







The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell Volume I 1792–1814 THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DANIEL O'CONNELL

Editor: Maurice R. O'Connell, Ph.D. Assistant Editor: Gerard J. Lyne, M.A. Editorial Assistants: Hugh C. McFadden, M.A. and Elizabeth M. O'Connell

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DANIEL O'CONNELL

Volume I

1792-1814

Edited by

Maurice R. O'Connell Professor of History Fordham University

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Contents

Preface .		•	•	•	•				vii
Acknowledg	gmer	its	•		۰.				xi
List of Man	uscr	ipt S	Sources						xiii
List of Publ	ishee	d So	ources						xvii
The Corresp	pond	enc	e of Da	niel	and	Mary	O'Con	nell	
by Helen	F. N	ſulv	vey	•					xix
Abbreviatio	ns		•						xxxi
Corresponde	ence		. 1						I
Index of Per	rson	5	(legge	•					389

Illustrations

following page 128

Daniel O'Connell in 1818 O'Connell in c. 1835 O'Connell in c. 1846 Maurice (Hunting-Cap) O'Connell Daniel Charles, Count O'Connell Mary O'Connell and Daniel, Jr. O'Connell's eldest son, Maurice O'Connell's eldest son, Morgan O'Connell's third son, John Samples of O'Connell's handwriting Ballycarbery Castle, near Cahirciveen Carhen, home of O'Connell's parents Derrynane, facing north Derrynane, facing cast

Preface

The correspondence of Daniel O'Connell will be published as a multi-volume set, the first volumes to appear in 1972 and the remainder to follow at intervals thereafter. Each volume (except the last) will contain an index of persons; a general index to the entire set will be printed in the final volume. Fully 4,000 letters to and from O'Connell have been transcribed. Of these about 3,500—all that are considered significant—are being published. These have been pruned of unimportant and repetitious matter.

The three principal manuscript sources are the Fitz-Simon Papers and the two collections from O'Connell's home at Derrynane now the O'Connell Papers in the National Library of Ireland and the O'Connell Manuscripts in University College, Dublin. These papers were part of a large quantity of material at Derrynane which apparently included the files of the Repeal Association. Much of this material was destroyed through neglect. Hundreds of letters have been copied from small collections in private ownership and in libraries. Many also have been copied from a large number of published works. William J. FitzPatrick's *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell* (2 vols., London 1888) has been incorporated.

O'Connell's 'public letters' have been omitted from this collection. These include correspondence with newspapers, committees and other bodies—letters written in the knowledge that they would be published or receive public circulation.

Spelling and punctuation have been modernized and dating standardized. Farewell salutations, conventional family inquiries at the conclusion of letters and signatures have been omitted without the use of ellipses. The word 'illegible' in square brackets occasionally denotes indecipherable handwriting but usually means that the paper has disintegrated because of damp. Place names have been modernized (O'Connell's family home in Kerry has been spelled Derrynane though he spelled it Darrinane and, later, Darrynane).

O'Connell wrote a bold and fairly clear hand and he wrote quickly. He very seldom had to change or cross out a word. He punctuated with dashes (commas and full stops have been substituted for the dashes). His wife, who wrote a hasty, untidy hand which is difficult to read, made little attempt at correct punctuation. She sometimes underlined words illogically (this last fault has been allowed to stand). The destruction of the Four Courts in Dublin in 1922 during the Civil War involved the loss of court records. Consequently it is impossible to identify the court cases to which O'Connell makes frequent reference unless they are described in newspapers or in the occasional pamphlet.

A large part of O'Connell's letters to his wife, of which 660 are extant, consist of expressions of love and affection to an extent that makes tiresome reading. Consequently about a fifth of these have been omitted while those published have been pruned of the more tedious repetition. Since such excisions cannot but affect the nature of a correspondence it was decided to ask Professor Helen Mulvey of the Department of History, Connecticut College, to write an essay on the letters between husband and wife as originally transcribed. This essay, 'The Correspondence of Daniel and Mary O'Connell', is published in the first volume.

O'Connell's correspondence with Jeremy Bentham has been omitted because it will appear in full in the publication of Bentham's correspondence under the auspices of University College London.

A carbon copy of the transcript of all the letters (including the unpublished) has been donated to the National Library of Ireland.

The barony of Iveragh lies at the western and north-western end of the mountainous rectangular peninsula that runs out from Killarney into the Atlantic. It stretches from near Derrynane northward to Dingle Bay. It includes many places mentioned in the letters: Cahir (the hamlet which became the small town of Cahirciveen in O'Connell's later days), Carhen (the home of O'Connell's parents near Cahirciveen), Hillgrove, Portmagee, Waterville and Valentia Island. Derrynane (which is in the barony of South Dunkerron) stands at the south-west corner of this peninsula in a secluded spot with trees beside the sea.

The O'Connells were the principal family in Iveragh for some centuries before O'Connell was born in 1775. From about 1350 to 1650 they had been hereditary constables of Ballycarbery Castle near Cahirciveen for their overlord, MacCarthy Mor, Gaelic ruler of south-west Munster. In 1650 the castle was dismantled and abandoned by order of the Cromwellian government. O'Connell's great-great-grandfather, Daniel MacGeoffrey O'Connell, moved from the castle and settled eventually at Tarmons near Waterville. His son John (O'Connell's great-grandfather) settled at Derrynane probably about the beginning of the eighteenth century. In this remote part of Ireland the Gaelic culture had survived at all social levels so that the O'Connell family spoke Gaelic as well as English. This cultural background to his early years must be taken into account in any analysis of O'Connell's personality. Connections with France were close because of illicit trading, clerical education and army recruiting, all of which continued until the French Revolution. As a boy O'Connell had more than a dozen relatives holding commissions in the French army.

O'Connell and his wife had eleven children of whom seven survived infancy—four sons, Maurice, Morgan, John and Daniel, Jr., and three daughters, Ellen, Kate and Betsey. Their names occur frequently in the letters but are only identified when clarity demands it. The frequent mention of and concern over Mary O'Connell's health is attributable to the fact that she suffered from asthma, a complaint aggravated by her slightly nervous disposition.



Acknowledgments

I must first express my gratitude to the Irish Manuscripts Commission under whose auspices this project was undertaken. They have generously met the cost of employing research assistants. Three of their members—Dr. Edward MacLysaght, Chairman, Professor R. Dudley Edwards and Dr. Patrick Henchy—deserve my special thanks.

Fordham University generously supported the project by granting me a sabbatical for the year 1967-68 and a research grant for the year 1970-71.

Mr. Bernard P. McDonough of Parkersburg, West Virginia, very kindly made a donation towards additional research expenses.

Lt. Col. M. O'Connell Fitz-Simon, M.C., has incurred my deep gratitude by lending me for two years his family papers which include O'Connell's 660 letters to his wife.

Sir John Ainsworth, Bart., F.R.Hist.Soc., ably answered one hundred queries.

Eric T. D. Lambert, C.M.G., who is writing the history of the Irish Legion to South America, supplied me with a great deal of vital information on that subject.

The late Basil M. O'Connell, K.M., gave me the genealogical information necessary for the identification of O'Connell's many relatives.

Mrs. Maureen Wall of University College, Dublin, read the transcript of letters and footnotes down to 1829. The work has benefited from her unrivalled knowledge of the Catholic Emancipation movement in Ireland.

The Director, Librarians and all other members of the staff of the National Library of Ireland have given me every consideration and assistance. Without their co-operation this project would have been almost impossible.

For their courteous co-operation I am indebted to the publisher and staff of the Irish University Press and, in particular, to their editor, Mrs. Marilyn Norstedt.

I must acknowledge the valuable research work of Mrs. Jeanette Bresnihan, B.A., and Christopher J. Woods, Ph.D. Mr. Edward Keane of the National Library contributed from his expert knowledge of sources. Above all, I must pay tribute to my wife. She has worked with me at every stage of this project.

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List of Manuscript Sources

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Catholic University of America Library

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- Fitz-Simon Papers. Lt. Col. M. O'Connell Fitz-Simon, M.C., Glencullen House, Co. Dublin
- Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- Franciscan House of Studies, Killiney, Co. Dublin
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xvi

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The Correspondence of Daniel and Mary O'Connell

Helen F. Mulvey

The letters exchanged between Daniel O'Connell and his wife Mary, from 1800 until close to her death in 1836, are a remarkable historical source for both the public and the private life of O'Connell. His biographers — Robert Dunlop, Michael MacDonagh, Denis Gwynn and Sean O'Faolain — have examined only a very small part of the correspondence. They have used it to show that O'Connell was blessed in his marriage and that, in all the outward turmoil of his life, the serene home and the atmosphere created there by an intelligent, perceptive and understanding wife were crucial to his success and happiness and perhaps, as we would say today, to his sense of security.

Probably the best known and most quoted of these letters is that from Mary on 14 July 1817 when she was on holiday with some of her children near Bristol in England. Not only Mary but their eldest daughter, Ellen, had just received letters from O'Connell, and no one who has ever waited for news from home can fail to be charmed with Mary's unclouded delight in the letters and with the vignette she creates for her absent husband of the family group reading them. But she does more than this, and writes:

I assure you, my darling, you are our continual subject. When a kind husband and father is spoken of, Ellen and Kate will exclaim, 'Mama, sure he is not so good a husband or father as our father!' You may guess, darling, what my reply is. You know what you deserve and you are aware that, in existence, I don't think there is such a husband and father as you are, and always have been. . . . Many and many a time I exclaim to myself, 'What a happy creature am I! How grateful I should be to Providence for bestowing on me such a husband!' We will, love, shortly be married fifteen years, and I can answer that I never had cause to regret it. I have, darling, experienced all the happiness of the married state without feeling any of its misery, thanks to a fond and indulgent husband.¹

The letters here collected bear out and strengthen the impression of the happy and united family described in 1817, but they go much further by giving us a picture of Mary O'Connell as a more complicated, interesting and forceful woman than any of O'Connell's biographers have suggested. And they tell other, less happy, stories, particularly those arising from his extravagance and carelessness with money, with which O'Connell studies in the future will have to deal.

The complete correspondence between husband and wife, to the extent it could be recovered, is now before us. In manuscript these letters are often hard to read, Mary's more so than O'Connell's. In fact, O'Connell himself had difficulty now and again with his wife's handwriting. In 1823, in a letter to her at Tours where she was living (for reasons of economy) with her younger children, he says: 'Let me know whether I write sufficiently distinctly for you, as your writing sometimes puzzles me which I attribute in a great degree to the rascally quality of the French paper.'² What a wonderful piece of marital diplomacy! With the publication of this correspondence, we are rescued not only from long hours on the penmanship of an earlier day but from the erosions and fadings of time on English, Irish and 'rascally' French paper.

This correspondence is above all the record of a marriage, an astonishingly full account from both sides. From the beginning, the mutual love of Daniel and Mary O'Connell is clear and unmistakable, the language of affection constant if somewhat more extravagantly expressed on the husband's part. Each possessed imagination: if she remembered nearly always to send him off on his law circuits across Ireland with the happiest memories of his time with his family, he did not forget to make sympathetic references to the problems facing her at home. It was, in many ways, a frantic existence, dependent for its vitality and continuing mutual involvement on letters. Sometimes the letters did not arrive. Sometimes he did not write for five or six days because of the

r This article is based on the letters between O'Connell and his wife as transcribed and before being edited for publication. For convenience, the numbers of the published letters are used when appropriate. When, however, the letter or part of a letter referred to is not published, the relevant particulars of the letter are given in the footnote. The above quotation is from letter 709.

2 1007.

pressure of business. He reproached her for nervousness, but when a letter did not come from her he was equally frantic. If they began as passionate lovers, they encompassed in that love a tender and confiding friendship and a deep mutual concern for each other's burdens, duties and demands, possibly greater on her part than on his. Though he might conceal from her the truth about his financial affairs, he knew he could tell her everything else—his misgivings, his vanities, his triumphs, his successes: 'I have that vanity which makes me think I have made an *impression*. You will not laugh at me though any one else would.'³

Mary O'Connell understood his work and knew what his successes meant to him, apart from the money he was making, and she shrewdly saw that there was something in his character which responded to and enjoyed the excitement in which he lived. 'I ought not, darling,' she writes in 1810, ' regret so much your going circuit, for in general the change and hustle of it is of use to you ... and then, heart, the pleasure you have in looking forward to the time you will be with your little woman and your babes again makes up to you in a great measure for being away from them.'4 She also learned over the years what peace of mind about herself meant to him,5 and at some cost to her own feelings would refrain from bringing up unpleasant subjects, such as money matters, on the eve of his departures.6 Their daughter Ellen's account of her mother's sympathetic awareness of the strains of O'Connell's public life and her careful banishment of household affairs from his worries when he was at home, make Mary rather of a paragon, always self-effacing, always putting her husband first.7 These letters are a corrective in this respect and show a more spirited Mary O'Connell and bring to the surface the understandable exasperations of living under the strain of her husband's comings and goings. In 1816 she writes after an argument, 'Believe me, I could not give you pain without inflicting a double portion on myself. . . . This nasty letter from Carhen has dispirited me. It is the first serious letter I ever got from you, and I exactly feel like

- 4 275.
- 5 177.
- 6 529.

^{3 335.}

⁷ Michael MacDonagh, The Life of Daniel O'Connell (London 1903), pp. 120-1. Mrs. Fitz-Simon's account is in the beginning of a planned book, 'Recollections of My Father and His Times', which did not go further than the first chapter.

a spoiled child.^{'8} Could we suggest that something of an Ibsen's Nora lurked in Mary? She clearly wanted to be consulted, not just when it pleased her husband, but when their common fortunes were concerned. In 1824, when O'Connell was nearly fifty and she close to it, she was grieving over eight days without a letter. She tells him that, when she does not receive an expected letter from him, she is 'as cross as a cat, and inclined to wish the Catholic Association at the bottom of the sea '.⁹ They made it up as they always did, but Mary's vexation surely has its understandable appeal. It is clear from these letters that she possessed her husband's enduring regard. 'Her sweetness and truth '¹⁰ had opened a new world to him. On New Year's Day, 1820, he wrote in simpler words, less extravagant than those of his youth, of his gratitude for her goodness to him and their children.¹¹ Her answering letter had the directness and deep feeling of his.¹²

If these letters confirm with vast additional evidence the judgement of biographers on the happier side of O'Connell's marriage, they also reveal a darker aspect to which almost no attention has been given. Money, or rather O'Connell's use of it, was the great cloud over the happiness of Mary O'Connell and a cause of quarrels and serious misunderstandings between them. Ultimately, indebtedness led to a separation designed to cut down the heavy expenses of maintaining the Dublin house in Merrion Square. Mary went to France in 1822 with their younger children, taking up residence first in Pau and then in Tours. Later they lived in Southampton and only returned to Ireland in 1824. O'Connell remained in Dublin, living as modestly as he could in the Merrion Square house with his eldest son, Maurice.

The sad tale of O'Connell's finances has been dealt with elsewhere by Professor O'Connell,¹³ but the subject must be briefly considered here. Naturally careless about money, O'Connell looked forward to receiving a substantial fortune on the death of his uncle Maurice ('Hunting-Cap') O'Connell who lived at Derrynane. He had to wait a long time for this inheritance since Hunting-Cap lived on to his ninety-seventh year, dying in 1825. Uncle Maurice

^{8 674.}

^{9 1106.}

to Fitz-Simon Papers, O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 6 August 1819.

^{11 806.}

^{12 807.}

¹³ Maurice R. O'Connell, 'Daniel O'Connell: Income, Expenditure and Despair', Irish Historical Studies, XVII, No. 66 (Sept. 1970), 200-220.

was aware that his nephew had extravagant ways with money and was worried about that 'softness and facility '14 of disposition which led him to stand as financial security for friends and relatives and ultimately to find himself responsible for their debts. Between 1801 and 1813, O'Connell's earnings at the bar rose from $\pounds 225$ to $\pounds 4,000.^{15}$ His income suffered after 1815, probably from the bad times after the Napoleonic Wars, but rose again in the twenties, reaching over $\pounds 5,000$ in 1828. In 1805 he purchased a house in Westland Row which consumed more of his money than he had foreseen.¹⁶ In 1809 he moved to number 30 (now number 58) on the south side of the very elegant Merrion Square. Mary was clearly miserable about this new purchase but could not prevent him from making it despite her eloquent plea:

For God's sake, darling love, let me entreat of you to give up this house in the Square . . . as I see no other way for you to get out of difficulties. If you borrow this money [1,000 guineas] . . . how will you pay it back? In short, love, I scarcely know what I write, I am so unhappy about this business.¹⁷

In the next half-dozen years O'Connell was to give his wife occasion for even more disturbed and angry letters. Even though she always forgave him and kept the atmosphere of their home warm and kind, one does wonder what she may have gradually come to think, but would never express, about the character of her husband who could write of his undying love, his supreme wish to make her happy, and yet go right on doing the thing most calculated to make her miserable. What were the pressures on O'Connell, not merely to be extravagant but to lend money and stand security for people, and thus endanger the future prospects of his children and the happiness of his wife? Was there some guilt on his part that he should be earning so much in a country so poor? Admittedly the Gaelic culture from which he sprang had always expected the chieftain to give generously to all in need (Hunting-Cap's thrift had not won social approval). But surely, even in generosity, there could be some better judgement exercised, especi-

^{14 337.}

William J. FitzPatrick, ed., Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell (London 1888), I, 26.

