irishmen is spilt ? Is it for this, that Ireland has manned one third of the navy of England, and supplied the armies of England with one hundred and twenty thousand of her sons ? Is it for this, in this very year— the year in which Ireland was to be outraged and despised, that she has voted to England supplies greater than the annals of her history could exhibit? Infatuated Island— this is then the reward of your services ; this is the return for our treasures; this is the price of your blood. — But after all that same Providence which has of late conducted the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland, with such peculiar success, has by the very means of these outrages and degradations, established an union among Irishmen, which they knew not of before.	les Irlandais une union inouïe jusqu'à ce jour.	
	The Minister of England fought to divide, and he has united ; to weaken, and he has strengthened ; to degrade, and he has dignified. He has been already punished by these happy consequences of his infernal machinations ;— he will be punished still more by the liberty and the prosperity of Ireland ; which must flow as	Le Ministre Anglais a cherché à vous désunir ; il vous a unis : en voulant vous affaiblir, il vous a donné de nouvelles forces : en voulant vous avilir, il vous a donné de la dignité. Resserrons donc cette heureuse union, en veillant d'un commun accord avec nos frères de toutes les religions de notre commune partie.	

p. 27	rapidly and as necessarily from the union of Ireland ; as heat or light from the sun. To cultivate this union then be the talk of every man in Ireland ; not by words or resolutions merely, but by mixing and by acting, in private and in public, with his countrymen, of whatever religious persuasion they may be. We all profess the same morality, however we may differ in doctrinal tenets ; — and as all our morality is one, because we are Christians, so shall our politics be one, because we are Irishmen. WE HAVE ALL THE SAME GOD, AND THE SAME COUNTRY ; AND AS WE ALL AGREE IN THE OBLIGATION OF PROMOTING THE GLORY OF THE ONE, SO WE WILL ALL CO-OPERATE IN THE TASK OF PROMOTING THE INTEREST OF THE OTHER. Even this day a new prospect opens itself before us ; — the generous youth of the University of our country, having turned away, with noble indignity, from the threshold of corruption and of power, press forward to pay the tribute of their praise where it is justly due ; to the man who has laid the foundation of immortality for himself, and of freedom for his country .—— Having thus borne homage to the assertor of their country's rights, they continue their virtuous career, and come amongst us to join hands with the great majority of their countrymen.	Nous avons tous le même Dieu et la même patrie : et comme nous sommes tous d'accord sur l'obligation de travailler pour la gloire de l'un, nous devons aussi coopérer à faire le bonheur de l'autre.	
	Proud indeed will that day be for Ireland when you shall, in your turn, animate its senate by your eloquence, enlighten it with your science, and dignify it by your		

	virtues ; when you shall see your country united and free. Corruption and peculation tremble at the approach of that day ; but come it will, in spite of all their efforts,— as well may they raise their hands to stop the influx of the morning light on the nations of the earth, as endeavour to prevent the great day of justice and reason from rising in Ireland. The dawn already breaks, and the meridian lustre is near at hand. Come then ingenuous young men — in your persons we contemplate the hopes and the pledges of the rising generation of Ireland— in your persons we unite with the Protestant youth of Ireland, and accursed be he that shall attempt a separation.		
	But, Sir, these consequences of an union among ourselves, lead me to the consideration of another kind of Union, which some men have the hardihood to agitate even in these days of peril and calamity. I shall not, however, Sir, go at length into an investigation of this second kind of union as I intended to have done ; it has been already stated to you in its true colours, by the very able and eloquent Gentleman who proposed the resolutions against it that were received with so much applause. Sir, if we were to judge from probabilities, or from the ordinary rules of reasoning, we should conclude that a project of this nature is the last species of Quixotism that could enter into the head of an English minister, situated as the minister of England now is. Sir, let us confider his	Cette union qui règne entre nous, en rappelle une autre union qu'on a l'impudeur de vouloir nous proposer aujourd'hui ; c'est celle de l'Irlande avec l'Angleterre. – Quant à moi, je regarde ce projet comme le chef d'œuvre du Quichotisme qui a toujours guidé les plans du Ministre Anglais.	

p. 28	situation. He commenced the war to put down the French Republic—the French Republic is established. He commenced the war to save Brabant to Austria—to save Holland to England ; Brabant is lost to Austria — Holland is lost to England, and both are gained to France. He commenced the war to curtail and weaken the principles of liberty— and the principles of liberty have been extended and fortified. In fine, what is there he has undertaken in which he has not failed ; threatened in the East Indies, beaten in the West Indies, expelled from the Continent, his allies deferring, his armies flying, menaced with an invasion of Ireland, and of England itself. The English minister rejects with scorn the unanimous supplications of Ireland, and agitates a question which no English minister ever yet ventured to agitate, even in the very zenith of English power and greatness. The question of subverting the liberties of Ireland, of annihilating the Parliament of Ireland, <u>of extinguishing Ireland</u> ; — in a word, he agitates the question of an Union between Ireland and England.	Après avoir échoué dans toutes ses entreprises contre la liberté, il ose entreprendre aujourd’hui d’anéantir notre parlement, de renverser notre liberté, et de nous rayer de la liste <u>des Nations</u> ; il ose, en un mot, méditer une union entre l’Irlande et l’Angleterre.	
	Improbable and extravagant as a project of this kind may appear, let us not, however, conclude it does not exist. For what projects so extravagant as these which the Minister of England has already undertaken. But, Sir, let us look to the manner in which a Minister of England would reason as to the present situation of Ireland ;— let us look back to the history of the	Mais, quelque extravagant, quelque chimérique que soit ce projet, examinons les motifs qui ont pu l’inspirer au Ministre Britannique. L’Irlande, gouvernée depuis longtemps par l’Angleterre, a	

woes of our own country. During a long series of years England has ruled the Parliament of Ireland by prerogative, for the people were nothing. Since the ever memorable year 1782, in which the genius of Irish liberty gave a constitution to Ireland, the prerogative of England ceased ; and influence and corruption did the business of prerogative and power.— For the people were as yet weak, because they were divided. But, if the people be restored to their natural balance in the constitution ; if all divisions are done away ; If Irishmen can have but one object to look to,— the welfare of Ireland,— what will the English Minister do ? How shall he be able to keep this country as pasture ground for victualling his navy, or as a nursery of recruits to man his armies ? or as a storehouse of raw materials to supply his manufactures, or as a colony of idlers to consume them ? How shall he be able to do this ? He fears, in the ordinary course of things, it will be impossible ; and this impossibility is the consequence mentioned in Lord Fitzwilliam’s letter, by the D — k of P — d, as not to be looked on without horror and dismay. In order, therefore, to prevent this direful consequence, the Minister of England concludes with himself, that some extraordinary means must be used ; — he thinks that in some time he shall not be able to influence, and therefore he will hazard before that time to annihilate. He sees that Catholic Emancipation must contribute to render Ireland what she ought to	conquis son indépendance en 1782, et a acquis une constitution. Depuis cette époque, la prérogative de l’Angleterre a cessé, et le Ministre Anglais a été obligé de faire chez nous, par l’intrigue et par la corruption, ce qu’il faisait auparavant de sa pleine autorité : et les dissensions qui régnaient parmi nous, lui ont facilité les moyens d’exécuter tous ses projets. Mais si le peuple Irlandais est rendu à ses droits, si nos dissensions finissent, si tous les Irlandais unissent leurs efforts pour faire d’un commun accord le bonheur de leur patrie, comment le Ministre conservera-t-il son ascendance ? – C’est donc pour éviter les terribles conséquences d’une pareille révolution qu’il cherche à vous anéantir comme nation. Il voit, d’ailleurs, que l’émancipation des Catholiques contribuerait beaucoup à l’indépendance de l’Irlande ; il voudrait, par conséquent, ne vous accorder cette prétendue faveur qu’au prix de votre liberté. insensé ! Croit-il que les Catholiques achèteront leur émancipation, au prix de bonheur de leur patrie ?	

p. 29	be — independent — in reality as well as in name ; and therefore he wishes not to give that emancipation but at the price of the liberties of Ireland. Weak and wicked man, does he think the Catholics of Ireland will purchase their emancipation at the price of Irish liberty ? At what time could the conduct of the Catholics of Ireland justify or give rise to a supposition of this contumelious nature ? In the war with America, A WAR THAT SHOULD FOR EVER BE A LESSON TO MINISTERIAL ARROGANCE AND PRESUMPTION, when the fleets of France rode Triumphant in the English Channel, and hovered round the Irish Coast ! When Ireland was left to Providence and to herself, how did the Catholics then act ? Did they think of themselves ? No.— They thought of their country, and tho' they came forward in the hour of danger to fight for that Constitution, from which they were excluded, and to expose their lives in defence of those liberties, in which they had no share. Now that they are initiated into this Constitution, will they betray it ? now that they have tasted of their liberties, will they give them up? No! THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND KNOW HOW TO DIE, BUT THEY KNOW NOT HOW TO BETRAY, THEY HAVE FOUGHT, AND BLED, AND DIED, FOR THEIR KING, BUT THEY WOULD ALSO FIGHT, AND BLEED, AND DIE, FOR THEIR COUNTRY ! Flatter not yourselves, therefore, ministers of England, that the Catholics of	– Non : <i>les Catholiques d'Irlande ont versé leur sang pour leur Roi ; et ils [?] aussi le verser pour leur patrie.</i> Que ce Ministre Britannique ne se flatte donc pas que nous cesserons d'être des Irlandais. Nous lui persuaderons que nous les sommes encore, et que nous sommes décidés à vaincre ou mourir dans la cause de notre liberté.	

	Ireland will cease to be Irishmen. You have taught them in the days of their adversity, that they were Irishmen — for as such they were persecuted. They will teach you in the days of their prosperity, that they are still Irishmen, for as such they are determined to rise or to fall. I think not that they will acknowledge there is any power in this country competent to sell the rights of the people of this country.		
	<i>Kings, Parliaments, and Confutations , have yielded to the hand of time and the ravages of power, for what is there human that can withstand them but the rights of the people, on which Kings, Parliaments and Constitutions rest, still remain unhurt amidst the general wreck ; immutable as the God who bestowed them — eternal as the principles of justice upon which they are founded.</i> Would the people of England acknowledge, that the Parliament of England was competent to surrender its powers to Ireland ? Would they acknowledge, that the Parliament of England was competent to transfer the Legislative authority of England to the Parliament of Ireland ? Is there a man in either kingdom, who would venture to hazard such an assertion ? and is not the people of Ireland, as independent, and as self-existent, as the people of England ? Is not the Parliament of Ireland with the King of Ireland at its head, in every point of constitutional theory exactly the same as the Parliament of England ? Who then shall dare to assert that the Parliament of	D’ailleurs, le peuple anglais reconnaîtrait-il à son parlement le droit de transférer l’autorité législative à celui d’Irlande ? Non certainement, et le peuple d’Irlande [invisible] il pas aussi indépendant que celui d’Angleterre ? Le parlement d’Irlande avec le Roi d’Irlande à sa tête, n’est-il pas aussi independant que Celui d’Angleterre ? Qui osera donc soutenir que le parlement d’Irlande peut faire ce que parlement d’Angleterre n’as pas le droit de faire ?	

	Ireland can do that which the Parliament of England cannot ? No man but an enemy to both kingdoms, a traitor to the King and to the people. People of England beware ! If you are attached to your Constitution beware ! if you are attached to your riches, or to your power, beware of such doctrines as this. — He that saps the foundation of your Constitution, saps at the same time, the foundation of your riches and your power ; for on that Constitution are their riches and their power founded ; and believe Irishmen when they tell you, that the minister who speaks of subverting the Constitution of Ireland, can harbour no friendly prospects for the Constitution of England.	— C’est à vous donc que je m’adresse, peuple anglais ; méfiez-vous des manœuvres de vos Ministres. C’est de votre Constitution que dépend votre bonheur ; et soyez persuadés que le Ministre qui veut détruire la Constitution de l’Irlande, ne respectera pas longtemps celle de l’Angleterre.	p. 500
	As to us, to prevent these evils to both kingdoms ; we will unite among ourselves— what do I say — we are already united. To return our gratitude to the first promoters of this union, to the men who cherished it in its progress, and to those by whom it is at length completed, I shall propose the resolution which I hold in my hand. Let the Ministers of Ireland, and the Ministers of England, know this truth: <i>the whole people of Ireland are now united, and will continue to be united, whether the Catholics of Ireland be emancipated or not.</i> Let the rulers of Ireland then determine between the gratitude or the indignation of the people ;— for such alone is the choice they have to make ; such is the only alternative now before them. The resolution which I shall submit is as follows :— [See 9th	Mais qu’ils sachent, ces Ministres, que <i>les Irlandais de toutes les religions sont unis, et qu’ils continueront de l’être, soit que les Catholiques soient émancipés ou non.</i> Qu’ils choisissent donc entre notre haine et notre reconnaissance. Je propose la résolution suivante : (voyez la résolution IX)	

	resolution in the latter part of this book.]		
	Surgeon GEOGHEGAN rose to second the motion, and was proceeding to state his reasons, when, from the lateness of the hour, and the auditory appearing to be perfectly satisfied with what had already been said on the subject, the question was loudly called for, and being accordingly put, was carried unanimously,	Cette résolution, ainsi que deux autres relatives aux fonds, à savoir pour les frais de la Société, ont été mises aux voix, et adopté à l'unanimité. L'Assemblée s'est ensuite ajournée.	
	Two resolutions were then passed relating to the collection of money for supporting the expenses incident to the just pursuit of Catholic emancipation, and the meeting adjourned.		
p. 30	CATHOLIC MEETING	Résolutions et arrêtés de l'assemblée	
	At a most numerous and respectable Meeting of the Catholics of the City of Dublin, convened by public notice at the Chapel in Francis-Street, on Thursday the 9th of April 1795.		
	John Sweetman, Esq ; being unanimously called to the Chair.	Jean Sweetman, Président	
	Mr. <i>Byrne</i> , Mr. <i>Keogh</i> , and Baron <i>Hussey</i> , reported, that they had on Friday the 13th of March, presented the Petition of the Catholics of Dublin to his Majesty, which Petition he was pleased to receive graciously ; and that on Application to his Majesty's Ministers for such information as they might think fit to impart, the answer returned, was, that the King's pleasure on the subject of		

	the Catholic claims was communicated to the Lord Lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel through whom it might be known, but that the deputation in consequence of their instructions did not consider themselves at liberty to make any further application.		
	Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be, and are hereby, presented to our worthy deputies, <i>Edward Byrne</i> , and <i>John Keogh</i> , Esqrs. and Baron <i>Hussey</i> of Galtrim, for the spirit and alacrity in undertaking, and their zeal and fidelity in executing the trust reposed in them by their fellow-citizens.	1 ^{er} : arrêté unanimement que les remerciements de l'assemblée soient faits à nos dignes députés, MM. Edward Byrne, John Keogh, et le Baron Hussey, pour le zèle et la fidélité qu'ils ont mis à l'exécution de la mission que nous leur avons confiée.	
	Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be respectfully presented to our agent, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. for the readiness with which he accompanied our deputies to England, and the many other important services he has rendered to the Catholic body in their pursuit of Emancipation ; services which no gratitude can over-rate, and no remuneration can overpay.	2 ^{ème} : arrêté unanimement que les remerciements de l'assemblée soient aussi faits à M. Théobald Wolfe Tone (le même qui est actuellement à Philadelphie) de son zèle à accompagner nos députés en Angleterre, et des services importants qu'il a rendus aux Catholiques, dans la poursuite de leur émancipation : services que nous ne pourrions jamais suffisamment reconnaître ou payer.	
	Resolved, That we see with the greatest concern by the removal of our late much respected Viceroy, Earl Fitzwilliam, contrary to the unanimous wish of the whole people, how little the interests or the wishes of Ireland avail, in a matter of the highest import to her well-being.	3 ^{ème} : arrêté que nous voyons avec la plus grande sollicitude dans le rappel du Comte Fitzwilliam, notre estimable Gouverneur (rappel qui a eu lieu contre les vœux unanimes de notre Royaume) une preuve du peu d'égard que l'on a aux vœux du peuple d'Irlande dans une affaire où son bonheur est si essentiellement intéressé.	

	Resolved, That we derive consolation under the loss which we all sustain by the removal of the late popular Administration, in contemplating the rising spirit of harmony and co-operation among all sects and descriptions of Irishmen, so rapidly accelerated by that event ; and we do most earnestly recommend to the Catholics of Ireland to cultivate by all possible means the friendship and affection of their Protestant brethren, satisfied as we are, that national union is national strength, happiness and prosperity.	4 ^{ème} : arrêté que c'est une consolation pour nous dans le chagrin que nous inspire le rappel de l'Administration populaire dont le Comte Fitzwilliam a été le Chef, de contempler l'esprit d'union et d'harmonie que se manifeste chez les Irlandais de toutes les sectes et de tous les rangs ; union qui a été resserrée par cet évènement ; et nous recommandons [?] aux Catholiques de cultiver par tous les moyens possibles, l'amitié et l'affection de leurs frères protestants, et de se persuader avec nous que l'union fait la force et le bonheur de notre commune patrie.	
	Resolved unanimously, That the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, be requested to introduce the Catholic Bill immediately on the meeting of Parliament.	5 ^{ème} : arrêté unanimement que le très honorable Henry Grattan sera prié de présenter le Bill Catholique à la prochaine assemblée du parlement.	
p. 31	[A passage from a printed book, entitled, "A Letter from a venerated Nobleman, recently retired from this country, to the Earl of Carlisle," being read to the following effect : — "Then, for the first time, it appears to have been discerned, that the deferring the Catholic question would be, not merely an expediency, or a thing to be desired for the present — but THE MEANS OF DOING A GREATER SERVICE TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE THAN IT HAS BEEN CAPABLE OF RECEIVING SINCE THE REVOLUTION, OR AT LEAST SINCE THE UNION !! !" and also another passage, "That if the consideration of this question could be deferred <i>'till the Peace was established</i> — his Grace		

	should have no doubt but that it would be attended with advantages which perhaps are not to be hoped for in any other supposable case." And it appearing that those expressions, supposed to be those of a Personage in high official station, can admit of no import or meaning other than that of a meditated Union between this country and Great Britain.]		
	Resolved unanimously, That we are sincerely and unalterably attached to the RIGHTS, LIBERTIES, and INDEPENDENCE of our NATIVE COUNTRY; and we pledge ourselves, collectively and individually to resist, even our own Emancipation — if proposed to be conceded upon the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the fatal measure of AN UNION with the sister kingdom.	6 ^{ème} : arrêté unanimement que nous sommes sincèrement et inviolablement attachés aux <i>droits</i> , à la <i>liberté</i> et à l' <i>indépendance</i> de notre pays ; et nous prenons l'engagement individuellement et collectivement de tout rejeter, même notre émancipation, aux conditions ignominieuses d'une union avec l'Angleterre.	
	Resolved unanimously, That while we make this undisguised declaration of our sentiments, in order to satisfy the Public mind, we are of opinion that a measure so full of violence and ruin, will never be hazarded ; convinced as we are that no set of men will arrogate to themselves a power which is contrary to the ends and purposes of all Government — a power to surrender the liberties of their country— and to seal the slavery of future generations.	7 ^{ème} : arrêté unanimement qu'en faisant cette déclaration franche de nos sentiments, pour satisfaire à l'opinion publique, nous pensons qu'on ne hasarderá jamais une mesure si violente et si ruineuse ; que nous sommes convaincus qu' <i>aucune classe d'hommes</i> ne s'arrogera un pouvoir si contraire au but [?] Gouvernement ; pouvoir qui tend à sacrifier la liberté de notre Pays, et à mettre le sceau à l'esclavage des générations futures.	p. 501
	[A numerous Assembly of the Students of the University who this day waited on the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, with an Address,	(Une assemblée très nombreuses des étudiants de l'université, qui avaient, dans le jours même, présenté une adresse au membre	

	having appeared, and being admitted in the most respectful manner, amidst the loudest plaudits of the Meeting — and the Secretary having, by their order, communicated their Address, together with Mr. Grattan's Answer.]	patriote du parlement Grattan, ayant été admise au milieu des plus vifs applaudissements, et le Secrétaire ayant fait lecture de cette adresse, ainsi que de la réponse de M. Grattan :)	
	Resolved unanimously, That we observe with grateful cordiality and honed exultation the appearance of so large and respectable a body of the learned and ingenuous youth of Ireland, this day among us ; we accept their patriotic adoption of our cause as the surest omen of its success ; convinced that the most malignant efforts of our corrupt and bigoted oppressors must speedily give way to the UNION, irresistible as it is natural, of letters with liberty, of wisdom with justice, and of science with truth— And we invite and request the present respectable visitors, and their brethren of the University, to honour our future meetings with their presence and support.	8 ^{ème} : arrêté unanimement que nous recevons, dans ce jour, avec la plus grande reconnaissance et la joie la plus vive, la visite de la jeunesse de l'université ; que nous regardons leur zèle à épouser notre cause, comme le plus sûr présage de son succès ; convaincus que les efforts, les plus malfaisants de nos oppresseurs, corrompus and fanatiques, céderons à l'union aussi irrésistible que naturelle des lettres avec la liberté, de la sagesse avec la justice, et de la science avec la vérité :— et nous prions et invitons les jeunes gens qui viennent de nous faire cette visite, ainsi que leur frères de l'université, d'honorer nos futures assemblées de leur présence et de leur appui.	
	Resolved unanimously, That our sincere and grateful thanks be, and are hereby returned to our Protestant brethren of Belfast and of Dublin ; — to the different counties and great cities who have addressed either the Crown or Parliament on our behalf — and to every body of men and every individual among our Protestant brethren, who have stood forward in the cause of Catholic Emancipation—THE CAUSE OF IRISH LIBERTY.	9 ^{ème} : arrêté unanimement que nos remerciements les plus sincères soient présentées à nos frères protestants de Belfast et de Dublin aux différent comtés et grandes villes qui ont présenté soit au Roi, soit au parlement, des adresses en notre faveur ; et à chaque classe de citoyen ; ainsi qu'à chaque individu d'entre nos frères protestants, qui a embrassé la cause de l'émancipation Catholique... LA CAUSE DE LA LIBERTÉ DE L'IRLANDE.	

p. 32	Resolved unanimously, That the necessary expenses in printing and otherwise, attendant on our present application to the Legislature, as well as the engagements of the late General Committee, remaining still in a great measure undischarged, and for which the credit of the Catholic Body is pledged — require the measure of a speedy and liberal Subscription.	10 ^{ème} : arrêté unanimement que les frais d'impression et autres, causés par nos présentes démarches auprès de la Législation, ainsi que les engagements du dernier Comité générale, dont la plus grande partie n'a pas été encore acquittée, et pour lesquels l'honneur du Corps Catholique est engagé, demandent une souscription prompte et libérale.	
	Resolved unanimously therefore, That we recommend earnestly to our fellow-citizens in the different parishes of this city, to appoint Gentlemen forthwith in each parish, to receive such subscriptions as may be offered for the above just and necessary purposes ; — and we call on the Catholics of Ireland to co-operate with us, by contributing on their parts liberally towards the discharge of the debts incurred in the pursuit of our common Emancipation.	11 ^{ème} : en conséquence, il est arrêté à l'unanimité que nous recommandons à nos concitoyens des différentes paroisses d'ouvrir des souscriptions pour faire honneur à des dettes justes et nécessaires ; et nous invitons les Catholiques de toute l'Irlande à contribuer avec nous à l'acquit des frais qu'ont entraînés nos démarches pour obtenir notre émancipation commune.	
	Signed by Order of the Catholics of Dublin,	Signé, par l'ordre des Catholiques de Dublin	
	RICH. M'CORMICK, Sec.	Rich. M Cormick, Secrétaire	
	THE END.	Certifié conforme, Madgett	

Appendix 4. Parallel text of Wolfe Tone's First Memorial on the present state of Ireland, delivered to the French Government, February 1796, translated by Nicholas Madgett