^{16 161.}

^{17 259.}

ally with a wife and many children to provide for! So Mary O'Connell thought.

That Mary could cause in her husband deep feelings of guilt and remorse is also unquestioned. She had learned in 1815 from his brother James that, contrary to some kind of promise he had made her, he had 'gone security' again and was involved in the bankruptcy of James O'Leary, a Killarney merchant. She must have written him a furious letter for in replying on 13 March, O'Connell says she has made him 'exquisitely miserable', that he has wept over her letter for two hours and is ready to weep again, and he implies he has not deceived her.18 Next day he calls her letter a strange one and tells her he loves her but fears that confidence between them has been torn up by the roots. He can hardly bear to look at her letter and will probably burn it, and he adds that he has read it so often that 'I have it by heart'. For O'Connell the last sentence of his guilty letter is sad simplicity itself: 'Will you tell my children I really love them and will you believe you are yourself ardently beloved? '19 Once again calm was restored, and on 16 March he was thanking her for the tenderest letter he had ever received and cheerfully telling her of the elasticity of his mind.20 Mary wrote a number of angry letters to her husband which would be fascinating to read but, unfortunately, they are not extant. O'Connell appears to have destroyed them all.

The indebtedness grew deeper, reaching $f_{20,000}$ in 1817, and was aggravated by economic depression in post-Napoleonic Europe. Famine conditions prevailed over the country in 1822 and seriously affected the barony of Iveragh. The expected fall in rents,²¹ added to everything else, seems to have convinced the O'Connells that rigid economy must come at last. The form which it took turned out to be a sad punishment for him and loneliness for both of them. Mary and the five younger children were to live abroad, in France, and the Merrion Square house was to be let or, if that were not possible, O'Connell was to live on in it but on a much reduced scale.²² O'Connell's letters show his loneliness and are full of selfreproach for the bad judgement which had brought about this

^{18 526.}

¹⁹ Fitz-Simon Papers, O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 14 March 1815

^{20 563.}

^{21 937} and 944.

²² The house was not let, and O'Connell lived there most unhappily. His son Maurice was there, and later Morgan. See 938, 940, 947, 955, 958 and 963. All of these letters are in 1822 and deal with this family upheaval.

cruel separation of parents and children. Whatever Mary's inmost thoughts, or whatever temptations to say 'I told you so', she wrote only in an encouraging style, resolved to bear the family hardships 'like a Christian'. Possibly after twenty years of marriage, she had faced the fact that there were aspects of her husband's character that were not going to change. Better to keep up family morale, encourage him to pay his debts, and get home as soon as possible. 'You have been the best and most beloved of husbands,' she wrote consolingly from France.²³

If the letters between France and Ireland in 1822–23 and between Southampton and Ireland in 1823–24 are full of devotion and affection, they reveal also the attritions of separation. He was a busy man and could understandably fail to execute small commissions. She, in her turn, could remind him that his Irish newspapers, old though they might be, would lighten the family's isolation in France. Could he not send them, and also the lesson books for young Daniel (Maria Edgeworth's publications), as he had promised to do?²⁴ O'Connell worries that his family is forgetting him, he does not hear from his children, and worst of all, imagines that his wife's letters are ' not as affectionate as they used to be '.²⁵ Guilt and remorse are continuing themes in his letters to her in France. A letter in January 1823 is typical:

You ask me, darling, about my debts. I am paying them off by degrees. They are greater than you had any idea of. . . . And I fear it will take another year to complete my freedom. . . . And I never again will conceal a thought of mine from you. It was to save you from mental suffering that I was guilty of concealment. The fact is that I always looked to the resources to come from my Uncle Maurice's succession as the means of paying off and I went in debt on that speculation. God forgive me . . . if I was so criminal as to wish for his death. . . . I hope I have been in some measure punished for it.²⁶

He concludes by resolving to consult her in all family decisions,

24 O'Connell Papers, NLI, Mary O'Connell to O'Connell, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 May 1823 (the greater part of this letter is published as 1017 but not the parts here referred to). During these two years Mary and Daniel kept a record of several days' doings and sent it off as one letter.

26 991.

^{23 965.}

^{25 1027.}

to pay ready money for everything and on no account to run up bills. One has the distinct impression, whatever the future financial problems—and they were to occur—that Mary had attained some kind of co-sovereignty in the marriage.

Southampton turned out better than France as a place to live, perhaps because it seemed a stage on the way home. O'Connell could now see his family more frequently and feel, at least, that they were more accessible. Maurice, the eldest son, could come down from London, where he was beginning his law terms, to visit his mother, his sisters and his youngest brother, Daniel.

During the early part of 1824 O'Connell and his wife discussed at length the possibilities of being reunited in their Dublin home. All aspects were considered. To O'Connell's suggestion that the family live modestly in some rural part of Ireland, Mary had many answers, but they all said a firm no. Her letter of 4 February 1824 is a little masterpiece of solid argument. Only in Dublin was her health good and the climate dry enough for her; to Killarney and to Kerry generally she had deep objections. Nor would the society of a country town in Ireland be satisfactory to her daughters, 'educated as they have been'. Indeed she had consulted her daughters, Ellen and Kate, who had given her the distinct impression that they would rather live 'in the greatest obscurity anywhere than live in any of the country parts of Ireland'. Furthermore, she points out that it was something of delusion to imagine that money would be saved in Kerry: 'Your doors could not be kept shut to your connections or to mine. There would be an eternal relay of cousins.' She was also well aware of the real and the announced reasons for any course of action. Her husband had a 'respectability' to keep up, and the 'unkind world' would delight to think that his embarrassments were such that he must keep his family in rural Ireland rather than in Dublin. It was better to remain in England: the delicacy of her health (she suffered from asthma) and the value to young Maurice, now in London, of having his family nearby would serve as sufficient explanation. It had been a difficult decision for her, torn between her husband and her children, but she concludes:

When I think, my own Dan, on the solitary life you lead, I ask myself is it possible any consideration can keep me from being in the same kingdom with you. The power rests with myself, but if I avail myself of that power what will be the consequences? . . . Write to me, my darling, in reply to this letter as soon as you receive it. My mind will be in a constant state of agitation until your letter arrives.²⁷

The prospect of further separation, after all the pros and cons had been weighed, was too much for O'Connell, and in a letter of 18 February 1824 he tells Mary that they might as well economize 'together as separately'. Mary made many conditions about the new style of life at Merrion Square,²⁸ and in May 1824, after two years apart, the family was reunited in Dublin.

The O'Connell children are an important part of the correspondence. On their characters, tastes, abilities and shortcomings, Mary is most informative. Of eleven children born, seven lived to grow up: Maurice, Morgan, Ellen, Kate, John, Betsey and Daniel. The older children received their early education at Miss Wollstonecraft's School in Hume Street, Dublin, where Maurice was an excellent student. Later, the girls had a governess while the boys went to the Jesuit boarding school, Clongowes Wood College in Co. Kildare. The correspondence contains a vivid account of a visit which Mary made to them at Clongowes. The O'Connells enjoyed their children, loved them, involved them in their lives, possibly at times indulged them but also disciplined them. Mary had in her nature something of the inspired schoolteacher. She was observing of tastes and talents and sensitive to the sometimes painful stages of young people's growing up. When O'Connell had sent their second son, Morgan, to be with her and the younger children at Tours, she was quick to tell her husband that this was a mistake. A dull provincial French town was no place for a high-spirited eighteen-year-old boy, cut off from useful activity and companions of his own age, his only recourse ' the billiard table by day, and the coffee houses by night '.29 She seems to have had that ultimate in parental wisdom: children do not finally belong to one. In Southampton, although she complains of the coldness of the English, she and her daughters gradually created interests for themselves; but some of the most delightful passages in the Southampton letters concern her youngest, very bright, and possibly precocious son, Daniel, born in 1816. She sends to London for Mrs. Trimmer's History of England for him and is delighted with the questions he asks;30 she takes an interest in his scrapbook,

27 1087.

- 29 See note 24, above.
- 30 1102.

²⁸ Maurice R. O'Connell, 'Daniel O'Connell; Income, Expenditure and Despair'.

xxviii

consisting mostly of murders and highway robberies;³¹ she takes him to see the famous actor Kean do *Richard III* and reports proudly to her husband on the child's absorbed attention.³²

Not all of Mary's problems as *mère de famille* were easily resolved. She was deeply troubled and puzzled over her daughter Betsey who is so different from her brothers and sisters, who seems to have no feeling, and whose temper is very bad. Could O'Connell not write the young girl a 'feeling and determined' letter?³³ Indeed, if there were evidence beyond the letters before us, it would make a study of some interest to unravel the relationships and rivalries, as well as the later careers and experiences of the O'Connell children. What were their recollections of their childhood and early maturity? How did Daniel and Mary appear to them?

Mary O'Connell may have been on occasion difficult for her family. The correspondence contains many references to her illnesses, never very clearly described, and the kinds of climate which agree or disagree with her; but if she complains in some letters, and O'Connell worries about her health in others, she also writes from time to time that her health was never better. Her constitution was described by herself and by others as 'delicate', but she had eleven children, was constantly involved in strenuous activity and responsibility and Dr. Barry of Mallow told her in 1817 that she could expect to live to a good old age.³⁴ Was some of this illness tied to the strain under which she lived and to the worries her husband's debts and absences caused her?

The correspondence is, naturally, an incomplete record and suggests family stories and involvements which we only see in part. The letters come in a steady stream during the years O'Connell was on the Munster circuit (Ennis, Limerick, Tralee and Cork). He followed the assizes in these towns which lasted for five weeks twice a year, in March and April, and July, August and September. After the summer assizes he went to Kerry for more than a month's holiday and did legal business there as well. Sometimes Mary came down to Kerry or earlier in the summer went for a holiday with the children to the seaside near Dublin or to Mallow, a well-known spa in Co. Cork. The letters are written, then, from a wide variety of places. The correspondence is heavy for the early

31 1093. 32 1076. 33 1102. 34 709. years of their engagement and marriage, until Mary settled in Dublin in 1804. For the years of their separation, 1822 to 1824, the letters are rich in the special human interest of a middle-aged married couple grappling now in realistic ways with each other's faults and virtues and the responsibilities which go on, no matter what. Important details on O'Connell's political activities are found in the letters from 1824 to 1829, but after 1829 the correspondence is slight. In that year O'Connell retired from the bar. From then until her death in 1836 he and Mary were seldom apart. For a short period, December 1834 to January 1835, when he was conducting an election campaign, he wrote every day to Mary at Derrynane. He spent so much time in other constituencies that he almost lost his own election for Dublin city, and his letters showed his anxiety.

On the subject of O'Connell's marital fidelity, on the accusations of Ellen Courtenay and the later statements of Sir James O'Connor and W. B. Yeats, the letters have nothing explicit to say. But the substance and tone of the correspondence as a whole are powerful evidence of O'Connell's fidelity and devotion to his wife and of his deep happiness in every aspect of his relationship with her. If experience had taught her hard lessons about her husband's ways with money, her trust in him was nonetheless deep.³⁵ As for his grief at their separation in 1822–24, it seems genuine beyond any dispute.

These letters, then, furnish new and important details for future students of O'Connell's career. If they confirm our former knowledge of his resilience, his elasticity of mind, his basic optimism and his enormous energy, they suggest complications of character not hitherto realized. As for his wife, these letters do something quite new: they add a remarkable woman to Irish history—a history not noted for its attention to women. If Mary O'Connell

35 Two letters—674 and 1061—are of particular relevance to this subject. In the former, written in 1816, Mary reveals she has received letters from an unknown correspondent. She is disturbed that he should be uneasy. 'Believe me, my own Dan, when I assure you that the machinations of our anonymous friend has [sic] not lessened my confidence in you.' She describes the letters as 'contemptible scrolls'. The second letter (1061), written by O'Connell in Dublin to Mary in Southampton in 1823, shows that she has objected to his visiting Miss Gaghran, their governess until the previous year. He promises never again to see her without Mary's express permission. 'I never in my life showed the slightest tinge of preference to any being above you,' he writes. Subsequent letters, particularly 1063, 1078 and 1106 strengthen the impression that Mary was accusing her husband of conduct inconsiderate of her feelings but not sexually immoral. did not read as many books as O'Connell hoped his daughters would,³⁶ she had a remarkable practical intelligence, a sure grasp of reality, a humour and resilience to match her husband's and a deep moral seriousness. One casts about for women with whom to compare her, and in Irish history one thinks of Maria Edgeworth and Lady Gregory. The comparison here is not one of talent or genius, but of womanly quality, of the gifts of sympathy, of a sure understanding of the realities of everyday life, of that wonderful capacity for turning the hand to what life gives one to do. Alone among O'Connell's biographers Robert Dunlop has suggested what Mary O'Connell's death in 1836 may have contributed to the sadnesses and confusions of O'Connell's later years, bereft of the very best friend and confidante he had ever had.³⁷ These letters show us, indeed, what the Liberator had lost.

36 1022.

37 Robert Dunlop, Daniel O'Connell and the Revival of National Life in Ireland (New York 1900), p. 308.

Abbreviations

BLG	Burke's Landed Gentry					
BM	British Museum					
Boase	Boase, Frederic. Modern English Biography					
СМС	Cork Mercantile Chronicle					
CMP	Carrick's Morning Post					
DEM	Dublin Evening Mail					
DEP	Dublin Evening Post					
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography					
Ency. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica					
FJ	Freeman's Journal					
Gillow	Gillow, Joseph. A Literary and Biographical History of the English Catholics					
LEP	Limerick Evening Post					
MC	Morning Chronicle					
MR	Morning Register					
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin					
O'Keeffe, O'Connell	O'Keeffe, Christopher M. Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell. 2 vols. Dublin 1864					
PRO	Public Record Office					
SNL	Saunders' News-Letter					
UCD	University College, Dublin					
To Hunting-Cap1

St. Omer, 3 February 1792

My dear Uncle,

Since I had the pleasure of hearing from you last, I received a letter from my uncle² in Paris: he desired us to learn mathematicks, logick and rhetoric; as soon as I received his letter, I went to the President³ to inform him of it; he told me that the price of learning the mathematics here is a guinea a month, upon which I wrote to my uncle to let him know the president's answer. I also told him that if he wished we should follow that system of education, it would be better to send us elsewhere, where we may go thro' a regular course of studies. Not that I find the smallest fault with this college, where every thing that is taught in it is sufficiently attended to; the boys taken very good care of, and the living good enough.

In this college are taught the Latin and Greek authors, French, English, and geography, besides lessons given during recreation hours in music, dancing, fencing, and drawing. I have not yet inquired about rhetoric, but will do it (please God) as soon as I receive an answer from my uncle.

We have composed for the second time since I came here. I got second in Latin, Greek and English, and eleventh in French; before the places are read out there is a scene or two of play acted on a small stage, which is in the college, by one of the first four schools (each in its turn); these they call orations, and of them there are eight in the year. Of consequence we compose eight times; there is a whole play acted in the month of August. . . .

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 2-3

Maurice O'Connell (1728-1825), Derrynane, known as Hunting-Cap because of the cap he wore in order to avoid the cost of a conventional gentleman's hat which was taxed. He was the eldest surviving son of Donal Mor (Big Daniel) O'Connell (died 1770), Derrynane, and Mary, daughter of Daniel O'Donoghue, Awnees, Glenflesk, Killarney, Co. Kerry. He married 5 December 1758 Mary, daughter and coheir of Robert Cantillon, Ballyphilip, Co. Limerick. Having no children he adopted his young nephew, O'Connell, as his heir. Often described in O'Connell's letters as 'the old gentleman'.

- 2 Daniel Charles O'Connell (1745-1833), twenty-first child of Donal Mor and Mary O'Connell, Derrynane. Created count of France, 1783. Commander of the order of St. Louis; peer of France. Lieutenant-general in French army and colonel in British. See DNB. Often described in O'Connell's letters as 'the General'.
- 3 Dr. Gregory Stapleton (1748-1802), president of the College of St. Omer since 1787. See *DNB*. It was a preparatory school for the English College at Douai.

2

To Hunting-Cap

St. Omer [France], 16 April 1792

My dear Uncle,

I received your affectionate letter the beginning of this month. . . .

As the Easter examen is just over, our studies begin again on another footing, instead of the books I mentioned before we now read Mignot's harangues, Cicero, and Caesar, those are our Latin authors, tho' they are read over without any study beforehand, Caesar is given us chiefly to turn into Greek; our Greek authors are Demosthenes, Homer, and Xenophon's Anabasis; our French one is Dagaso's speeches. . . .

Present our love and duty to our dear grandmother,¹ father² and mother³ and all other friends.—I am, my dear Uncle,

Your grateful, dutiful, and affectionate Nephew,

Daniel O'Connell

P.S. Philosophy is not taught publickly in this college. We had leave to eat meat during this Lent.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 3-4

Mary (c. 1702-1795), widow of Donal Mor O'Connell of Derrynane. Daughter of Daniel O'Donoghue, Awnees, Glenflesk, Killarney, Co. Kerry, she was known as Maire-ni-Dhuibh, or Mary of the Dark People, the soubriquet of her branch of the O'Donoghue family. A Gaelic poet, she gave birth to twenty-two children, one of whom was Eileen Dubh (Dark Eileen), wife of Arthur O'Leary and author of the celebrated Gaelic lament, *Caoineadh Airt Ui Laoghaire*, or *The Lament for Arthur O'Leary*.

2 Morgan O'Connell (1739-1809) of Carhen, outside Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry, shopkeeper, farmer and landlord. He married c. 16 April 1771 Catherine, daughter of John O'Mullane, 'Chief of his Name', of Whitechurch, Mallow, Co. Cork. They had four sons and six daughters.

3 Catherine (c. 1752-1817). See note 2.

3

To Hunting-Cap

St. Omer [France], 30 June 1792

My dear Uncle,

Our school goes tomorrow to our country house. We are to remain there four days, which are by far the pleasantest in the year. The house is situated in a beautiful valley about a league from the town called Blamdike. All the boys go there once a fortnight and remain a day; this renders the summer very agreeable [torn].

I have learned some other particulars relative to the college of Douai since my last left this which are that French is paid no great attention to there, nay, almost totally neglected. Arithmetic also, it is said, will soon be entirely laid aside. In that science my brother is in *Practice;* I am in *Interest.*...

It is said that all the letters which leave this kingdom are first sent to Paris, where they are opened. If this is the case, it may in some measure account for the great length of time our letters take before you receive them. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

4

To Hunting-Cap

Douai, 14 September 1792

My dear Uncle,

... We left St. Omer about the 18th Ult, and arrived here the same day. The procurator only gave us a crown each, which was barely sufficient for the road as we left St. Omer before breakfast time and did not arrive here until very late in the evening. As soon as we arrived we got each a room in which there was no furniture except a bed, for every boy is supposed to bring money with him to furnish his room: we were in great distress for the first night, next morning a young man, a Mr. Duggan,1 from near Newmarket in the County Cork, came to us, spoke to us very civilly and told us he would choose furniture for us: we immediately told him how our affair stood and asked his advice. He told us we should go to the procurator and tell him our case and that he may depend upon the payment of any thing reasonable advanced us. Upon our doing so the procurator advanced us a guinea and a half, with which we bought most of the little things necessary for our rooms such as looking glasses, candlesticks, washing basins &c.; we likewise were obliged to buy buckles (as the St. Omer's College buckles were small iron ones) for about 4s. ster. each. But as we had not money enough to buy knives, forks &c. for refectory Mr. Duggan forced us to borrow half a guinea of him for that purpose.

Mr. Baymont, the procurator, sent for me a few days ago, and told me that, as he depended on the credit you had given him, he would provide us with furniture even before we got a letter from you, so that we have already got tables. The furniture consists of a desk and cupboard, a stall, a small table for washing, powdering, &c. on, and four chairs. The pension here is twenty five guineas a year; we get very small portions at dinner; most of the lads (those who are on Bourses excepted) get what they call seconds, that is, a second portion every day, and for them they pay 3 or £4 a year extraordinary. We would be much obliged to you for leave to get them, but this as you please. I hope, my dear Uncle, that you will not think me troublesome in saying so much on those heads: you may be convinced that it is only a desire of satisfying you and of letting you know in what way your money is spent that makes me do so. I have been to the president about our beginning philosophy, he desired me write to you again and inform you that the course of philosophy began last Whitsuntide, and that we would in commencing be under a great disadvantage. Rhetoric began at the same time, so that we are no better off there. We have already learnt the first principles of the last mentioned science, and before we can get an answer from you, we will (please God) get so far as to be able to study it privately by ourselves. If we go into philosophy now, we will save a whole year. We study, in our leisure hours, the beginning of Philosophy. . . .

[P.S.] We are obliged to pay for the washing ourselves. At St. Omer's everything was done for the boys, here the boys are obliged to do everything themselves. This college is much better in every respect than the other.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

1 Probably John Duggan, Jr., Strongfort, Newmarket, Co. Cork.

5

To Hunting-Cap, 17 January 1793, From Douai

'The present state of affairs in this country is truly alarming; the conduct the English have pursued with regard to the French in England makes us dread to be turned off every day. In case of a war with England, this is almost inevitable.'

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 7

6

To Hunting-Cap, Derrynane

London, 21 March 1793

My dear Uncle,

I send you by my Uncle Dan's orders, although it is not a month since Maurice¹ wrote, the accounts, as they came from Douai. We left most of our furniture, together with my violin, to be sold, but they have been seized by the Municipality, as was every other article which had no particular owner then present—all such goods being considered as national property. Thus the college has been deprived of all its . . . plate . . . &c. &c.

When we came to London we had every single article of wearing apparel to buy, and as things are excessively dear here, a large sum of money is soon expended. We got [here a long list of articles was enumerated] . . .

Your most dutiful and affectionate Nephew,

Daniel O'Connell

P.S. We are satisfied in every respect with our present situation.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I O'Connell's brother, Maurice Morgan O'Connell (1776-97). Educated with O'Connell at St. Omer and Douai. Lieutenant in Count Walshe de Serrant's regiment in the British army as part of 'Pitt's Irish Brigade'. Died on active service in San Domingo, 1797.

7

To Hunting-Cap, Derrynane

London, 3 June 1793

My dear Uncle,

[Apologizes for foolish and ungrateful conduct on the part of his brother Maurice and himself, apparently in the expenditure of nine guineas.]

We study at present Rhetoric and logic. For the Rhetoric we read and get by heart Cicero's orations, Orationes Collectae, Bossuet's funeral orations and Boileau's art of poetry. The two last are French authors. In Logic we get by heart the Douai College dictates, not being able to find any other book on that subject in this town, I mean any valuable work for there are treatises on logic in English but none with theses, at least, that we could find. Besides, the Douai College dictates are good. We write themes very often. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

8

To Hunting-Cap

London, 1 July 1793

My dear Uncle,

I received your letter of the 12th inst. in answer to Maurice's' of the 22nd of May. I suppose you have before now got the one my Uncle Daniel was so good as to carry for me. You have seen by it only a part of that sorrow which I was not able to express as I wished. No one can be more convinced than I am of the justice of your anger against us. You have done everything for us, and we have shown no advantage from it. I shall not, my dear Uncle, take up your time in making promises. That would be childish. I shall only beg of you to be assured of my regret and to reckon on the future. Maurice writes this post, this is what makes me speak in my name only.

Mr. Fagan² has been so good as to take the care of our education. We go to see him, according to my uncle's³ directions, about once a fortnight. He takes particular care of our carriage and has given us a kind of exercise to go through every day for about 20 minutes or half an hour. When we want anything we inform him and he buys it for us, if convenient, or else gives us the money. He desired me present you and my dear Uncle Daniel with his best compliments and inform you he had received a letter from you which contained a bill for $\int 160$. This money is to be paid in the course of a year according to the draught, without mentioning when the year is to begin. So that the year commences only from the date of the acceptance here. It is therefore necessary to beg of the Cork Banker to inform his friend here that the year began the 3rd of March last.

Present my best respects to my Uncle Dan. Assure him that I am perfectly sensible of the tenderness and affection he always showed us. Inform him that I will (please God) write to him next week as he has been so kind as to permit me. Be pleased likewise to remember me most affectionately to my grandmother, to my father and mother and to all other friends. I hope my future conduct will prove me to be My dear Uncle,

Your sincerely grateful, affectionate and dutiful nephew, Daniel O'Connell

P.S. It was on the 3rd of March we settled here.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 O'Connell's brother.
- 2 (Chevalier) Christopher Fagan (1733-1816), 22 Strand, London, a kinsman and friend of the O'Connell family. He had formerly been a captain in the French army.
- 3 Count O'Connell.

9

To Hunting-Cap, Derrynane

London, 21 October 1793

My dear Uncle,

... I was a little surprised this morning on Mr. Fagan informing me that he could no longer go on with the plan he had laid down for himself in the beginning of the year —in short, that he could no longer keep school. I instantly went to Mr. Fagan, who told me he would place me in the same house with my brother until we had received orders from you how to proceed. Accordingly I am to go thither in a few days. I will (please God) trouble my Uncle¹ with a letter as soon as I am settled, which will inform you both what I am studying.

Mr. Waters²—Count Rice's nephew—and I are the only constant boarders that Mr. Fagan has had [for some] time past. The smallness of our number, and the dearness of the different articles of life—increased since the war began led him to such a step as he has been at last obliged to take for his own protection. Mr. Fagan, on the whole, thinks that will turn as much to my advantage—as I have got pretty near the end, and over almost if not all the difficulties of Logic.

Please to present my duty to my dear grandmother, Uncle, Father and Mother, and my love to my brothers and sisters, and all other friends.

Your sincerely affectionate and grateful Nephew,

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 8-9

I Count O'Connell.

2 Son of John, Count Waters, and Mary, sister of James Louis, Count Rice; born c. 1730; formerly of Ballymacdoyle, Co. Kerry.

10

To Hunting-Cap

Fulham Road [London], 24 November 1793

My dear Uncle,

I received your letter of the 25th ult. I was exceedingly grieved to find that you were so irrated [sic] against my poor brother.¹ His fault I certainly do not mean to excuse but I expect and am confident you will not take it ill that I should speak in his behalf. He is my brother and consequently I am bound to love and serve him in as much as lies in my power. Your own heart is too good not to be convinced of the truth of this argument. Still you will say that it is more my duty to help him to correct his faults and avoid them for the future than endeavour to plead for forgiveness for them. . . . Maurice has been bred up from his most tender infancy with the idea that he should never be necessitated to earn his own bread. This thought has of course turned him from giving his mind towards any business, I mean mechanic one. Unaccustomed to expect it, such a proposition would perhaps reduce him to despair. A young man in that condition may plunge headlong into the greatest vices and become a dishonour to his family. I do not say Maurice would do so. God forbid I should entertain any such idea. But a bare possibility in such cases is too too much. Thoughtlessness is my brother's failing, a failing which youth can excuse particularly when accompanied by good dispositions towards amendment as his studies can testify that he possesses. . . . Besides having seen ruin so close he has an opportunity of making these reflections and resolutions which will make him a pleasure to you and a comfort to his distressed parents (for such they must be at present) provided another trial is given him. I dare then say it, give him, my dear Uncle, another trial. If his assiduity, his application to business, his attention and obedience to your commands do not appear, then he can only blame himself. Indeed, this is the case in the present moment but it will be more strikingly so at a future period. But what do I say? No, I hope he never will be guilty of such a complicated piece of ingratitude as to offend again. Do then, my dear Uncle, forgive this once more. Add this to the many favours you have hitherto loaded us with. . . .

I was very sorry to hear of the declining state of my grandmother's² health. Assure her of my warmest and sincerest affection and that I never shall forget her tenderness for us all.

It would be unnecessary for me to repeat what you already know about this place. It is sufficient to say that I am studying the same things as my brother. I am to be inscribed in the Temple in a short time. The expenses of this ceremony amount to about seventeen pounds. I have recovered $f_{,19,19,0}$ from the College Agent which he had been overpaid. . . .

You have perhaps heard of General Conway's³ being appointed by Government to a command in the troops destined for a descent in Brittany. My uncle⁴ was mentioned in several of the newspapers as being likewise appointed. There seems to be a kind of certainty of his getting a place as soon as he arrives. Give my duty to my grandmother, father and mother. Love to my brothers, sisters and other friends.

I remain, my dear Uncle,

Your sincerely affectionate, grateful and dutiful nephew,

Daniel O'Connell

[P.S.] Captain Fagan's⁵ compliments. The direction is Mr. Hobson's, Keppel House, Keppel on the Fulham, near Brompton, London.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Maurice Morgan O'Connell.

- 2 Mary (Maire-ni-Dhuibh), widow of Donal Mor O'Connell.
- 3 Either Maj. Gen. Thomas, second Count Conway (born 1735) or his brother, Brig. Gen. James, Viscount Conway (born 1741). Both were born in Kerry, being sons of Brig. Gen. James, first Count Conway (1711-87), and cousins of Count O'Connell.
- 4 Count O'Connell.
- 5 Christopher Fagan.

11

To Hunting-Cap

Fulham Road, 26 December 1793

My dear Uncle,

Previous to my entering into the Temple I think it necessary to submit to your consideration some reflections which I have made about studying the Law in London. I have not taken this step without the approbation of my Uncle¹ and Mr. Fagan.² Your sense and prudence will dictate to you the necessary conclusion. I need not tell you that, whatever it may be, I resolve to obey it with the greatest exactness.

For my part I see no superior advantages that accrue from studying the law in London. I see many that Dublin affords an Irish young man, who is intended for the Irish Bar, and to live in Ireland. The expenses would be incomparably greater in London. That you may the better understand this I must in the first place let you know what the study of the law is. There are no public lessons given in it. No Professors of it. In short all that is necessary for being called to the bar is to be inscribed in the Books of the Temple or other Inn of Court, to dine there three times each term, and to attend the King's Bench during twelve terms. The study depends on the will only of each individual who may reside and act where and how he pleases (provided he attends the terms) for the rest of the year. I am not ignorant that many of the most celebrated lawyers take pupils [who] attend their offices and take notes of all the cases in which they are engaged. This indeed is a very great advantage, as a person thus sees a great deal of practice while studying the theory; but is attended with the enormous expense of \pounds 100 per annum. I do not then see any advantages London possesses; anything desirable in it unless it is for giddy and thoughtless young men who come there to spend money, not to study.

I send you a list of the expenses of studying the law in London. I hope to show that the se would be less was I to do it in Dublin. In the first place, be pleased to remark that there are £50 Eng. charged for diet and lodging. Now I have been informed by a person bred up in Dublin that I could board and lodge there for £40 Irish. But waiving this consideration. From the April to the Michaelmas [? term] there is a space of five months, during which time I may reside [? where] I please. Now would it not be as much, if not more, to my purpose to [? spend] this time at Derrynane, under your eye, than either at London [? or at] Dublin? The journey indeed from London would be too long and expensive; whereas that from Dublin may be performed in a few days and for a few guineas. I know that the first time I arrived in Kerry I should lose a fortnight or three weeks in visits. But this time I could more than make up at Derrynane where I would have nothing to distract or turn me from my studies, a thing not always easy to be attained in a large city. Besides being with you would give you an opportunity of seeing how I studied, what improvement I made, etc. It would give one an opportunity of learning from your example and instructions those lessons of probity and honour which have carried you through life with so much credit to yourself and Family. Add to this the saving in my diet, lodging, washing, hairdressing etc. Every member of the Temple, every student of law is supposed to be a Gentleman; as such there is a certain appearance absolutely necessary to be kept up. I could never go to the Temple unless in full dress, with silk stockings etc. I could scarce appear in the streets after twelve o'clock otherwise. You must not hence conclude that I would wish to look up to, or ape after the follies of persons of large fortune, who have the name of studying the law, whilst they in fact spend their time in riot and idleness. . . .

I have [? one] consideration more to lay before you. It is the formation of connections in life, a thing necessary for every professional man. In London I could meet only persons of the same age, and entering into the same career with myself. One class of these I have described. Their connection far from being useful would be quite the reverse. As for the other class how am I to discern the honest man from the designing villain? The experiment would be dangerous in the highest degree for my youth and inexperience. But in Dublin your known credit and character would be the means of introducing me into the acquaintance of some of the most eminent lawyers in the Kingdom; who would not only assist me in forming the plan of my studies, but likewise be of service to me when engaged in the profession.

I have only one remark more to make. It is that though the body of the Common [? Law] is the same in England as in Ireland, still the laws of Place [one word missing] etc. are certainly different. Now by attending the terms in Dublin I shall see the practice of those laws in Ireland: whereas in London I can see only the practice of them in England.

On the whole I find no one who can ascertain to me whether it is possible to study the law in Dublin. If it is not at present it will certainly in a short time, as the public papers inform us that they [sic] are actually persons engaged in the buildings of Inns of Court in Dublin. . . .