Page	English	French	Page
	Wolfe Tone's <i>First Memorial on the present state of Ireland, delivered to the French Government, February 1796</i> (Tone 2001: 61)	<i>Mémoire sur l'Irlande traduit de l'anglois de th. w. t.</i> (CPA/589/162)	
		7 Ventôse an 4	p. 1
p. 61	First Memorial on the present state of Ireland, delivered to the French Government, February 1796	Mémoire sur l'Irlande traduit de l'Anglois de th. w. t.	
	The genius of the English nation, their manners, their prejudices and their government are so diametrically opposite to those of the French Republic in all respects that it is unnecessary to dwell upon this subject. I assume it as an axiom that there is an irreconcilable opposition of interests between the two nations. Since the French Revolution there is one still more irreconcilable between the governments, so that neither can be said to be in safety while the other is in existence.	Il y a entre la France et l'Angleterre une différence prodigieuse pour le caractère, les mœurs, les préjugés et pour la forme de gouvernement. Les intérêts commerciaux des deux nations se croisent de tant de manières et sous tant de rapports, que l'impossibilité de réussir à les concilier entre eux, me paraît démontrée. Quant aux deux gouvernements, depuis la révolution française l'antipathie entre eux est telle qu'ils ne fondent respectivement leur stabilité que sur la destruction de l'autre.	
p. 62	The war, hitherto however glorious to France, has not been unprofitable to England; her fleets were never more formidable and, in the true spirit of trade, she will console herself for the disgrace of her arms by land in the acquisition of power and territory and commerce by sea; but these very acquisitions render it, if possible, incumbent not merely on France but on all Europe to endeavour to reduce her within	Les événements de la guerre, quelque glorieux qu'ils aient été jusqu'ici pour la France, n'ont pas laissé d'être profitables à l'Angleterre. Jamais les flottes de cette puissance n'ont été plus formidables et comme l'esprit mercantile est le grand mobile de ses actions, elle se consolera aisément de ses disgrâces sur terre par l'accroissement de territoire, de puissance et de commerce que lui	

	due limits and to prevent that enormous accumulation of wealth which the undisturbed possession of the commerce of the whole world would give her; and this reduction of her power can be alone, as I presume, accomplished with certainty and effect by separating Ireland from Great Britain.	ont valu ses opérations maritimes. Mais cet accroissement même impose non seulement à la France, mais à l'Europe entière, sous peine de sacrifier ses plus chers intérêts, l'obligation étroite de circonscrire dans ses justes bornes, et d'empêcher que cette possession d'un système d'envahir le commerce du globe entier n'accumule sur sa tête une masse exorbitante de pouvoir et de richesses. on ne peut voir qu'un seul moyen d'y réussir, et je le regarde comme infaillible c'est de détacher l'Irlande de l'Angleterre.	
	The French Government cannot but be well informed of the immense resources, especially in a military point of view, which England draws from Ireland. It is with the beef and the pork, the butter, the tallow, the hides and various other articles of the first necessity which Ireland supplies, that she victuals and equips her navy and in a great degree supports her people and garrisons in the West Indies. It is with the poor and hardy natives of Ireland that she mans her fleets and fills the ranks of her army. From the commencement of the present war to June 1795 not less than 200,000 men were raised in Ireland for the land and sea service, eighty thousand of which were for the navy alone. It is a fact, undeniable though carefully concealed in England, that two thirds of the British navy are manned by Irishmen; a circumstance which if it stood alone should be sufficient to determine the French Government to wrest, if possible, so powerful a weapon from the hands of her	Le gouvernement français est sans doute instruit des ressources immenses, en tout genre, que l'Angleterre trouve dans l'Irlande. C'est avec le beurre et les viandes salées de l'Irlande ainsi qu'avec ses suifs, ses cuirs, et une infinité d'autres articles qu'elle approvisionne sa marine et ses colonies. C'est principalement de l'Irlande qu'elle tire des hommes pour équiper ses flottes et recruter des bataillons. Depuis le commencement de la guerre actuelle jusqu'au mois de juin de l'an dernier (1795), l'Irlande lui avait déjà fourni 200,000 hommes, dont 80,000 matelots. Un fait certain, quoique soigneusement caché en Angleterre, c'est que <i>les deux tiers</i> de la marine Britannique sont composés de matelots irlandais, circonstance qui, quand il n'y en aurait pas d'autre, devrait suffire seule pour déterminer la République française à faire tous ses efforts pour arracher des mains de son implacable ennemi un moyen puissant de lui nuire. Je ne	p. 2

	implacable adversary. I shall not dwell longer on the necessity of the measure which I shall propose, but will endeavour to show how it may best be executed, and on what grounds it is that I rest my confidence of success, if the attempt be but once made.	m'étendrai pas davantage sur la nécessité de la mesure que je propose : je me contenterai d'indiquer les moyens de l'effectuer et d'en assurer le succès en cas qu'elle soit adoptée.	
	For the better elucidation of the plan, it is necessary to take a review of the actual state of Ireland. I shall condense the facts as much as possible, as I trust the French Government is already in possession of those which are most material.	Pour mieux développer mon idée, il est nécessaire que j'entre dans quelques détails sur l'état actuel de l'Irlande. Mais je ne le ferai que très sommairement parce que je présume que le gouvernement est déjà instruit des faits principaux.	
	The people of Ireland consist of about four million five hundred thousand persons, distributed under three different religious sects, of whom the Protestants, whose religion is the dominant one and established by law, are four hundred and fifty thousand, or one tenth of the whole; the Dissenters, or Presbyterians, about nine hundred thousand, or one fifth; the Catholics form the remaining three million one hundred and fifty thousand. They may also be considered with regard to property, which is necessary in some degree to explain the political situation of the country.	La population de l'Irlande monte à quatre millions cinq cent mille âmes, divisées en trois sectes, savoir : 1^e la protestante, ou Anglicane, qui est la seule autorisée par les lois ; elle est composée de 450,000 âmes ; 2^e la presbytérienne, de 900,000 âmes ; 3^e la Catholique, qui forme le reste de la population. Pour se former une idée plus précise de l'état politique du pays, il faut encore considérer ces trois classes sous le rapport de la propriété.	
	The Protestants, who are almost entirely the descendants of Englishmen, forming so very small a minority as they do of the whole people, have yet almost the whole landed property of the country in their hands; this property has been acquired by the most unjust means, by plunder and confiscation during repeated wars, and by the operation of laws framed to degrade and destroy the Catholics, the natives of	Les protestants sont presque tous d'extraction angloise, et quoique leur nombre soit si peu considérable en comparaison du reste des habitants, ils possèdent la presque totalité des biens-fonds du pays. Ils ne les ont acquis que par les moyens les plus infâmes, tels que les rapines et les confiscations, et par l'effet des lois pénales instituées pour avilir et détruire le Catholicisme qui était la religion	

p. 63	the country. In 1650 the people of three entire provinces were driven by Cromwell to the fourth, and their property divided amongst his officers and soldiers, whose descendants enjoy it as this day. In 1688, when James II was finally defeated in Ireland, the spirit of the Irish people was completely broken, and the last remnant of their property torn from them and divided amongst the conquerors. By these means the proprietors of estates in Ireland, feeling the weakness of their titles to property thus acquired, and seeing themselves, as it were, a colony of strangers forming not above one tenth part of the population, have always looked to England for protection and support; they have, therefore, been ever ready to sacrifice the interests of their country to her ambition and avarice, and to their own security. England, in return, has rewarded them for this sacrifice by distributing among them all the offices and appointments in the church, the army, the law, the revenue and every department of the state, to the utter exclusion of the two other sects and more especially of the Catholics. By these means the Protestants, who constitute the aristocracy of Ireland, have in their hands all the force of the Government; they have at least five sixths of the landed property; they are devoted implicitly to the connection with England, which they look upon as essential to the secure possession of their estates; they dread and abhor the principles of the French Revolution, and, in case of any attempt to emancipate	des naturels du pays. En 1650 tous les habitants des trois provinces entières furent relégués dans la quatrième par Cromwell, qui divisa leurs biens entre ses soldats, et les descendants de ceux-ci en jouissent jusqu'à ce jour. En 1688, la défaite totale de Jacques 2^d acheva d'abattre et de ruiner les habitants. Le peu de biens qui leur restait devint la proie des vainqueurs. On sent bien que tous ces usurpateurs ainsi que leurs descendants, convaincus de leur injustice, et se regardant comme une colonie d'Étrangers placés au milieu d'un peuple dont ils ne faisaient pas la dixième partie, ne pouvoient attendre de protection et d'appui que de la part de l'Angleterre : aussi se sont-ils montrés, de tous temps, prêts à sacrifier les intérêts de leur patrie à l'ambition et à la cupidité de cette protectrice, ainsi qu'à leur propre sûreté. Pour les récompenser de ce dévouement, l'Angleterre a toujours conféré sur eux toutes les charges et fonctions tant civiles que militaires et ecclésiastiques, à l'exclusion des presbytériens et des catholiques, et particulièrement ces derniers. Par ce moyen, les protestants, qui forment l'Aristocratie de l'Irlande, ont entre leurs mains toute la force du gouvernement, ils possèdent au moins les 5/6 de tous les biens-fonds. Leur liaison avec l'Angleterre est ce qu'ils ont de plus à cœur, comme l'unique garantie de leurs possessions usurpées. Ils craignent et abhorrent les principes de la Révolution françoise. Ainsi, en cas d'une tentative pour affranchir l'Irlande du joug britannique, il faudrait	p. 3

	Ireland, I should calculate on all the opposition which it might be in their power to give.	s'attendre de leur part à toutes les résistances qu'ils pourraient y opposer.	
	But it is very different with regard to the Dissenters, who occupy the province of Ulster, of which they form at present the majority. They have amongst them but few great landed provinces; they are mostly engaged in trade and manufactures, especially the linen, which is the staple commodity of Ireland and is almost exclusively in their hands. From their first establishment, in 1620, until very lately, there has been a continual animosity between them and the Catholic natives of the country, grounded on the natural dislike between the old inhabitants and strangers, and fortified still more by the irreconcilable difference between the genius of the religions of Calvinism and Popery, and diligently cultivated and fomented by the Protestant aristocracy, the partizans of England, who saw in the feuds and dissensions of the other two great sects their own protection and security.	Il n'en est pas de même des <i>Dissidents</i> , ou presbytériens, répandus dans toute la province d'Ultonie. Ils y forment la grande majorité de la population. Leurs possessions territoriales sont peu de chose, mais ils s'enrichissent par le commerce et par les manufactures, principalement celles des toiles qui sont une branche très considérables du commerce des Irlandais, et elle est presque entièrement entre leurs mains. Il n'y a pas longtemps qu'il régnait encore entre eux et la secte catholique une très grande animosité, fondée, en partie, sur leur qualité de nouveaux venus dans le pays, mais particulièrement sur l'incompatibilité des dogmes religieux du calvinisme et du papisme. Cette animosité étoit soigneusement entretenue et fomentée par les protestants, c'est à dire les aristocrates amis de l'Angleterre, qui regardoient la désunion de ces deux partis puissants, comme la sauvegarde de leur propre existence.	
	Among the innumerable blessings procured to mankind by the French Revolution arose the event which I am about to mention, and to which I do most earnestly entreat the particular attention of the French Government, as it is in fact the point on which the emancipation of Ireland may eventually turn.	Parmi les bienfaits sans nombre que la revolution francaise a valu au genre humain, on peut compter la réconciliation des catholiques avec les presbytériens. Je supplie le gouvernement françois de bien faire attention à cet événement, parce que, si jamais l'Irlande devient libre, c'est à lui en dernière analyse, qu'elle sera redevable de son émancipation.	p. 4
	The Dissenters are, from the genius of their religion and the spirit of inquiry which it produces, sincere and enlightened republicans; they	Les Dissidents, par leurs principes religieux et par les connaissances que ces principes les mettent dans le cas d'acquérir, sont des	

p. 64	have ever, in a degree, opposed the usurpations of England, whose protection, as well from their numbers and spirit as the nature of their property, they did not, like the Protestant aristocracy, feel necessary for their existence. Still, however, in all the civil wars of Ireland, they ranged themselves under the standard of England and were the most formidable enemies to the Catholic natives, whom they hated as Papists, and despised as slaves. These bad feelings were, for obvious reasons, diligently fomented by the Protestant and English party. At length, in the year 1790, the French Revolution produced a powerful revulsion in the minds of the most enlightened men amongst them. They saw that whilst they thought they were the masters of the Catholics, they were in fact but their gaolers, and that, instead of enjoying liberty in their own country, they served but as a garrison to keep it in subjection to England; the establishment of unbounded liberty of conscience in France had mitigated their horror of Popery; one hundred and ten years of peace had worn away very much of the old animosity which former wars had raised and cherished. Eager to emulate the glorious example of France, they saw at once that the only guide to liberty was justice, and that they neither deserved nor could obtain independence whilst their Catholic brethren, as they then, for the first time, called them, remained in slavery and oppression. Impressed with these sentiments of liberality and wisdom, they sought out the leaders of the Catholics, whose	Républicains sincères et éclairés. Ils se sont toujours opposé fortement aux usurpations de l'Angleterre, qu'ils n'avoient pas le même intérêt que les protestants de ménager, parce qu'ils étoient en trop grand nombre et que leur fortune, par sa nature, étoit trop indépendante pour avoir besoin de sa protection. Cependant dans toutes les guerres civiles de l'Irlande, ils ont pris le parti de l'Angleterre et se sont toujours montrés les Ennemis les plus redoutables des Catholiques qu'ils haïssaient comme papistes, et méprisaient comme Esclaves. Les protestants et tout le parti anglican avoient leurs raisons pour les entretenir dans ces sentiments. Enfin en 1790 la Révolution françoise leur fit ouvrir les yeux. Ils s'aperçurent enfin qu'au lieu d'être, comme ils le croyaient, les maîtres des catholiques, ils n'en étoient que les geôliers, et que loin de jouir de la liberté dans leur propre pays, ils n'y étoient que comme des troupes en garnison pour le tenir sous le joug de l'Angleterre. La loi qui établissait en France une liberté illimitée de conscience, les fit revenir de leurs préjugés contre le papisme, et cent dix ans de paix avaient déjà considérablement amorti le feu de ces animosités que les anciennes guerres avaient allumé et fomenté. Éclairés par l'exemple glorieux que venoit de leur donner la France, ils comprirent que sans la justice, il n'y a pas de véritable liberté, et qu'ils seroient indignes d'en jouir, qu'ils n'en jouiraient jamais tant que leurs frères les catholiques (ils leur donnaient pour la première fois	

	cause and whose suffering were in a manner forgotten; the Catholics caught with eagerness at the slightest appearance of alliance and support from a quarter whose opposition they had ever experienced to be so formidable, and once more, after lying prostrate for above 100 years, appeared on the political theatre of their country. Nothing could exceed the alarm, the terror and confusion which this most unexpected coalition produced in the breasts of the English Government and their partizans, the Protestant aristocracy in Ireland. Every art, every stratagem, was used to break the new alliance and revive the ancient animosities and feuds between the Dissenters and Catholics. Happily such abominable attempts proved fruitless. The leaders on both sides saw that they had but one common interest, as they had but one common country; that while they were mutually contending and read to sacrifice each other, England profited of their folly to enslave both; and that it was only by a cordial union and affection co-operation that they could establish their common liberty and establish the independence of Ireland. They therefore resisted and overcame every effort to disunite them, and in this manner has a spirit of union and regard succeeded to 250 years of civil discord, a revolution in the political morality of the nation of the most extreme importance, and from which, under the powerful auspices of the French Republic, I hope and trust her independence and liberty will arise.	ce nom) gémiroient dans l'esclavage et l'oppression. Animés de ces sages et louables sentiments, ils firent les premiers pas vers les chefs des malheureux catholiques, dont la cause et les souffrances sembloient ensevelies dans l'oubli. Ceux-ci suivant avec empressement les offres d'amitié et de bienveillance que leur faisoient des hommes qui s'étoient de tout temps montrés leurs implacables Ennemis, et après une léthargie de plus de cent ans, ils commencèrent à figurer de nouveau sur le théâtre politique de leur patrie. Rien ne peut égaler les alarmes, la terreur, la consternation où une coalition aussi inattendue jeta le gouvernement Britannique et ses partisans en Irlande. Il n'y a point de stratagème ni d'artifice qui n'aient été mis en usage pour rompre cette nouvelle alliance, et réveiller entre les deux partis leurs anciennes haines et animosités. Heureusement ces tentatives échouèrent et ne servirent qu'à faire sentir de plus en plus aux chefs des coalisés, la nécessité de se tenir unis pour leur intérêt commun et pour le salut de la patrie, dont l'asservissement n'était dû qu'à leur dissensions passées. C'est ainsi que des sentiments de bienveillance et d'estime ont succédé à deux siècles de discordes civiles. Il en est résulté, dans la moralité politique de ce pays une révolution infiniment importante, puisqu'il faut espérer qu'avec le secours des généreux français, elle opérera son entière émancipation.	p. 5

	I beg leave again to call the attention of the French Government to this fact of the national union, which from my knowledge of the situation of Ireland I affirm to be of importance equal to all 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 turned in concert against the common enemy.	– Je ne saurais assez insister auprès du gouvernement françois sur la nécessité de bien peser cette circonstance de la réunion des catholiques et des presbytériens irlandais. Liés d'intérêts entre eux, et abhorrant le joug de l'Angleterre, ils forment plus de huit neuvièmes de la nation.	
p. 65	I come now to the third party in Ireland, the Catholics, who are the Irish properly so called and who form almost the entire body of the peasantry of the country. The various confiscations produced by the wars of five centuries and the silent operation of the laws for 150 years have stripped the Catholics of almost all property in land; the great bulk of them are in the lowest degree of misery and want, hewers of wood and drawers of water; bread they seldom taste, meat never, save once in the year; they live in wretched hovels; they labour incessantly, and their landlords, the Protestant aristocracy, have so calculated that the utmost they can gain by this continual toil will barely suffice to pay the rent at which these petty despots assess their wretched habitations; their food the whole year round is potatoes, their drink sometimes milk, more frequently water; those of them who attempt to cultivate a spot of ground as farmers are forced, in addition to a heavy rent, to pay tythes to the priests of the	Je viens maintenant à la troisième classe des habitants d'Irlande, je veux dire les Catholiques. Ce sont les Irlandais proprement dits, ils forment la presque totalité de la classe des paysans. Les confiscations auxquelles 500 ans de guerre ont donné lieu, et la rigueur des lois pénales portées contre les Catholiques pendant 150 ans, les ont dépouillés de presque toute propriété territoriale. Ils sont, pour la plupart, réduits au dernier degré de misère ; ils ne mangent du pain que rarement, et jamais de la viande excepté une fois l'an. De misérables huttes leurs servent de logement, et telle est l'âpre tyrannie des propriétaires de ces chétifs réduits, que c'est tout ce que peuvent faire les locataires que d'en payer le loyer avec tout le produit de leur travail d'un bout d'année à l'autre. Ces malheureux n'ont d'autre nourriture que des pommes de terre, d'autre boisson que du lait, et plus souvent de l'eau pure. Si quelques uns d'entre eux se rendent fermiers de quelques champs, ils sont obligés, outre un prix de ferme	p. 6

	Protestant religion, which they neither profess nor believe; their own priests fleece them. Such is the condition of the peasantry of Ireland, about 3,000,000 of people. But though there be little property in land, there is a considerable share of the commerce of Ireland in the hands of the Catholic body; their merchants are highly respectable and well informed; they are perfectly sensible as well of their own situation as that of their country. It is of these men, with a few of the Catholic gentry whose property escaped the fangs of the English invaders, that their General Committee, of which I shall have occasion to speak by-and-by, is composed, and it is with their leaders that the union with the Dissenters, so infinitely important to Ireland and, if rightly understood, to France also, has been formed.	exorbitant, d'en payer la dîme à un curé protestant dont ils n'attendent aucun service et l'équivalent de cette dîme à leur prêtre catholique. Tel est le déplorable sort d'environ trois millions d'hommes. Cependant il y a un certain nombre de Catholiques qui s'adonnent avec succès au commerce. Ce sont, pour la plupart, des hommes estimables et éclairés. Ils sentent par conséquent tout le désagrément de leur propre situation et de celle de leur pays. C'est de l'élite de ce corps réuni à un petit nombre de Catholiques terriens dont les propriétés ont échappé à la rapacité des usurpateurs anglois, qu'est composé le Comité général Catholique dont j'aurai l'occasion de parler ci-après. Et c'est entre les chefs de ce Comité et les principaux membres de la société presbytérienne que s'est formé l'union dont je parlais plus haut.	
	I have now stated the respective situation, strength and views of the parties of Ireland; that is to say: <i>First</i>, the Protestants, 450,000, comprising the great body of the aristocracy, which supports and is supported by England. Their strength is entirely artificial, composed of the power and influence which the patronage of Government gives them. They have in their hands all appointments in every department, in the church, the army, the revenue, the navy, the law, and a great proportion of the landed property of the country, acquired and maintained as has been stated; but it cannot escape the penetration of the French Government that all their apparent	Voici le résumé de ce que je viens de dire sur les forces, la situation et les vues respectives des trois partis qui existent en Irlande. 1^e Les protestants compris de 450,000 hommes. Ce sont les Aristocrates du pays. Ils sont entièrement dans les intérêts de l'Angleterre, qui, en retour, leur accorde toute sorte de protection. L'autorité dont ils jouissent dans le pays est absolument factice et précaire, n'étant que l'effet de la considération que leur donne l'exercice exclusif de tous les emplois, et l'étendue de leurs possessions territoriales. On sait bien que sa force et sa durée dépendent uniquement de l'opinion,	

	power is purely fictitious; the strength they derive from Government results solely from opinion; the instant that prop is withdrawn, the edifice tumbles into ruins; the strength of property acquired like theirs by the sword continues no longer than the sword can defend it, and numerically the Protestants are but one tenth of the people.	et que l'appui de l'Angleterre venant à lui manquer, tout l'échafaudage s'écroulerait bientôt par terre. Quant à leurs possessions territoriales, ne les ayant acquis que par la violence, ils ne sauroient s'y maintenir que par la force, et ils ne forment qu'environ un dixième de la population du pays.	
p. 66	<i>Second.</i> The Dissenters, 900,000, who form a large and respectable portion of the middle ranks of the community. These are the class of men best informed in Ireland; they formed the bulk of what was called the volunteer army in Ireland in 1782, during the late war, which extorted large concessions from England and would have completely established their liberty had they been then, as they are now, united with their Catholic brethren. They are all to a man sincere Republicans and devoted with enthusiasm to the cause of liberty and France; they would make perhaps the best soldiers in Ireland and are already in a considerable degree trained to arms.	2 ^e Les Dissidents, au nombre de 900 000. Ils forment une partie considérable de la classe moyenne des citoyens. Ce sont en général les hommes les plus éclairés de l'Irlande. Dans la guerre dernière ils formoient la grande masse de l'armée connue sous le nom des volontaires d'Irlande, armée qui arracha de si grandes concessions de l'Angleterre, et qui eut à jamais assurer l'indépendance de son pays, si les presbytériens et les catholiques avaient été alors unis entre eux comme ils le sont aujourd'hui. – Ils sont tous, sans exception, des Républicains sincères, et dévoués jusqu'à l'enthousiasme à la cause de la liberté et de la France. Les dispositions jointes à l'expérience qu'ils ont déjà acquise dans le maniement des armes en feroient vraisemblablement les meilleurs soldats de l'Irlande.	p. 7
	<i>Third.</i> The Catholics, 3,150,000. These are the Irish, properly so called, trained from their infancy in an hereditary hatred and abhorrence of the English name, which conveys them no ideas but those of blood and pillage and persecution. This class is strong in numbers and in wretchedness and misery, which makes men bold; they are used to	3 ^e Les Catholiques, au nombre de 3.150.000. Ce sont les Irlandais proprement dits. Ils sont élevés dès l'enfance dans la haine la plus implacable contre le nom anglais, qui ne se présente jamais à leur esprit qu'accompagné des idées de massacres, de barbarie et de persécution. Leur nombre et leur extrême misère les rendent préparés	

	every species of hardship; they can live on little; they are easily clothed; they are bold and active; they are prepared for any change, for they feel that no change can make their situation worse. They have their eyes fixed most earnestly on France, whom they look upon, with great justice, as fighting their battles as well as those of all mankind who are oppressed. Of this class, I will stake my head, there are five hundred thousand men who would fly to the standard of the Republic if they saw it once displayed in the cause of liberty and their country.	à tout entreprendre. Endurcis à la fatigue, actifs, et courageux, ils savent se contenter de la nourriture la plus grossière et du plus grossier habillement ; ils s'attendent à un changement et le désirent avec ardeur, parce qu'ils sentent qu'aucun changement ne saurait empirer leur sort. Ils ont les yeux constamment tournés vers la République françoise, qu'ils regardent avec raison comme la protectrice des opprimés. Je répons sur ma tête que dans cette classe seule on trouverait 500 000 hommes prêts à se ranger autour du pavillon tricolor dès qu'ils le verroient déployé en faveur de la liberté de leur pays.	
	From what has been said, it appears that all the artificial strength of Ireland is implicitly devoted to England and decidedly adverse to France, that all the natural strength is equally devoted to France and adverse to England, for this plain reason that in the one they look for a deliverer, in the other they see a tyrant. It is now necessary to state the organization of the people of Ireland; and here I must be allowed to observe that even if there were no previous organization, the measures which I shall submit would not be the less advisable and practicable. Organization, like machinery, may be necessary to enable a small force to raise a great weight; but a whole people can act by their natural strength. The Republic may rely with confidence to meet support from the Dissenters, actuated by reason and reflection, from the Catholics, impelled by misery and inflamed by detestation of the English name.	De tout ce que je viens de dire il suit que toute la force factice de l'Irlande est en faveur de l'Angleterre et contre la France, mais que c'est précisément l'inverse par rapport à la force réelle du pays, parce qu'il n'éprouve de la part de l'une, que violence et oppression, et qu'il attend la libération de l'autre. J'en viens maintenant à <i>l'organisation du peuple Irlandais</i>. Je dois observer ici que quand même cette organisation n'existerait pas déjà, les mesures que j'ai à proposer n'en seroient ni moins dignes d'attention, ni moins aisées à exécuter. Une organisation, semblable à ces machines compliquées des Mécaniciens, ne sert qu'à produire de grands effets par de petits moyens, mais elle devient inutile dès qu'un peuple peut, par l'action seule de ses forces naturelles, écarter tous les obstacles et parvenir à son but. Or	p. 8

	These are the actual force of Ireland, and in addition to their strength they are organized also.	tel est à peu près, le peuple irlandais. La République françoise peut être assurée qu'elle y trouvera chez les presbytériens et les catholiques, une énergie étonnante, qui chez les uns, est l'effet de la réflexion et des principes, et chez les autres, de la misère et de la haine qu'ils portent au nom Anglais. D'ailleurs ils sont réellement organisé comme nous allons voir.	
p. 67	In the year 1791, the Dissenters of Belfast, which is the principal city in Ulster and, as it were, the metropolis of that great body, framed the first club of United Irishmen, so called because in that club, for the first time in Ireland, Dissenters and Catholics were seen together in harmony and union. A similar club was immediately formed in Dublin which became speedily famous for its publications and the sufferings of its members, many of whom were thrown into prison by the Government, whose terror at this rising spirit of union amongst the people may be estimated from the severity with which they persecuted those who were most active in promoting it. This persecution, however, far from quelling the spirit, only served to make the people more cautious and guarded in their measures. Means have been adopted to spread similar clubs throughout Ulster, the seat of the Dissenting power, whose object is to subvert the tyranny of England, to establish the independence of Ireland and to frame a free republic on the broad basis of liberty and equality. These clubs were rapidly filled and extended in June last over about	En 1792, les habitants de la ville de <i>Belfast</i>, capitale de la province d'Ultonie, et centre de toutes les liaisons presbytériennes, formèrent le club connu sous le nom <i>des Irlandais réunis</i>, et ainsi appelé parce qu'on y voyait pour la première fois des catholiques et des presbytériens réunis. À l'instar de celui-là, il s'en forma bientôt, à Dublin, un autre, devenu fameux par les écrits politiques et par les persécutions qu'ont éprouvées les membres qui le composaient. On peut juger de la frayeur que ces associations causaient au gouvernement par les incarcérations, les poursuites criminelles, et les violences de toute espèce auxquelles il a eu recours pour punir ceux qui avoient montré le plus d'activité et de zèle à former ces assemblées. Mais ces persécutions, loin de comprimer l'esprit public, n'ont produit d'autre effet que de rendre le peuple plus circonspect dans ses moyens d'assurer sa liberté. En conséquence, il a été pris secrètement des mesures pour établir dans toute l'Ultonie des clubs semblables aux deux précédents, et dont l'objet est de renverser la tyrannie de	

	two thirds of that province. I am satisfied that by this time they embrace the whole of it and comprise the activity and energy of the Dissenters of Ireland, including also numbers of the most spirited and intelligent of the Catholic body. The members are all bound by an oath of secrecy and could on a proper occasion, I have not the smallest doubt, raise the entire force of the province of Ulster, the most populous, the most warlike and the most informed quarter of the nation.	l'Angleterre, d'assurer l'indépendance de l'Irlande, et de fonder une République sur les grands principes de la liberté et de l'égalité. Ces clubs se sont formés avec une rapidité étonnante. Au mois de juin dernier il y en avait d'établis dans les trois quarts de la province, et je n'ai aucun doute qu'ils n'en occupent aujourd'hui toute l'étendue et qu'ils ne soient composés de tout l'élite des presbytériens, ainsi que des catholiques les plus ardens et les plus éclairés. Tous les membres sont astreints au secret par un serment solennel, et je suis pleinement convaincu que s'il se présentait une occasion favorable, ils mettroient incontinent sur pied l'Ultonie entière, c'est à dire celle des quatre provinces d'Irlande qui est la plus peuplée, la plus belliqueuse et la plus éclairée.	
	For the Catholics, from what has been said of their situation it will appear that little previous arrangement would be necessary to ensure their unanimous support of any measure which held out to them a chance of bettering their condition; yet they also have an organization, commencing about the same time with the clubs last mentioned by composing Catholics only. Until within these few months, this organization baffled the most active vigilance of the Irish Government, unsuccessfully employed to discover its principles, and to this hour they are, I believe, unapprized of its extent. The fact is that in June last it embraced the whole peasantry of the provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Connaught, three fourths of the nation; and I	Quant aux Catholiques, il suit de ce que j'ai déjà dit qu'il ne faudrait que bien peu d'encouragement pour les porter à tout tenter pour améliorer leur sort. Ils ont aussi leur organisation, mais elle ne s'étend qu'à eux seuls. Elle a lieu à peu près en même temps que les clubs dont j'ai parlé plus haut. Ce n'est que depuis peu de mois que le gouvernement a pu se procurer quelques renseignements sur la nature de cette organisation, et il est encore bien éloigné de la connaître dans toute son étendue. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'au mois de juin dernier, elle comprenoit tous les paysans de la province d'Ultonie, de Lagénie et de Conacie, et je ne doute pas que, depuis ce temps, tous ceux de la Momonie, qui est la quatrième province, ne l'aient	p. 9

	have little doubt but it has since been extended into Munster, the remaining province. These men, who are called Defenders, are completely organized on a military plan, divided into their respective districts and officered by men chosen by themselves. The principles of their union is implicit obedience to the orders of those whom they have elected for their generals and whose object is the emancipation of their country, the subversion of English usurpation and the bettering the condition of the wretched peasantry of Ireland. 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. The oath of the association recites 'that they will be faithful to the united nations of France and Ireland' and several of them have sealed it with their blood. I suppose there is no instance of a conspiracy, if a whole people can be said to conspire, which has continued for so many years as this has done where the secret has been so religiously kept and where in so vast a number so few traitors have been found.	adoptée. Tous ces paysans, sous le nom de <i>Defenders</i>, sont organisés militairement et formés, selon l'étendue des districts, en différents corps commandés par des officiers qu'ils nomment eux-mêmes. Le grand principe de leur association est une obéissance aveugle aux ordres de leurs chefs. Ils ont pour objet l'émancipation de leur pays, la destruction de la tyrannie anglaise et l'amélioration du sort des malheureux paysans irlandais. Leurs vœux et leurs espérances sont tournées vers la République françoise de laquelle seule ils attendent secours et protection. Leur serment d'association porte <i>Loyauté et fidélité aux nations françoise et irlandaise réunies</i>, et plusieurs d'entre eux ont déjà scellé ce serment de leur sang. Il n'existe pas, je crois, d'exemple d'une conjuration soutenue aussi longtemps que celle-ci, où sur une multitude aussi prodigieuse de conjurés, il y ait eu moins de traitres, où le secret ait été aussi scrupuleusement gardé.	
	The organization of the Defenders embraces the whole peasantry of Ireland, being Catholics. There is also a further organization of Catholics which is called the General Committee and to which I have already alluded. This is a representative body chosen by the Catholics at large and consisting of the principal merchants and traders, the members of professions and a few of the remaining Catholic	Outre cette organisation des <i>defenders</i> commune à tous les paysans irlandais, il y en a une autre connue sous le nom de <i>Comité général des Catholiques</i>. Le comité est composé de membres élus par la masse générale des Catholiques pour les représenter. Ces membres ont été pris parmi les principaux négociants et marchands, parmi les citoyens de quelques autres professions et le	p. 10

p. 68	gentry of Ireland. This body, which has sat repeatedly in the capital at the same time with the Parliament, has twice within these four years sent ambassadors to the King of England, possesses a very great influence on the minds of the Catholics throughout the nation and especially decides the movements of the city of Dublin, a circumstance whose importance when well directed it is unnecessary to suggest to men so enlightened as those who compose the Government of France. It is true that by a late act of the Irish legislature this body is prevented from meeting in a representative capacity, but the individuals who compose it still exist, and this act, without diminishing their power of influence, has still more alienated their minds from the British Government in Ireland, against which they were already sufficiently, and with great reason, exasperated. It is but justice to the General Committee, in whose service I had the honour to be during the whole of their activity and whose confidence I had the good fortune to acquire and retain, to say that there is nowhere to be found men of purer patriotism, more sincerely attached to the principles of liberty, or who would be more likely in an arduous crisis to conduct themselves with abilities and firmness. I can add, from my personal knowledge, that a great majority of those able and honest men who compose it are sincere republicans, warmly attached to the cause of France as Irishmen and as Catholics doubly bound to detest the tyranny and domination of	petit nombre de seigneurs Catholiques qui existent encore en Irlande. Ce corps s'est assemblé fréquemment à Dublin, sous les yeux du Parlement, dans le cours des quatre dernières années. Il a envoyé deux députations solennelles vers le roi d'Angleterre. Il a la plus grande influence sur l'esprit des Catholiques dans toute l'Irlande, et, ce qui est bien essentiel à remarquer, il dirige tous les mouvements de la ville de Dublin. Il est vrai qu'il lui est défendu depuis peu, par ordre du pouvoir législatif, de s'assembler comme corps représentant; mais les individus qui le composaient existent encore, et cette défense, sans diminuer en rien leur pouvoir et leur influence, n'a fait que les irriter encore davantage contre la tyrannie du gouvernement. J'ai eu l'honneur d'être employé par le Comité général durant tout le temps qu'il a été en activité, et de m'attirer et conserver sa confiance. D'après la connaissance intime que j'ai acquise des membres qui le composent, je leur rends la justice qu'on ne trouve nulle part des hommes d'un patriotisme plus pur, d'un attachement plus sincère aux principes de la liberté et d'une plus grande élévation d'âme et de fermeté de caractère pour entreprendre et exécuter de grandes choses. Ils sont presque tous républicains zélés et chauds partisans de la France. Comme Irlandais et catholiques, ils ont une double raison de détester la tyrannie et la domination de l'Angleterre qui a si souvent inondé le pays de leur sang.	

	England, which has so often deluged their country with their best blood.		
	I have now stated the three modes of organization which exist in Ireland—	Voilà donc trois modes d'organisation qui resserrent les liens des Irlandais entre eux.	
	1st. The Dissenters, with some of the most spirited and enlightened of the Catholics under the name of <i>United Irishmen</i> , whose central point is Belfast, the capital of Ulster.	1 ^e L'organisation des Dissidents réunis à ce qu'il y a de plus zélé et de plus éclairé parmi les Catholiques, et [?] pour cette raison, la société des Irlandais réunis. Le lieu de leurs assemblées est Belfast, capitale de la province d'Ultonie.	
	2d. The Defenders, forming the great body of the Catholic peasantry, amounting to 3,000,000 of people and who cover the entire face of the country.	2 ^e Celle des paysans catholiques, au nombre de près de trois millions, répandus sur toute la surface du pays.	
	3d. The General Committee of the Catholics, representing the talents and property of that body, possessing a very great influence everywhere in Ireland and especially deciding the movements of the capital.	3 ^e Celle du Comité général des Catholiques. Ce sont les représentants des talents et de la fortune de la classe aisée de ce corps. Ils ont une grande influence dans toute l'étendue de l'île, et surtout ils disposent à leur gré de tous les mouvements de la capitale.	
	I hazard nothing in asserting that these three bodies are alike animated with an ardent desire for the independence of Ireland, an abhorrence of British tyranny and a sincere attachment to the cause of the French Republic; and, what is of very great consequence, they have a perfect good understanding and communication with each other (that is to say, their leaders) so that on any great emergency there would be no possible doubt of their mutual co-operation. Many of the most active members of the General Committee, for example, are also in the clubs of the <i>United Irishmen</i> ; many of the officers of the Defenders, particularly those at	Je ne crains pas d'assurer que ces trois corps sont également ardents dans leurs vœux pour l'indépendance de l'Irlande, dans leur haine pour la Tyrannie de l'Angleterre, et dans leur prédilection pour la République françoise. J'ajoute encore que leurs chefs sont parfaitement d'accord, et correspondent régulièrement entre eux ; de sorte qu'il ne sauroit y avoir de doute qu'ils ne [?] prêts dans toutes les occasions critiques, à se prêter mutuellement aide et secours. Un grand nombre des membres les plus actifs du Comité général sont également membres du Club des Irlandais réunis. L'une et l'autre société admet dans son sein	p. 11

	the head of their affairs, are also either members of those clubs, or in unreserved confidence and communication with those who regulate and guide them. The central point of all this is undoubtedly Belfast, which influences, and which deserves to influence, the measures of all the others, and, what I consider as extremely singular, the leaders of the Defenders in Ulster, who are all Catholics, are in more regular habits of communication and are more determined by the Dissenters of Belfast than by their Catholic brethren of Dublin, with whom they hold much less intercourse.	un grand nombre des principaux officiers du corps des defenders et entretient avec eux une communication sincère et sans réserve, soit directement, soit par le canal de ceux qui dirigent leurs opérations. Ce qu'il y a de singulier, c'est que les chefs des Defenders en Ultonie, quoique tous Catholiques, communiquent plus volontiers avec les Dissidents de Belfast et se laissent plutôt guider par eux que par les catholiques de Dublin. Aussi est-ce à Belfast que se concertent toutes les mesures à prendre, et tous les mouvements de [?] à cette triple machine politique, et dans le fait cette ville est bien digne, par ses lumières et par son énergie, de donner le feu à toutes les autres parties de l'île.	
p. 69	I shall add a few words on the military force of Ireland and on the navy, and then I shall conclude.	Je terminerai ce mémoire, qui n'est déjà que trop long, par quelques observations sur les forces de terre et de mer de l'Irlande.	
	In the month of June 1795 last, when I left Ireland, the army, as I believe, amounted to about 30,000 men, of which 12,000 were troops of the line and 18,000 militia; a great proportion of the former, viz. the cavalry and artillery, and all the latter, being Irish. I believe a considerable number have been since detached to the West Indies and elsewhere; if so, the relative proportion of Irish must be increased, as the militia cannot be ordered on foreign service. For the cavalry and artillery, which taken together may make 3,000 men or upwards, I cannot speak with certainty; but my belief is that if they saw any prospect of permanent	Au mois de juin dernier, époque de mon départ d'Irlande, les forces de terre, autant que j'ai pu en juger, montaient à 30 000 hommes, dont 12 000 de troupes de ligne et 18 000 de miliciens, tous ceux-ci et une grande partie de ceux-là étant Irlandais. Je présume que depuis ce temps il a été détaché un certain nombre de ces troupes de ligne pour les Indes occidentales et ailleurs. Dans ce cas la proportion des troupes irlandaises doit être augmentée, parce que les miliciens ne peuvent être employés hors du pays. Je n'ai que des conjectures à offrir sur les dispositions de la cavalerie	

	support they would not act against their country. For the remaining 9,000 men of the troops of the line and fencibles, they are a wretched assemblage of old men and boys, incapable of the duties of active service; any resistance they could make, if they were inclined to resist, could be but trifling, and I have reason to believe they would not be so inclined, several of the fencible regiments being Scotch and already more than half disaffected to the Government. For the militia, they consisted, at the time I mention, of about 18,000 men, as fine troops as any in Europe. Of these at least 16,000 were Catholics and of those a very great proportion were actually sworn Defenders who were compelled to enter the service to avoid prosecution. I learn that since my departure from Ireland Defenderism has spread rapidly among them and that numbers have been imprisoned on that account. I have not a shadow of doubt on my mind but that the militia would in case of emergency to a man join their countrymen in throwing off the yoke of England provided proper measures were taken and that they saw a reasonable prospect of support.	et de l'artillerie, formant en tout environ 3 000 hommes. Mais je pense que ces deux corps, s'ils avoient la perspective d'un appui solide et permanent, n'agiroient pas contre leur patrie. Quant aux autres 9 000 hommes de troupes de ligne, ce n'est qu'un assemblage pitoyable de vieillards et d'enfants, tous incapables de soutenir les fatigues d'un service actif. En cas d'attaque, ils ne pourroient faire qu'une faible résistance, quand même ils seroient disposés à se défendre. Or c'est ce dont je doute car il y a parmi eux quelques régiments de <i>fencibles</i> écossais, qui ne sont pas, à beaucoup près, attachés au gouvernement britannique. Les Miliciens formant, comme je l'ai dit, 18 000 hommes, sont sous tous les rapports d'aussi belles troupes qu'il y en ait en Europe. De ce nombre, il y a au moins 16 000 catholiques, dont la plupart, précédemment membres du club des <i>Defenders</i>, ne sont entrés dans la milice que pour se soustraire aux procédures criminelles dont ils étaient menacés. J'apprends que, depuis mon départ, l'esprit de <i>Défenderisme</i> s'est tellement manifesté dans ce corps qu'un grand nombre de soldats soupçonnés d'être de ce parti ont été emprisonnés. Je n'ai nul doute que ce corps ne soit tout disposé à se joindre au reste de la nation pour secouer le joug de l'Angleterre. Mais il ne s'y déterminera qu'autant qu'il se verra puissamment soutenu.	p. 12

	For the navy, I have already said that Ireland has furnished no less 80,000 seamen and that two thirds of the English fleet are manned by Irishmen. I will here state the grounds of my assertion. First, I have myself heard several British officers, and among them some of very distinguished reputation, say so. Secondly, I know that when the Catholic delegates whom I had the honour to attend were at St James' in January 1793 in the course of the discussion with Henry Dundas, principal Secretary of State, they asserted the fact to be as I have mentioned, and Mr Dundas admitted it, which he would most certainly not have done if he could have denied it. And lastly on my voyage to America our vessel was boarded by a British frigate whose crew consisted of 220 men, two hundred and ten of whom were Irish, as I found on inquiry. I humbly submit the importance of this fact to the particular notice of the French Government.	Je passe maintenant aux forces navales de l'Irlande. J'ai dit ci-dessus qu'au mois de juin dernier, ce pays avant déjà fourni à la marine anglaise au moins 80 000 matelots, et qu'en général, les équipages des vaisseaux de guerre britanniques étaient, pour les deux tiers, composés d'Irlandais. Voici les preuves sur lesquelles j'appuie cette seconde assertion. 1^e Le fait m'a été affirmé par plusieurs capitaines de haut bord, très dignes de foi, et très au fait de tout ce qui était relatif à la Marine Britannique. 2^e En 1793, les députés Catholiques envoyés en Angleterre et que j'avais l'honneur d'accompagner, annoncèrent le même fait en présence de M. Dundas, Secrétaire d'état, pour lui prouver de quelle ressource l'Irlande était pour l'Angleterre, et il ne put pas le contredire, ce à quoi il n'eût pas manqué pour peu qu'il eût cru exagéré. 3^e Le bâtiment à bord duquel j'ai passé en Amérique fut abordé par une frégate anglaise dont l'équipage était de 220 hommes. Or, sur ce nombre, il y avait 210 Irlandais, comme je l'ai appris d'eux mêmes.	
p. 70	From all which has been said I trust it will appear that it is the interest of France to separate Ireland from England; and that it is morally certain that the attempt, if made, would succeed for the following reasons: 1st that all the Dissenters are disaffected to England, attached to France and sufficiently organized; 2d that the whole peasantry of Ireland, being Catholics and constituting above 3,000,000 of people, are to a man eager to throw off the English yoke,	D'après tout ce que je viens de dire, on sentira, je pense, qu'il est incontestablement de l'intérêt de la République françoise de détacher l'Irlande de l'Angleterre et qu'il serait aisé de réussir dans ce projet si on l'entreprenait dès à présent. Voici mes raisons. 1^e Le corps des Dissidents est opposé à l'Angleterre, favorable à la France et complètement organisé.	p. 13

	that they also are organized and that part of the fundamental oath by which they are bound as Defenders is to be true as well to France as to Ireland; 3d that there is a certainty of sufficient harmony and co-operation between these two great bodies, which constitute nine tenths of the population of Ireland; 4th that the British Government cannot reckon on any firm support from the army, above two thirds of which are Irishmen and of that number nearly 10,000 being, as I am informed and believe, actually sworn Defenders; 5th that it is at least possible that by proper measures to be adopted relative to the Irishmen now serving in the navy of England her power at sea might receive such a shock as it has never yet experienced; and 6th, and lastly, that if these facts be as I have here stated them, it would be impossible for the Protestant aristocracy in Ireland to make any stand whatsoever, even for an hour, in defence of the connection with England.	2^e Tout le corps de paysans d'Irlande, tous Catholiques, et offrant 3 millions d'hommes, désire ardemment secouer le joug de l'Angleterre, qu'il est aussi complètement organisé et qu'un des articles du serment des <i>Defenders</i> est <i>d'être fidèles à la France, comme à l'Irlande.</i> 3^e Les deux grands corps qui forment près de neuf dixièmes de la population de l'Irlande sont parfaitement d'accord entre eux et qu'un même esprit dirige leurs vues et leurs opérations. 4^e Le gouvernement Britannique ne peut compter sur aucun appui solide de la part de l'armée, dont les deux tiers sont Irlandais et dont on assure, et je le crois facilement, que 10 000 au moins ont prêté serment au défenderisme. 5^e Il est au moins dans l'ordre des choses possibles que, moyennant certaines mesures à prendre avec les matelots irlandais, il soit porté à la marine anglaise un coup plus funeste qu'elle n'en a jamais éprouvé. 6^e 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 de l'Angleterre et de leur propres intérêts.	
		Ces réflexions sur la situation actuelle de l'Irlande, je les soumets avec déférence et respect à la sagesse et à la considération du gouvernement françois. Je lui propose de lui présenter, dans un	

		second mémoire, l'aperçu des 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 Theobald Wolf Tone	
		Certifié conforme Madgett	
		Le 11 ventôse l'an 4 de la République françoise, une et indivisible	

Appendix 5. Parallel text of Wolfe Tone's Second Memorial on the present state of Ireland, delivered to the French Government, February 1796, translated by Nicholas Madgett

Page	English	French	Page
	Wolfe Tone's <i>Second Memorial on the present state of Ireland, delivered to the French Government, February 1796</i> (Tone 2001: 88)	<i>2e Memoire sur l'Irlande traduit de l'anglois de th. w. t. (CPA/589/173)</i>	
p. 88	Second memorial to the French government on the present state of Ireland, 29 February 1796	2 ^d Mémoire sur l'Irlande traduit de l'anglois de th. w. t., 10 Ventôse an 4	p. 1
	Second memorial on the present state of Ireland delivered to the French government, February-March 1796		
	Having stated in a former memorial the actual situation and circumstances of Ireland, I shall now submit to the consideration of the French government those means which, in my judgement, will be most likely to effectuate the great object of separating that country from England and establishing her as an independant republic in strict alliance with France. I shall first mention those measures whose execution depend[s] on the French republic and next those which will be to be executed by the people of Ireland.	Après avoir rendu compte, dans mon premier mémoire, de l'état actuel de l'Irlande, je vais, dans celui-ci, proposer au gouvernement françois les moyens qui me paraissent les plus efficaces pour réussir dans le grand objet que nous avons en vue, celui de détacher ce pays de l'Angleterre et de l'ériger en République indépendante, et alliée de la France. Je parlerai d'abord des mesures dont l'exécution dépend de la République françoise, ensuite de celles que doit prendre l'Irlande.	
	In the first place, I beg leave to lay down as indispensable that a body of French troops should be landed in Ireland with a general at their head of established reputation whose name should be known in that country, a circumstance of considerable	D'abord il me paraît indispensable de débarquer en Irlande un corps de troupes françoises sous le commandement d'un général habile et déjà renommé par les exploits militaires. Cette dernière circonstance est très importante. Qu'il me soit même	

	importance, and I must be permitted to observe here that if humbling the pride and reducing the power of England be an object with the French Republic, I know no place where the very best general in their service could be employed either with more reputation to himself or benefit to the public cause.	permis de dire ici que la République françoise, si son grand objet est d'humilier l'orgueil et abattre la puissance de l'Angleterre, ne saurait employer le meilleur de ses généraux d'une manière plus glorieuses pour lui et plus utile pour elle, qu'en la chargeant de cette expédition.	
p. 89	With regard to the strength of this army, it is my duty to speak with candor to the Government. It ought, if possible, to be of 20,000 men, at least 15,000 of which should land as near the capital as circumstances would admit, and 5,000 in the North of Ireland, near Belfast. If an imposing force such as I have mentioned could be sent in the first instance it would save a great effusion of blood and treasure. By having possession of the capital we should in fact have possession of the whole country. The Government in existence there would fall to pieces without a possibility of effort. We should have in our hands at once the Treasury, the Post Office, the Banks, the Custom House, the seat of the Legislature and particularly, what is even of still more consequence, we should have the reputation which would result from such a commencement. If we could begin by the capital I should hope we should obtain possession of the entire country without striking a blow, as in fact there would in that case be no organised force to make resistance. But for this 20,000 men would be necessary. If, however, the other indispensable arrangements of the	Quant à la force de cette armée de débarquement, il est de mon devoir de dire ce que j'en pense. Je voudrais qu'elle fût, s'il était possible, de 20 000 hommes, dont 15 000, au moins, débarqueraient aussi près de la capitale que les circonstances le permettraient ; et 5000 près de <i>Belfast</i> dans le nord de l'Irlande. Avec une pareille force il n'y aurait ni effusion de sang, ni perte de temps pour l'affranchissement total du pays. Une fois maîtres de la capitale, nous le serions en effet de toute l'île. Le gouvernement actuel écroulerait tout d'un coup et sans pouvoir faire le moindre effort nous nous emparerions à la fois du trésor public, de la poste aux lettres, des banques, de la douane, et du siège du gouvernement, et, ce qui est peut-être plus important encore, nous aurions pour nous la réputation qui résulterait d'un aussi brillant commencement. En commençant par la capitale, je pense que sans coup [?] nous [?] tout de suite maîtres de tout le pays, puisque, dans le fait il n'y aurait pas de force organisée pour opposer quelque résistance. Mais, je le répète, il faudra 20 000 hommes pour produire cet effet.	p. 2

	French Government should render it impossible to send such a force, I offer it as my opinion, and I entreat it may be remembered, that 5,000 is the very lowest number with which the attempt could be made with anything like certainty of success, in which case it would be necessary to land in the North of Ireland, where there people are in the greatest forwardness as to military preparation. It is unnecessary to observe here that commencing our operations at one hundred miles distance from the capital, of which the enemy would be in full possession, would give them very great advantage over us at first. They would still have, in a degree, the law of opinion in their favor and they would, at least for some time, retain the Treasury, the Post Office and all the other advantages which an established organisation would naturally give them. Nevertheless, with 5,000 men, an able general and the measures which I shall hereafter mention I should have no doubt of our success ultimately; but then we should have to fight hard for our liberties and we should lose many great advantages which a sufficient force in the commencement would give us, particularly that of disorganising at once the existing government of Ireland.	Si les circonstances ne permettaient pas à la République d'envoyer une force aussi considérables, mon opinion est, et je prie le gouvernement de la bien peser, que pour se promettre quelque succès, le moins que l'on puisse envoyer c'est 5000 hommes ; encore là faudrait-il la faire débarquer dans le nord de l'Irlande, où le peuple est plus mûr pour une révolution. Je n'ai pas besoin d'observer ici qu'en commençant ainsi les opérations à 100 miles (33 lieues) de la capitale, nous ferions d'abord beau jeu à l'ennemi, qui, maître de la trésorerie, de la poste, des banques, ayant d'ailleurs pour lui cette force d'opinion qui naît toujours d'un gouvernement déjà établi, ne manquerait pas, au moins pour quelque temps, de se prévaloir contre nous de tous ces avantages. Je ne doute pas néanmoins qu'avec 5000 hommes, commandés par un général habile, et moyennant les mesures que j'indiquerai ci-après, je ne doute pas dis-je, qu'à la longue nous efforts ne fussent couronnés de succès. Mais le conflit serait violent, et nous serions privé d'un grand nombre des avantages que nous tirerions d'une force imposante, particulièrement celui de désorganiser tout à coup le gouvernement actuel de l'Irlande.	
	Supposing the number to be 5,000, a large proportion should be artilleries, of which we are quite unprovided. They should be the very best troops that France could furnish, men who had actually seen hard service and	Il faudrait aussi que parmi ces 5000 hommes il y eût un grand nombre d'artilleries, car nous sommes très mal fournis en cet égard, et que l'armée fût l'élite des troupes françoises, déjà endurcie aux fatigues de la guerre, et en étant de	

	who would be capable of training and disciplining the Irish army. The necessity of this is too obvious to need further comment. I do not go here into military detail on the conduct of war; if the measure be adopted, I shall hope to be admitted to a conference with the general who may be appointed to the command and then, with the map of the country before us, I will submit with great deference my ideas on that head.	discipliner les troupes irlandaises. La nécessité de cette mesure est évidente. Je n'entrerais ici dans aucun détail militaire, mais si l'expédition a lieu, j'espère qu'il me sera permis de d'avoir une conférence avec le général qui doit la commander, et, la carte du pays à la main, je soumettrai avec déférence mes idées à ses lumières.	
p. 90	Before I quit the subject of the force necessary, I wish to observe that in my first memorial I have always said that the army, and especially the militia, would, I was satisfied, declare for their country if 'they saw a reasonable prospect of support', by which I would be understood to mean an imposing force in the first instance. I cannot commit myself as to what might be their conduct in case but 5,000 men were landed. I hope and believe, but cannot I positively affirm, that they would join the standard of their country. But even if they were, contrary to my expectations, to adhere to the British Government, the only difference would be that in that event we should have a civil war, which I would most earnestly wish if possible to avoid. As to the people at large, I am perfectly satisfied that whether there were 20,000 or 10,000 or 5,000 men landed it would make no manner of difference. I know they would flock to the Republican standard in such numbers as to embarrass the general. It would be just as easy in a month's time to have an	Lorsque dans mon premier mémoire j'ai donné pour un fait qui me paraissait très probable, que les troupes de ligne, et particulièrement celles du milice, prendroient parti pour leur patrie, <i>si elles se voyaient suffisamment appuyées</i>; j'ai entendu par là une force capable de s'imposer dès sa première apparition. Mais je n'ose me livrer à aucune conjecture sur le parti qu'elles prendroient si le débarquement n'était que de 5000 hommes. Quand elles tiendroient pour l'Angleterre, ce que je saurais pourtant croire, il n'en résultera d'autre différence si non que, pour conquérir notre liberté, nous aurions à essuyer les horreurs d'une guerre civile, horreurs que je voudrais éviter s'il était possible. Quant au peuple en général, je suis intimement convaincu que la différence du nombre de ses amis ne l'arrêterait nullement, et qu'il se soulèverait également à l'arrivée d'un secours de 5000 hommes, comme de 10 ou de 20 000. La foule de ceux qui voleraient se ranger sous l'étendard Républicain, serait si grande, que le général en serait embarrassé. En moins d'un	p. 3

	army in Ireland of 200,000 men as of 10,000, and therefore it is that, reckoning on this distribution of the people, I say and repeat that I would not have a shadow of doubt of our ultimate success, <i>provided</i> we had a body of 5,000 disciplined troops to commence with; a smaller number would, I apprehend, be hardly able to maintain themselves until they could be joined by the people, as the British Government in Ireland would be able instantly to turn against them such a body of troops (who in that case would, I fear, adhere to them) as would overwhelm them, the consequence of which would be, besides the loss to France of the men and money, the bringing Ireland under the yoke of British tyranny even more than she is at present, the breaking for ever the hopes and spirits of her people and the rendering all prospect of her emancipation at any future period impracticable and desperate.	mois, il seroit tout aussi aisé d'avoir une armée de 200,000 hommes que de 10,000. C'est la connaissance intime que j'ai de cette disposition de la part du peuple, que ne me laisse pas le moindre doute qu'avec le secours de 5000 hommes, nous ne fussions victorieux à la longue. Un corps moins considérable serait exposé à de grands dangers. Avant que le peuple n'eut le temps de ranger autour de lui, il pourroit être anéanti par les troupes de ligne que le gouvernement ferait marcher incontinent à sa rencontre, et qui, je crains, affecteroient, dans ce cas, la plus grande loyauté. Le résultat d'une pareille catastrophe seroit, pour la France, la perte de ses troupes et de son argent ; pour l'Irlande, un asservissement plus dur encore que celui sous lequel elle gémit, et pour le peuple en général, un découragement dont il ne se relèveroit jamais.	
	As to arms and ammunition, I can only say that the more there is of both the better. If the Republic can send to Ireland 100,000 stand of arms, there are hands ready to put them in or treble the number. A large train of artillery (that is to say field-pieces, as we have no fortified places) is absolutely indispensable together with a considerable proportion of experienced cannoniers; engineers used to field practice are also highly necessary. As to money, I am at a loss to determine the sum. If 20,000 men were sent, I should say that pay for 40,000 for three months would be amply	Quant à la quantité d'armes et de munitions à fournir pour cette expédition, tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que plus on en enverra, ce sera que le mieux. Quand la République donneroit cent mille ou même 300,000 fusils, il ne manqueroit pas de bras pour s'en armer. Nous aurions indispensablement besoin d'un train considérable d'artillerie, c'est à dire, de pièces campagne, car il n'y a pas de places fortes dans ce pays, et d'un nombre proportionné de cannoniers expérimentés. Nous manquons aussi d'ingénieurs exercés dans la tactique de campagne.	