The following is the list of the expenses. I have put it into Irish money for your convenience :

Diet and lodging £50 equal to	£54. II. 8
Clothes-2 suits at 5 guins each	11. 7. 6
Washing 5 guineas	5. 13. 9
Stockings 6 guineas	6. 16. 6
Great Coat 21/2 guineas	2. 16. $10\frac{1}{2}$
Quills Blank Books for extracts Paper	I. 2. 9
Temple Fees. 2 guineas each term	9. 2. 0
Cravats 2 guineas	2. 5. 6
2 Hats 11/2 guinea	1. 14. $3\frac{1}{2}$ 6. 16. 6
Hairdressing 1/2 guin. per month	6. 16. 6
Postage 1/2 guinea	II. 4 ¹ / ₂
Half-Boots 18s.	19. 6
Shoes 4 pr. at 8s	I. 14. 8

105. 12. 10 1/2

These and (besides some other little expenses that I cannot easily calculate such as money to the servant, for a seat in the Chapel etc.) are the expenses attending the study of the law. I have shown the above list to my uncle who looked over every article of it. I even drew it up in his room. Although I hope you do not think me capable of deceiving you, still I may be deceived myself did not I show the list to my uncle. He told me he [? entirely] coincided with me in thinking that it was almost impossible for a young man to study the law with less than \pounds_{120} English pr. annum, which are [? equal] to \pounds_{130} Irish. . . Besides this, the entrance into the Temple [? is] about \pounds_{15} or \pounds_{16} . Then from \pounds_{30} to \pounds_{40} worth of books will [? be necessary] for the course. . .

... If you wish that I should study the law you may depend on my efforts to make good use of the opportunity. If the course is not yet opened in Dublin, but shortly to be so, you may either call me home or leave me in London; and the interval I will (Please God) employ in preparing for that or any other profession you choose. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

r Count O'Connell.

2 Christopher Fagan.

12

To Hunting-Cap

11 March 1794

My dear Uncle,

I received your letter of the 15th Jany. some time since, and should certainly have answered it before now, was not I in daily expectation of my Brother's¹ departure. That being at length fixed, I take this opportunity of returning you the most heartfelt thanks for the additional instance, contained in your favour, of that more than paternal goodness, with which you have incessantly honoured us. . . I have not gone to one single place of public entertainment since I came to London. This certainly suffices to show you that I never desired an increase of my annual allowance for the purpose of idle amusement. I should consider myself still more ridiculously foolish, did I find any satisfaction in putting money into the pockets of London tradesmen or shopkeepers. Did I know any student of Law who supported himself on less than \pounds_{100} Sterl. pr. annum, I would gladly imitate his 14

example, and conform mine to his expenses.... Now if you would ... allow me $\oint 100$ a year afterwards, I think I could get through with ease and decency....

I have been entered, not at the Temple, because a custom still remains there of binding the members, by a Bond, to receive the sacrament etc. according to the rites of the Church of England, but at Lincoln's Inn, where no such restriction has place. The fig... paid for all the admission fees, for Blackstone's Commentaries which cost f 1.10.0 and a Guinea subscription to a circulating Library. From this last I have the use of upwards of 30,000 volumes (for a year) in all kinds of Literature and Languages. By this means I relax my mind with the study of History and the Belles Lettres, objects absolutely necessary for every person who has occasion to speak in public, as they enlarge the ideas, and afford that strength and solidity of speech which are requisite for every public speaker. I lodge in the same house with Mr. Duggan.² From him I got the List of books mentioned in my last. I take the liberty of sending it to you that you may at the approaching assizes get it looked over by some of your friends at the Bar. It would be very useful for me if you could get any of them to trace a course of Law study. For my part, I must confess, I see a very wide field before me but no landmarks to direct my steps, and in this point, I find the few law students of my acquaintance very deficient. Blackstone is looked upon to be a necessary preliminary. With his writings I have begun, and they will occupy a couple of months longer, as one reading is far from being sufficient, and as it is necessary to take notes and make extracts from him at times. I shall, please God, have myself a conversation with Counsellor Rice3 on these heads, in the course of a few days. I shall endeavour to draw from him all the instruction I can. . . . Books are cheaper in Ireland [? very] much, than here.4 You could, if you please, buy mine up in Cork; and send them by one of the Cork traders for a trifle. The duty would be small. By making them pass for passengers books they could be got off a hundred ways for nothing. . . . [P.S.] It may be necessary for me to remark that I am perhaps the only law student in London without a Watch. But this is a thing that may be done without. My direction is No 10 Panton Square

Near the Haymarket

London

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Maurice Morgan O'Connell.

- 3 Stephen Henry Rice, Day Place, Tralee, called to the Irish bar, 1792.
- 4 On a separate page O'Connell enclosed the following list of books: Blackstone's Commentaries 4 Vol. [William Blackstone, Commen-

taries on the Laws of England].

Hargrave's Coke on Littleton [Francis Hargrave and Charles Butler, eds., Coke upon Littleton].

- Buller's nisi prius [Francis Buller, Introduction to the Law relative to Trials at Nisi Prius].
- Cummins Digest [John Comyns, A Digest of the Laws of England].
- Cryid [?] on fines and recoveries [Unidentified].
- Fearn on contingent remainders and executory devises [Charles Fearne, An Essay on the Learning of Contingent Remainders and Executory Devises].
- Lilly's entries [John Lilly, Modern Entries, being a collection of select pleadings in the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer].
- Hale's pleas of the Crown [Matthew Hale, The History of the Pleas of the Crown].
- Hawkin's Do. [William Hawkins, Treatise of the Pleas of the Crown].

Forster's Do. [Unidentified].

Burrow's Reports [James Burrow, (probably) Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of King's Bench during the time of Lord Mansfield's presiding].

Douglas's Reports [Unidentified].

Cowper's Reports [Henry Cowper, Reports of Cases in the Court of King's Bench . . . 14 George III to 18 George III].

- Blackstone's Do. 2 Vol. [William Blackstone, Reports of Cases Determined in the Several Courts of Westminster Hall from 1746 to 1799].
- Sullivan's feudal law [Francis Stoughton Sullivan, An Historical Treatise on the Feudal Law, and the Constitution and Laws of England, with a Commentary on Magna Charta].
- Reeves's History of England law 4 Vol. [John Reeves, History of the English Law from the Times of the Saxons to the End of the Reign of Philip and Mary].
- Howard's plea side of the exchequer [Gorges Edmond Howard, Treatise of the Rules and Practice of the Pleas Side of the Exchequer in Ireland].

Jacob's law Dictionary [Giles Jacob, A New Law Dictionary].

Gilbert's law of evidence [Geoffrey Gilbert, The Law of Evidence].

² John Duggan, Jr.

Do's Chancery practice [Geoffrey Gilbert, History and Practices of the High Court of Chancery].

Do's equity [Geoffrey Gilbert, Cases in Law and Equity . . .].

Abridgement of the Statutes [There were several such abridgements by different editors].

Let the purchaser be careful in procuring the latest editions.

13

To Hunting-Cap, c. 3 April 1794, from London

Expresses gratitude to Hunting-Cap. Count O'Connell is in London. (The first part of the letter is missing.)

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

14

To Hunting-Cap

London, 22 April 1794

My dear Uncle,

. . . I have seen Counsellor Rice.¹ He gave me some general Directions about the plan I was to follow in the study of the Law, the principal part of which related to the attention to be paid to Blackstone's Commentaries which he advised me to read over and over again, in short to make it the business of a whole year. On his inquiry I told him that I had not, to my knowledge, been entered in any of the Inns of Court in Dublin; a step which he thinks requisite. He is gone over to attend the Easter term in Ireland when he has promised to write to me and let me know whether it is necessary. If it is, he has promised to do it. Now I may be entered without my knowing it long since so I thought it proper to let you have an opportunity of informing me how this matter stands. Besides some - expense must necessarily attend my entrance; I could not presume to tell him you would reimburse him without your previous consent. From this statement you will easily see the necessity of immediately writing to me.

I may have before mentioned to you my being troubled with a weakness of nerves. I have, thank God, been getting the better of it this some time past. I have been advised to use the salt-water bath during the ensuing summer, and to avoid close application for any continuance. The bathing would I am 1794

told effectually cure me in my present state. I therefore submit to your consideration what course I am to take. All the watering places within 60 or 70 miles of London are excessively dear being thronged with company during the season. It would then be necessary for me to go to a greater distance from the Capital. From the inquiries I have made the coast of Devonshire from Plymouth to the neighbourhood of Torbay or else that of Lancashire would be preferable for me as there I would have the advantage of Catholic Chapels; an advantage not very general in England except in populous towns. Lancashire is indeed too far off. Devonshire then would be the place; unless you would have me spend this summer vacation in Ireland; where I could arrive in the middle of the month of July as trinity term begins June 20th. I could have kept the term, as it is called, before the 3d of July. Wherever I go I cannot leave London sooner. The travelling expense from this to Exeter would be almost as great as from this to Milford Haven. Michaelmas term begins the 6th November so that I could spend three months at home in my native air free from all cost; which would compensate for the overplus of travelling charges. . . .

The General² desired me give you his most affectionate compliments. He said he would write to you as soon as the business of the Emigrant corps to be raised by this Country is settled. The bill³ is at present before the Lords. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Stephen Henry Rice,

- 2 Count O'Connell.
- 3 Enacted as 34 Geo. III c. 43, 'An Act to enable subjects of France to enlist as soldiers in regiments to serve on the Continent of Europe and in certain other places . . .'

15

To Hunting-Cap

London, 14 June 1794

My dear Uncle,

... He [Count O'Connell] has got a promise of being provided for though, I believe, not as Colonel of an Emigrant Corps. This he desired me mention to you alone. The continual state of suspense he has been in, has alone prevented him from answering your last letter which however he intends doing very shortly. . . . [O'Connell explains why he had to ask his father for money. The reason was expenses which, owing to inexperience and inattention, had not been allowed for beforehand, for himself and Maurice.]

Counsellor Rice¹ is now in Dublin, whence he promised to write to me as soon as his own affairs permit. . . . [O'Connell explains that, as he could not afford salt-water baths, he is moving to Isleworth for the summer, a village on the Thames. He can continue his studies there.] In the Thames I can bathe though not perhaps with as much advantage as in the sea. . . .

P.S. Please to direct to me at Mrs. Moore, Isleworth near London.

P.S. The promise the General² got was from Mr. Nepean³ first Secretary and confidential friend of Mr. Dundas.⁴

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Stephen Henry Rice.
- 2 Count O'Connell.
- 3 Evan Nepean (1751-1822), under-secretary for war. See DNB.
- 4 Henry Dundas (1742-1811), later first Viscount Melville. See DNB.

16

To Hunting-Cap

No. 10 Panton Square nr. the Haymarket, London, 22 August 1794

My dear Uncle,

I should certainly have had the pleasure of writing to you before, had not I waited until I was recovered from an indisposition with which I was troubled during the course of the last three weeks. It was some kind of a slow nervous fever (the doctor himself did not well know what to make of it) accompanied with a most unaccountable weakness. I had a blister applied to my side which brought me so low that when I attempted to get up I fell into a fainting fit. I was attended by a countryman of ours, a Dr. Pendergast¹ who having already made a fortune by his profession, behaved very genteely to me as he gave me the four last visits without a fee. Notwithstanding this you may be convinced my illness has cost a round sum of money. It is impossible for me as yet to say exactly how much. But I may venture to affirm that it must be from ten to twelve pounds at least. For, not to speak of the drugs which I took in profusion, I drank by the doctor's order a bottle of port per day during the first ten or twelve days of my sickness, during which period the wine had scarce any other effect than water would have on me. Since I have continued until these few days to take some glasses of wine after my dinner being ordered to do so. As for the expense I have incurred, your former kindness induces me to hope that you will be good enough to make it up in my next half-year's allowance.

I am at present, thank God, almost as well as ever I was. I cannot indeed say that I have entirely recovered my former strength but I am improving in it every day. I have returned to my old lodgings in town. . . .

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 Unidentified.

17

To Hunting-Cap

London, Monday, 26 October 1795

My dear Uncle,

I arrived here on Saturday last after a journey attended with no disagreeable accident whatsoever. I left Dublin after finishing a short letter to you which you must have received before now. . . .

The only circumstance which could make me hesitate a moment in fixing myself here is that *Duggan*¹ is one of the lodgers. However as everything else is suitable, as I am to have, of course, separate apartments and as I am too well acquainted with him to be influenced either by his example or advice I have resolved to remain here at least until such time as I have an opportunity of receiving your directions to the contrary should you think fit to give such.

I am now obliged to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ guinea per week for my board and lodging; so much has the price of provisions increased, or rather so great are the apprehensions of the people here for the approaching season. . . .

Politics were never in a higher state of fermentation than they are at present in this town. The reports are various and uncertain. The news of the hour contradicting the preceding. One knows not what to believe or what to reject. The triumph of the Convention seems suspended at the moment it was thought to be at its height. Two parties divide the conquerors —Paris is again in confusion. Unfortunate distracted people! Their misfortunes will never have an end. It is certain that the French army have received a severe check on the right bank of the Rhine. The particulars are as yet unknown. The expedition to the coast of France is immediately to be relinquished. The forces and stores landed were said to have been destroyed but the account is now found to be utterly false.

Present my duty to my father and mother, my love to the General, to my brothers, sisters and other friends. . . .

source : Fitz-Simon Papers I Probably John Duggan, Jr.

18

To Hunting-Cap

At Mrs. Rigby's, Chiswick, nr. London, 10 December 1795

My dear Uncle,

I delayed answering your letter of the 17th ult. until I should have it in my power to inform you that I changed my place of residence in conformity to your desire. . . . The society in the house is mixed-I mean composed of men and women all of whom are people of rank and knowledge of the world; so that their conversation and manners are perfectly well adapted to rub off the rust of scholastic education. Nor is there any danger of riot or dissipation as they are all advanced in life; another student of law and I being the only young persons in the house. This young man is my most intimate acquaintance and the only friend I have found amongst my acquaintance. His name is Bennett.¹ He is an Irish young man of good family, connections and fortune. He is prudent and strictly economical. He has good sense, ability and application. I knew him before my journey to Ireland. It was before that period our friendship commenced. So that on the whole I spend my time here not only very pleasantly but I hope very usefully.

[Re law books he has bought.]

I have now two objects to pursue. The one, the attainment of knowledge; the other, the acquisition of all those qualities

which constitute the polite gentleman. I am convinced that the former, besides the immediate pleasure which it yields, is calculated to raise me to honours, rank, and fortune: and I know that the latter serves as a general passport or first recommendation. And as for the motives of ambition which you suggest, I assure you no man can possess more of it than I do. I have indeed a glowing and (if I may use the expression) an enthusiastic ambition which converts every toil into a pleasure and every study into an amusement. Though nature may have given me but subordinate talents, I never will be satisfied with a subordinate situation in my profession. No man is able, I am aware, to supply the total deficiency of abilities but everybody is capable of improving and enlarging a stock however small and, in its beginning, contemptible. It is this reflection that affords me most consolation. If I do not rise at the bar I will not have to meet the reproaches of my own conscience.

... I hope, nay I flatter myself that when we meet again the success of my efforts to correct those bad habits which you pointed out to me, will be apparent. Indeed as for my knowledge in the professional line that cannot be discovered for some years to come. But I have time in the interim to prepare myself to appear with greater *eclat* on the grand theatre of the world.

... The Ministry, who are become unpopular, owing in particular to the two $Bills^2$ of which you certainly have heard, and in general to the ill-success of the war, already tottered in their seats. But the brilliant victories of the Austrians have secured them at least for some time. That we shall soon have peace is no longer a question. Everybody believes it; and the King's messages to Parliament confirm the belief. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Richard Newton Bennett (1769-1836). Called to the Irish bar, 1796. Son of Richard Bennett and Hanna Pearson of Co. Wexford. Married Sophia Hart. Appointed chief justice of Tobago, 1832, but suspended (because of alcoholism) in 1833. Died in Tobago, 16 February 1836.
- 2 Obviously the Treasonable and Seditious Practices Bill (enacted as 36 Geo. III c. 7) and the Seditious Meetings Bill (enacted as 36 Geo. III c. 8).

From Douglas Thompson

Chiswick [London], 18 December 1795

Sir,

Unless you make a point of disclosing to me the Reason of your Expressions last night I shall most certainly look upon and treat you as every one deserves who deviates so much from the character and manners of a Gentleman. Depend upon it nothing but the Idea of the Mortification it would have been to Genl. Morrison¹ prevented me from treating you at that moment as you justly deserved.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 10n

 George Morrison (1704-99). Entered army, 1722; equerry to duke of York, 1764; lieutenant-general, 1782; general, 1796. See DNB.

20

To Hunting-Cap

Chiswick [London], 17 January 1796

My dear Uncle,

[Long account of his living expenses and estimated future expenses.] Before the fifteenth of May I presume I shall have my certificate out and be prepared to bid an eternal adieu to London. . . [He refers to purchasing] some pairs of black silk stockings which, I need not say, are much cheaper here than in Ireland and which my professional dress render not an article of luxury but of indispensable necessity. . . .