	sufficient, as before that time was expired we should have all the resources of Ireland in our hands. If 5,000 men be sent, I humbly submit the <i>quantum</i> necessary to the wisdom and liberality of the French government, observing only that we could not in that case calculate at once on the immediate possessions of the funds which in the other instance we could seize directly.	Je passe maintenant à l'évaluation de la somme qu'exigeroit une pareille expédition, et j'avoue qu'à cet égard, je suis embarrassé pour savoir sur quoi tabler. Supposons cependant qu'on y emploie 20,000 hommes, je pense que la paye du double de ce nombre pour trois mois seroit suffisante, attendu que dans cet intervalle nous aurions toutes les ressources du pays. Si notre disposition à l'armement n'est que de 5000 hommes, je soumets humblement la fixation de la somme à la sagesse et à la générosité du gouvernement françois. J'observe seulement que, dans ce seconds cas, nous ne pourrions pas compter sur une rentrée aussi prompte de fonds que dans la première où nous nous emparerions immédiatement.	p. 4
	Very much would depend upon the manifesto to be published on the first landing. I conceive the declaration of the object and intentions of the Republic should contain, among others, the following topics:	Le succès de l'entreprise dépendroit en grande partie du manifeste que publieroit l'armée françoise au moment de son débarquement. Je pense qu'en y énonçant les intentions et les instructions de la République françoise, il doit contenir, entre autres articles, les suivants.	
	<i>First.</i> An absolute disavowal of all idea of conquest and a statement that the French comes as friends and brothers with no other view than to assist the people in throwing off the yoke of England.	1^e Un désaveu formel et absolu de toute idée de conquête, avec l'assurance que les françois sont venus comme frères et amis, sans autre motif que celui d'aider le peuple et secouer le joug de l'Angleterre.	
p. 91	<i>Second.</i> A declaration of perfect security and protection to the free exercise of all religions without distinction or preference and the perpetual abolition of all ascendancy or connection between church and state.	2^e La garantie de toute sureté et protection pour le libre exercice de tout culte religieux sans distinction ni préférence quelconque ; ainsi que de l'abolition à jamais de tout coalition entre l'église et le gouvernement.	

	<i>Third.</i> A declaration of perfect security and protection of property to all who should demean themselves as good citizens and friends to the liberties of their country, with strong denunciations against those who should support or countenance the cause of British tyranny and usurpation.	3 ^e La garantie de toute sûreté et protection pour leurs propriétés, de tous ceux qui se comporteroient en bons citoyens et en zèle, défenseurs de la liberté de leur pays, ou en des menaces terribles contre tous ceux qui favoriseroient directement ou indirectement la tyrannie et les usurpations de l'Angleterre.	
	<i>Fourth.</i> An invitation to the people to join the Republican standard and a promise to recommend to the future Legislature of their country every individual who should distinguish himself by his zeal, courage and ability.	4 ^e Une invitation à tout le peuple de venir se ranger autour de l'étendard Républicain, avec la promesse formelle de recommander fortement à la prochaine législature de leur pays, tous ceux qui se distingueroient par leur zèle, leur courage et leurs talents.	
	<i>Fifth.</i> An invitation to the people immediately to organise themselves and form a national convention for the purpose of framing a government and of administering the affairs of Ireland, until such government could be framed and put in activity.	5 ^e Une invitation au peuple de s'organiser immédiatement et de former une convention nationale à l'effet d'établir une forme de gouvernement, et d'administrer les affaires du pays en attendant que ce gouvernement soit établi est mis en activité.	
	Other topics will naturally suggest themselves; but these seem to me, from my knowledge of Ireland, to be among the most likely as well to raise the people as to remove the fears and anxieties, especially on the great heads of religion and property of many who might otherwise be neutral or perhaps adverse but who would gladly support the independence of their country when satisfied as to these points. It is with the most sincere pleasure that I can assure the French Government that their singular moderation with regard to Holland when that country lay at their mercy had an inconceivable effect on the mind	En rédigeant le manifeste, il se présentera naturellement à l'esprit quelques autres objets à traiter. Mais ceux que je viens d'indiquer me paraissent, d'après la connaissance que j'ai de l'Irlande, les plus propres à soulever le peuple, et à calmer les inquiétudes de certains esprits, relativement surtout aux propriétés et à la Religion. Une fois rassurés sur ces deux points il y en a un grand nombre que qui, au lieu de rester neutres ou, peut-être, de se déclarer contre nous, prendroient volontiers les armes pour coopérer à l'indépendance de leur pays. Un fait que je cite ici avec un sensible plaisir, c'est que la modération	

	of every independent man in Ireland and removed almost entirely the reluctance which many felt to put themselves to the hazard and uncertainty of a revolution.	singulière dont la République françoise a usé envers la Hollande dans le temps que ce pays était en son pouvoir, a eu un effet inconcevable sur l'esprit de tous les âmes de l'indépendance en Irlande, et a surmonté presque totalement les répugnances que plusieurs montraient à courir la chance d'une révolution.	p. 5
	To recapitulate, what I humbly conceive would be <i>indispensably necessary</i> to be furnished on the part of the French Republic would be:	Voici, en résumé, l'état des secours que je regarde comme <i>indispensables</i> pour faire réussir l'expédition en Irlande.	
	<i>First.</i> An armed force not exceeding 20,000 men, nor less than 5,000. If 20,000, to be landed as near Dublin as possible; if a smaller number, in the North of Ireland, near Belfast.	1 ^e Une force armée n'excédant pas 20,000 hommes, ni au dessous de 5000. Dans le premier cas, elle doit débarquer aussi près de Dublin qu'il sera possible. Dans le second, la descente doit s'effectuer dans le nord de l'Irlande, près de Belfast.	
	<i>Second.</i> A general whose name and character should be well known in Ireland.	2 ^e Un général dont le nom et le mérite seroient connus en Irlande.	
	<i>Third.</i> Arms and ammunition, as much as can be spared; a train of artillery, with an adequate number of experienced cannoniers and engineers.	3 ^e Des armes et des munitions en aussi grande quantité qu'il seroit possible d'en fournir, ainsi qu'un train considérable d'artillerie de campagne avec un nombre proportionné de bons cannoniers.	
	<i>And lastly.</i> Such a sum of money as the French government might feel necessary and could grant consistently with their other arrangements.	4 ^e Telle somme d'argent que le gouvernement jugera indispensable, et qui ne la garde pas pour des autres engagements.	
	On the part of the people of Ireland, the measures which I conceive would be most immediately necessary to ensure success and establish our independence would be as follows:	Je passe maintenant aux mesures à prendre pour la nation Irlandais, pour assurer le succès de l'expédition. Voici celles qui me paraissent les plus indispensables.	
	<i>First,</i> of course, to raise as many soldiers as we had arms to put in	1 ^e De lever autant de soldats qu'il auroit d'armes à leur mettre entre les mains. Le nombre des soldats	

	their hands, which would be the only limitation as to numbers.	n'auroit d'autres bornes que celui des armes à leur distribuer.	
p. 92	<i>Second.</i> To call a national convention, for which a basis is laid by the General Committee of the Catholics mentioned in my first memorial who, when joined by delegates to be chosen by the Dissenters, would be the actual representatives of nine tenths of the people. The first act of the Convention thus constituted should be to declare themselves the representatives of the Irish people, free and independant, and in that capacity to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French republic, stipulating that neither party should make peace with England without the other and until the two republics were recognised, and also a treaty of commerce on terms of mutual advantage.	2 ^e De convoquer une convention nationale. Or les bases de cette convention existent déjà dans le Comité général des Catholiques, auquel il ne s'agiroit que de joindre quelques délégués dissidents pour en faire un corps représentatif des neuf dixièmes de la nation. Le premier acte de ce corps ainsi constitué, seroit de déclarer ses membres les représentants du peuple, libre et indépendant, et, en cette qualité de former avec la République françoise, une alliance offensive et défensive stipulant expressément qu'aucune des deux puissances contractantes ne pourroit faire la paix avec l'Angleterre sans le consentement de l'autre, et jusque dès que les deux républiques fussent solennellement reconnues. A ce premier traité en succéderoit un autre de commerce fondé sur les principes de la plus exacte réciprocité.	p. 6
	As the <i>immediate formation</i> of a national convention is of the last importance, I wish earnestly to press on the notice of the French Government the unspeakable advantage of having, if possible, an imposing force in the first instance for this reason—that the men of a certain rank in life and situation as to property (for instance the actual members of the Catholic Committee), who must be those who would naturally form the convention, would in that case at once declare themselves and begin to act, which I cannot venture to ensure that they would do, at least for	Comme la formation immédiate d'une convention nationale est un objet de la dernière conséquence, je ne saurois assez insister auprès du gouvernement françois, sur l'avantage incalculable qui résulteroit de l'envoi d'une force capable d'en imposer dès le premier moment de son arrivée. En effet, dans ce cas les hommes d'un certain rang et d'une certaine fortune, tels, par exemple que les membres du Comité Catholique, qui naturellement seroient aussi membres de la convention, ne manqueroient pas de se déclarer tout de suite et de déployer la plus grande activité, au lieu que je	

some time, if they saw but a small force landed. For the great body of the people who I have mentioned as being organised under the name of Defenders, and a great proportion of the Dissenters, the number to be landed is of little consequence as to them, for my firm belief is that if but 1,000 French were landed it would be impossible to prevent the peasantry of Ireland from rising as one man to join them; but then we should lose the inestimable advantages which would result from the <i>immediate organisation</i> of a body which could call itself the <i>Government of Ireland</i> and as such instantly assume the legislative and executive functions, raise money, grant commissions and, especially, conclude the alliance with France, the éclat of which must naturally produce the most beneficial and important consequences. Without such an arrangement, our commencement would have more the air of an insurrection than a revolution; and tho', I again repeat, I would have no doubt of the ultimate success of the attempt, yet the difficulties at first would be multiplied in proportion to the smallness of the force which might be landed. The measures which I am now about to mention, which can only be executed with effect by an actual Irish Government, will shew at once the indispensable necessity of a national convention being organised, that not an hour should be lost in framing it, and of course that every possible effort should be made to send such force as	n'oserois assurer qu'ils fussent disposés à montrer le même zèle, s'ils ne se sentoient que faiblement appuyés. Quant aux Defenders et à la plupart des dissidents, je le répète, peu leur importeroit le nombre des troupes débarqués. Je suis convaincu que quand les ne verroient arriver que mille françois, tous les paysans sans exception se leveroient en masse pour se joindre à eux. Mais en même temps, nous serions privés de l'avantage inappréciable qui résultera de par la très prompte organisation d'un corps qui seroit en droit de se donner le titre de <i>gouvernement d'Irlande</i>, et qui, en cette qualité se chargeroit sur le champs de toutes les fonctions législatives et exécutives, lèveroit les impôts, nommeroit aux emplois, et surtout concluroit l'alliance avec la République françoise, alliance dont l'éclat ne pourroit qu'entraîner les suites les plus avantageuses et les plus importantes. Notre début alors auroit l'air imposant d'une révolution, et non d'une insurrection, et quoique je ne doute nullement, comme je l'ai déjà dit, du succès de l'entreprise, dès qu'une fois elle serait en train, cependant les premières difficultés à vaincre se trouveroient multipliées en proportion de l'exiguïté des forces avec lesquelles on l'auroit commencée. Les mesures que je vais actuellement indiquer, et qui pour ressortir leur plein effet ont besoin d'un autorité qui puisse avec quelque apparence de bon droit s'appellera le gouvernement Irlandais, les mesures, dis-je,	

	would ensure its accomplishment in the first instance.	démontrent combien il est instant d'organiser une convention nationale et combien tout délai à cet égard seroit pernicieuse, et de là je livre une nouvelle preuve de la nécessité d'employer dès le principe une force telle que rien ne puisse retarder la formation de cette assemblée.	p. 7
	The convention being once formed should proceed to publish among others the following proclamations, from every one of which I have no manner of doubt there would result the most powerful effects.	La convention une fois formée, un des premiers objets dont elle auroit à s'occuper, seroit, entre autres, les proclamations suivantes qui, je suis sûr, produiroient les plus grands effets.	
p. 93	<i>First.</i> One to the people of Ireland notifying their independence and their alliance with the French Republic, forbidding all adherence to the British Government under the penalties of high treason, ordering all taxes and contributions to be paid only to such persons as should be appointed by them to receive them, and in the meantime making all collectors and public officers responsible with life and property for all monies in their hands &c. This would at once set the law of opinion on their side and give a spirit to every individual embarked in the cause. It would then be a war, not an insurrection; and even that circumstance, as operating on the minds of the soldiery, I consider as of great consequence.	1 ^e Une proclamation adressée à la masse entière de la nation, pour lui notifier son indépendance et son alliance avec la République françoise, pour interdire à tous et à chacun des habitants, sous peine de haute trahison, tout liaison ou connivence avec le gouvernement Britannique ; pour ordonner que toutes les taxes et contributions soient payées entre les mains des préparés de la Convention ; et enfin pour déclarer tous les percepteurs et officiers publics responsable, sur leur tête et leur fortune, des deniers publics dont ils sont dépositaires. Le mesure décideroit, tout à coup, l'opinion publique en faveur de la convention, et animeroit d'un nouveau zèle tous les amis de la bonne cause. Notre entreprise en passeroit plus pour une rébellion, mais pour une guerre légitime, et cette considération seule auroit le plus grand effet sur l'esprit des troupes employée contre nous.	
	<i>Second.</i> One to the militia of Ireland recalling them to the standard of their country, paying	2e. Une autre proclamation adressée aux troupes de milice pour les inviter à venir se ranger sous	

	the value of their arms and granting an immediate discharge to all who should demand it, and ensuring a preference in all military promotion and a provision in land or otherwise at the end of the war, according to the rank of each, to those who should enter into the service of their country. I am convinced, as I am of my existence, that this single proclamation would bring over the entire militia of Ireland, which is in fact the only formidable force in the country; but I must be permitted to add at the same time that this proclamation can only be published with effect by a national government.	l'étendard de leur patrie, en leur promettant le prix des armes qu'elle apporteroient, et accordait un congé absolu à tous ceux qui voudroient se retirer du service. On assureroit en même temps à tous ceux qui se signaleroient au service de la patrie, la préférence dans toutes les promotions militaires, et une part proportionnée à leur grade dans les distributions qui se feroient à la fin de la guerre en terres et en autres récompenses. Je suis sûr comme de mon existence que cette proclamation seule nous attiroit tout de suite toute la milice de l'Irlande, mais, je le répète, il faudrait, pour produire un pareil effet, que cette proclamation partit d'un gouvernement constitué.	
	<i>Third.</i> One addressed to all Irishmen now serving in the navy of England recalling them directly from that service, reminding them that they are a majority in the proportion of two to one and therefore exhorting them to seize on the vessels and bring them into the Irish ports; engaging the faith of the nation to purchase these ships at their value as prizes, to give, as in the case of the militia, an immediate discharge to all who should desire it; ensuring promotion in preference to all who should remain in the service; stating the hardships to which they are subjected in the British service into which they have been forced either by hunger or the press-gang; dwelling particularly on the unjust distribution of their prize money, stating the enormous disproportion between the share	3^e Une troisième proclamation à tous les marins actuellement au service de l'Angleterre, pour les rappeler de ce service, pour leur observer qu'ils en forment les deux tiers et pour les exhorter en conséquence à s'emparer des vaisseaux où ils trouvent et à les amener dans les ports d'Irlande, en prenant en même temps avec eux l'engagement solennel de leur payer la pleine valeur de ces prises, et d'accorder des congés absolus à tous ceux qui voudroient se retirer ; et à ceux qui resteroient, la préférence dans toutes les promotions. Cette proclamation contiendrait encore l'exposé des maux qu'ils endurent dans la marine angloise, où la misère seule, ou les coups de bâton des <i>presseurs</i>, les ont forcés d'entrer. Elle insisteroit particulièrement sur l'inégale distribution de l'argent	p. 8

	of an admiral or a captain and that of a common seaman; assuring them an equitable rate in that respect to be established in the future Irish navy; and reminding them of the immense wealth to be made by captures on the prodigious expanse of the British commerce, which now embraces that of the whole world.	des prises, sur l'énorme disproportion qui se trouve entre la part du commandant et celle du simple matelot. Elle leur annoncerait aussi la fixation très prochaine dans le code maritime irlandais, d'un tarif plus équitable pour la répartition de l'immense butin dont le commerce si étendu des anglais offre la perspective.	
p. 94	From such a proclamation issuing from an Irish government I am sanguine enough to expect the most powerful effects. Let it never be forgotten that <i>two thirds</i> of the British seamen, as they are called, are in fact Irishmen. I will not say that this proclamation would bring one ship into the Irish harbours, but this I say, that if human nature be human nature it would raise such a spirit of distrust and jealousy in the naval service of Great Britain as must most essentially serve the cause of the Republic. Will any English admiral leave Portsmouth with confidence with such a proclamation as that hanging over his head, against which too he has nothing to oppose but the mere force of discipline? How much will that discipline be necessarily relaxed from the fear lest by enforcing it strictly the majority of the crew should instantly mutiny and carry the ship where they would meet with protection and support, among their friends and connexions, their wives and children—in one word, in their native country? Will any English captain be very fond to tie up an Irish seaman for a trifling offence and flog him before the face of the crew, two thirds of whom are	Je ne crains pas d'assurer qu'une pareille proclamation publiée par un gouvernement irlandais, produiroit le plus grand effet. Pour en être convaincu comme moi, il suffit de se rappeler que les deux tiers des matelots, dits <i>anglois</i>, sont véritablement des Irlandais. En partant de ce fait, supposons pour un moment que cette proclamation n'ait pas l'effet d'amener un seul vaisseau ennemi dans nos ports. Elle aura toujours celui de porter un coup mortel à la puissance maritime de l'Angleterre. La nature humaine seroit en contradiction avec elle-même s'il n'en résultait pas la plus grande inquiétude et la plus grande méfiance dans l'esprit de tous les commandants anglois. Quel est celui d'entre eux qui se présenteroit avec confiance devant l'Ennemi tandis qu'il sauroit que les deux tiers de son équipage sont sollicités à la révolte par les attraites qu'offre cette proclamation, attraites auxquelles il n'a rien à opposer que la rigueur de la discipline. Et combien ne faudroit-il pas nécessairement qu'il rabattit de cette rigueur de peur que la grande majorité venant à se mutiner et ne s'empareroient du vaisseau pour l'emmener dans un pays où ils seroient sûrs d'être si bien reçus et si bien récompensés, où ils	

	Irish, with the terror of such a proclamation before his eyes? And especially, what weapons has the English Government to oppose in return? I supplicate the attention of the French Government to this point, which is in my judgement of the very highest importance. It would be in her navy that England would be, then, first found vulnerable. If there were no other object proposed but this single one, I affirm with confidence it is of magnitude by itself sufficient to decide the French Government on making every effort to obtain it, which can only be effected thro' the medium of a national government to be established in Ireland. It would be easy to add a thousand arguments on this topic, but I trust, knowing as I do the superior information and talents of those whom I address, that what I have said will be sufficient to open the subject; and I do again most earnestly entreat them to follow in their own minds the long chain of consequences which must flow, as to the naval power of England, from the measure which I have mentioned, supposing it to have that success which I am satisfied it must.	reverroient leurs parents et leurs amis, où ils embrasseroient leurs femmes et leurs enfants, dans un pays, enfin, qui les a vu naître et dont ils gardent un si tendre souvenir. Or le commandant anglois n'a absolument rien à offrir pour contrebalancer dans l'esprit du matelots Irlandais les avantages d'une aussi riante perspective. Je supplie le gouvernement françois de vouloir bien peser attentivement cette observation. Elle est, selon moi, de la dernière conséquence. Le moyen que je propose porteroit un coup mortel à a marine angloise, et j'affirme avec confiance que le gouvernement françois, quand il n'aurait pas d'autre objet en vue que celui-là, ne sauroit faire trop de sacrifices pour l'accomplir. Or le seul moyen d'y réussir c'est d'établir un gouvernement en Irlande. Je pourrais appuyer ce que je dis ici d'un grand nombre d'autres raisonnements, mais je les supprime parce que ceux pour qui j'écris sont trop éclairés pour ne pas les sentir, et qu'il suffit de leur en présenter les premiers aperçus. Je les prie seulement de s'arrêter un moment à considérer la longue chaîne de conséquences qui résulteroient de ce premier échec porté à la marine angloise, échec qui je regarde comme immanquable dans le cas dont je viens de parler.	p. 9
	<i>Fourth.</i> A proclamation recalling in general terms all Irishmen from the dominions of Great Britain, whether in the land or sea service, or otherwise, within a certain time under pain of being treated as	4^e Une proclamation qui rappelle dans leur patrie tous les Irlandais, militaires et autres sans exception, actuellement résidents en Angleterre, ou dans toute autre partie des possessions Britanniques,	

	<i>emigrants</i>. The effect of this will appear when I come to speak of the actual and casual resources of Ireland.	et ce dans un certain délai, sous peine, en case de désobéissance, d'être traité comme émigrés. – Je ferai sentir l'importance de cette mesure, en parlant des ressources éventuelles de l'Irlande.	
	<i>Fifth</i>. An address to the <i>people</i> of England and Scotland, as distinguished from the <i>Government</i>, stating the grounds of the conduct of the Irish nation and declaring their earnest desire to avoid the effusion of blood; that they wish merely for independance, which at all hazards they are determined to maintain; warning them they by the examples of the revolutions in America and France how impossible it is to conquer a whole people determined to be free; shewing them by calculation the expense of the war and applying to their interests as a commercial people contrasted and opposed to the personal views of their King and Government; shewing them how little they could possible gain in the most prosperous event, how much blood and treasure they must necessarily expend; and, finally, pointing out the certain consequences to England if she should fail in the contest. If this proclamation were published I apprehend, as its principles are just, it might embarrass the British Minister a good deal in his operations so as perhaps to render it impossible for him to continue the war. But as I do not at all calculate on the good sense or spirit of the British people, who seem to me for some years now to have totally renounced that share	5^e Une adresse au peuple d'Angleterre et d'Écosse, considéré séparément de son gouvernement. Elle exposerait les motifs de la conduite des Irlandais, et annoncerait leur désir sincère d'éviter toute effusion de sang. Il y seroit dit que leur unique objet est une indépendance nationale, indépendance qu'ils sont résolus de maintenir au péril de leur fortune et de leur vie, on prouveroit par l'exemple de l'Amérique et de la France, combien il est impossible de subjuguier tout un peuple qui veut être libre. Après avoir établi par le calcul les pertes et les dépenses qu'entraîneroit cette guerre, on ferait contraster les véritables intérêts d'une nation commerçante telle que l'Angleterre avec les vues ambitieuses de son roi et de ses ministres. On finiroit par lui représenter, outre les pertes incalculables en hommes et en argent, les suites des [illisibles] pour elle qu'entraîneroit cette contestation si elle n'en sortoit pas victorieuse. Cette proclamation, comme elle ne contiendrait [illisibles] ne fût fondé sur la vérité et sur la plus stricte justice, pourroit embarrasser singulièrement le ministère Britannique, au point même de le mettre dans l'impossibilité de continuer la guerre. Mais je ne m'arrête pas à cette considération, parce que je ne compte que sur	p. 10

p. 95	of both which they once possessed, I will submit that if it totally failed in its object and the English nation were so infatuated as to support the Minister in the war, this proclamation should be followed by the next measure which I shall propose, that is to say,	la sagesse et l'énergie du peuple anglois, qui depuis quelques années semble entièrement dégénéré de son antique vertu. En supposant donc qu'il fut assez infatué pour vouloir soutenir les mesures du gouvernement dans cette occasion, voici le parti que l'on tireroit de la dite proclamation.	
	<i>Sixth.</i> The immediate confiscation of every shilling of English property in Ireland, moveable or fixed, of every species, and appropriating it to the national service, which would then be an act of strict justice, as the English people would have made themselves parties in the war. In this manner I submit that one of two things must happen: either the English people would decidedly oppose the war, and if so peace and the establishment of the independence of Ireland would directly follow, or they would support the war, in which case they lose at once an immense property in Ireland, which is instantly transferred and becomes a weapon against them in the hands of their enemies, not to speak of the discontents which the loss of such a vast property in land, in money lent on mortgages, in goods and in debts must produce among all ranks and more especially among the merchants and traders in England.	Le peuple anglois dans ce cas, se seroit rendu partie dans la guerre par son adhésion aux mesures du gouvernement. Il n'y a donc rien que de très juste de le traiter en ennemi et, par conséquent, de confisquer tout ce qu'il possède en Irlande tant en biens meubles qu'en immeubles pour en appliquer le produit aux besoins de l'état. Alors il arriveroit de deux choses l'une, ou le peuple anglois s'opposeroit décidément à la guerre, et, dans ce cas, l'indépendance de l'Irlande seroit complètement assurée, ou bien, il se déclareroit pour la maintien des mesures hostiles du gouvernement et alors il perdrait en un instant toutes ses propriétés en Irlande, c'est à dire, des sommes immenses en biens fonds en hypothèques, en marchandise, bien que cette perte énorme retomberoit principalement sur les banquiers, les négociants, et sur les capitalistes de toute espèce, c'est à dire sur la classe qu'il est le plus dangereux de mécontenter.	
	I will not trespass longer on the time of the French Government but to hasten to give a brief sketch of the actual and casual resources of Ireland and then conclude. First, her population, which has been established by incontestible calculations to be four million five	Je vais terminer ce mémoire par l'esquisse des ressources réelles et éventuelles de l'Irlande. 1 ^e Une population de quatre millions cinq cent mille habitants. Voici les bases sur lesquels j'établis cette assertion. En 1788 le nombre	

	hundred thousand people. But tho' she is populous, she is poor! We are, thanks to the ruinous connexion with England, almost without trade or manufactures, and while that connexion holds we shall continue so, for this among other reasons that a wretched Irish peasant is tempted even by the scanty pay and subsistence of a foot soldier, from which a well-fed and well-clothed English artisan turns with contempt. The army of England is supported by the misery of Ireland.	des habitants de l'Irlande fut évalué à 4 100 000. La base de cette évaluation étoit le nombre des cheminées, nombre qui, comme elles sont toutes sujettes au droit <i>[illisible]</i>, est à peu près connu par les votes des percepteurs de ce droit. Or c'est sur ces votes qu'a été formée cette évaluation. Mais elle est nécessairement en dessous de la réalité, 1^e parce qu'il a dû échapper un grand nombre de maisons aux recherches des percepteurs, et que d'ailleurs il y en a plusieurs huttes où le malheureux habitant, pour ne pas payer ce droit, ne pratique pas de cheminée. – 2^e parce qu'on a calculé sur le pied de six personnes par famille, ce qui n'est pas assez pour un pays comme l'Irlande, où les femmes sont d'une grande fécondité. – Ce que j'avance ici n'est que de mémoire d'après une dissertation qui se trouve dans les transactions philosophiques de l'académie royale d'Irlande et qui porte la population de ce pays au nombre que j'ai énoncé, c'est à dire 4 ½ millions. Mais l'Irlande, quoique très peuplé, est et ne cessera d'être extrêmement pauvre, tant que nos liaisons ruineuses avec l'Angleterre subsisteront. C'est à elles et à elles uniquement, qu'il faut attribuer l'état de langueur où se trouvent notre commerce et nos manufactures. On n'en sera pas surprise quand on saura que la misère du paysan Irlandais est telle qu'il regarde comme une fortune pour lui la misérable paye d'un soldat, paye que les hommes du commun en Angleterre regardent avec dédain. Il aime de ne mieux	p. 11

		s'enrôler que d'apprendre un métier. On peut donc dire avec vérité que c'est la misère de l'Irlande qui entretient les armées de l'Angleterre.	
p. 96	Ireland would, however, in case of a revolution possess among others the following resources: <i>First</i>. Her actual revenues, which amount at present to above £3,000,000 sterling, or 72,000,000 livres tournois. The army expenses alone for last year amount to £2,000,000 sterling, making 48,000,000 livres. <i>Second</i>. The church, college and chapter lands, whose exact value I do not know but which are of a vast amount. <i>Third</i>. The property of absentees who never visit the country at all, amounting to at least £1,000,000 ster[lin]g, or 24,000,000 livres, p[er] annum. <i>Fourth</i>. The casual property of emigrants, which would amount to a very great sum but which, as depending on circumstances, cannot be reduced to calculation. <i>Fifth</i>. The property of Englishmen in Ireland, whether vested in land, mortgages on land, trade, manufactures, bonds, bills, book debts or otherwise, to be confiscated and applied to the discharge of the obligations incurred in the acquisition of the independence of Ireland. I cannot say what the amount of this might be, but I know from circumstances it must be immense. I leave it to the	Mais si l'Irlande l'Irlande était une fois libre, voici quelles seroient ses ressources. 1^e Le revenu actuel de l'état, il est d'environ deux millions sterling, c'est à dire 48 millions tournois. 2^e Les biens fonds de l'église et ceux du collège, je ne saurais en apprécier au juste la valeur, mais elle est immense.²⁵ 3^e Les biens des gens absents qui ne paraissent jamais dans le pays on peut les évaluer, au moins, à un million st. par an ou 24 millions tournois. 4^e Le produit éventuel du bien des émigrés. Ce produit seroit très considérable, mais comme il dépendroit des circonstances, il est impossible de le soumettre ici au calcul. 5^e Toute la propriété appartenant à des anglois et colloquée en Irlande. Elle consiste en biens fonds, en hypothèques, en contrats, en fonds de commerce, en lettres d'échange, en billets, en compte courants [?] le tout pour être confisqué et appliqué aux besoins de l'état. Il est impossible de fixer la valeur de ces	

²⁵ Le clergie, y compris les chapitres et le collège, possède un grand tiers du sol de l'Irlande. Ce tiers donne au moins un revenu annuel de trois millions sterling. Je fonde cette évaluation sur ce que le revenu territorial de l'Angleterre est d'environ 19 millions st., [?] double, celui d'Irlande. – Note du traducteur.

[The clergy, including the chapters and the college, own one third of the land of Ireland. This yields an annual revenue of three million pounds sterling. I base this estimate on the landed revenue of England which is about 19 million sterling,[?] double that of Ireland.- Note from the translator]

	judgement of the French Government to determine what unspeakable confusion a measure of this kind would be likely to produce in England and what a staggering blow the separation of Ireland would be to her power even in a commercial point of view, not the speak of the military or, which is of far more importance, the naval part of the question.	objets, mais elle doit être très considérable. On en jugera par les deux faits suivants. Le comte Mansfield, ci-devant Lord Stormont, [illisible] en Irlande une hypothèque de trois cents millions sterling (sept millions deux cent mille livre tournois). Un autre anglois, M. Taylor, membre du parlement Britannique, a aussi en Irlande une hypothèque de cent cinquante mille livre sterling. Ces faits en supposent une infinité d'autres de même espèce. D'où il est aisé de conclure que la mesure que je propose causeroit dans le commerce de l'Angleterre une confusion effroyable, sans compter celle qui en résulteroit pour ses armées de terre et de mer, et particulièrement pour ces derniers.	p. 12
	I have now done. I humbly submit that England is the implacable, inveterate, irreconcilable enemy of the republic, which never can be in perfect security while that nation retains domination of the sea; that in consequence every possible effort should be made to humble her pride and reduce her power; that it is in Ireland, <i>and in Ireland only</i>, that she is vulnerable—a fact of the truth of which the French Government cannot be too strongly impressed; that by establishing a free republic in Ireland they attached to France a grateful ally whose cordial assistance, in peace and in war, she might command and who, from situation and produce, could most essentially serve her; that at the same time they cut off from England her most firm support, in losing which she is laid under	Telles sont les réflexions et les vues que j'avais à présenter sur l'Irlande et sur la Révolution à y opérer.²⁶ Elle se réduisent en substance aux suivants. L'Angleterre est l'ennemi invétéré et implacable de la République française. Celle-ci n'aura jamais ni repos ni sûreté, tant que celle-là restera dominatrice des mers. La France doit donc faire tous les efforts possibles pour humilier l'orgueil et restreindre la puissance de cette [illisible] rivale. C'est par l'Irlande, et par l'Irlande uniquement qu'elle est vulnérable. Le gouvernement français ne sauroit assez se pénétrer de cette vérité.	

²⁶ Madgett had added the reference to the Revolution in Ireland- this is discussed in Chapter five.

p. 97	insuperable difficulties in recruiting her army and especially in equipping, victualling and manning her navy, which unless for the resource she draws from Ireland she would be absolutely unable to do; that by these means and, suffer me to add, <i>by these means only</i>, her arrogance can be effectually humbled and her enormous and increasing power at sea reduced within due bounds, an object essential not only to France but to all Europe; that it is at least possible that by the measures mentioned not only her future resources as to her navy may be intercepted and cut off at the fountain head, but that a part of her fleet may be transferred to the Republic of Ireland; that the Irish people are prepared and united, and want nothing but the means to begin; that, not to speak of policy or the pleasure of revenge, in humbling to the dust a haughty and implacable rival, it is in itself a great and splendid act of justice worthy of the Republic to rescue a whole people from a slavery under which they have groaned for more than six hundred years; that is is for the glory of France, after emancipating Holland and receiving Belgium into her bosom, to establish one more free republic in Europe; that it is for her interest to cut off, <i>as she now may do</i>, one half of the resources of England and lay her under extreme difficulties in the employment of those which remain. For all these reasons, in the name of justice, of humanity, of liberty, of my own country, of France, I supplicate the French	La France, en établissant en Irlande une République libre, se feroit une alliée fidèle et reconnaissante, une amie sincère et prête à venir à son secours, dans toutes les occasions, une voisine qui par la situation et par les productions de son sol, lui rendroit des services essentiels. En détachant l'Irlande de l'Angleterre, on ôte à celle-ci son plus ferme appui, le seul sur lequel elle puisse compter pour le recrutement de ses armées, ainsi que pour l'équipement et la provisionnement de ses flottes. Non seulement la france, mais toutes les puissances de l'Europe, sont intéressées à mater l'arrogance de l'Angleterre et à circonscrire dans de justes bornes ce pouvoir énorme et toujours croissant qu'elle s'arroe sur les mers. L'émancipation de l'Irlande peut seule produire cet effet. En adoptant les mesures proposés dans ces mémoires, non seulement les flottes angloises seroient privées de leur ressources ordinaires pour leur équipement et leur approvisionnement, mais il seroit encore très possible qu'il en vint bientôt une bonne partie grossir la marine Irlandaise. Le peuple irlandais est entièrement uni, il est prêt à s'insurger et n'attend, pour agir, que d'en avoir les moyens. Sans parler de la saine politique et du juste esprit de vengeance qui commandant à la République françoise de chercher à abreuver	

	Government to take into their consideration the state of Ireland; and by granting her the powerful aid and protection of the Republic to enable her at once to demonstrate her gratitude, to vindicate her liberty, to humble her tyrant and to assume that independant station among the nations of earth for which her soil, her productions and her position, her population and her spirit, have designed her.	d'humiliations une ennemie hautaine et irréconciliable, ce seroit de sa part un acte sublime de générosité et d'humanité que d'arracher... [invisible]	

Appendix 6. Parallel text of Wolfe Tone's Memorandum on the troops in Ireland, 1 May, 1796, translated by John Sullivan

Page	English	French	Page
	Wolfe Tone's <i>Memorandum relative to the number and position of the troops which appear to be in Ireland, May 1st, 1796</i> (Tone 2001: 164)	<i>Mémoire sur le nombre et la distribution des troupes en Irlande</i> , translated by John Sullivan (CPA/589/233)	
p. 164	Memorandum on the number and position of the troops in Ireland, 26 April 1796	Mémoire sur le nombre et la distribution des troupes en Irlande	p. 233
	Paris, 7 th Floréal an 4 ^{me}	Paris le 7 floréal an 4 ^{me}	
	Memorial relative to the number and position of the troops which appear to be in Ireland, May 1 st , 1796		
	By the report in the English gazettes it appears there are now in Ireland 9 Regiments of Dragoons, 2 Regiments of Troops of the line, 18 Regiments of Fencibles (12 of which are Scotch) and 37 Regiments of Militia.	Il paroît d'après les gazettes angloises qu'il y a actuellement en Irlande 9 régiments de Dragons, 2 régiments de troupes de ligne, 18 de fencibles (dont 12 Écossais), et 37 de milices.	
p. 165	A Regiment of Cavalry consists of six troops of 30 men each, and including officers may be taken to be 200 men; there are consequently about 1,800 cavalry in Ireland.	Un régiment de cavalerie de formation angloise est composé de six <i>troupes</i> de 30 hommes chacune, ce qui, en comptant les officiers, fait environ 200 hommes par régiment.	
	The 2 Regiments of Troops of the line are most probably only skeletons who are there to recruit and it will be a fair average to suppose them to contain 500 each of raw troops—indy 1,000 men.	Les deux régiments de ligne ne sont probablement que des squelettes envoyés en Irlande pour se recruter. Il est donc très probable qu'ils ne contiennent pas 500 hommes chacun. Cependant je porte les deux régiments ensemble à 1000 hommes.	

	The Regiments of Fencibles I do not exactly know their force, but I am sure that, one with another, they do not exceed 500 men each, making in all 9,000 men for the 18 Regiments. 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. It is likewise to be remembered that many of the Scotch regiments are supposed to be highly disaffected to the British Government, and from this circumstance, if proper measures be adopted to take advantage of it, as well as from the despicable state of those regiments, there seems little reason to apprehend much from their opposition. I am sure they could not muster 500 fit men for the duties of active service.	Quant aux régiments de <i>fencibles</i> je ne connois 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 régiments. 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 passé 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. D'ailleurs il ne faut pas oublier que plusieurs de ces régiments Écossais passent pour être indisposés contre le gouvernement anglois. Cette circonstance, si nous savons en profiter, jointe au misérable état où se trouvent ces régiments, fait que nous n'avons presque rien à craindre [de] leur part. – Je suis persuadé que dans les 18 régiments on ne trouveroit pas 5000 hommes en état d'agir contre nous.	
	For the Militia, who are, as well as the cavalry above mentioned, to a man Irish, they are most excellent troops, probably equal to any in Europe. The strength of those Regiments differs exceedingly, varying between 10 companies, which is the highest establishment, to 4, which is the lowest, some being of 8, some of 6 and one or two of 5 companies, at about 60 men per company. I believe it will be a fair average to take them at 8 companies of 60 men each, making per Regiment 480 men. The 37 Regiments will consequently compose a corps of	Quant aux milices qui, ainsi que la cavalerie ci-dessus mentionnés, sont toutes composées de soldats Irlandais, ce sont d'excellents troupes et qui ne cèdent peut-être en rien aux meilleurs de l'Europe. Ces régiments varient de 10 compagnies, qui est leur grand complet, à 5 qui est leur plus petit, d'environ 60 hommes par compagnie. Je crois qu'on peut les porter l'un portant l'autre 8 compagnies par régiment et à 60 hommes par compagnie, ce qui fait 480 hommes par régiment. Les 37 régiments formeront par conséquent 17,760 hommes tous	

	17,760 men, all, as has already been observed, Irish, and of those vast numbers <i>sworn Defenders</i> . I am sure this calculation is above the truth, but is is an error on the safe side.	Irlandais, comme nous l'avons observé plus haut, et dont un très grand nombre a prêté le <i>serment des défenders</i> .	
	The total Force in Ireland, then, is as follows:	Ainsi donc, voici la force totale de l'armée d'Irlande :	
	9 Regiments of Dragoons @ 200 men each = 1,800	9 régiments de Dragons à 200h ... 1800 hommes	
	2 Reg ^{ts} Troops of the Line @ 500 men each = 1,000	2 régt ^s de troupes de ligne à 500h ... 1000	
	18 Reg ^{ts} Fencibles @ 500 men each = 9,000	18 régt ^s de fencibles à 500h ... 9000	
	37 Reg ^{ts} of Irish Militia, averaging one with another 480 men each = 17,760	37 régt ^s de milices Irlandais, à 480h l'un portant l'autre ... 17,760	
	Total = 29,560	Total ... 29,560 hommes	
	In this calculation there is no allowance made for non-effectives, for the sick, for deserters, for deficiencies, nor false musters; but the Regiments are taken as they appear <i>on paper</i> . Perhaps the number might be with truth diminished <i>one third</i> .	Dans cette évaluation nous n'avons point tenu compte des <i>non-effectifs</i> , des malades, des déserteurs, des cadres incomplets, et nous avons supposé tous les régiments au complet, tels qu'ils se trouvent sur le papier. Si donc on fait attention à cette dernière observation, on pourrait diminuer le nombre total peut-être <i>d'un tiers</i> .	
p. 166	These troops appear, by the English papers, to be distributed as follows:	Il paraît d'après les gazettes anglaises que ces troupes sont distribuées de la manière suivante :	
	IN ULSTER	Dans la Province d'Ultonie	p. 234
	The principle camp, probably at Lisburne, within 7 miles of Belfast, 5 Reg ^{ts} viz.	Le camp principal sera probablement à Lisburne à deux lieues et un tiers de Belfast. Il doit être de 5 régiments,	
	Limerick militia = 480 men		
	Cavan do. = 480 men		
	Queen's county do. = 480 men		
	Fife Fencibles = 500 men		
	York Fencibles = 500 men		
	Total = 2,440	faisant en tout 2440 hommes.	
	In Belfast, the Ray Fencibles = 500 men		

	In Carrickfergus, the Westmeath Militia = 480 men		
	In Armagh, the Caithness Fencibles = 500 men		
	In Armagh, the 24 th Light dragoons = 200 men		
	In Enniskillen, the Essex Fencibles = 500 men		
	In Monaghan, Leith's Fencibles = 500 men		
	In Dungannon, Clavering's Fencibles = 500 men		
	In Cavan, Frazer's Fencibles = 500 men		
	In Belturbet, the 4 th Dragoons = 200 men		
	In Newry, the Kerry Militia = 480 men		
	In Derry, the Limerick Militia = 480 men		
	In Coleraine, the Longford Militia = 480 men		
	In Ballyshannon, the Drogheda Militia = 580 men		
	Total = 5,800		
	Grand Total = 8,240		
	There are consequently in Ulster:	Il y a dans cette Province,	
	2 Reg ^{ts} Dragoons @ 200 men each = 400	2 rég ^{ts} de Dragons à 200h ... 400 hommes	
	8 Reg ^{ts} Militia @ 480 each = 3,840	8 rég ^{ts} de milices à 480h ... 3360	
	8 Reg ^{ts} Fencibles @ 500 each = 4,000	8 rég ^{ts} de fencibles à 500h ... 4000	
	Total: 18 Reg ^{ts} = 8,240, of which there are in and near Belfast 3,220	Total en Ultonie ... 7,760. De ces 7760 hommes il y a 3220 à Belfast ou dans les environs.	
p. 167	IN CONNAUGHT	Dans la Province de Connacie	
	Athlone: 22 ^d Dragoons = 200 men		
	Athlone: Angus Fencibles = 500 men		
	Galway: Cork (city) Militia = 480 men		
	Galway: Perthshire Fencibles = 500 men		

	Castlebar: 23 ^d Dragoons = 200 men		
	Westport: Prince of Wales's Fencibles = 500 men		
	Sligo: North Cork Militia = 480 men		
	Roscommon: King's County Militia = 480 men		
	Carrick-on-Shannon: Tipperary Militia = 480 men		
	Total: 3,820		
	There are consequently in Connaught:	Il y a dans cette province,	
	2 Reg ^{ts} Dragoons @ 200 each = 400	2 rég ^{ts} de Dragons à 200h ... 400h	
	4 Reg ^{ts} Militia @ 480 each = 1,920	4 rég ^{ts} de milices à 480h ... 1920	
	3 Reg ^{ts} Fencibles @ 500 each = 1,500	3 rég ^{ts} de fencibles à 500 ... 1500	
	Total: 3,820, of which there are in Galway 980	Total en Connacie ... 3820 hommes. De ces 3820 hommes il y a 980 à Galway.	
	Total in Ulster and Connaught = 12,060		
	IN LEINSTER	Dans la Province de Lagenie	
		Il y aura dans cette province deux camps, l'un à Laughlinstown composé de 4 régiments, ou de 1940 hommes, et l'autre à Ardfinnan composé de 5 régiments ou de 2420 hommes. La garnison de Dublin sera composée de 1660 hommes.	
	In Dublin, 9 th Dragoons = 200 men		
	In Dublin, Tyrone militia = 480 men		
	In Dublin, Kilkenny militia = 480 men		
	In Dublin, Elgin Fencibles = 500 men		
	Total: 1,660 now		
	In Laughlintown camp (six miles from Dublin)		
	Kildare militia = 480 men		
	Clare Do. = 480 men		

	Donegal Do. = 480 men		
	Inverness Fencibles = 500 men		
	Total: 1,940		
	In Ardfinnan Camp		
	Armagh militia = 480 men		
	Antrim militia = 480 men		
	Louth militia = 480 men		
	Wexford militia = 480 men		
	Balfour's Fencibles = 500 men		
	Total: 2,420		
p. 168	In Longford, 7 th Dragoons = 200 men		
	In Tullamore, 5 th Dragoons = 200 men		
	In Kilkenny, 6 th Foot = 500 men		
	In Wexford, 89 th Foot = 500 men		
	In Granard, the Northamptonshire Fencibles = 500 men		
	In Kells, the Breadalbane Fencibles = 500 men		
	In Trim, the Carlow militia = 480 men		
	In Drogheda, the Down militia = 480 men		
	In Dundalk, the Dublin (city) militia = 480 men		
	In Naas, the Mayo militia = 480 men		
	In Maryboro', the Monaghan Militia = 480 men		
	In Portarlinton, the Wicklow Militia = 480 men		
	In Mullingar, the Waterford Militia = 480 men		
	Total: 5,760		
	There are consequently in Leinster:	Il y a dans cette province,	
	3 Reg ^{ts} Dragoons @ 200 men = 600	3 rég ^s de dragons à 200h ... 600h	
	16 Reg ^{ts} Militia @ 480 men = 7,200	16 rég ^s de milices à 480h .. 7200	
	5 Reg ^{ts} Fencibles @ 500 = 2,500	5 rég ^s de fencibles à 500h ... 2500	
	2 Reg ^{ts} Troops of the Line @ 500 = 1,000	2 rég ^s de troupes de ligne à 500h ... 1000	

	Total: 26 Reg ^{ts} , 11,300, of which there are in Dublin and the camps adjacent 3,600 men	Total en Lagenie ... 11,300 hommes. De ces 11,300 hommes il y a 6020 à Dublin et dans les camps adjacents.	
	IN MUNSTER	Dans la Province de Momonie	
	Mallow, 1 st Reg ^t Fencible Cavalry = 200		
	Clonmell, 2 ^d Reg ^t Fencible Cavalry = 200		
	Total: 400		
	In Ross Castle, Hall's Fencibles = 500		
	Cork, Dunbar's Do. = 500		
	Cork, Dublin (county) Militia = 480		
	Clare Castle, South Cork militia = 480		
	Limerick, Derry militia = 480		
	Waterford, Fermanagh militia = 480		
	Macroom, Galway Militia = 480		
	Charles Fort, Leitrim militia = 480		
	Youghall, Meath militia = 480		
	Cork, Roscommon militia = 480		
	Kinsale, Sligo militia = 480		
	Total: 5,320		
	Total: 5,720		
	+ Ardfinnan Camp, 2,420		
	= 8,140		
p. 169	There are consequently in Munster	Il y a dans cette Province,	
	2 Reg ^{ts} Dragoons @ 200 men = 400	2 rég ^s de Dragons à 200h ... 400h	
	2 Reg ^{ts} Fencibles @ 500 = 1,000	2 rég ^s de fencibles à 500h ... 1000	
	9 Reg ^{ts} militia @ 480 = 4,320	9 rég ^s de milices à 480 ... 4320	
	Total: 13 Reg ^{ts} , 7,720	Total ... 5720 hommes	
	Grand Total: 29,560		
	The Irish Brigade, which left the service of the French, after the experience of two years' recruiting, has been able to raise but 1,000 men among 7 regiments. Three have been formed into two regiments of 500	La brigade Irlandoise qui a quitté le service de France vient de passer deux ans à se recruter en Irlande. Les officiers de ces corps, malgré tous leurs efforts n'ont pu faire que 1000 hommes entre les sept régiments. Les hommes	

	each and sent to Gibraltar. The difficulty the officers of these corps have found in raising recruits marks very strongly the sentiments of the peasantry of Ireland.	viennent d'être refondus en deux régiments de 500 hommes chacun et d'être envoyés à Gibraltar. La difficulté qu'ont eu les officiers à faire des recrues montre jusqu'à l'évidence l'esprit dont les Paysans Irlandois sont animés et combien ils sont indignés de la lâcheté que ces officiers ont montrée en quittant le service de la République française.	
		Observations générales	
	On the whole it appears that the apprehension of the Irish Government is principally turned on Dublin and its neighbourhood where they are forming two camps, besides the garrison of the city; that in Ulster there is no extraordinary appearance of alarm or preparation, the single camp there being under 2,500 men; that in Con[n]aught there is no camp whatsoever, there being in that whole province, one of the most turbulent in Ireland, not 4,000 men, whereas in Leinster there are 12,000. These circumstances, it is apprehended, are decisive that the attempt should be made either in Ulster or Connaught, but if possible in Ulster, first because it is there we might be sure of meeting the most effectual and instantaneous support, a circumstance of infinite consequence when time is so precious; secondly because it is the seat of the Dissenters, who are by the far the most enlightened men, and the best Republicans in Ireland; and lastly, which is of the highest importance, because we could in that province frame in the first instance an Irish army of soldiers of all religious	En général il paraît que tous les soins du gouvernement sont tournés vers Dublin et ses environs, attendu qu'on y forme deux camps, sans compter la garnison de cette capitale ; que dans l' <i>Ultonie</i> on ne montre aucune inquiétude et qu'on n'y fait aucun préparatif, le seul camp qu'on forme dans cette province n'étant que de 2500 hommes ; que dans la Connacie il n'y a aucun camp et qu'il n'y a pas 4000 hommes dans toute la province, une des plus turbulentes de l'Irlande, au lieu que dans la Lagenie seule il y en a 12,000. – Ces circonstances prouvent, à notre avis, que la descente doit se faire ou dans l' <i>Ultonie</i> ou dans la Connacie, mais préférablement dans l' <i>Ultonie</i> , s'il est possible ; on donne la préférence à cette dernière province pour plusieurs raisons, 1 ^e parce que nous pouvons y compter sur l'appui le plus prompt et la plus efficace ; 2 ^e parce que c'est le séjour des dissidents qui forment la classe d'hommes la plus éclairée et la plus républicaine d'Irlande ; 3 ^e parce qu'en faisant la première organisation d'une armée Irlandoise, nous pourront la	p. 235

	persuasions, particularly Dissenters and Catholics, which at the outset would produce the most beneficial effect, whereas in the other provinces, and especially Con[n]aught, the peasantry are to a man Catholics; the great advantage of having the army composed of the different religious sects, in order to remove all possibility of jealousies, is too obvious to need further observation.	composer d'hommes de toutes les religions, et particulièrement de dissidents et de Catholiques, ce qui produira en débutant l'effet le plus heureux ; au lieu que dans les autres provinces et particulièrement dans la Connacie les paysans sont tous Catholiques. Les grands avantages qui résulteraient d'une pareille organisation de l'armée, où l'on recevrait indistinctement des individus de toutes les sectes religieuses, sont trop évidents pour exiger ici un plus grand développement.	
	T. Wolfe Tone.	Signé Theo ^d Wolfe Tone	
		Certifié conforme	
		Sullivan, traducteur au département des relations extérieures	