I now begin to flatter myself that I am commencing to get a little insight into the nature of my profession. I assure you I do not by any means regret the situation in which I stand with respect to coming to the Bar. Were I to be called after two terms more, as I might did I not fall under the new regulations, I should commence my professional career without being sufficiently acquainted with its intricacies. Now I hope to be pretty well master of the subject before I have an opportunity of putting myself forward to public notice. If I can come forward at first with any thing like tolerable *eclat*, there will be an hundred to one in my favour. Though I am extremely anxious to become a greater lawyer, law makes little more than the principal part of my study. I read with attention history, rhetoric, philosophy, and sometimes poetry. While I apply myself to the English language, I endeavour to unite purity of diction to the harmony and arrangement of phraseology. . . . And as my life will be a chain of study and application until I appear on the great stage of the world, I will endeavour to appear there with brilliancy and solidity. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

21

To Hunting-Cap, Derrynane

Chiswick [London], 26 February 1796

My dear Uncle,

I sit down to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you; the one of the 21st ult. and the other of the 11th inst. On the same day with the latter I got one from Mr. Charles Casey of Cork covering a Bill for forty guineas. For the whole I beg you will accept my hearty thanks, the only return I have in my power to make. . . .

[O'Connell says that his expenditure over the past two years cannot have been so great as Hunting-Cap has calculated. 'Board and lodging cost me half-a-guinea per week more this year than the last.' He adds that he may not be able to get permission to leave Lincoln's Inn soon enough to keep his term in Dublin. Should he fail to get that permission he could transfer to Gray's Inn and thus get to Dublin in time. This would cost f_{II} . 'If I keep Trinity term in Dublin I shall be ready to be called to the Bar before the summer circuit two years; and by that means I shall have gained half a year on my public career.' He seeks further money but wishes Hunting-Cap to send it to him after his arrival in Dublin: 'I need not state to you the impropriety of remitting it here as you must know the loss sustained on Irish bills.']

[In telling Hunting-Cap of his financial needs he says:] Had I to do with anyone else but you I should deem it politic to mention the different articles at different periods that in the division the bulk of the aggregate may be lost sight of. But with you all low cunning would be as base as it would be useless. Your liberality takes away the will as your penetration does the means of deceit.

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+	1	9	v

Fees at Lincoln's Inn	£22.	4.	0	
Transfer to Gray's Inn if necessary	£.11.	0.	0	
Travelling charges	£ 12.	12.	0	

Analysis of Travelling charges Carriage to Holyhead	£.5.	0.	0
Luggage as at coming	£2.	2.	0
To guards and coachmen		15.	
Passage to Dublin		10.	6
Victuals on the road - suppose	£1.	3.	Ó
	£.9.	10.	6

The overplus is $f_{3.1.6}$ in case of no delay whatever at Holyhead but as there is a possibility of delay the impropriety of travelling with only the exact sum necessary for the speediest journey is self-evident. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

22

To Hunting-Cap

Chiswick [London], 5 April 1796

My dear Uncle,

I received yours of the 27th ult. four days ago and Mr. Fagan got a letter from you on the same day containing directions to pay over to me twenty pounds deposited in his hands by the General and likewise to advance me such sums of money as may be necessary to procure or acclerate my departure¹ from England. He has declared his inability to perform the latter part of your instructions having just fitted out three of his nephews for the East Indies. The General has therefore advanced me the whole sum.

[O'Connell expresses his distress at the continued reproofs of his uncle for not conducting himself with greater economy and common sense. He expresses his appreciation of his uncle's generosity to him.]

source : Fitz-Simon Papers For Ireland.

To Hunting-Cap

22 Stafford Street, Dublin, 17 May 1796

My dear Uncle,

I arrived here five days ago, but delayed writing until I should be able to inform you where to direct to me.

I am extremely sorry to be obliged to inform you that I should not have been able to quit England until next term had I not transferred to Gray's Inn; and thereby incurred the additional expense which I mentioned in a former letter. . . .

I waited on Mr. Franks¹ immediately after my arrival; and have received from him the most marked attention. He accompanied me to Mr. Caldbeck's² the steward of the King's Inn. I find that I have nothing now to do but keep nine terms in this Kingdom previous to being qualified to be called to the Bar. . . . I shall have kept the next term by the 17th of June, when, as I conceive, I am immediately to repair to the country by the same route that I followed last year. I mean by going from Cork to my brother-in-law's;³ thence to Carhen and so to Derrynane. . . .

... I pay a Guinea a week for board and lodging.... I am now as it were arrived at a new stage of my life. I can therefore look back to the past with regret for such occasions as I may have given you of being displeased with my conduct. I can look forward to the future with hope and a kind of confidence founded more on your indulgence than on any merits of mine. Whatever may be my success in my professional career I shall have always to attribute it to that indulgence...

The General⁴ is here and in good health. He desires to be remembered to you. He means to sail for England immediately as he has received intelligence that his Lady⁵ is dangerously ill of a putrid fever.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Matt Franks, deputy guardian and keeper of the rolls.
- 2 William Caldbeck, K.C., later treasurer to the King's Inns.
- 3 Probably Jeremiah McCartie, J.P., Woodview, Newmarket, Co. Cork, husband of O'Connell's sister Mary whom he married 16 June 1791.
- 4 Count O'Connell.
- 5 Marthe Gourand, formerly Comtesse de Bellevue (née Drouillard de Lamarre). She and Count O'Connell were married in London in 1796 at the French Chapel, King Street, Covent Garden.

From his brother Maurice Morgan to 49 Aungier Street, Dublin

On board the Meddleton Transport under sail near Hook Tower just setting out of the Har[bour] [Waterford Harbour],

21 November [1796]

My Dear Dan,

We sailed this moment some hours sooner than we expected so that I can only tell you that I am with a worthy honest set of lads, Capt. O'Connor¹ commanding, going we know not where but it is imagined up the Mediterranean. Our instructions will be *opened at sea*. My pecuniary affairs are in a pretty good situation. I am in great spirits and hope I leave my cares behind me. . . . I am confident we shall meet again and be happy.

Dearest brother, adieu and best of friends, adieu perhaps for ever.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Unidentified.

24a

To Hunting-Cap

[Copy]

Dublin, 3 January 1797

My dear Uncle,

You may easily judge of the disturbed state into which the momentous transactions of the last week¹ threw this great city. In the matter itself there was certainly enough to alarm but terror exaggerated and ignorance distorted the news of each day. Report succeeded report with a promptitude not to be conceived and, in general, each report was more absurd than the former. But it would be impossible as it would be uninteresting to describe the state of this city yet I cannot avoid saying something of my own situation. While the state of affairs remains in suspense the greatest alacrity is shown on all sides. Every man capable of bearing arms has taken them up. In the midst of the general fermentation you must not be surprised if my inclinations tended to run with the current. But I hope you will at the same time do me the justice to believe that I

was not unmindful of your express commands. I am now the only young man as far as I can learn of the body of lawyers or students of the law who has not entered into some corps. Nay, even the elderly men have taken arms. Mr. Day² has become a private. Mr. Franks³ and his brother have done the same. It is for you to say what I am to do. It has been industriously propagated that such men as did not enter the corps

would be marked by government, and this report was spread even before invasion was brought to our doors. Then, indeed, I could laugh at such fictions as one half of the Bar had not then joined [so that] any individual was fully sheltered from adding to the number of fools who put on red coats for the purpose of marching from the Four Courts to the Park and back again. But now the matter is changed. Tho' a man should escape the notice of government he cannot avoid that of his companions. For my part I am young, active, healthy and single. What excuse can I then possibly make? None but your commands. They will serve with my friends and those who know me. But those who see me only at the King's Inns or in court cannot perceive the reason why I am not to be seen on parade. You will hence conceive an idea of my situation. You will hence decide on the line of conduct to be observed. I need not add that your decision will be religiously obeyed. Yet I must suggest the necessity of my quitting Dublin should your decision be contrary to my wishes. If I remain here I may perhaps incur the disgrace of being forced to march as a common soldier in the extraordinary portion of militia for which they are going to ballot. But the whole of my conduct rests with you. Should you consent to my going into any corps it will be necessary to inform you that I could not afford the expense attending it out of my allowance; and that the corps into which I should wish to enter would be the lawyers artillery as the best regulated and least expensive. On the uniform coat there is no lace so that it is made up for about f.4 whereas the coat of the lawyers infantry, all bedaubed with lace, costs £9!! I could not enter into the latter without incurring an expense of about £30 whereas, in the former, the expense could not exceed $\int 20$. I shall expect your instructions with impatience.

I cannot express the uneasiness under which I laboured for your safety, and it has not been alleviated till this morning when we have been informed that the French fleet has sailed to the northward. They will there meet with many friends.

You cannot, I trust, feel any inconvenience from their landing in the north except in case of their ultimate success. Yet it is said here that there is no safety in a country where there are no soldiers. The intelligence of the French fleet being off the Irish coast did not reach London before the 31st ult.

If I should have expressed myself with too much ardour on the subject of taking up arms I hope, my dear Uncle, you will pardon me. Surrounded as I am with young men whom the moment has inspired with enthusiasm; with the blood of youth boiling in my veins, you will not be surprised that I should be more than usually animated. I thought to write to you last week on this subject, and it was with difficulty I was able to prevent myself. But now I am not capable of resisting the temptation. Indeed, I have persuaded myself it is my duty I should write. When you gave me your former directions an invasion was an unforeseen event. I need not, surely I need not, say that if the exertions of one individual contribute to protect you, in the retired country where you reside, from insult, I would fly to you with alacrity. I would consider the risk of my life but a small payment for the immense debt of gratitude I owe you.

[P.S.] I could quit any corps I now entered as soon as the danger of invasion was over and, the coat of the artillery corps being blue, by taking off the facings it would be serviceable.

SOURCE : Kenneigh Papers

- 1 The events following the appearance of a French fleet in Bantry Bay in late December.
- 2 The future judge, Robert Day.
 - 3 Matthew Franks and his brother John.

25

To Hunting-Cap

Dublin, 23 [and 24] January 1797

My dear Uncle,

I most humbly beg that you will pardon the liberty I take in thus troubling you with a third letter. I shall not presume to attempt to apologize for the contents of the two former. But I think that it is incumbent on me to explain one passage in the first of them. It would indeed be in vain for me to endeavour to qualify or palliate the request they contained; as I cannot

possibly deny that in my manner of making that request I did not pay the proper attention to my present real situation. I have been so long in the habit of writing to you as to a parent that I fell almost inadvertently into the confidence that relationship usually inspires. You had been so long in the habit of treating me as a child that I forgot that I was expressing with too much warmth the danger I was in of being looked upon by the men who are to be my companions and fellow labourers through life, as a coward or a scoundrel, or as both. That I now see my error can be of service only to prevent me from relapsing into a similar error. But of that indeed there can be little danger while I have so good a monitor as your last letter before my eyes. No. Despicable as any possible conjunction of circumstances may make me, dispirited and wretched, I will only shrink into myself; nor dare to raise my eves so high again.

What I could wish to explain is the passage relative to my quitting Dublin. I meant it merely as a proposition submitted to your judgment; and not as the expression of any design of my own. . . .

24 January 1797

P.S. I have opened this letter to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, which came by hand only this moment: most humbly and heartily to thank you for the permission granted therein; and to endeavour to show you that the powers which I had assigned to the Chancellor¹ are really acquired by him from the regulations of the King's Inn Society. . . .

In the regulations of the King's Inn . . . are the following words . . . ' And they (the Bench) shall then admit, reject, or postpone for further consideration, or remit for further prosecution of his studies such memorialist respectively, as *they shall see* just cause for.' Now if you will be pleased to consider who the Bench are you will find that the Chancellor has all the power I gave him in my last. The judges who are otherwise occupied than in attending at the King's Inn and one of whom I never saw there, and the crown Lawyers who are always looking up to the Chancellor compose the Bench. At such a tribunal the will of the Chancellor is as you may imagine, seldom disputed. As he is the organ of the Bench, the person who pronounces their decisions, I mentioned him only to you not thinking it necessary then to trouble you with the I beg leave further to observe that it has lately been decided in the case of Mr. Atkinson² who was rejected for having been a member of the Society of United Irishmen, that no memorialist can be rejected without *assigning* a reasonable cause. But the clause of postponement has not been touched.

While I regret trespassing so long on your attention I cannot avoid adding that I have not pledged myself to the fact of the Chancellor having called for such list; as I have not the honour of the acquaintance of his Lordship or that of the heads of the Bench I cannot ascertain the report with that precision which I should wish to do. The only thing I can pledge myself to is that I heard it from so many and from people of such respectability as I conceive sufficient to justify the conduct I pursued. Dominick Rice³ is now in Kerry. Should you meet him, I think I may venture positively to assert that he will give you the same information, if you put it in his way, that I did.

I shall now write to my father for the money necessary for my equipment. By a change in the dress of the Corps⁴ seventeen pounds will be sufficient. I shall beg of him to ask your consent before he sends this money should it suit his convenience to allow me that sum.

I shall now conclude with assuring you that any phrase or word of this letter that may . . . show . . . anything but that respectful deference which I owe you, has entered into it against my design or consent. . . . It would indeed have saved me a world of anguish if I had paid the same attention to the first letter I wrote you on this subject. But at that moment I was perhaps incapable of it. That invasion⁵ which if successful should have shook the foundations of all property, would have destroyed our profession root and branch. All that I have read, all that I have thought, all that I have combined was about to be rendered nugatory at once. It was little. But this little was my all.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 John (Fitzgibbon), first earl of Clare (1748-1802).
- 2 Probably John Wray Atkinson, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal (R. B. McDowell, 'The Personnel of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen', *Irish Historical Studies*, II, no. 5 [Mar. 1940]). Called to the bar, 1795.

1798

- 3 Counsellor Dominick Rice, Bushmount, Co. Kerry (1785-1864); married, 1807, Frances Griffin of Lacca, Co. Kerry.
- 4 Lawyers Ycomanry Corps.
- 5 The appearance of a French fleet in Bantry Bay for a few days in December 1796.

26

To Hunting-Cap

49 Aungier Street, Dublin, 12 December 1797 My dear Uncle,

[Expressions of special gratitude to Hunting-Cap for his paternal goodness.]

With regard to the Commons fine—Guinea (for *we* are fined for the negligence of our Superiors) that is applied to pay the expenses of the Society¹ and these expenses are whatever Mr. Caldbeck chooses to call them. Indeed I know of no government which stands so much in need of reformation.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Honourable Society of King's Inns, Dublin.

27

From Hunting-Cap to 14 Trinity Place, Dublin

Derrynane, 15 February 1798

Dear Dan,

I wrote to you last week in answer to yours of the 23rd January to which we refer, since which [I] have by Sunday's post received your letter of the 6th inst. by your statement in which it appears you can be called to the Bar next term without risk or possibility of inconvenience. In that case I cheerfully acquiesce and approve of the measure, but you must allow it will be absurd as well as childish and weak in the extreme to attempt it if any rub or obstruction could be thrown in the way to impede it, more particularly when nothing more than the difference between Easter and Trinity terms could be obtained by it.

[Hunting-Cap says he will send him the extra money needed for his being called to the Bar but he cautions him against renting expensive accommodation before he returns to Dublin after he has been called to the Bar.] One maxim you should always keep in view, which is, that it is, by much, more decent and reputable to advance gradually and as circumstances will prudently admit, in expense, than to set out ostentatiously and soon be obliged to recede and retrench. . . . You are not to mention the circumstances attending your coming to Bar even to your most intimate friends and much less to any of your family, for with them you know everything passes directly to the public without reserve or qualification. . . .

Your truly affte. Uncle and Friend,

Maur. O'Connell

Where has Lord Kenmare¹ taken a house? Is it better than his former residence? May not you sometimes get franks as the town is full of Members [of Parliament].

[Note by O'Connell's father]: I opened this but not a word will transpire.

Morgn. O'Connell

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

I Valentine (Browne), fifth (titular) Viscount Kenmare (1754-1812), created earl of Kenmare, 1801.

28

To Hunting-Cap

14 Trinity Place, Dublin, 1 March 1798

My dear Uncle,

I sit down to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you since I wrote last, the one of the 9th, the other of the 13th [*recte* 15th] ult. I have since received . . . a sum fully adequate to any increased expenditure, and greater, I will candidly confess, than my expectations. I should, indeed, have known your kindness sufficiently well to be certain that you would do nothing for me by halves. . . .

I have done myself the honour of waiting on Lord Kenmare. He received me with the greatest politeness. He has changed his intention of removing to another house.

Mr. Day¹ has actually been appointed to the vacant seat in the King's Bench. He cannot sit until his patent comes over from England which will happen in a few days. There is nothing new in the political world. The odium against the Catholics is becoming every day more inveterate. The Chan1800

cellor² seems hardly disposed to leave them the privileges which they enjoy at present. Nor does he conceal his opinion on the subject. Some of the Administration would fain lay at our door the distracted state of the country—a state which is partly the consequence of the ferment which reigns all over Europe but chiefly, I fear, the result of the weakness and cruelty of their own measures.