Appendix 7. Parallel text of Wolfe Tone's Observations on French Government instructions to a secret agent, 22 April 1796, translated by John Sullivan

Page	English	French	Page
158	Wolfe Tone's Observations on French Government instructions to a secret agent, 22 April 1796, <i>Observations on the instructions delivered to ———</i> (Tone 2001: 159)	<i>Observations sur les instructions délivrés</i> , translated by John Sullivan (CPA/589/270)	
		Le 13 Pal an IV	p. 270
		Observations sur les instructions délivrés	
p. 159	[On] 3 ^d paragraph	3 ^{me} paragraphe	
	The Defenders are all Catholics. They are <i>not led</i> by their priests. On the contrary their priests have exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent Defenderism. The Pope's Legate in Ireland, who is also Archbishop of Dublin, has fulminated a general excommunication from the altar against them without effect; and their priests even refuse the Sacraments of the Romish church to those unfortunate men who have been condemned to be executed as Defenders, unless they would recant and betray their principals; there appears no instance of any one of them having done so; on the contrary they have preferred dying without the Sacraments. It is presumed these facts will sufficiently prove not only that they are not guided by their priests but that they become Defenders in spite of all the opposition of their clergy and in the teeth of a general	Les <i>Défenders</i> sont tous Catholiques. Ils ne sont pas <i>menés</i> par leurs prêtres. Au contraire les prêtres ont employé tous leurs efforts pour prévenir le <i>défenderisme</i> . Le légat du Pape en Irlande, qui est aussi archevêque de Dublin, a lancé de l'autel les foudres d'une excommunication générale contr'eux, mais sans effet. Les prêtres même refusent les sacrements de l'église Romaine à ceux d'entre ces infortunés qui sont condamnés à mort pour fait de <i>défenderisme</i> , à moins qu'ils ne renoncent à leurs principes. Mais jusqu'ici on n'en a pas vu en seul qui ait fléchi : au contraire ils ont tous préféré la mort sans sacrement. Ces faits, à ce que l'on présume, démontreront donc suffisamment, non seulement qu'ils ne se laissent pas mener par leurs prêtres, mais encore qu'ils se sont faits <i>défenders</i> en dépit de tous les efforts du clergé et des foudres d'une excommunication	

	excommunication. The truth is that within these five years the Romish clergy have lost almost totally the influence they had over the people, and the English party is heartily sorry for it, for thereby they have lost one of their most useful instruments for governing the peasantry of Ireland.	générale. Le fait est que depuis cinq ans le clergé Catholique a perdu presque toute son influence sur le Peuple, ce qui afflige sincèrement les partisans du gouvernement anglois qui se trouve par là privé de son plus puissant instrument pour gouverner les paysans d'Irlande.	
	Neither have their nobility any influence over them at present. On the contrary their houses have been plundered of arms indiscriminately with their Protestant neighbours—in a word, religion makes no part whatsoever of the question of Defenderism. It is not because they are Catholics, but because they are poor and wretched and oppressed, that the peasantry of Ireland are Defenders. The distinction of religion is merely accidental.	Les Nobles Catholiques n'ont également aucune influence sur le peuple. Au contraire leurs maisons ont été pillées des armes qui s'y trouvaient, aussi bien que celles des protestants en général. – En un mot, la religion n'entre absolument pour rien dans la question du <i>défenderisme</i> – Ce n'est pas parce qu'ils sont catholiques que les paysans irlandais se sont faits <i>défenders</i> , mais bien parce qu'ils sont pauvres, misérables et opprimés. La distinction de religion n'est absolument qu'accidentelle.	
	There can be little doubt but that if the business were fairly commenced the Presbyterians must have a commanding influence from their superior knowledge and information. It would require some address in the chiefs on both sides at first to prevent any possible misunderstanding; but as they perfectly understand each other, there is very little apprehension of any difference of sentiment between the parties.	Si l'affaire est une fois en train, il ne faut pas douter que les presbytériens n'obtiennent bientôt l'ascendant que donne la supériorité des connaissances et des lumières. Il faudrait peut-être un peu d'adresse pour prévenir des mésintelligences entre les deux partis. Mais comme les chefs sont du plus parfait accord, on ne doit nullement craindre aucune différence de sentiment entr'eux.	
	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. As to the Stuart family, there are held in contempt	Quant à la Royauté, il n'y a personne en Irlande qui en ait la moindre idée. S'il y arrive une révolution, très assurément elle n'aboutira jamais à une monarchie. La famille des <i>Stuart</i> est dans le plus grand mépris chez	

p. 160	by the Catholics, and as to the last of that race who was in Ireland (James 2d), his memory is despised and they have ever marked him by a name expressive in their language of the very lowest degree of contempt and disgrace.	les Catholiques et quant à Jacques II, dernier Roi de cette famille qui ait été en Irlande, sa mémoire est méprisée : on l'a même signalé par un sobriquet en langue irlandaise qui désigne le dernier terme de l'insulte et du mépris.	
	The number of 10,000 men is amply sufficient, but it is much to be desired that the number of spare arms should be increased to 30, 40, or even 50,000 stand instead of 20,000 mentioned in the instructions. Sabres and pistols for cavalry, suppose at least 1,000, or rather if possible 2,000 would be extremely necessary. It is advisable that the landing should if possible be at Carrickfergus; but if not, Galway seems preferable to Londonderry, which is colonised in a great degree by the descendants of English settlers.	Le nombre de 10,000 hommes est très suffisant, mais il serait à souhaiter que le nombre de fusils, sans compter ceux portés par les 10,000 hommes, fût porté de 20,000 dont il est mention dans les instructions à 30, 40 ou même 50,000. Il faudrait aussi assez de sabres et des pistolets pour armer 1000 hommes de cavalerie, ou même 2000, s'il est possible. Il serait à désirer que le débarquement se fût à Carrickfergus, mais si cela n'est pas possible, il faudrait préférer Galway à Londonderry, vu que cette dernière ville est habitée par les descendants des colons anglais.	p. 271
	There is no definite time mentioned in the instructions at which the Irish people may expect the arrival of the French fleet.	L'époque précise où le peuple d'Irlande peut attendre l'arrivée de la flotte française n'est pas mentionnée dans les instructions.	
	All the other observations in the instructions are highly important and useful; but much, depending on local and temporary circumstances, must be left to the spirit and ability of those who have hitherto conducted Irish affairs, who will undoubtedly execute every part of them which the nature of things and the posture of affairs will permit.	Toutes les autres observations contenues dans les instructions sont infiniment importantes et utiles : mais il y en a beaucoup de choses qui dépendront nécessairement des circonstances. Il faudra donc s'en rapporter au zèle et au talents de ceux qui ont conduit jusqu'ici les affaires d'Irlande et qui sans doute exécuteront les instructions de point en point, en tant que la nature et la situation des affaires le permettront.	

Appendix 8. Parallel text of Extract from *The Sun* dated 5 August 1796 on Bonaparte in Italy, translated by John Sullivan

English	French
9A. Extract from <i>The Sun</i> dated 5 August 1796 on Bonaparte in Italy	9A. <i>Du 5 Août</i> , translated by John Sullivan (AF/III/229)
By the following Private Letter from a VENETIAN NOBLEMAN, and a Member of the Senate, it will be seen that the infamous conduct of that Republican General, BUONAPARTE, whom we have always designated as a desperate <i>Marauder</i> , and the leader of a <i>Banditti</i> , has roused one of the Italian States, at least, to a sense of the danger with which they, in common with all <i>Europe</i> , are surrounded.	L'on verra par la lettre suivante d'un Noble Vénitien membre du Sénat, que la conduite infamie du Général Bonaparte que nous avons toujours désigné comme un pillard désespéré et comme un chef de Brigands, a excité enfin l'indignation d'un état d'Italie au moins et a fait sentir le danger auquel il est exposé, ainsi que [tout ?] le reste de l'Europe.
We trust, this spirit will diffuse itself widely and rapidly, in which case our prediction, that the French would ultimately rue the day on which they passed the Alps, would be verified.	Nous espérons que cet esprit d'indignation se répandra rapidement et c'est alors que sera vérifiée prédiction que nous avons faite, que les François maudiront le jour où ils se sont avisés de passer les Alpes.
14C. Extract from <i>The Sun</i> dated 16 August on the Brazilian fleet	14D. Untitled translation by John Sullivan (AF/III/229)
The safety of the Brazil Fleet is entirely to be imputed to the Squadron, under Lord HUGH SEYMOUR having been sent out for its protection.	La Sureté dont cette flotte a joui doit s'attribuer entièrement à l'escadre du Lord Seymour envoyée pour la protéger.
— There can be no doubt that the French Squadron, seen off the Western Islands, was sent out to intercept the <i>Brazil</i> Convoy.	— Il ne peut y avoir de doute que l'escadre Française, qu'on a vue à la hauteur des Açores, n'ait été [invisible] envoyée pour l'intercepter.

Appendix 9. Parallel text of Extract from *The Sun*, 17 August 1796, translated by John Sullivan

Page	English	French	Page
	9B. Extract from <i>The Sun</i> , 17 August 1796	9B. <i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises du 17 août 1796</i>	
		[En marge : le 16 fructidor an 4 ^e .]	
	There is no truth in the French account, of five or six of the Brazil Fleet being take and carried into <i>Philadelphia</i> – The Letters from <i>Lisbon</i> , we understand, mention the safe arrival of the <i>whole</i> Fleet.	Le bruit que les François ont pris et conduit à Philadelphie cinq ou six batimens de la flotte de Brésil est entièrement faux. – Les lettres de Lisbonne, à ce que nous apprenons, annoncent l’heureuse arrivée de la totalité de cette flotte.	
	We are happy in being able to say, upon the authority of Letters from the most respectable Merchants at <i>Lisbon</i> , that no apprehension whatever is entertained there of a visit from the French.	Nous sommes heureux d’annoncer à nos lecteurs, d’après des lettres de quelques uns des premiers négocians de Lisbonne, qu’on n’y craint nullement une visite des François.	
	The greatest rejoicings have taken place at <i>Lisbon</i> , on account of the safe arrival of the <i>Brazil</i> Fleet, which has brought home immense wealth to Portugal.	Il y a eu les plus grandes réjouissances à Lisbonne au sujet de l’heureuse arrivé de la flotte du Brésil qui a porté de richesses immenses au Portugal.	
	The safety of the <i>Brazil</i> Fleet is entirely to be imputed to the Squadron under Lord HUGH SEYMOUR having been sent out for its protection. –	La sureté dont cette flotte a jouï doit s’attribuer entièrement à l’escadre du Lord Seymour envoyée pour la protéger. –	
	There can be no doubt that the French Squadron, seen off the Western Islands, was sent out to intercept the <i>Brazil</i> Convoy.	Il ne peut y avoir de doute que l’escadre Française, qu’on a vue à la hauteur des Açores, n’ait été envoyée pour l’intercepter.	

Appendix 10. Parallel text of *Extract of a Letter from Dublin, in Lloyds Evening Post, January 15-18 1796*, translated by John Sullivan

English	French
<i>Extract of a Letter from Dublin, Jan 11 in Lloyds Evening Post, January 15-18 1796</i>	<i>Extrait d'une lettre de Dublin du 8 janvier, Lloyds Evening Post depuis le 15 jusqu'au 18 janvier, translated by John Sullivan (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>
Extract of a Letter from Dublin, Jan 11.	Extrait d'une lettre de Dublin du 8 Janvier
“Yesterday morning, about eight o'clock, a large concourse of working manufacturers and trades-people, between two and three thousand in number, assembled on the quays adjoining the station of the potatoe-boats, expressing their determination to enter these vessels by force, and take away their cargoes, under the pretence that the boat-owners had raised the price of potatoes 4d. per hundred from the preceding day.	« Hier matin, il y eut une émeute sérieuse. Environ deux ou trois milles personnes, s'assemblèrent sur le quai où viennent les Bateaux chargés de pommes de terre, et menacèrent d'enlever les chargements de ces Bateaux, sous prétexte que l'on voulait vendre cette denrée plus cher que la veille.
The mob, increasing in numbers, seemed disposed to commit great outrage, until happily the arrival of the Lord Mayor was announced among them, when they vociferated, “ <i>Bread or potatoes, we are starving.</i> ”	Le Lord Maire fut obligé de s'y transporter, mais dès qu'il fut arrivé, la populace le reçut avec les cris de : <i>du pain, des pommes de terre ; nous mourons de faim.</i>
His Lordship used every humane exertion in his power to pacify the mob, and caused the masters of those boats to come to his Lordship in an adjoining house, where every reasonable argument was used to prevail on the boat-owners to retail their potatoes at the former price of yesterday, and at length they were prevailed upon to comply.	Le Lord Maire employa tous les moyens que prescrit l'humanité pour apaiser le tumulte ; il fit réunir dans une maison voisine les propriétaires de ces bateaux, et leur persuada, non sans beaucoup de difficulté, de vendre leur pommes de terre au prix de la veille.
—The Lord Mayor waited to see the vessels opened, and the poor served.	Il fit ensuite ouvrir les bateaux en sa présence et distribuer aux pauvres les denrées qu'ils contenaient.
Numbers of the mob showed a strong disposition to riot, and appeared extremely refractory at being disappointed of	

committing depredations on those vessels, still calling aloud for “Bread or potatoes.”	
The immediate and timely attendance of the Lord-Mayor prevented those irreparable and devastating acts of outrage, which general ensue from the assemblage of such mobs.	
—The Lord-Mayor, by a well-timed address to the populace, assuring them every exertion was using, and would take place, to prevent the dearness of provisions, and the smallness of the load, dispersed the multitude in a peaceable manner.”	Il harangua la populace et l’assura qu’on prenait toutes les mesures possibles pour prévenir le surhaussement du prix et de circuler les denrées de première nécessité. Cette conduite du Lord Maire eut l’effet désiré, et la multitude se dispersa paisiblement. »

Appendix 11. Parallel text of an article entitled ‘State of Ireland’, *The Courier*, 17 August, translated by John Sullivan

Page	English	French	Page
	‘STATE OF IRELAND’, <i>The Courier</i> , 17 August	<i>Etat de l’Irlande, tiré du Courier du 17. ((AF/III/58/229).</i>	
	The following spirited and sensible remarks are copied from a Dublin paper:	On trouve les remarques suivantes dans une feuille de Dublin.	
	“At no time since the Revolution was there greater necessity for union and cordiality amongst the People than at present; at no time since the reign of GEORGE I. when the British Parliament passed an act of infamy and usurpation, claiming a right to bind Ireland in all cases whatsoever, did the British Cabinet think proper to inflict more cruel wounds on the generous feelings of the Irish nation.	Jamais depuis la révolution une union sincere n’a été plus nécessaire entre tous les peuples de l’empire Britannique, et cependant jamais depuis le regne de Georges I, époque où le parlement d’Angleterre a passé une loi infame et usurpatrice pour s’assujettir l’Irlande dans tous les cas possibles, le Cabinet de St James n’a insulté d’une manière plus cruelle aux sentimens généreux de la nation Irlandoise.	
	It was a matter of no small gratification that a Viceroy was allowed to come over to us, actuated only by the honour of the King and the happiness of the people.	Ce n’etoit pas pour nous un objet de peu de consolation qu’on nous est envoyé un Vice-Roy dont la conduite ne paroissoit réglée que par deux motifs, l’honneur du Roi et le bonheur du peuple.	
	He had scarcely developed his intention, however, of departing from the old policy of dividing the King’s subjects and depressing the King’s realm, when the little resentments of party broke out on the other side of the water; and	Cependant à peine eut-il montré l’intention de se departir de l’ancienne maxime de diviser entre eux les sujets du Roi et opprimer ce Royaume, que les petites haines de parti éclatent en Angleterre et causerent son rappel.	

	ruling the Cabinet, procured his recal.		
	Popular expectation was wound to an unusual height; and in a moment the prospect was rendered more dismal by a return of old persecutions, old jobs, old grievances, old odious Ministers, and all the old corruptions, by which the character of Government had become despicable, and its support a matter of odium with many, and of more indifference than it ought to be to all, with the exception of those to whom its vices afforded bread.	Après avoir porté à un point extraordinaire l'attente du Peuple, la perspective se changea tout d'un coup et ne devint que plus décourageante par le retour des anciennes persécutions, des anciennes malversations, des anciens ministres justement detestés, et de l'ancienne corruption. Par ce moyen le gouvernement s'est fait mépriser et ceux qui le soutiennent se sont attirés une haine universelle.	
	"Those who are not afraid to tantalize four millions of people, are certainly no timid statesmen.	Ceux qui ne craignent pas de tourmenter ainsi un peuple de quatre millions d'ames, ne sont pas certainement des hommes d'état timides.	
	If they held popular affection an unnecessary ingredient in Irish government, still in so unfortunate a war, popular affection was worth something to this Irish connection with Great Britain.	Si les hommes qui dirigent ce gouvernement d'Irlande regardent l'affection du peuple Irlandois comme une chose nullement essentielle à leur plan, toujours faut-il avouer que dans la guerre actuelle l'union de l'Irlande avec l'Angleterre est infiniment avantageuse à cette dernière et que par conséquent l'affection du peuple Irlandois vaut quelque chose.	
	This has been ignominiously discarded in the British Cabinet.	Mais c'est là une idée que le cabinet Britannique a rejetée avec un dédain ignominieux.	

	They have thought proper to invest certain men with power, with whose names, principles, and practices, the nation has been in a state of smothered war;	Il a jugé à propos de confier l'autorité à des hommes dont la nation déteste les noms, les principes et les actions.	
	they have thought proper that the old system should be renewed in all its branches, aggravated by an insolent and wanton display of authority.	Il a jugé à propos de renouveler l'ancien système dans toutes ses branches et il a aggravé l'insulte en faisant inutilement parade d'une autorité insolente.	
	“This was suiting present policy to past times. It might do in the hey-day of British insolence, when state physicians, to cure the American fever, advised bleeding the patient to death; but responsible Ministers in this age of the world must blot it out of their <i>materia medica</i> .	C'est là se conduire aujourd'hui d'après les maximes des tems passés. Une pareille conduite auroit pu réussir à l'époque où l'insolence Britannique étoit à son comble, où des charlatans politiques conseilloient, pour guérir la fièvre américaine, d'ouvrir les quatre veines au malade. Mais les medecins responsables de nos jours doivent effacer de leur <u>materia medica</u> un remède si violent.	
	“These men, who do not say whether the public are right or wrong in their ill opinion of them, ought not to have flattered the folly of the British Cabinet.	Ces hommes n'auroient pas dû flatter la folie du cabinet Brittanique.	
	If they regarded the country they ought to have retired: for that was the only mode left to them of promoting its separate good, and the great cause of the British connection.	Par égard pour leur pays, ils auroient dû se retirer, car c'étoit là la seul bien qu'ils pouvoient faire.	
	Had they done so, we would now be ready to shew a phalanx to the enemy in every direction necessary.	S'ils s'étoient rentrés nous serions à present prêts à présenter à l'ennemi une phalange impénétrable de tous les côtés.	
	It is sufficient cause for the removal of Ministers, if in critical times they are only unpopular.	Il suffit que des ministres se soient attirés la haine du peuple pour qu'on soit en droit d'exiger leur renvoi dans les moments critiques.	

	On this principle alone has the Crown at all stages of our history been obliged to dismiss its advisers;	C'est d'après ce principe seul, que la couronne a été obligée, dans toutes les époques de notre histoire, à renvoyer ses serviteurs.	
	to the neglect of this principle or the contempt of it, was CHARLES the First obliged to sign the death warrant of his bosom friend and favourite Minister, Lord STRAFFORD;	C'est pour avoir ou négligé ou méprisé ce principe, que Charles premier a été obligé de signer l'arrêt de mort de son ami de cœur et ministre favori <u>Strafford</u> ;	
	and it will be well, if other Kings shall not find themselves pressed to do as much for other Ministers."	et ce sera fort heureux pour d'autres Rois, s'ils ne se voyent obligés d'en faire autant par rapport à leurs ministres.	

Appendix 12. Parallel text of an article entitled ‘August 23’ from *The Courier*, 27 August 1796, translated by John Sullivan

Page	English	French	Page
	‘August 23’, Extract from <i>The Courier</i> , 27 August 1796.	‘Dublin 23 aout’, <i>Extrait des gazettes angloises du 27 aout</i> .	
	August 23. The most shocking scenes continue to be committed in the country of Armagh, by those deluded people called Peep o’-day-boys.	Dublin 23 août. Ces hommes égarés appelés ‘Peep-of-day-boys’ continuent de commettre les crimes les plus révoltans dans le comté d’Armagh.	
	The Rector of a parish in that county, we are well assured, put himself at the head of these wretches, about ten days ago, promising they should be shortly receive pay, and marched them on to the demolition of a farmer’s house, whose only crime was that of professing the Roman Catholic religion.	On nous a assurés de bonne autorité qu’un Curé protestant se mit à la tête d’une troupe de ces scélérats, il y a environ dix jours, leur promettant qu’ils seroient bientôt payés comme des troupes réglées et qu’ensuite il fut, ²⁷ lui et sa troupe, démolir la maison d’un fermier dont le seul crime était de professer la religion Catholique.	
	These outrages, so disgraceful to a civilized people, we are sorry to hear, have found their way into the county of Tyrone, and other neighbouring counties;	Nous sommes fâchés d’apprendre que ces crimes, si deshonorans pour un peuple civilisé, se sont ouvert un chemin dans le comté de Tyrone et dans les comtés voisins.	
	the wretches, it is said, have now made a common cause of destroying the property of the liberal Presbyterians and Catholics, wherever it is to be met with; they call themselves the true disciples of the High Church!	Ces scélérats, dit-on, ont formé le complot général de détruire les propriétés des Catholiques et des Presbitériens qui professent les principes de la tolérance. Ils s’appellent les vrais disciples de la haute église. (The Courier)	

²⁷ ‘Fut’ should probably be ‘fit’.

Appendix 13. Parallel text of Extracts from *Democracy vindicated. An essay on the constitution & government of the Roman state* by Walter Moyle, co-translated by Nicholas Madgett and Bertrand Barère

Page	English	French	Page
	Extracts from <i>Democracy vindicated. An essay on the constitution & government of the Roman state; from the posthumous works of Walter Moyle; with a preface and notes, by John Thelwall, Lecturer on classical history</i> (Moyle 1796: 10, 14-16, 23-24, 31-32, 34-35, 40)	Corresponding extracts from <i>Essai sur Le Gouvernement de Rome Par Walter Moyle</i> , co-translated by Nicholas Madgett and Bertrand Barrère (Moyle 1802 : 24, 36-37, 39, 58, 62-64, 85, 87, 93, 95, 109)	
p. 10	The mystic ceremonies and institutions of the <i>Grecians</i> , which procured such a veneration and reverence to the <i>Grecian</i> clergy, were grounded upon a superfluous apprehension amongst the weaker sort of people, “That many advantages in life, and certain benefits in a state hereafter, depended on their admission to participate in those mysterious rites and institutions.”	Les institutions religieuses des Grecs, qui donnoient tant de respect pour leurs prêtres, étoient appuyées sur la superstition du peuple, et sur la faussé idée « que la plupart des biens de la vie, et la certitude d’un bonheur à venir, dépendoient de leur participation aux mystères sacrés de la religion ».	p. 24
p. 14	The Romans took particular care never to trust the state in mercenary hands, and seldom lifted any of the poorer ranks of citizens in their armies, but upon great extremities.	Les Romains eurent toujours soin de ne point confier le soin de l’État à des main mercenaires. Plutôt que de recourir à cette ressource, on les vit, dans les grandes extrémités, prendre indifféremment tous les citoyens dans leurs armées.	p. 36

p. 15	But NUMA, by <i>an artful policy</i> , curbed this mighty privilege of the commons for he instituted a college of <i>Augurs</i> , or <i>Diviners</i> , who were to consult the gods upon the creation of their officers;	Mais Numa, par une politique habile, abaissa le pouvoir du Peuple : ce fut en instituant un collège d'Augures, qui devoit consulter les Dieux dans la création de tous les officiers.	p. 37
p. 16	That these were the considerations upon which NUMA founded the institution of the <i>Augurs</i> , is apparent from the authority of CICERO, who says expressly, may the Augurs be kept for the use of the commons, and for other great services of the common people, and in another place, that their favourable delays might hinder many useless meetings.	C'est sur ces considérations que Numa fonda les Augures ; on n'en peut douter d'après l'autorité de Cicéron qui dit en termes exprès : <i>les auspices sont destinés à diriger ou contenir l'opinion de Peuple dans les grandes affaires de la République</i> ; dans un autre endroit il ajoute, que c'étoit un moyen d'opposer de sages délais à la convocation inutile des Comices.	p. 39
p. 23	But when the storm of TARQUIN blew over, and their apprehensions of foreign invasions ceased they grew quickly sensible of their error, in surrendering the government into so few hands, and in short time turned their new masters out of their seats, and by degrees moulded the government into a more popular model.	Mais, lorsque la conjuration des Tarquins fut étouffée, et qu'on n'eut plus rien à craindre du dehors, le peuple revint sensiblement de son erreur, et rappela le gouvernement dans ses mains : en peu de temps, ses nouveaux maîtres furent dépossédés, et, par degrés, la Constitution se forma sur le modèle d'une République.	p. 58
p. 24	In the next place, I shall examine upon what laws and orders the popular frame of government was erected, and by what policies and institutions secured from a relapse into any of the old forms. The first blow given to the aristocracy was the recission of the debts to the commons, which weakened the interest of the nobility, by taking off the great dependence of the inferior rank of the people upon them. The second	C'est ici le lieu d'observer les fondements sur lesquels reposa la forme du Gouvernement populaire, et par quelles institutions Rome évita de retomber sous le joug des rois et de l'aristocratie. Le premier coup qui fut porté à celle-ci, fut l'abolition des dettes usuraires, ce qui affoiblit considérablement la noblesse, en secouant la dépendance où elle tenoit la dernière classe du Peuple.	p. 62

	was the erection of the <i>Tribunes</i> and other <i>Plebian</i> Magistrates, for the security and protection of the commons, with a sacred authority and negative vote upon all the proceedings of the senate. The institution of the magistracy of the people, besides all the other advantages derived from it to the commons, united the whole body of the people under the general conduct of leaders and demagogues of their own order, made their counsels steady, and their resolutions unanimous, and took off that impression of single fear, which the commons had of the <i>Patricians</i>, from the ignorance of union, was a certain refuge to appeal to, for the redress of all their grievances, and taught them to make regular advances and approaches to the destruction of the aristocracy. The third was the power of proposing and debating laws, which the commons assumed by the virtue of their new magistrates, whom they advanced at last to a power of enacting laws, without the authority of the senate. The fourth was the usurping a right to try the nobility for crimes committed against the state, which was a security wisely provided for by the people, to soften the absolute power of the <i>Dictator</i>, who by this law was accountable to the people, after the resignation of his office for severities exercised against them in the time of his jurisdiction.	Le second coup fut l'établissement des Tribuns et des autres magistrats Plébéïens, pour la protection et la sûreté du Peuple, avec une autorité sacrée et la voix négative, ou le veto dans toutes les délibérations du Sénat. L'institution des Tribuns, outre tous les autres avantages qui en résultèrent pour le Peuple, unit et lia le corps entier sous la conduite des chefs républicains tirés de son sein ; et par l'unanimité de ses résolutions, se dissipa cette vaine frayeur que le Peuple avoit des Patriciens, faute de connoître les forces de l'union. Enfin ce fut un tribunal d'appel, où le Peuple fit redresser tous ses griefs : c'est ainsi que se préparoit, par une marche régulière, la destruction de l'aristocratie. Le troisième coup qu'on lui porta, fut le droit qu'eut le Peuple, en vertu de cette nouvelle magistrature, de proposer et de discuter les lois ; ce qui lui donna enfin le pouvoir d'en faire sans l'autorité du Sénat. Le quatrième pas du Peuple vers la démocratie fut le droit qu'il s'attribua de juger la noblesse dans les crimes de l'État ; précaution de sa part, pour modérer le pouvoir absolu du Dictateur qui, par cette loi, fut désormais responsable au Peuple, après la démission de sa charge, de toute sa conduite pendant l'exercice de sa jurisdiction.	

p. 31	Sixthly, That Rome was free from seditions, after the government became more equal. The senate, after the expulsion of the kings, tyrannizing over the commons, compelled them, for their own preservation, to create new magistrates out of their own order, called <i>tribunes</i> , under whose conduct they gradually diminished the power of the aristocracy, till at last they utterly extinguished it, and established the whole body of the people upon an equal foundation of <i>liberty</i> .	Rome fut à l'abri des séditions, dès que l'égalité fut rétablie dans le Gouvernement. Le Sénat, après l'expulsion des rois, força le Peuple par sa tyrannie, à créer, pour sa propre sûreté, de nouveaux magistrats tirés de son sein ; ce furent les <i>Tribuns</i> , dont le pouvoir abattit insensiblement celui de l'aristocratie, et la détruisait enfin pour lui substituer le Gouvernement démocratique.	p. 85
p. 32	7. That the <i>Romans</i> , during the <i>equality</i> of the commonwealth, subdued the universe.	Les Romains, durant la démocratie, subjuguèrent l'Univers.	p. 87
p. 34	The vast increase of their people, after the <i>equality</i> of the government; their excellent way of maintaining their conquests by colonies at first, by equal leagues afterwards, and at last by unequal leagues and provincial governments.	La prodigieuse multiplication du peuple ; après l'établissement de la démocratie : la méthode excellente des Romains, pour s'assurer de leurs conquêtes, soit par les colonies, soit par des alliances ou des ligues, soit par des gouvernements ou provinces.	p. 93
p. 35	From this scheme it is evident, that <i>the people multiplied very fast under the kingly government, that their stock was very much diminished under the beginnings of the aristocracy, and increased prodigiously after the commonwealth became equal</i> .	On voit par cette table, que le peuple multiplia très-peu sous le gouvernement des Rois ; que le nombre en diminua au commencement de l'aristocratie ; et qu'il augmenta prodigieusement sous la démocratie.	p. 95
p. 40	For it is a certain maxim, that <i>as good as laws make good men, so good men defend good laws, and are both a mutual defence to each other</i> .	Car c'est une maxime constante que, comme les bonnes lois font les bons citoyens, de même les bons citoyens maintiennent les bonnes lois, et qu'il résulte de cet accord un soutien mutuel.	p. 109

Appendix 14. Table of Anti-Foreigner Legislation in France (1793-1798)

Source: Rapport, M. *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France* (2000)

Date	Nature of Restriction	Reference in Rapport (2000)
21.3.1793	Surveillance of foreigners by <i>Comités de Surveillance</i> [Watch Committees]	p.147
26.8.1793	Expulsion of refractory clergy	p.168
1.8.1793	Arrest of all enemy subjects arrived since 1789	p.195
6.9.1793	Introduction of denunciation of foreigners on suspicion alone to the <i>Comités de Surveillance</i> . Exemption from previous decree of 1.8.1793 for 1) foreigners useful to the war effort and 2) proof of <i>civisme</i> and attachment to the Revolution	p.198
7.9.1793	Confiscation of property of foreign subjects	p.199
9.10.1793	Arrest of all British subjects and seizure of their property	p.200
15-16.4.1794	Expulsion of enemy subjects from Paris and port and frontier towns	p.203

11.7.1795	Expulsion of enemy subjects arrived since 1.1.1792	p.263
25.2.1796	Increased surveillance of foreigners	p.266
10.5.1796	Expulsion of all foreigners arrived since 1789	p.269
26.2.1798	Arrest of all British subjects in maritime towns	p.271

Appendix 15. Inventory of Translations by Nicholas Madgett and John Sullivan

This appendix comprises an inventory of translations into French by Madgett and Sullivan. The original English is identified, where possible. Three categories of translations are included:

- 1) Translations signed off by either Madgett or Sullivan are listed in Table 1.
- 2) Unsigned translations which are attributed on the basis of the recognisable handwriting of the two translators appear in Table 2. Examples of their handwriting appear in Appendices 16 to 19. Where the attribution is problematic, it is not made.
- 3) Texts from unidentified translators are generally not included, subject to a significant caveat. Unsigned translations not attributable on the basis of handwriting are included where the subject matter is such that Madgett, as Head of Translation, is likely to have overseen, approved, or authorised the translation, for example, newspaper reports of speeches from the House of Commons, news about naval movements or news about Ireland. These translations are set out in Table 3. The source text is sometimes unidentified also.

The lack of certainty about the genesis of these translations makes this category somewhat indeterminate and accordingly, Table 3 cannot claim to be in any sense definitive. The real number of translations overseen or approved by Madgett may be bigger or smaller than what is included here, but Table 3 does at least indicate the preferred subject matter under Madgett's reign as Head of Translation. The translator is referred to as 'unknown' in this Table.

Most of the translations in Tables 2 and 3 are press translations from two files in the French National Archives (AF/III/58/228/1 and AF/III/58/229). Trinity College Dublin has an extensive digital holding of eighteenth-century English newspapers in the Burney Collection, which includes all newspapers cited in these Tables. However, the Trinity College holdings of *The Courier* and *The Morning Herald*, particularly for the year 1796, are very incomplete, as are the British Library holdings for those newspapers in that year. The Bodleian Library in Oxford does have some, but by no means all, of the issues missing from the Trinity collection, and these are included in the Tables. An asterisk indicates that the original newspaper article is unavailable.

Where the translated extracts have a title, the title is italicised. Many extracts are untitled. The beginning and end of a translated extract is occasionally difficult to ascertain, due to the manner in which the manuscripts are arranged in archival files. Sometimes the translator groups in a sequence a series of extracts from different newspapers of the same date or adjacent dates. Where appropriate, for example if the extracts are short, a sequence of extracts is treated as a single translation and the different topics are identified where possible.

‘D’ under the text number is an abbreviation used here for the handwritten annotation ‘Pour le Directoire’ [To the Directory], which was sometimes added to the document to indicate that an official in the Foreign Ministry had decided that the translation was sufficiently important to be forwarded to the Directory.

Table 1. Translations signed by Madgett or Sullivan

Text number	Translation Title/reference	Translator	Source text/reference
1	<i>18 Brumaire Deuxième Année Républicaine</i> (CPA/588/81)	Nicholas Madgett	Correspondence from British radical James Tilly Mathews 8 November 1793 to the Committee of Public Safety (CPA/588/79)
3	Untitled commentary on <i>The Times</i> including short translation (CPA/588/179)	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Times</i> 21 March 1794
4	<i>Débats et résolutions de L’assemblée des Catholiques Tenue à Dublin le 9 avril 1795, pour entendre le rapport des Députés qui avaient</i>	Nicholas Madgett	April 1795, <i>Hibernian Journal</i> ; <i>Orations Delivered at a Numerous and Respectable meeting of the Roman Catholics of the City of Dublin, Held at Francis-Street Chapel, on</i>

	<i>été envoyés pour porter au Roi le vœu des Catholiques d'Irlande (CPA/588/494)</i>		<i>Thursday the Ninth of April, 1795; On The Grand Question of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION (Haly: 1795)</i>
5	<i>Abrégé d'un mémoire écrit en anglais par James Tilly Mathews (CPA/589/43)</i>	Nicholas Madgett	Letter from James Tilly Mathews 29 October 1795 (CPA/589/30)
6	<i>Extrait d'une Gazette anglaise intitulé le True Briton du 19 9bre 1795 (AF/III/58/229)</i>	Nicholas Madgett	Report of parliamentary proceedings in the House of Commons, <i>The True Briton</i> , 19 November 1795 on grain imports
7	<i>Extrait du True Briton du 24 novembre 1795 ; Débats du Parlement (AF/III/58/229)</i>	Nicholas Madgett	Report on Sedition Bill from the House of Commons, <i>The True Briton</i> , 24 November 1795, including speech by Sheridan and petition of London Corresponding Society
8	<i>Extrait du True Briton du 28 9bre (7 frimaire) Chambre des Communes du 27 9bre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	Nicholas Madgett	Further debate on Sedition Bill from House of Commons, <i>The True Briton</i> , 28 November 1795
10	Untitled (AF/III/58/ 229)	John Sullivan	Report from Spain in <i>The Times</i> , 25 December 1795
11	<i>Sénat des Etats-Unis 6 janvier 1796 (CP- EU/45/3)</i>	John Sullivan	Resolution of US Senate entitled <i>The Senate of the United States, January 6th 1796</i> (CP-EU/45/4)

12	<i>Au Président du Directoire de la République française</i> (CP-EU/45/7)	John Sullivan	<i>To the President of the Directory of the French Republic</i> -letter from President Washington 7 January 1796 (CP-EU/45/5)
13	<i>Memoire sur l'Irlande traduit de l'anglois de th. W.T.</i> (CPA/589/162)	Nicholas Madgett	<i>First Memorial on the present state of Ireland delivered to the French Government, February 1796</i> (Tone 2001: 61)
14	<i>2e Memoire sur l'Irlande traduit de l'anglois de th.w.t.</i> (CPA/589/173)	Nicholas Madgett	<i>Second memorial on the present state of Ireland delivered to the French Government, February-March 1796</i> (Tone 2001: 88)
15	<i>Principales dispositions du bill pour supprimer plus efficacement les assemblées seditieuses en Irlande</i> (CPA/589/226)	John Sullivan	The Insurrection Act 1796 24 March 1796
16	<i>Mémoire sur le nombre et la distribution des troupes en Irlande</i> (CPA/589/233)	John Sullivan	Memorandum on the number and position of the troops in Ireland, 26 April 1796 (Tone 2001: 164)
17 D	<i>Extrait des feuilles anglaises 15 8bre</i> (24 vend re) (AF/III/58/229 ; also at CPA/590/61)	Nicholas Madgett	Anti-Pitt article in unidentified newspaper and translator's note from Madgett, 15 October 1796 (original not found)

18	<i>Théodore et Olivia ou la Famille de Ranspach</i> (1798)	John Sullivan	<i>Ranspach or Mysteries of a Castle</i> (1797)

Table 2. Attributed translations

Text number	Translation Title/reference	Translator	Source text/reference
19	<i>Traduction d'une lettre de Jackson 11 mars</i> (MV/GG/58/32)	Nicholas Madgett	Letter 11 March 1794 to Madgett from secret agent William Jackson from London (NA/TS/11/959)
20	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises (Public Advertiser du 23 xbre)</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Article on the Empress of Russia in <i>The Public Advertiser</i> 23 December 1795*
21	<i>Pièce Diplomatique</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Article on complaint against British diplomat Thomas William Moore by President Washington in <i>The Morning Herald</i> , 23 December 1795*
22	Untitled article followed by <i>Finances de la France (Morning Chronicle du 23 decembre)</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	<i>The Morning Chronicle</i> article on English envoy in Paris and French Finances, 23 December 1795

23	<i>Vienne le 6 décembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	<i>The Oracle</i> article of 24 December 1795 entitled <i>Vienna, December 6</i> on the French in Genoa and the Austrian army in Italy
24	Untitled (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 24 December 1795 on diplomatic news from Philadelphia and Gibraltar
25	Untitled (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 24 December 1795* on diplomatic news from Constantinople and military news from the Caribbean
26 D	<i>Extrait d'une lettre de Jersey du 1er janvier</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	John Sullivan	Extract of a letter from Jersey dated January 1, from <i>The True Briton</i> , 9 January 1796; royalist movements
27 D	<i>Du True Briton</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	John Sullivan	<i>Extract of a letter from Jersey dated Jan1</i> , from <i>The True Briton</i> , 9 th January 1796; report from <i>The True Briton</i> , 9 January 1796 on Franco-Austrian truce
28 D	<i>Du Morning Chronicle</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	John Sullivan	Report from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> dated 9 January 1796 on Franco-Austrian truce

29 D	<i>De Portsmouth 8 janvier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	John Sullivan	Unknown source; naval news; January 1796
30 D	<i>Extrait d'une lettre de Jersey 31 décembre (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	John Sullivan	Unknown source ; royalist news ; January 1796
31 D	<i>De Londres (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	John Sullivan	<i>The True Briton</i> , 11 January 1796; naval news
32 D	<i>Extrait de la Gazette Anglaise The True Briton du 16 janvier du 18 du 19 (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	Probably John Sullivan ²⁸	<i>The True Briton</i> , 16 January 1796 on Porto fleet, Gibraltar and Turkey
33 D	<i>Indes occidentales (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	Probably John Sullivan	Unknown source; news from Martinique and Guadeloupe, undated but probably January 1796
34 D	<i>De Lloyds Evening Post depuis le 15 janvier jusqu'au 18 ; extrait d'une lettre de Dublin du 8 janvier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	Probably John Sullivan	<i>Lloyds Evening Post</i> 15- 18 January 1796; <i>Extract of a letter from Dublin 11 January</i> ; report of a food riot in Dublin
35 D	<i>La Gazette de Londres (AF/III /58/228/1)</i>	Probably John Sullivan	Unknown source; US naval news 16 January 1796

²⁸ Sullivan is probably the translator as he appears to have certified a number of translations grouped together, numbers 32 to 38 inclusive, though the translations themselves are in a different hand.

36	<i>Extrait d'une lettre de Guernsey 10 janvier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	Probably John Sullivan	<i>The Morning Herald</i> , discussion on the currency, probably January 1796*
37 D	Untitled (AF/III/58/228/1)	Probably John Sullivan	Unknown source; discussion on Spanish-US trade, January 1796
38 D	Untitled (AF/III/58/228/1)	Probably John Sullivan	Unknown source; letter from Barbados of 26 November 1795, followed by news from Gambia
39 D	<i>Extrait du Courier du 29 au 30 janvier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Courier</i> on the trial of William Stone, 29 and 30 January 1796*
40 D	<i>Extrait tiré du procès de Guill. Stone 25 janvier 1796 (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	Unsigned but appears immediately after previous translation	Unidentified source ; on the trial of William Stone, 25 January 1796
41	<i>Extrait du papier Anglais The Courier du 8 fevrier (18 pluviose) (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Courier</i> of 8, 9, 10, 13, 15 and 16 February 1796* on Guadeloupe, Spain, St Domingue, Grenada, Portsmouth , Constantinople, naval news, a draft Treaty between France and Austria and a letter from Louis XVIII

42	Untitled (CPA/589/169)	John Sullivan	Letter from Wolfe Tone to Delacroix, 26 February 1796 (Tone 2001: 80)
43	<i>Extrait du papier Anglois The Sun du 14 avril 1796 (25 Germinal) (CPA/589/236 ; GR/11/B/1)</i>	John Sullivan	Extract entitled <i>Dublin April 9</i> , in <i>The Sun</i> , 14 April 1796
44	<i>Observations sur les instructions délivrées (CPA/589/270)</i>	John Sullivan	Wolfe Tone's <i>Observations on instructions intended for Eugene Ahern</i> , 22 April 1796 (Tone 2001: 158)
45	<i>Extrait de la Gazette Angloise The Sun du 24 Juin 1796 (6 Messidor an 4^e) (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Sun</i> of 24 June 1796 on peace negotiations with France
46	<i>Le Ministre plenipotentiaire des Etats Unis de l'Amérique au Ministre des relations exterieures de la Ré publique française(CP- EU/45/74)</i>	John Sullivan	<i>The Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Minister of foreign affairs of the French republic</i> , 27 June 1796 (CP-EU/45/73)
47	<i>Au Citoyen Charles Delacroix minstre des affaires étrangères (CPA/589/306)</i>	John Sullivan	Letter William Tate to Delacroix, 7 July 1796 (CP-EU/45/304)

48	<i>Extraits des Gazettes Angloises du 2 Août (15 Thermidor) (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Article in <i>The Courier</i> on India, 2 August 1796
49 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 5 août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Sun</i> , 5 August 1796 on Bonaparte's campaign in Italy, the Spanish ambassador to London, and the East Indies
50	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 5 août, du 6 Août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extracts in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 5 and 6 August 1796 on trade with Portugal, Ireland, Corsica and evacuation of British garrisons in US
51	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 6 aout, du 8 aout, du 17 aout (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	News from Corsica, Holland, New York and unrest in Jersey, source unidentified, 6, 8 and 17 August 1796
52	Untitled (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	<i>The Times</i> , 5 August 1796, extract on Canada and expenses of American government
53	<i>Extrait du Courier du 9 août (22 thermidor) (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Report from Dublin, 4 August, in <i>The Courier</i> of 9 August 1796 on the persecution of Catholics in Armagh
54	<i>Du 8 Août (21 Thermidor) (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> 9 August 1796, regarding the Dutch fleet

55	<i>Indes Occidentales,</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Article on West Indies entitled <i>Martinique, June</i> 26 in <i>The True Briton</i> , 15 August 1796
56	<i>De l'île de Jersey 3</i> <i>août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	<i>Jersey, August 3</i> , Article in <i>The Telegraph</i> , 16 August 1796 on emigré priests
57	<i>Angleterre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	<i>A False Alarm to the</i> <i>People of Great Britain</i> <i>and Ireland</i> , translation and commentary on article in <i>The True Briton</i> 16 August 1796
58	<i>Extraits des gazettes</i> <i>angloises du 16 août</i> <i>1796 (29 thermidor)</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	<i>The Sun</i> , 16 August 1796, article on army defences in England
59	<i>Etat de l'Irlande tiré</i> <i>du Courier du 17</i> <i>août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Article on Ireland, <i>The</i> <i>Courier</i> , 17 August 1796
60	<i>Extraits des gazettes</i> <i>angloises</i> <i>(11 août)</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	News from Portsmouth and the Caribbean, unknown source, 11 August 1796
61	<i>Extraits des gazettes</i> <i>angloises du 17 août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Articles from <i>The Sun</i> of 17 August on protection of Brazilian fleet, <i>The</i> <i>Morning Herald</i> of 17 August 1796* on coastal defences and the <i>Telegraph</i> of same date* on defences in Eastbourne

62	<i>Du 18 août , (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Article on arrival of French royalist, <i>The Sun</i> , 18 August 1796
63	<i>du 19 août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	<i>The True Briton</i> , 19 August 1796, article entitled <i>Extract of a letter from Hanover, Aug 8</i>
64	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 19 août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	<i>The True Briton</i> , 19 August 1796, article on unrest in Grenada entitled <i>West Indies. Grenada, July 1</i>
65	<i>Du 20 août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	<i>The True Briton</i> , 20 August 1796, extract on the public loan
66	<i>Du 22 août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Article on disruption of public lecture in Yarmouth by John Thelwall, <i>The Courier</i> , 22 August 1796
67	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 25 août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 25 August 1796 on Portuguese fears of a French invasion, naval news from Mauritius and Gibraltar, and opposition in Berwick to arrival of Catholic priests from France

68	<i>Suite des nouvelles angloises du 25 août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 25 August 1796* on maritime news from the Baltic and the West Indies, and on the Turkish and Tunisian ambassadors in London
69	Untitled extracts (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Undated extracts from <i>The Courier</i> on naval news and fears of war with Spain, possibly from 25 August 1796
70	<i>Extrait de la feuille ministérielle The True Briton du 25 août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Anti-Fox article in <i>The True Briton</i> of 25 August 1796
71	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle du 25 août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extract from unidentified Dublin paper on military defence of Ireland, as published in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 25 August 1796
72	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 27 août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Courier</i> of 27 August 1796 on naval news, and a report from Dublin on the Peep- of-Day-Boys
73	<i>Du 29 août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Courier</i> of 29 August 1796* on John Thelwall's lectures, a tax on wine and naval news

74	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 29 août</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 29 August 1796 on military defence of England and Wales and naval news
75	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 29 août</i> (AF/III/58/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Courier</i> of 29/30 August 1796, including naval news from the Mediterranean , West Indies, Portsmouth and public finances
76	<i>Du premier septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Courier</i> of 1 September 1796* on falling value of stocks
77	<i>Du 2 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 2 September 1796* on the West Indies
78	Untitled extracts (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Articles from Philadelphia, Caribbean, New York, source unidentified, undated but probably September 1796
79	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 3 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Courier</i> of 3 September 1796 on Prussia, Portugal, Russia and Constantinople
80	<i>Du 5 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Courier</i> of 5 September 1796 on the public loan, news from Boston, New York and Jamaica

81	<i>Suite des extraits des gazettes angloises du 9 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The True Briton</i> of 9 September 1796 on Ireland and Holland
82	<i>Du 10 septembre (AF/III/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extract from <i>The Courier</i> of 10 September 1796 on Naples
83	<i>Du 12 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extracts from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 12 September 1796* on peace negotiations, public debt and naval news
84	<i>Du 13 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	News from Ireland , source unidentified, 13 September 1796
85	<i>Extrait de la gazette angloise the Courier du 12 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Article from <i>The Courier</i> of 12 September 1796 entitled ‘Saint Domingue’, including Proclamation by General Forbes
86	<i>Extraits des gazettes angloises du 14 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	John Sullivan	Extracts from the <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 14 September 1796* on Ireland and the West Indies
87	<i>Le Ministre plenipotentiaire des Etats Unis de l’Amérique au Ministre des relations exterieures de la republique francaise (CP-EU/45/219)</i>	Nicholas Madgett	Letter entitled <i>The Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Minister of foreign affairs of the French republic</i> , 5 October 1796 (CP-EU/45/218)

88	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises 14 février 1797</i> (AF/III/58/229)	Unsigned, probably Madgett ²⁹	Article on India from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 8 February 1797
89	<i>Extraits des feuilles angloises du 18 au 22 mars</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	Unknown but probably Madgett ³⁰	On naval news, news from Ireland and leaked information on royalist activity in Paris, 22 March 1797
90	<i>Appel des habitants de la province d'Ultonie à leurs compatriotes et à l'Empire Britannique en Général</i> (AF /III/58/228/1)	Probably Nicholas Madgett ³¹	<i>The Appeal of the People of Ulster to their countrymen and to the Empire at large</i> 14 April 1797 (Dickinson 2013: 335)
91	<i>To The Irish Soldiers in the English Army</i> (NA/HO/100/82/125)	John Sullivan	<i>Addresse aux Soldats Irlandais dans les armées Britanniques</i> , 1798 (NA/HO/100/82/123)
92	<i>Lettres politiques, commerciales et littéraires sur l'Inde ; ou Vues et intérêts de l'Angleterre, relativement à la Russie, à l'Indostan et à l'Egypte</i> (1801)	Nicholas Madgett, Jeudy-Dugour and Bertrand Barrère	<i>Letters on India, Political, Commercial and Military relative to Subjects important to the British Interests in the East</i> , by Lieut. Colonel Taylor (1800)
93	<i>Essai sur le gouvernement de Rome par Walter Moyle</i> (1801)	Nicholas Madgett and	<i>Democracy Vindicated: An Essay on the Constitution & Government of the Roman</i>

²⁹ Probably Madgett given his interest in India and the critical introductory comment by the translator.