[With this letter was enclosed the following list of 'payments to be made at being called ' to the bar:]

Fine		£5.	6.	8	
Stamps		IO			
Deposit for Cham	bers	22.	15.	0	
Treasurer		4	-		
Sub-treasurer		3.	12. 8.	0	
Clerk			8.	0	
Gown and Wig		5.	6.	8	
Term fine		1.	2.	9	
Crier		1.	2.	9	
	1 . 1	C		-	

Total £,53. 13. 10

SOURCE : Irish Monthly, X (1882), 585-86

- Robert Day (1746-1841), Loughlinstown House, Co. Dublin, and Merrion Square, Dublin. Justice of the King's Bench, 1798-1818. Member of a Kerry family.
- 2 John (Fitzgibbon), first earl of Clare.

29

From Hunting-Cap, Derrynane, 3 July 1800, to 75 Dame St., Dublin

Concerns the proposed purchase of a landed estate from John Bayly.¹ 'In the course of John Crosbie's² electioneering for this county [Kerry] he made leases for ever to some and to others he renewed leases for lives determinable.'

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I John Bayly (born 1777), Debsborough, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. He inherited the estates of his maternal grand-uncle, John Gustavus Crosbie.
- 2 John Gustavus Crosbie, M.P. for Co. Kerry, 1794-97.

From his father to Tralee

15 November 1800

Dear Dan,

[Much on family business affairs.] . . .

We were all very much disappointed at your suits being ended as it hurried you to Dublin and therefore deprived [us] of [the] pleasure of your company for the holidays. . . . May the great God preserve and protect you and spare you as a comfort to aged parents and a support to your brothers and sisters.

Your ever afft. father,

Morgan O'Connell

P.S. Little Peter is in great spirits at going with you. God send he may have cause to continue so.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

31

To Mary O'Connell¹

28 November 1800

[No Salutation]

You will, I hope, my dear Mary, excuse me for not having written to you sooner. If it were a mere letter of ceremony or any matter of form I certainly should not have remained a week in town without having done that which politeness requires. . . .

. . . You know as well as I do how much *we* have at stake in keeping the business secret.² I have certainly more at stake than ever I had before or I really believe if I fail at present I shall ever have again. Secrecy is therefore a favour I earnestly beg of you. . . .

I anxiously hope you will come up to town after Christmas with Mrs. Connor.³ It would give me the greatest pleasure to think that I shall see you here. Here I would have many more opportunities of seeing and conversing with you than in that prying, curious, *busy* town of Tralee.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I This is the earliest letter extant between O'Connell and his future wife, Mary O'Connell (25 Sept. 1778-31 Oct. 1836). She was one of the eight penniless children of Thomas O'Connell (c. 1735-85), a Tralee physician, and Ellen, daughter of Edward Tuohy of Tralee. Thomas and O'Connell were third cousins, having a common ancestor in Geoffrey O'Connell (c. 1569-1635), Ballycarbery Castle, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry. Thomas was a Protestant (Church of Ireland) and his wife a Catholic. Mary and her sisters were reared Catholics, her brothers reared Protestants, in accordance with the practice at the time in the case of children of a 'mixed' marriage. Thomas's father, Maurice O'Connell, Emlaghmore, Waterville, Co. Kerry, became a Protestant (Church of Ireland) in 1730.

- 2 Knowing that he would probably be disinherited by Hunting-Cap if he married a girl without a dowry, O'Connell was anxious to keep his engagement a secret.
- 3 Elizabeth (Betsey) Connor (bapt. 12 Aug. 1777-2 Jan. 1815), sister of Mary O'Connell and wife of James Connor.

32

From his father, Carhen, 8 December 1800, to Dublin

'We shall often drink your health during the [Christmas] holiday.'

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

33

To Hunting-Cap

75 Dame Street [Dublin], 23 December 1800 My dear, Uncle,

. . . There is no chance of disposing of the money $[\pounds 2350]$ in the way of loans. It is now pretty well understood that every thing of that kind is to be transacted in England and that of course the city of Dublin will be as distant from any share in such dealings as the city of Edinburgh: and from a parity of reasoning. The object therefore of your money is principally landed purchase. Where it lies, it produces no interest and it accumulates only for the advantage of others. I shall therefore be on the continual lookout, and shall mention to you many things which I would be far from wishing you should imagine I recommended. I have heard nothing from Wilson¹ about Baily's property.² But we shall certainly know all next term.

Arthur O'Connor,³ the *famous* Arthur, is going to sell his estate in the County of Cork. It is about \pounds 600 per annum, *as I am told*. He could make out a clear unencumbered title. Nor would there be any danger of forfeiture in the hands of a

bona fide holder. But then it is at a distance from you and he is not a candid or fairdealing man. But I shall quickly learn more of the matter shortly.

The Knight of Glin's⁴ property is still to be sold, amicably and with the approbation of all parties. At present he would be under an obligation to any person who would give the value. The reason why I have not been more particular about this sale is that Baily's business seems to me an object more under your own eye and more suited to you. In my next I hope I shall be more specific. Believe me I shall not lose one moment in procuring you the detail of anything that may by possibility suit you.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 William Wilson, attorney, Tralee.
- 2 See letter 29.
- 3 Arthur O'Connor (1763-1852), M.P. for Philipstown, 1791-95; member of the United Irishmen. Acquitted of high treason, 1798; jailed, 1799-1803. Appointed general of division in French army, 1804. See DNB.
- 4 John Bateman FitzGerald, Knight of Glin (c. 1760-1803), Glin Castle, Co. Limerick.

34

To Mary O'Connell

Dublin, 25 December 1800 [Thursday]

My dear Mary,

I got a letter from you on Monday without a date but which I suppose was written on Friday. . . .

Believe me, my darling, that I find the greatest pleasure in your acknowledgment that our love is reciprocal. Mary, I shall endeavour to merit your affection—the most constant care, the most unremitting attention—the truest and most affectionate delicacy—and the most unbounded love. Such are the resolutions which I form, not in the moments of enthusiasm or passion, but coolly, seriously and soberly. These are the resolves of my life, and I will without hesitation appeal to you from my words to all the actions of that life which I do devote to you and happiness with you.

You know me sufficiently to be convinced that I despise duplicity and falsehood as much as I love fairdealing and

36
candour. You will therefore, I know, rely firmly on my words until the time arrives when they shall be realized. . . .

I have told you before and I delight in repeating it that you are my first and only love. I do not pretend that I never before spoke on that subject but I do declare to you by the God of Heaven that you are the only woman I have thus addressed as my intended wife, as the partner of my days. I never before for a moment seriously thought of marriage, but to you, my dear. My sweet, sweet love I have the obligation of fixing my ideas on that subject. Mine is not the idle love of a romantic boy. Mine is the affection of a man who loves you almost as much for his own sake as for yours, for in you are placed my hopes of happiness.

Did you but know how much I delight in your expressions of affection! I read your letters over and over again. I sleep with them in my bosom. Do not laugh at me, Mary. I was born with strong feelings, and now that I have devoted myself to my future wife I feel every impulse of my soul bend toward her. Oh God, how the endearing expressions in your letters charm me.

. . . You have no idea of the pleasure I should find in your society. We are now I may say much more intimate than we were before.

Darling of my heart, my sweet tender love, adieu. May every delight attend you and make you happy is the first and last wish of yours,

Devotedly yours,

Daniel O'Connell

I will certainly carry you down my picture as you desire with my hair, etc. How did you like the ear-rings?

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

35

To Mary O'Connell

30 [? December] 1800

My dearest love,

You owe me two letters, and you see I am still writing to you even before I could possibly expect an answer to either of my former. I know not what impression this constancy of scribbling may make on you but it certainly ought to con-

vince you that I at least feel great pleasure in the correspondence. . . .

. . . Believe me I take excellent care of myself and do you likewise do the same. The changes of weather are so sudden that every one should guard against them. This is the first winter that I have worn a surtout constantly and by this means I escape perfectly well. Give me leave then to observe to you, my dear Mary, that you are much more exposed to colds than I am. I feel I do not take a liberty in what I am going to say for you know my motive. My observation is simply that the present fashion of female dress is most unsuited to this weather. Women do not wear half as much clothes as they used to do. But for my sake, my darling, you will avoid this preposterous fashion. I like fashionable dress when it suits the health and convenience but the present is a most dangerous one. More women have died this winter than any other within the memory of man.

Write to me, my darling, as you have done. Write to me in the same style which to me is really most pleasing. I wish to God you could see what visible satisfaction your letters give me. It is not only because they delight and gratify me for the present; but because I feel in them the happy certainty of being hereafter blessed in you with an affectionate and tender wife with a fond Mother to my children. Really I am vain of such a heart as yours, and on it my hopes of happiness are fixed.

You see, my love, I do nothing but repeat what I have already written. Indeed my thoughts run so much in the same circle that I must say what I have said before. Let this then be my excuse for again writing the word—Secrecy.

Adieu my beloved for the present. You know I am

Your faithful

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

36

From Ralph Marshall¹ to 75 Dame St., Dublin

Tralee, 4 January 1801

My dear friend,

I suppose you got my last letter which was filled about the odious Orange business² [which] I have not heard anything about since.

I write now on another subject. A messenger came to Tralee last night from Derrynane for Doctor Connell³ to go to your uncle.4 It seems the old gentleman was near Macroom benighted. He knocked his shin against a car and hurt it much and, owing to his having no advice near at hand, his leg suffered. Doctor Moriarty⁵ of Killarney was sent for but not found and the messenger was so stupid as to return without any medical man. Connell was called upon last night and he set off this morning early but the weather is so bad that it is morally impossible that he can go further this night than Carhen. A mortification is dreaded in his leg. This is Charley Connell's6 story. You cannot hear any further account till Friday's post.

I wish you many happy New Years for yourself and centuries for your country.

Ralph Marshall

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Ralph Marshall of Callinafercy, Milltown, Co. Kerry. Born at Ballymacadam, Castleisland, Co. Kerry, c. 1773. High sheriff, 1799. Married 1799 Jane, daughter and heiress of John Markham, Callinafercy. Of a humane disposition, he helped to keep Kerry free from turmoil in 1798 and devoted much effort to the welfare of his tenants. Wishing to fight against the French, but disliking the British government, he joined the Spanish army in 1808 and served with distinction. Killed at the siege of Gerona, 20 September 1809. 2 Unidentified.
- 3 Dr. Rickard Charles O'Connell (c. 1746-9 Sept. 1833), J.P. Formerly a naval surgeon. Served in the American Revolutionary War. Freeman of Perth, Scotland. Elder brother of Charles O'Connell, apothecary, Tralee.
- 4 Hunting-Cap.
- 5 Dr. Patrick Moriarty, New Street, Killarney.
- 6 Charles O'Connell (died 21 April 1819), apothecary, Tralee. Married (1) Catherine, daughter of Cornelius O'Connell, M.D., (2) Alicia O'Connell (died 15 Dec. 1857).

37

From Splinter (Daniel O'Connell)¹

[c. 8 January 1801]

My Dear Dan,

What I know you are most interested about of course at present is the situation of your uncle.² I am therefore sorry I can't give you any particular account as your rascally postman is not yet arrived. The only account here since Dr. Connell went was by John Sullivan, your father's former steward, who came to town this morning and says he is much better. I shall make Rick write by Sunday's post as I shall be then in Iveragh where I will go tomorrow, . . . return from thence I suppose on Wednesday and certainly set out for the village on Friday. . . I shall, God willing, have the pleasure of dining with you and Watt.³ on Monday.

I received your letter of the 3rd inst. on my arrival from Dingle this evening. I have been there an entire week about Dan Pierse's⁴ business, damned stupid, talking of nothing but ships wrecked . . . [a good deal about wrecked ships and their cargoes].

I wrote last Friday and indeed it is most extraordinary thing that you have not answered me. I begged to know something about Connor.⁵ . . . John⁶ will return with me from Iveragh to swear the affidavit. . . . [letter incomplete]

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 Latter part of letter missing, thus no signature and no date. Writer identified by handwriting; letter dated by content. Splinter is Daniel O'Connell of Tralee, attorney. Married c. 17 October 1803 to Ellen, O'Connell's sister. Died 15 January 1814. Son of Edward O'Connell, and first cousin of O'Connell's wife.
- 2 Hunting-Cap. See letter 36.
- 3 Walter Prendergast.
- 4 Of Ballynoe, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
- 5 James Connor (O'Connor) (c. 1763-25 May 1819), clerk of the peace for Co. Kerry, husband of Mary O'Connell's sister Betsey. Conformed to the established church in order to qualify as an attorney but reverted to Catholicism before his death.
- 6 O'Connell's brother.

38

To Mary O'Connell

Dublin, 24 January 1801

I sit down again, my sweet darling love, to write after an interruption in our correspondence which I solemnly assure you was very painful to me. But you know that the cause of it was Splinter's departure from Tralee which left me without a method of having my letters conveyed to you. . . .

I have received many letters from you and you certainly cannot conceive what pleasure they afford me, my sweet, my delightful darling. You are my comfort, and the soother of my cares. The last letter I got from you was dated the 16th of this month. . . .

I expect James Connor in town tomorrow morning. I need not tell you that I shall be happy to see him. In truth, Mary, I have a well founded and well merited regard for him.

I most sincerely hope that your brother's match may prove fortunate. He certainly is married to a very amiable and deserving girl but, alas, their worldly prospects are not so very flattering. And though you know I am an advocate for the heart, yet I oftentimes think a man cannot love truly without preferring the happiness of the beloved object to his own, and therefore do I blame those who precipitantly marry without considering how their future family is to be provided for. His profession is indeed a very bad one: and it would probably have been more prudent in him not to marry for a couple of years to come. However, let us hope for the best.

I forgot to mention to you that I am sitting for my picture. You may depend on it that I will carry it to you to the assizes. Sorry I am that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you sooner. But in absence you are present to my imagination, and your image like a fairy vision visits my dreams and makes my sleep blessed. My love, you are dearer to my heart than ever was woman to man.

Adieu, my soul, may every blessing, every happiness attend you: remember the love you have promised me, and may you soon be more completely and entirely mine, who am in the sincerest affection ever

Yours

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Rickard O'Connell (died 4 June 1832). Married Betsey Tuohy of Tralee 15 January 1801. Brother of Mary O'Connell. Lieutenant, 89th Regiment, 1796-1804. Adjutant, Kerry Militia.

39

To Mary O'Connell

Dublin, 6 February 1801

[Salutation illegible]

I have before me, my sweet darling love, your letter of the first of this month. . . .

It is not, Mary, that I am at present too busy to write to you. No, for I can always afford time to sketch the ideas which my ardent affection hurries to my pen. But, my soul, I tremble least any suspicion may be raised by the frequency of Splinter's letters to you. I know how much I have at stake, and I fear in proportion to the magnitude of the object which engrosses my attention.

... I am now really astonished how I could think there was any happiness without the love of a virtuous woman. What happiness that can confer, my Mary has taught me: and I am indeed grateful to her for the lesson.

. . . I wish I could find an expression to show the strength of my affection. But I really cannot

Yours

Daniel O'Connell

I am sitting for the picture. . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

40

From his uncle Count O'Connell to 78 Dame St., Dublin

10 Upper Berkley St., Portman Square, London, 12 February 1801

My dear Dan,

I intended to write to you long since but postponed it under the idea that our friend Capt. O'Connell¹ would be the bearer of my letter. I am sorry to say all his endeavours to be permitted to exchange or to sell out have proved unsuccessful. He ultimately found himself compelled to go out to the W. Indies, and from his letter to me from Portsmouth which I received yesterday, it is probable that he will sail this day or tomorrow. He is *au reste* in good health and spirits.

Your papers have already made you acquainted with the resignations which have taken place in most of the high offices of administration as well as with the cause to which they are generally ascribed.² The new administration, as far as it is hitherto ascertained, is composed wholly of the friends of the late ministers. The late Speaker³ succeeds Mr. Pitt⁴ as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir J. Mitford⁵ has been chosen Speaker, Lord Eldon⁶ Chancellor in the room of Lord Loughborough,⁷ etc., etc. This day it is supposed all the new administration will be officially made known at the levee. I am sorry to think this event is likely to deprive Ireland of the virtues and abilities of its present chief governor⁸ to whose moderation, firmness and humanity that unhappy country owes the peace and tranquillity it now enjoys, and for the duration of which I most devoutly pray God. I trust the good sense of my countrymen will divert them from lending an ear to suggestions of any ill-minded persons who may attempt to work on their feelings or passions at this awful crisis, and that the Roman Catholics of Ireland will on the protection of their sovereign as well as to the confidence of their Protestant brethren by their loyal and peaceable demeanour. Have you lately heard from Iveragh? I hope all friends were well. . . .