³⁰ The translator's note has all the appearances of Madgett

³¹ Probably Madgett given his interest in Ulster

		Bertrand Barrère	<i>State by Walter Moyle</i> (1796)

Table 3. Unidentified translator where the translation was probably overseen by Madgett

Text number	Translation Title/reference	Translator	Source text/reference
93	<i>Extrait de la Gazette Angloise L'Oracle ou le Moniteur Public, de Mardi, 10 Juin 1794</i> (CPA/588/180)	unknown	Extract from <i>The Oracle and Public Advertiser</i> , London, June 10 1794; anti-French rhetoric
94	<i>A Candid and Friendly Address from the People of France to the People of England</i> (CPA/588/225)	unknown	<i>Adresse du peuple francais au peuple anglais</i> , June 1794 (CPA/588/226)
95	<i>Discours de Pitt dans le Parlement</i> (CPA/588/294)	unknown	Speeches of William Pitt, 30 December 1794 (Pitt 1806 : 236-250)
96	<i>Discours de M. Fox.Extrait du Morning Chronicle ; Du 25 mars (5 germinal)</i> (CPA/588/330)	unknown	Extract from report in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 25 March 1795 from House of Commons
97 D	<i>Extrait du True Briton du 17 juillet 1795</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Inventory of French vessels lost in the war, 17 July 1795

98 D	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises jusqu'au 15 9bre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News of troop numbers in Ireland, 15 September 1795
99	<i>Extraits du Courier du 19 7bre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News from the Rhine and King George, from <i>The Courier</i> , 19 September 1795
100	<i>Extraits du Courier gazette anglaise en date du 16 septembre (30 fructidor) ; Extraits du Courier gazette anglaise du 21 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Naval news inter alia from Nootka, Holland and Ireland, <i>The Courier</i> 16* and 21 September 1795
101	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle du 13 octobre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Confrontation with French in Newfoundland, in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 13 October 1795
102	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle 13 octobre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News from America, 13 October 1795
103	<i>Discours du Roi à la rentrée du parlement Brittanique le 29 8bre</i> (CPA/589/58)	unknown	Speech by King George, 29 October 1795 (Hansard 1818 vol xxxii, pp.142-144)
104	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises, 1 décembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Extracts on public finance, Portugal, naval news and naval strength, source unknown

105 D	<i>Extraits des Nouvelles Anglaises</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	On public finance, unknown source
106	<i>Extraits du Telegraph du 8 Xbre</i> 1795 (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Commons debate on public finance, 8 December 1795
107 D	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News about Ireland, 9 December 1795
108	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Extracts from <i>The Public Ledger</i> of 19 December*, 1795 on St Domingue, and <i>The True Briton</i> , undated, on Spain, Vienna , news from Dublin and naval news.
109	<i>L'Assemblée du Club des Whigs</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Extracts from <i>Lloyds Evening Post</i> on Whig meeting and from <i>The True Briton</i> on Constantinople, undated ³²
110	<i>Public Ledger 22 decembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Halifax news from <i>The Public Ledger</i> , 22 December 1795*
111	<i>Extraits des Gazettes Angloises</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Articles from <i>The Oracle</i> of 29 December, <i>The Times</i> of 26 December*, <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 26 December*, <i>The Times</i> of 28 December,* <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 28 December and <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 29 December 1795 on news of royalists, peace negotiations with France and naval news

³² Undated press extracts are inserted in the order in which they appear in French archives which are compiled chronologically.

112	<i>Extrait du Kentish Chronicle du 25 xbre 1795 et de la Gazette anglaise the Maidstone Journal du 29 decembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Naval news from two provincial papers, <i>The Kentish Chronicle</i> and <i>The Maidstone Journal</i> 25 and 29 December 1795
113	<i>Extrait de la Gazette Anglaise The Oracle du 29 decembre (8 nivose)</i>	unknown	Political news from London, <i>The Oracle</i> , 29 December 1795
114	<i>De la Gazette Americaine The Independent Chronicle du 19 octobre (27 vendemaire) (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	News of tensions between US and Britain and solidarity between France and Holland as sister republics 14, 22, and 26 October 1795, extracted from <i>The Independent Chronicle</i> , 19 October 1795
115	<i>Extrait des feuilles angloises (AF/III/58/229)</i>	Unknown	News from Grenada and Cork, in <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 30 December 1795*
116	<i>Haute Trahison (AF/III/58/229)</i>	Unknown	Report from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> on the trial in Dublin of the Defender, James Weldon, 30 December 1795
117	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle 31 decembre; (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Lengthy account of debate in Commons and Lords on peace talks with France, 30 and 31 December 1795, in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i>

118	<i>Extraits des Journaux Anglais</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News from Cork, Constantinople and Caribbean, in <i>Lloyds Evening Post</i> 11-13 January 1796
119	Untitled AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News from the United States , West Indies and Jersey in <i>The True Briton</i> 13 and 14 January 1796
120	Untitled (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News from Martinique and St Domingue in <i>Lloyds Evening Post</i> 13-15 January 1796
121 D	<i>Extrait des feuilles anglaises 23 janvier</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Unidentified English newspaper; on Martinique and seizure of French ships, 23 January 1796
122 D	<i>Débats du Parlement d'Irlande. Chambre des Communes. Séance du 28 Janvier, séance du 3 fevrier, du 5 fevrier</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Reports from unidentified source of parliamentary proceedings in Dublin on 28 January, 3 and 5 February 1796 on anti-Defender legislation
123	<i>Séance du 6,</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Report in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 6 February 1796 entitled <i>Irish Parliament House of Commons, Friday, Feb 6</i>
124 D	<i>Débats du parlement d'Angleterre tirés du papier Anglais The Courier, séances du 2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 18 fevrier</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	<i>The Courier</i> , on peace with France, extracts from parliamentary debates, 2 to 18 February 1796*

125 D	<i>Débats du parlement d'Irlande tirés du Courier; séances du 12, 20 et 22 février (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Debate in Irish Parliament on anti- Defender legislation, from <i>The Courier</i> of 12, 20 and 22 February 1796*
126	Untitled (CP-EU/45/142)	Unknown	James Monroe letter to Delacroix 17 February 1796 (CP-EU/45/146)
127 D	<i>Extrait du papier anglais The Courier du 20 février* 1^{er} ventose) AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	News from Ireland, New York, Kent and police matters in <i>The Courier</i> , 20 February 1796*
128 D	<i>Débats du parlement d'Angleterre tirés du papier Anglais The Courier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	On peace talks with France , 8 and 10 February 1796, on tax, 12 February, on wages, and Franco-Austrian Treaty, 15 February, from <i>The Courier</i> *
129 D	<i>Extrait du Journal Anglais The Courier du 22 février , du 23 février, du 25 février, du 26 février, du 27 février, du 1^{er} mars,(3 ventôse) (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	News from America, Cork, Portsmouth, Stockholm, Vienna, Jamaica, St Domingue and Dublin from <i>The Courier</i> , 22, 23, 25, 26, 27 February and 1 March 1796*
130 D	<i>Débats du Parlement Britannique tirés du Courier : Séance du 23 et du 26 février 1796 ;</i>	unknown	Parliamentary proceedings in London on 23, 26, 29 February and 1 March 1796 concerning public debt, fraudulent letters of exchange and the price of grain, reported in <i>The Courier</i> *

	<i>Séance du 29 fevrier et 1^{er} mars (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>		
131	<i>Extrait du Courier anglois du 27 fevrier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Report from <i>The Courier</i> on public finances, 27 February 1796*
132	<i>Débats du Parlement d'Irlande tirés du Courier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Short extracts from debate of Irish Parliament, including anti-conspiracy legislation on 29 February, 1, 4 and 6 March 1796, from <i>The Courier</i> *
133	<i>Extraits des papiers anglais (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Articles from <i>Morning Chronicle</i> of 3 March 1796, on Austria, from <i>The Courier</i> of 3 March* on Prussia and naval news from Portsmouth, from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 3 March 1796* on Russia, and <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 4 March on public debt
134 D	<i>Débats du parlement Britannique tirés du Courier (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Debate in Lords and Commons on finance, and on slavery, from <i>The Courier</i> , 3 and 4 March 1796* ³³
135	<i>Le Ministre plenipotentiaire des États Unis de l'Amérique au Ministre des relations extérieures de la république</i>	unknown	<i>The Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Minister of foreign affairs of the French republic</i> , 5 March 1796 (CP-EU/45/180)

³³ 3 March extract unavailable

	<i>française</i> (CP-EU/45/179)		
136 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Extracts from <i>Morning Herald</i> of 5 March on anti-royalist incident in a London theatre, and from <i>The Courier</i> of 4 March 1796, discovery of shipwrecked sailors in south Atlantic
137	<i>Haute Trahison</i> AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Extracts from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 5 March 1796 with news from Dublin, Cork and peace talks; naval news in <i>The Courier</i> of 5 March, 6 March and 7 March 1796* ³⁴ and <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 5 March; negative reference to Burke's pamphlet in <i>The True Briton</i>
138	<i>Débats du parlement d'Angleterre tirés du Morning Chronicle</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Parliamentary report on slavery, Scotland, hunting tax and public finance, 7 and 10 March 1796 from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i>
139 D	<i>Extraits des Papiers Anglais. Extrait du Discours de Charles Grey membre de la Chambre des Communes, tiré du Courier du 11 mars</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Speech by Charles Grey on the expenses of war, from <i>The Courier</i> , 11 March 1796*
140	<i>Le Ministre plenipotentiaire des</i>	unknown	<i>The Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of</i>

³⁴ *Courier* extracts unavailable

	<i>États Unis de l'Amérique au Ministre des relations extérieures de la république française (CP- EU/45/233)</i>		<i>America to the Minister of foreign affairs of the French republic, 15 March 1796 (CP- EU/45/238)</i>
141	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises du 29 au 30 mars (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extracts possibly from <i>The Morning Post</i> on Guadeloupe, St Domingue and speech by Grattan to Irish Parliament, 29,30 March and 1 April 1796
142 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises 11 avril Morning Herald 11 avril True Briton (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extracts from <i>The Morning Herald</i> on peace with France and from <i>The True Briton</i> on the Dutch fleet, both of 11 April 1796*
143	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extracts from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 13 April 1796 on Austria, <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 14 April on a royalist defector from Paris, and on Ceylon; extracts from <i>The Sun</i> of 14 April on Martinique, <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 14 April on India, and the <i>Sun</i> of 16 April on West Indies
144 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	From <i>The Courier</i> of 20 April 1796 on Ireland, <i>The Kentish Gazette</i> of 20 April on food imports, <i>The Courier</i> of 21 April* on Jamaica, <i>the Sun</i> of 22 April on US, <i>the Morning Herald</i> and <i>The Sun</i>

			of 23 April on naval news, <i>The Courier</i> of 25 April* on Barbados and Grenada, and <i>the Morning Herald</i> of 25 April on St Vincent
145 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises Du 30 avril (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	From <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 26 April 1796* on Barbados and Constantinople, from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> of 27 April on capture of French vessels, from <i>The True Briton</i> of 27 April on the Dutch fleet and Corsica, from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 28 April* on Prussia, and <i>The True Briton</i> of 28 April on St Domingue
146	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle 29 avril/10 floréal (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Article on unrest in La Vendée from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 29 April 1796
147 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	From <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 30 April 1796* on Barbados, from <i>The True Briton</i> of 30 April on naval expenses, from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 2 May 1796* on naval strength, from <i>The Courier</i> of 2 May on English-American naval confrontation, from <i>The True Briton</i> on St Domingue, from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 3 May* on the West Indies, from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 4 May on Washington and Jay, from <i>The Morning Herald</i> of 10 May* on Louis

			XVIII, British-French naval confrontation in the Caribbean, and speculation on next US president
148	<i>Extrait de la Gazette Angloise The Morning Herald du 1^{er} Juin (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Inventory of vessels in English navy, from <i>The Morning Herald</i> , 1 June 1796*
149	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises 26 juillet et 27 juillet (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Caribbean news and American news, unknown source
150	<i>Extrait de la gazette Anglaise The Courier du 13 juillet (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	American news, from <i>The Courier</i> , 13 July 1796
151	<i>Extrait d'une lettre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Extract from <i>The Sun</i> , 4 August 1796
152 D	<i>Extrait de la Gazette anglaise The Courier du 13 juillet (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Naval news from New York in <i>The Courier</i> , 13 July 1796*
153	<i>Extrait du Courier Gazette angloise en date du 21 aout (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	On truce between France and Austria, in <i>The Courier</i> , 21 August 1796*
154	<i>Extrait de l'Observer du 30 août (AF/III/58/229)</i>	Unknown	Article on Jamaica in <i>The Observer</i> , 30 August 1796

155	<i>Extrait de la gazette ministérielle (The Sun) du 31 août 1796</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Article on a French invasion of England in <i>The Sun</i> 31 August 1796
156	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises en date du 2 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Naval news from Portsmouth from <i>The True Briton</i> of 2 September 1796
157	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises du 7 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Article on naval news from <i>The Sun</i> , 7 September 1796
158	Untitled extract from <i>Morning Herald</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	News from St Domingue, <i>The Morning Herald</i> , 7 September 1796*
159	<i>Du 8 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	US news from <i>The Courier</i> , 8 September 1796
160	<i>Du 9 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	On peace talks with France, <i>The True Briton</i> 9 September 1796
161	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises du 10 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Extracts from unidentified newspapers dated 10 and 11 September 1796 on naval news from Europe
162	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle du 14 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Article in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> on unrest in Cork, 14 September 1796
163	<i>Extrait du Gazetier Anglais du 14 septembre</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Peace talks with France; September 1796, source unknown

164	<i>Extrait du Courier, gazette anglaise du 16 septembre 1796 et du 21 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Naval news
165 D	<i>Feuilles anglaises du 18 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	News from France and naval news including Portsmouth, September 1796, source unknown
166	<i>Suite du Courier du 21 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Unrest in Cork and naval news, from <i>The Courier</i> , 21 September 1796
167 D	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises 23 septembre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	News from France and naval news, September 1796, source unknown
168 D	<i>L'extrait suivant des feuilles anglaises a paru mériter d'être mis sous les yeux du Ministre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	European diplomacy, from <i>The Courier</i> , 24 September 1796*
169 D	<i>Extrait des feuilles anglaises 1^{er} - 8 octobre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Extracts on Portsmouth, Irish volunteers, public finances, from <i>The Courier</i> , 1 October 1796
170	<i>Discours du Roi d'Angleterre (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Undated speech by King on peace with France, source unknown
171	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Anti-Pitt article in <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 12 October 1796
172 D	<i>Extrait du True Briton 1^{er} Novembre 1796 (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	On peace talks with France, <i>The True Briton</i> , 1 November 1796

173 D	<i>Extrait des feuilles anglaises jusqu'au 15 novembre</i>	unknown	Extracts on public finances, news from Armagh, Dublin, army numbers, the defence of Ireland and the invasion threat, November 1796
174 D	<i>Extrait de la Feuille Angloise Oracle 21 9bre(1er frimaire) (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Extract from <i>The Oracle</i> of 21 November 1796 on peace talks with France
175 D	<i>Extraits des Nouvelles Anglaises, 22 novembre 1796 (AF/III/58/229)</i>	unknown	Unknown source; on peace talks with French
176 D	<i>Extraits des papiers anglais du 2 février 1797 (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extract on public finances; source unknown
177 D	<i>Extrait du papier anglais The Courier du 8 février (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extracts dated 9, 10 and 13 February 1797 from <i>The Courier</i> * on military news from the Carribean, St Domingue and peace talks with France
178 D	<i>Extrait du Papier Anglais The Courier du 20 février (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Naval news, including from the West Indies, <i>The Courier</i> , 20 February 1797*
179 D	<i>Débats du parlement d'Angleterre tirés du papier anglais The Courier (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Parliamentary debate on peace talks, public finances and slavery, February 1797, from <i>The Courier</i> *
180 D	<i>Extrait du Journal Anglais The Courier du 23-25 février et du 1^{er} mars (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Naval news, February-March 1797, <i>The Courier</i> , 23-25 February and 1 March*

181 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Naval news from <i>The Morning Herald</i> 5 March 1797 and <i>The Courier</i> 4 March 1797*
182 D	<i>Débats du parlement britannique tirés du Courier</i> 23 février (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Parliamentary debate on public finances, trade, grain imports, from <i>The Courier</i> , 23 February, 1797*
183 D	<i>Extrait du Courier</i> du 27 février (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Extract on public finances, from <i>The Courier</i> , 27 February 1797*
184	<i>Débats du Parlement d'Irlande tirés du Courier</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	<i>The Courier</i> report from Irish Parliament, 12 February 1797*
185 D	<i>Untitled</i> (AF/III/58/229)	unknown	Extracts from <i>The Oracle</i> of 28 February on India and 2 March on public debt 1797
186	<i>Debats du Parlement d'Irlande tirés du Courier</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Debate on security legislation in Irish House of Commons, <i>The Courier</i> , 29 February 1797*
187 D	<i>Extraits do journal anglais The Courier</i> du 3 mars 1797 <i>Parlement Irlandais</i> (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Extract on defence measures in Ireland, <i>The Courier</i> , 3 March 1797*
188	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle</i> du 3 mars (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Extract on public finances, <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 3 March 1797
189	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle</i> du 2, 3 et 4 Mars (AF/III/58/228/1)	unknown	Article on financial debate in Commons, from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 3 and 4 March 1797

190 D	<i>Débats du parlement d'Angleterre tirés du Morning Chronicle (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Parliamentary debate on public finances and slavery, <i>The Courier</i> , 7 th March 1797*
191 D	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises du 29 mars au 30 mars 'Nouvelles maritimes' (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Naval news; 1797; sources unknown
192 D	<i>Suite du Morning Post du 1er avril (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Caribbean news, Grattan speech in Irish Parliament and free trade, <i>The Morning Post</i> of 1 April 1797*
193 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	<i>The Morning Herald</i> on peace talks* and <i>The True Briton</i> on naval news, 11 April 1797
194	<i>Extrait des gazettes anglaises (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	13 April from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> news from Cork and naval news; 14 and 15 April <i>The Morning Herald</i> , 14 and 16 April <i>The Sun</i> * on naval news and 18 April <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> on public finances; 1797
195 D	<i>Extraits des feuilles anglaises depuis le 1^{er} jusqu'au 14 avril (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Naval news, public finances and peace talks, sources unknown
196 D	<i>Extrait des gazettes angloises du 20 avril (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Also extracts from English press dated 21 st to 25 th April 1797, Caribbean and naval news; sources unknown
197 D	<i>Extraits des gazettes anglaises du 26 avril ; du 27 avril ;</i>	unknown	Public finances, naval news, Corsica and St Domingue, April 1797, source unknown

	<i>du 28 avril (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>		
198 D	<i>Débats du Parlement d'Angleterre (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Parliamentary debate in London on public finances, 28 April 1797, unknown source
199 D	<i>Extrait du Morning Chronicle (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extracts from <i>The Morning Chronicle</i> , 29 th April 1797, on West Indies, St Domingue, slavery and violence in La Vendée
200 D	<i>Extraits des Gazettes Anglaises du 30 avril (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extracts on the Carribean, public finances, Russia/Sweden, English naval strength and the West Indies, 30 th April; from 4 th May on President Washington and unrest in north of England and Scotland; from 10 th May on naval news; sources unknown
201 D	<i>Extrait d'une lettre de Londres du 6 mai (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	News about Ireland and Portugal, May 1797, source unknown
202 D	<i>Extrait d'une lettre de Londres du 10 mai (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extracts on the Portsmouth mutiny, St Domingue, slavery in the Carribean, unrest in Ireland and the Catholic/Dissenter alliance, May 1797; source unknown
203 D	<i>Extrait des feuilles anglaises du 15 au 18 mai (AF/III/58/228/1)</i>	unknown	Extract on the Portsmouth mutiny, May 1797, source unknown
204 D	<i>Extrait des feuilles anglaises depuis le 19 jusqu'au 26 mai</i>	unknown	Naval news, May 1797; source unknown

	<i>inclusivement- Nouvelles maritimes</i>		

Appendix 16. Example of Nicholas Madgett's handwriting in a document signed by him (AF/III/28/97/133)

Bureau de Traduction
Madgett

Madgett Chef du Bureau de traduction, âgé de 57 ans, né en Islande, venu à l'âge de onze ans à Paris où il a fait des études tant au Collège de Mazarin qu'à celui de Navarre, il a professé la philosophie et les Mathématiques pendant plus de 20 ans dans les universités de Toulouse et de Bordeaux.

Revenu à Paris en 1782, il y a demeuré constamment depuis, à l'exception de trois qu'il a été en mission dans la Bretagne, mission dont il s'est acquitté à la très grande satisfaction du Citoyen D'Albarade, alors ministre de la marine.

Jusqu'en 1789 il s'occupait à faire des traductions et à enseigner quelques langues étrangères.

Republicain...

Appendix 17. Example of Nicholas Madgett's handwriting in an unsigned document (CP-EU/45/219)

8990.
 Paris 3 octobre 1996 (19 vendémiaire de l'an 25^e de l'indépendance des états unis d'amérique.
 Le ministre plénipotentiaire des états unis d'amérique
 au ministre des affaires étrangères de la Rep. Française.
 Citoyen ministre.
 Je viens de recevoir votre note d'hier dans laquelle vous me
 faites part du bruit qui court que notre gouvernement avait
 un embargo sur tous vos vaisseaux de guerre et de commerce
 et vous me demandez si le fait est vrai. Cette nouvelle m'a
 singulièrement étonné puisque nous n'en avons jamais eu
 aucune connaissance officielle mais que même je n'en avais
 jamais entendue parler. Ainsi je n'y avais pas du tout fait
 attention. Je suis persuadé que vous n'avez donné aucun sujet
 à un journal de cette espèce et que vous n'avez pas
 tout bien compris de ce qu'il s'agit. Je suis certain que
 et mes collègues.
 Quant à ce que vous avez entendu dire de façon erronée
 à Mr Shipworth, je suis également convaincu de votre
 bonne connaissance que j'ai personnellement de ses principes
 politiques et de la fidélité qu'il prouve au bien-être des
 Républiques, bien sûr que dépend uniquement de leur
 union et de leur accord entre elles, je suis convaincu, si je
 que si cette nouvelle était vraie, elle serait pour nous
 un effet de son dévouement, il en serait visiblement affecté
 en effet elle nous mettrait en contact avec des nations
 et des peuples qui nous sont si proches.

Appendix 18. Example of John Sullivan's handwriting in a translation signed by him, March 1796 (CPA/589/226)

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
sa 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, S'il paroît au Juge qu'il y a
eu des Raisons probables pour autoriser la conduite
tenue par le magistrat!

Certifié conforme
Sullivan traducteur

Appendix 19. Example of John Sullivan's handwriting in a translation that was not signed by him (AF/III/58/228)

intimation aux gentilshommes des comtes de Mayo, deux comtes très infestés par les défenseurs, que le gouvernement leur retirera probablement les régiments de ligne et de milices, pour les distribuer le long des côtes et qu'ils eussent à former des associations armées pour leur propre défense.

Aujourd'hui tous les officiers qui se trouvoient à Dublin ont reçu ordre de joindre immédiatement leurs régiments respectifs. En conséquence de cet ordre ils sont partis sur le champ.

De Londres. On suppose que dans la dernière assemblée du conseil privé à Dublin, Il ne s'est pas agi
Ven. an 5^{le} /

Appendix 20. Extract from Chart of French Foreign Ministry translators (AF/III/52-55/213/1)

Relations
Extérieures.

De 4

Organisation

des Bureaux du Ministère des Relations Extérieures

Traitement par 15 Jours.	Nom & Qualité *	Age.
	1^{er} Bureau — Secretariat Intime.	
	<i>8^{me} ce Bureau est traité plus favorablement que les autres</i>	
	<i>1^{er} parce qu'il est tenu à une assiduité sans interruption, il</i>	
	<i>tient tous les jours et travaille les jours de Decade 2^o parce qu'on</i>	
	<i>lui confie des pièces importantes tant à déchiffrer qu'à traduire</i>	
	<i>et à analyser ou extraire pour la célérité du Service.</i>	
2 000 ^{fr}	Ysabeau Secrétaire en chef.	38 ½
750	Berges sous-chef.	38
2 500.	Baryon Expéditionnaire en charge.	69
	2^e Section : Traducteurs.	
3750	Madja sous chef	57
2500	Pianelli	38
2500	Appia	47
2500	Lery	44.
2500	Sullivan	28.
2500	Dorsch	39
2500	Palomba	75.
2000	Coutoure Expéditionnaire.	33 ½
	3^e Déchiffreurs.	
3750	Campy sous chef	40.
3000	Cornillot	50.
2500	Romand	30.
2500	Gathur	27.
2000.	Boncau Expéditionnaire.	29 ½

Appendix 21. Madgett writes and signs the translator's oath, 20 January 1796 (AF/III/52-55/213/1)

indivisible — Jean-Baptiste Vianelli

Je jure d'être sincèrement attaché à la République et j'en voue
une haine éternelle à la Royauté. À Paris le 1^{er} Pluviose de
la 4^e de la République Une et indivisible. Couture

Je jure d'être sincèrement attaché à la République
et j'en voue une haine éternelle à la Royauté.
à Paris le 1^{er} Pluviose de la 4^e de la République Une et indivisible
Madgett

Déchiffreurs.

Je jure d'être sincèrement attaché à la République
et j'en voue une haine éternelle à la Royauté. À Paris
le 1^{er} Pluviose de la 4^e de la République Une et indivisible

Appendix 22. Sullivan writes and signs the translator's oath, 20 January 1796 (AF/III/52-55/213/1)

Traducteurs.

*Je Jure d'être Sincèrement attaché à la—
République et Je Voudrais une haine éternelle à la
Royauté. Paris le premier Pluviose de l'an 4
de la République une et indivisible*

Sullivan traducteurs


*Je Jure d'être Sincèrement attaché à la République et
Paris le premier*

Appendix 23. British army correspondence relating to John Sullivan's release from custody, November 1798 (HO/42/45/55)

25
Transport Office
22^d Nov^r 1798

Dear Sir,



La Roche as a French Officer
agreeable to the Cartel is gone to France
on his Parole, he left Dover with
General Humbert the 26th Ult^o.
We examined him very particularly
previous to his departure and had
no reason to doubt the account he
gave of himself "that he was born
in France of Irish Parents". He certainly
spoke the Language of a Frenchman
and was detained in Ireland some
days in Custody after General Humbert
William Wickham Esq^r left

left that Kingdom, but as proofs
of his being an Irishman having
appeared, he was allowed to join
his General at Litchfield.

Thou the Honour I be

Dear Sir

Your faithful &

very obed^t. servant

Rup George