I have to trouble you, my dear Dan, to do me a piece of service in your line. A Mr. Crotty9 of the County of Cork owes me on recruiting account a sum of £32.9.61/2 which I wish you to recover for me. The young gentleman in question had received money from Captain Barry,10 the paymaster, to raise men for the Regiment. He was recommended to me by a Mr. Nash,¹¹ his brother-in-law or near relation who then lived in Cork on the Parade but now lives somewhere in the County of Waterford. Mr. Nash is a gentleman of a competent fortune and when he recommended Mr. Crotty to me he said he would be answerable for any money that may be advanced him for recruiting. The voucher for the debt is [in] the paymaster's books, the authenticity of which in such cases is, I believe, admitted. I am inclined to think an application from you on my part to Mr. Nash might induce him to acquit the debt. If not, Mr. Crotty is to be called on to pay and, if he does not, is to be compelled by the legal process to do so. I believe Mr. J. Power¹² of Cork or Mr. Casey¹³ will be able to inform where Messrs. Nash and Crotty are to be found.

I could likewise wish that when you are at leisure you would give a call at the Herald's office in Dublin to ascertain whether the coat of arms we make use of is conformable to the one in that office. I have reason to believe it is not because the coat of arms of the O'Connells as set down in Dr. Keating's history of Ireland is not the same [as] a drawing of that in the Herald's office. If different from ours [it] would be highly acceptable to me.

It's now time to congratulate you on your increasing success in your profession. Be assured, my dear Dan, no man living can take a more warm interest in you than I do or exult more in anything that can tend to raise you in the public estimation.

Your aunt desires you will accept her most affectionate regards. I may assure you she is much attached to you. I shall write to my brother next week.

[P.S.] When I came through Dublin the last time I forgot to pay *eighteen pence* to the hairdresser at the Mail Coach Hotel where I lodged. His name is *Daniel*. He will remember me, and I request you will acquit my debt.

[The outside of the letter is marked 'Try 19 Ormond Quay'.]

SOURCE : Papers of B. M. Heron

- I Probably Maurice Charles Philip O'Connell (c. 1766-1848), son of Charles Connell Fitzphilip O'Connell, Ballinahow (Riverstown), the Glen, Cahirciveen, and Alicia, daughter of Maurice O'Connell, Tarmons, Waterville, Co. Kerry, and nephew of Moritz (Mortimer), Baron O'Connell. Studied for the priesthood in France before entering the French army in 1785. Leaving France during the Revolution, he entered Count O'Connell's regiment in 'Pitt's Irish Brigade' in 1794. Knighted in 1835; appointed lieutenant-general, 1841. Lieutenant-governor, New South Wales (1809-147); acting governor in 1846. See DNB.
- 2 A reference to the rumours that Pitt, the prime minister, and some members of his cabinet had resigned because of the opposition of the king and part of the cabinet to the grant of Catholic Emancipation.
- 3 Henry Addington (1757-1844), created first Viscount Sidmouth, 1805. Speaker of the House of Commons, 8 June 1789-10 February 1801. See DNB.
- 4 William Pitt (1759-1806), prime minister, 1783-1801, 1804-06. See DNB.
- 5 Sir John Freeman Mitford (1748-1830), created first Baron Redesdale, 1802. Speaker of the House of Commons, 1801-02; lord chancellor of Ireland, 1802-06. See DNB.
- 6 John (Scott), first Baron Eldon (1751-1838), created first earl, 1821. Lord chancellor of England, 1801-06, 1807-27. See DNB.
- 7 Alexander Wedderburn (1733-1805), created first Baron Loughborough, 1780, and first earl of Rosslyn, 1801. Lord chancellor of England, 1793-1801. See DNB.
- 8 Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805), created first Marquis Cornwallis, 1792. Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1798-1801. See DNB. Cornwallis was replaced as lord-lieutenant on 25 May 1801 by Lord Hardwicke.
- 9 Mr. Crotty, Co. Cork, landowner.

- 10 Richard Barry, captain, Irish Brigade, 1794-97; placed on half-pay, 25 December 1797; resided at Barleylodge, Midleton, Co. Cork.
- 11 Unidentified.
- 12 John Power, 11 Cook Street, Cork.
- 13 Either Charles or Henry Casey, 61 Dominick Street, Cork; butter merchant.

41

To Mary O'Connell

19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin, Tuesday, 21 April, 1801

My dear Mary,

You will I well know be glad to hear that I arrived here last night in perfect safety. I say in safety for you have heard that the roads are not at present perfectly safe. . . .

Let me now request, and it is an anxious request, that you will persuade your mother1 to keep our secret from all the world. I do not except my friend, my tried friend, James Connor, and when I do not except him you will easily imagine that I would not on any consideration permit that Rick² or his wife,3 or Mrs. Connor,4 or any other person should know anything about us. I feel the delicacy of requiring this secrecy from your Mother but in everything else will I be guided by her. I have the firmest reliance in her good sense and her affectionate regard for us both, and I do rely on it that she will not mention one word of the matter to any person whatsoever. It is not that I am doubtful of her discretion and prudence. If I had any such doubt I should not have mentioned the matter at all to her though I felt that mentioning it to her was a compliment which I justly owed to your delicacy. But my only reason for saying so much on the subject is more because I have the happiness of my life at stake, and would not risk it by a premature discovery. . . .

You know I always am yours, ever yours

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Mrs. Ellen O'Connell, widow of Thomas O'Connell, M.D., of Ballymacprior and Tralee (died 6 Sept. 1785), daughter of Edward Tuohy of Tralee. Married secondly, c. November 1803, John Henry (Harry) Blennerhasset of Tralee.
- 2 Mary O'Connell's brother Rickard.

- 3 Elizabeth (Betsey) O'Connell (c. 1783/4-2 Dec. 1827), daughter of Edward Tuohy, Tralee. Married Rickard O'Connell 15 January 1801.
- 4 Betsey Connor.

From Mary O'Connell

c. 24 April 1801

My dearest Dan,

Judge of my uneasiness and disappointment on going to the office this morning when told there was no letter for me. My fears immediately represented to my imagination that you were sick or else you had met with some accident on the road which prevented you from writing. For after the promises you made me I could not attribute your silence to any other cause. . . . I was in such a state of suspense that when my mother left the room I sat down and cried. However in a little time my fears were changed into smiles by Rick Connell's¹ presenting me with (as I thought) a letter from Dan² enclosed to him. Believe me, my dear love, it was one of the happiest moments of my life but how considerably was that happiness augmented when I opened the long wished for letter to find it conveyed the pleasing intelligence of your safe arrival notwithstanding the extreme danger there is now in travelling the Dublin roads. What a lucky circumstance it was that you did not set out a day or two sooner for in all likelihood, had you done so, you would have been in the coach that was robbed but, thank God, my dearest heart escaped every danger. May the Almighty continue his protection to him and preserve one who is so dear, so very dear, to me. You have made my mother the happiest of women by letting her know of our attachment. I am convinced she did not sleep a wink the night she heard it. She talks of nothing else nor of any person but you. When we are together you are, I assure you, one of her greatest favourites. She desires me give you her most affectionate love and to assure you she would sooner forfeit her existence than betray the confidence you reposed in her. As you desired, I showed her this morning your letters and picture. Were I to mention all the praise she bestowed on you I am afraid it would make you too vain. I shall therefore say nothing about it until I can have the pleasure of telling it

to you in person, a period I most anxiously look forward to. James Connor set out for the metropolis this morning, accompanied by Mr. Rice3 and my friend Counsellor Hussey4 who intends going no farther than Limerick. His brother is still in town.⁵ Poor man, he is very much in love. He and I have got very intimate as being her particular friend, and as I indulge him in talking of her, I am become a vast favourite to him. Between you and I, I have not a doubt but she will be married⁶ to him should he get well. I could understand as much from him in some of our conversations though in a letter I received from her last Monday she assures me it is merely a report and begs I would contradict it everywhere. This I know, her uncle and mother are very much for it. I am only astonished how they can think of wishing to have her married to such a man. He certainly is much more the gentleman in his manners than Peter but, as to his person, I think Peter has the advantage. He is low and fat with a shocking red face so I leave you to judge from that of his beauty. But perhaps he possesses the beauties of the mind which in my opinion are far preferable to the beauties of the person. He is, I think, very vain. In short, he is not the man I would wish to have Mary Hussey married to. It is all over the town that I am to be married to Peter. I cannot conceive what could give rise to such a report. Nothing but his intimacy with James Connor. He, Rick7 and Maurice8 dined with Peter and his brother last Wednesday. They had a large party. It was then confidently reported that the match was concluded on. I suppose when I go to Dingle in the course of next month they will say I am married. Maurice had a kind letter from Dr. O'Leary⁹ this morning. He intends setting out for your sister's¹⁰ as soon as he hears from you. Poor fellow, I will be very lonesome after him. God grant he may benefit by being under Dr. O'Leary's care. At all events he can't injure him but may serve him materially. We will hope for the best. I go to Betsey11 today to remain with her until James returns. Rick, his wife and my mother have gone to lodgings at Mary Leyne's¹² as Rick did not like being at a dieting house. His stay here will, I believe, be very short. His leave of absence will be expired next month. He has applied for further leave and has sent sick certificates but he has little hopes of getting it. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Rickard O'Connell (1785-18 Oct. 1817), son of Edward O'Connell and first cousin of Mary O'Connell. Assistant surgeon, 43rd Regiment, from 7 July 1808. Married 1806 Miss Brice, daughter of Edward Brice, Kilroot, Co. Antrim, a sister of Sir John Blake's wife.

- 2 Splinter, brother of Rick O'Connell.
- 3 Probably Stephen H. Rice.
- 4 Peter Bodkin Hussey (1778-30 Aug. 1838), barrister, Farrinakilla, Co. Kerry. Married Mary Hickson 10 December 1804.
- 5 Either Edward or Connolly Hussey.
- 6 Mary Hussey (1776-1845), daughter of Mrs. Thomas Hussey, Dingle. She never married.
- 7 Her brother Capt. Rickard O'Connell.
- 8 Maurice O'Connell (bapt. 28 Aug. 1780-3 Jan. 1825), brother of Mary O'Connell. Married c. 25 April 1817 Mary Mountain Mahony; cadet, East India Company, 1795; lieutenant, 21 November 1797; retired to August 1803 on Lord Clive's Fund.
- 9 Dr. Cornelius O'Leary, Kanturk House, Kanturk, Co. Cork (Pigott's 1824 Directory).
- 10 Mary A. McCartie, Woodview, Newmarket, Co. Cork, wife of Jeremiah McCartie.
- 11 Her sister Betsey Connor, wife of James.
- 12 Probably sister of Dr. Maurice Leyne and daughter of Dr. Jeremy Leyne and Elizabeth O'Connell.

43

To Mary O'Connell, Square, Tralee

Dublin, 28 April 1801

My dearest love,

... I mean punctually to write to you every Tuesday so that you will have a day certain to expect my letters and to inquire for them. ...

I wish to mention to you that I left money in my brother's hands in Cork to pay for your mother's shoes. I hope she has got them before now. Tell her I earnestly entreat she may accept them as my first present, and as one feeble mark of my regard for her.

You say, my darling, that you are going to Dingle but you do not tell me how I am to write to you there. As for directing to you to Dingle, that is a thing of too much risk. You could not receive a Dublin letter there without its attracting attention; and you know how anxious I am to avoid that. I confide in your discretion that you will not permit your friend Miss Hussey¹ to have the slightest idea of the kind. I mention her by name only because, as she is your intimate friend, it would be more probable that you should mention it to her than to any one else. But forgive me, my love, these eternal suspicions, I should not call them suspicions: they are only fears.

Tell me then shall I write to you to Tralee under cover to your Mother? Would not this be the safest and best plan. If not, what would? . . .

With regard to my sisters coming to Tralee I will tell you my plan. My decisive reason for bringing either of them there is that you may accompany her back to Iveragh. . . . My plan is that Bridget² should come to Tralee before the races and stay until after the assizes when she will take my sweet love with her to Carhen . . . let all this be a secret not to be told to any person. I will proceed to put the whole plan into execution in full time.

You are probably indebted to me for all the jokes you suffer about Peter Hussey. My quizzing him on the subject might have given rise to the report. I declare to you most solemnly that I found a pleasure in talking on the subject as it afforded me an opportunity of speaking about you without exciting suspicions of that which for the present I wish to conceal; but which it will I trust before long be my pride to acknowledge and to prove. In talking on that subject I had also the gratification to find that you were an universal favourite. I was well aware that your sweet simplicity of manner could have produced no other effect but still it pleased me to find that even those whose censure could not affect, were ready to give you praise. You know I am incapable of flattering you, or of asserting to you any thing but the truth. . . .

Believe me unalterably

Yours

D. O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Mary Hussey, Dingle.

2 Bridget O'Connell (Biddy) (c. 1785-c. 21 Jan. 1854), sister of O'Connell. Married Myles McSwiney of Drumquinna, Kenmare, Co. Kerry.

1801

To Mary O'Connell, at Miss Falvey's, Square, Tralee

Dublin [Tuesday], 5 May 1801

My dear Mary,

I have only a minute to write—and indeed would not write at all but for my promise of doing so—on this day.

I have been much disappointed at not hearing from you today. I hope you were not prevented by any disagreeable reason but in truth I was anxious to hear whether you had received in safety my letter of last Tuesday which I was obliged to direct myself as that damned Splinter was at the play.

I am as tired as a packhorse and nothing will put me into better humour for this day, as I did not hear from my darling....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

45

From Mary O'Connell to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

Tralee, 8 May 1801

My dearest love,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of both your letters. . . . I should feel very unhappy at your not having received my letter written this day sennight but that I know there often is a delay to the letters from here to Dublin in consequence of the inattention of the postmaster at Rathkeale. . . .

How much am I indebted to you, my love, for the veil. It is the most elegant one I ever saw, too elegant indeed for me. You must have given a great price for it which I am very angry with you for, particularly as you request I should consider it as your present. Indeed, my love, one that would cost much less would just answer for me as well. I must also tell you that I will not again commission you to buy anything for me if you do not permit me to give you the money. If I did not write to you to buy me the veil I should not have the least objection to accept it from you. Every person has, I believe, a delicacy on them, at least I have, in accepting of anything as a present that I desire to have bought for me. You will therefore excuse my saying so much about it. . . I know you will be

glad to hear I had a letter from my brother Edward¹ last Tuesday dated the fourteenth of February. He was then on his way to Egypt with troops on board. He writes in great spirits as he had just received his commission as first lieutenant in the *Cyclops* which gives him rank since the latter end of October last. I hope soon to hear from him again. Perhaps I may have some chance of seeing him as they talk of peace in consequence of this victory that was gained in Egypt.² No doubt, you had great rejoicings in Dublin on hearing of it.

Edward mentioned to me that Rick's³ regiment was in the fleet. I am much very much afraid he stands a chance of losing his commission. If you recollect I mentioned to you some time back that he had wrote for further leave and had sent sick certificates which he has not yet got an answer to, but on Tuesday last he got a letter from General Ross⁴ (who was late colonel to the 89th) letting him know it would be necessary for him to join his regiment before the period of his leave of absence was expired. He has taken no notice of that letter. . . . His state of health certainly will not permit him to go anywhere out of England or Ireland at present, but what will he do if he is unlucky enough to be superseded? He has very little else to depend on but his commission. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Edward O'Connell (bapt. 1778-11 May 1808), brother of Mary O'Connell. Lieutenant, Royal Navy.
- 2 Presumably the victory of a British army under Sir Ralph Abercromby over a French army, 21 March 1801.
- 3 Rickard O'Connell.
- 4 Alexander Ross, colonel in the 89th Foot Regiment, 1793. Promoted major-general 26 February 1795.

46

From his uncle Count O'Connell to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

10 Upper Berkley Street, Portman Square, London, 9 May 1801

My dear Dan,

I presume you have been *de retour* in Dublin long ere now and hope your time was actively and usefully employed during the circuit. I sanguinely wish it, not for the lucre but for the credit it must reflect on you and as it must prove a stimulus to increasing exertions on your part. Nothing can be more commendable than an honest and generous ambition to shine in the line of life one has embraced. At the Bar in particular merit is more likely to make its way without interest or fortune than in any other profession I know of. In most others many years are spent, often wasted, in inferior situations before the man of abilities has an opportunity of bringing them to light, but at the Bar the lists are open every day, nay, every hour. The public at large are the judges and the crown awaits the most distinguished champion. In such a situation I should wish to be placed were I to recommence my long and laborious career, but doomed as I now am to obscurity and idleness for the rest of my life, I have transferred my ambition on you and do declare you from this hour debtor to your name and family for the lustre it was long my wish and hope to attach on them.1

... I feel much interested about the little boy James.² Pray where is he, and has any line been as yet struck out for him? With respect to our friend John³ I am not uneasy although he has my most sincere regards and good wishes because I remember what you told me concerning him, and I trust and hope your brotherly affection will ever remain unimpaired....

Pray have you been at leisure to take any steps about my claim⁴ on Mr. Crotty? If you have put the affair in any train I should be glad to know it and also request you will take some early and safe opportunity of sending me our coat of arms from the Herald's office. As I mentioned to you before,⁵ I think it would be well worth your curiosity to ascertain the forfeitures of Brigadier O'Connell⁶ at the revolution of 1688 or 1690. I suppose there is a register somewhere extant in which the different forfeitures incurred at that period were duly entered, and it would be satisfactory to know how our family then stood with respect to property. However as this is mere matter of curiosity and in itself of no import I only suggest the idea without attaching any great value to it, therefore valeat quod valet. . . .

[P.S.] I have not a word from Capt. O'Connell since he left England.

SOURCE : Papers of B. M. Heron

I In 1794-95 Count O'Connell was the principal organizer of six regiments in the British army which were often later described as 'Pitt's Irish Brigade'. Irish officers who were royalist refugees from France formed a core of these regiments. Count O'Connell became a colonel of one of them (the Penal Laws now allowed a Catholic to attain the rank of colonel but only while serving in Ireland). In 1796 the six regiments were amalgamated into three which were disbanded in 1798, the men being drafted into other regiments. Though now without employment O'Connell retained his full pay as a colonel for the rest of his life.

- 2 James O'Connell (1786-1872), youngest brother of O'Connell. Married 31 March 1818 Jane, daughter of Charles, O'Donoghue of the Glens. Lived after marriage at Kenmare Place, Killarney, and later at Lakeview, Killarney. Created baronet, 1869.
- 3 John O'Connell (1778-1853), second brother of O'Connell. Married 1806 Elizabeth (Bess) Coppinger, daughter of William Coppinger (died 1816) of Ballyvolane and Barryscourt, Co. Cork. Lived at Grenagh, near Killarney. High sheriff of Kerry, 1838.
- 4 See letter 40.
- 5 See letter 40.
- 6 Maurice O'Connell (died 1691), elder son of Maurice O'Connell, Braintree, Co. Clare; colonel of the King's (James II's) Guards, Killed at Aughrim.

47

To Mary O'Connell

Dublin, 23 May 1801

[No salutation]

Will you, my darling love, excuse me for not having written to you for the last week. . . . It was caused simply by an accident on Tuesday night and by my not being altogether well on Thursday. Do not however be alarmed as the principal cause of my illness was though very disagreeable, by no means dangerous. I mean the toothache. I am often tortured with it.

... I acknowledge that your cheerful and ready acquiescence has given me more heartfelt delight than I have ever before experienced or than I ever shall until the time arrives when I shall receive you at the altar of my God as the wife of my bosom and the mother of my children....

Really, my Mary, you make me ashamed by the importance you attach to the trifling present of the veil. I give you my word however that it cost me but £3.5.0. so that you see what a *splendid* gift it is to my love. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

From Mary O'Connell

Tralee [Monday], 25 May 1801

[No salutation]

Why, my dearest love, will you wrong me so far as to harbour the smallest suspicion that my reluctance to accept the veil from you, as a present, proceeded from any other motive than that which I assigned to you in my last? Had I, my love, the least idea you would have taken the business in so serious a manner I should not have said a sentence about it. Let me then hope you are satisfied I do consider you as my husband, as my dearest and only love. Indeed, Dan, you are dearer to me than I can express. I have told you before and I will now tell it to you again that you are the only man I could ever love or wish myself united with. You will therefore dispel any fears you may have with respect to my not having that confidence in you that I ought. Be assured no woman had ever greater confidence in man than I have in you. Had I not I would be one of the most ungrateful beings in existence. You who have given me such repeated proofs of your affection for me. I am indeed very well convinced of my darling's love, and trust he is also convinced of mine for him. And now, my love, to let you see with what cheerfulness I shall always comply with any request or command of yours, I shall trouble you to purchase two yards of broad white lace. You will get very nice for ten shillings or a half a guinea a yard but do not go higher. The veil is without exception the most beautiful of the kind I ever saw. All the ladies here are quite out of conceit with their veils since they saw mine. I am tormented with them asking me what it cost. I tell them three guineas though I am sure it cost a good deal more. At all events I would not tell them it cost more lest they should think me very extravagant. I think it will cut a great dash in Dingle. I had a letter this morning from Mary Hussey, requesting I would appoint a day for her to send the horses for me. About this day fortnight, I believe, I shall leave this or at farthest tomorrow fortnight. I will write to you the day before and you can write to me under cover to my mother as she has put off going to Killarney while Rick¹ remains in the country. He has this day got two months leave of absence from the Duke of York commencing the seventeenth of this month.

We are all quite delighted, particularly as his state of health is very delicate. . . .

To be sure you have heard of poor Mrs. Charles O'Connell's² death as I wrote to Splinter last Sunday. Poor woman, she died in consequence of a bite she received from a dog she had that was mad but they do not wish to say anything of it for fear of alarming Rick Connell³ who was also bit, and the servant maid, but I am in great hopes Rick was not cut as he wore boots. . . .

The dog which bit Mrs. O'Connell was . . . given . . . to make a turn-spit of him. They put the dog in the wheel and teased him so by applying a coal of red fire to his nose that when he was taken down he showed every symptom of insanity and bit the maid, Rick and Mrs. O'Connell in the hand. The dog was immediately killed. Poor Mrs. O'Connell was so outrageously mad that for two days they were obliged to have two men holding her in bed. She scratched Dr. Moriarty's face in a shocking way. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Rickard O'Connell, Mary's brother.

- 2 Wife of Charles O'Connell, apothecary, Tralee. Catherine (O'Connell), daughter of Cornelius O'Connell, M.D.
- 3 Dr. Rickard O'Connell, Tralee.

49

From his uncle Count O'Connell to Dublin, care of Mr. Murray,¹ Grocer, Great George's Street South

London, 3 June 1801

My dear Dan,

I have written to you about six weeks back² and directed my letter to No. 19 Lower Ormond Quay, but as I have received no answer I conclude it did not come to hands, which induces me to address this letter for you to Mr. Murray's.

My last contained nothing of any great importance. Indeed my chief object was to open an occasional correspondence with you from no other motive than a wish to hear from you from time to time, feeling as I do most sincerely and warmly interested in what regards you.

I believe I mentioned a debt³ due to me of a Mr. Crotty which I had before made you acquainted with and requested

1801

you would procure to be paid. This affair I beg leave again to recommend to your attention, knowing of no reason why I should lose so much money to a person I am utterly unacquainted with and who had no other claim on me than the recommendation of Mr. Nash, his brother-in-law, who appeared to me a very honourable gentleman and who promised to make good any money that might be advanced to Mr. Crotty by the Regiment. I also expressed anew my wish to receive the description of our family's coat of arms out of the Herald's office and, I think, I moreover touched upon the subject of the forfeitures we had suffered [?] at the period of 1680 [sic] or 1690 as a matter of curiosity by which the situation and consequence of the family at that period may be ascertained. You will probably think researches of this nature to be ill worth bestowing either time or trouble on. Indeed I must allow it to be of very little importance this day to ascertain what our ancestors have been more than a century back but for me, having lost all the bright prospects of my past days, ne vis plus que de mes souvenirs. I am fond of indulging in dreams, particularly historical.

Farewell, my dear Dan, accept the warm affections of your aunt and her daughters. . . . I presume you are at the eve of setting out for Kerry. I regret I can't meet you at Derrynane. It would be the greatest happiness of my life to pass some weeks every year with my dear brother,⁴ and my satisfaction would be very great to enjoy the pleasure of your company there during that time, but the journey is too long and too expensive to be frequently undertaken, particularly at my time of life.

[P.S.] Direct me to the care of Messrs. T. Coutts and Co., Bankers, London.

SOURCE : Papers of B. M. Heron

1 6 George's Street South, Dublin.

- 2 See letter 46.
- 3 See letter 40.
- 4 Hunting-Cap.

From his sister Ellen¹ to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

Tralee, 12 June 1801

[No salutation]

The sincere love and affection I have for you, my dear Dan, together with the tender regard I have for your future happiness and welfare induces me to make a request to you, in consequence of a matter which took place yesterday evening and which has given me ever since, much uneasiness. On receipt of your letter to Mary² yesterday evening, Rick³ was quite displeased (but let me tell you, he was sure it was from Splinter) and remarked it was highly improper of her to hold a correspondence with any young man. I told him I did not see any impropriety in a correspondence of the kind as it was of the most innocent nature and sanctioned by me. He then asked me whether I saw the letters. I told him I did (but I asserted an innocent lie). However I told him that nobody had a right to make any remark for that I was the guardian of her actions and that I was sufficiently satisfied with the propriety of her conduct. He then told me with great violence he was very sorry he did not open the letter and that he would certainly write to Mary his sentiments on the subject and also to Splinter. Now, my dear Dan, you see how absolutely necessary it is for me to repeat my request to you which is that of giving up your correspondence with Mary. It is using no great violence with your love for her as you are so shortly to see her and it will secure Splinter and Mary from any more remarks of Rick. I must observe to you that if Rick should write to Splinter, to speak to him to answer his letter in as polite and satisfactory a manner as possible. I wrote to Mary to the same purpose and observed to her to tell him she would drop the correspondence since it was so disagreeable to him. Don't answer this but I will tell you how I shall know you have got it-by writing to Maurice⁴ and giving him a hearty scolding for not going long since to the County Cork. . . . I have got no letter from Mary this day though I was very anxious for one as I sent her a letter from Dublin which I was desirous to know she got. I am extremely lonesome after her. I love her much and place my entire confidence in her. For God's sake burn this, lest it should arise in judgment against me.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Ellen O'Connell (born c. 1777), sister of O'Connell. Married c. 17 October 1803 Daniel O'Connell, attorney, Tralee, known as Splinter.
- 2 O'Connell's future wife.
- 3 Probably Capt. Rickard O'Connell, Mary's brother.
- 4 Mary's brother Maurice O'Connell. See letter 42.

51

To Mary O'Connell, Square, Tralee

Dublin, 13 June 1801

My dearest Love,

A fortnight has elapsed since I had the pleasure of receiving a line from you. I should be very uneasy but that I am aware of the reason. Yet though I feel the impossibility of hearing from you I cannot entirely divest myself of a kind of selfish reluctance at enduring what cannot be remedied. . . .

I hope, my darling, soon very soon to hear that you are pleasant and happy in Dingle. . . .

... I have waited to the last moment for Splinter to direct my letter and he is not to be found. He is very inconsiderate.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers.

52

To Mary O'Connell, Tralee

Dublin, 7 July 1801

My darling Mary,

You know not what pain it has given me to have been obliged so long to refrain from writing to you. . . .

I am surprised that you did not perceive that my letter written to you to Dingle respecting the lottery ticket was not a quiz as you supposed but was merely a scheme of mine to write to you without the risk of my letter being seen or spoken of if it were so seen as to render it necessary for you to tell a slight fib about it.

I have, my love, thought it prudent to mention to James Connor the situation we stand in. I have told him that to you did I look for every hope of happiness, and that without you I had no prospect of anything but wretchedness. He, my love,

will keep our secret until the time shall come when I can boast of my attachment in the face of the universe. . . .

James Connor will mention the business to Betsey¹ when he goes down. You need say nothing to her until then, but when she has heard it, do not fail to suggest to her the necessity of concealment. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Betsey Connor.

53

From Mary O'Connell to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

12 July 1801

My dearest Dan,

As I know how anxious you are to hear from me I have taken the opportunity of my mother's being at dinner to write a few lines and am happy to tell you I am now, thank God, nearly well. I went to the drawing-room yesterday and today I received my *visitors*. About this day sennight I purpose going to remain with Rick¹ as he is very anxious to have me with him, poor fellow. Notwithstanding all his little crossness he is very good-natured. He was quite miserable about me while sick and regularly came and sat an hour with me on the bed which was a great deal from him who is so liable to sickness. Almost all the rest of my family were afraid to come to see me. Fevers have been so rife in this town this some time back that they were sure it was one I had got. . . . I must conclude lest my mother should come in and find me writing.

Adieu, my love, and believe me, ever yours,

Moll O'Connell . . .

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Her brother Rickard O'Connell.

54

From Mary O'Connell to 19 Lr. Ormond Quay, Dublin

[postmarked 13 July 1801]

My dearest Dan,

My mother has just given me leave (after a great deal to do with her, lest writing so soon after my illness should injure me) to assure you, my dearest love, that the receipt of your letter last night made me the happiest of women. When it was brought to me, Betsey Connor was sitting with me. She of course knew her husband's hand. I did not hesitate opening the letter, so convinced was I that it was from James [Connor], but judge of my astonishment on breaking the seal to find it was written by you. I did not know how to act, my agitation was so great. I told her the letter was from Splinter but she would not believe me and seemed quite unhappy lest James was ill and that I wanted to conceal it from her. She begged of me to read the letter and tell her if it was the case. When I came to that part of it that mentioned you had told our secret to James, I was delighted for more reasons than one. Betsey still persisted in requesting I would show her the letter so [I] was obliged to tell her the entire of the business. You never saw anyone so surprised nor so happy. She promised faithfully not to mention it to any human being, not even to James, so we may perfectly rely on her. I am now, thank God, quite recovered. My illness was a nervous fever. It was very fortunate for me that Dr. Moriarty¹ went to Dingle as I had been ill for a month before but would not give up to it. He made me come home and go to bed where I remained for near a week, very ill. . . .

Yours ever, yours while I exist,

Maria² O'Connell . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I See letter 36, note 5.

2 Mary O'Connell occasionally used this form of her name.

55

To Mary O'Connell, Tralee

Dublin, Thursday, 16 July 1801

[No salutation]

. . . Cheer up your spirits, my love. Take care of yourself and avoid of all things cold or damp. You must continue delicate for some time. Indeed I hope the Iveragh air will do you good as I shall insist on your going there this summer. You shall return with the girls if they come to Tralee; if they do not, you must accompany James Connor and Betsey¹ who will *if I have any influence* spend part of the summer there. James must go on business to my Uncle's² and to Spotswood's.

I should bring the girls to Tralee if I knew where to place

them. . . . I would ask James to invite them to his house but it is so small and he will be so much hurried during the assizes that I would not inconvenience him.

I have again, my love, to commit our secret to your care. . . . For the world I would not have Rick's wife³ know anything about it least it should reach the rest of her family who are proverbially indiscreet. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Mary O'Connell's sister Betsey Connor.

2 Hunting-Cap.

3 Betsey O'Connell.

56

From Count O'Connell to Mr. Murray's, Grocer, Great George's St., South, Dublin

14 King Street, Portman Square, London, 3 November 1801

My Dear Dan,

Mr. Dom. Rice, our much esteemed friend, has been very punctual in delivering me the very elegant seal you sent me, and I take the earliest opportunity of giving you my very best thanks for your present. The engraving bears not the smallest resemblance to the coat of arms which we had supposed to be our true one, nor to that you find on Dr. Keating's1 armorial plate as belonging to the ancient family of the O'Connells (the Dr.'s words). The motto is the most extraordinary one I ever read and, from the tenor of it, would seem to apply to some tenant of Church lands. The whole forms an enigma which I confess myself unable to decipher without some lights from you which I hope you will impart in your next. I am sensible, my dear Dan, I ought to apologize for thus pestering you on so insignificant a subject. You will conclude of course that I have little else to do. Be that as it may, I nevertheless must avow myself anxious to know what you have found in the Herald's office respecting this matter. I cannot possibly bring myself to believe the engraving you sent me is the true coat of arms of our family.

[Inquires for, and suggests remedies for Hunting-Cap's sore in leg and Morgan's ' pain in the bowels', which Morgan² should have adopted a proper regimen for.]

I have now to congratulate you on the return of peace.³ I

trust it will effectually restore tranquillity to Ireland, and that the habits of industry and agriculture will ere long heal the wounds inflicted by the Rebellion, that the spirit of disaffection and persecution will mutually subside and be replaced by Christian charity and benevolence divested of party distinctions and invidious exceptions.

Before I close this long letter allow me, my dear Dan, to express the heartfelt satisfaction I derive from the very flattering character given you by all who know you. Counsellor Rice speaks of you in the handsomest terms, not only in what regards your line of profession but (what I value still more) as a gentleman. Be assured, my dear Dan, it will be the greatest happiness of my life to hear you continue to improve the good reputation with which you have started. Providence has bounteously given you every requisite to make a figure in life and I fondly hope you will improve to the utmost a favour of all the most inestimable. . . . [He will accompany his wife and her two daughters to Paris] about the middle of January next, remain with them for two or three months and then return alone here on account of my half-pay. There is great reason to think France will make every possible exertion to re-establish the colony of S. Domingo. Much depends on what the Negro chief, Toussaint l'Ouverture,4 will do. If he can be prevailed on to surrender the colony without any opposition, a speedy restoration may be hoped for. If, on the contrary, it should become necessary to have [? to resort] to arms, in such case it is to be feared he will utterly destroy the whole and annihilate all means of restoration. Such is at this moment the precarious situation of the S. Domo. planters, to be or not to be is literally their case. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I George Keating (died 1842), engraver, bookseller and publisher, Air Street, London. See DNB and Strickland, Dictionary of Irish Artists. The armorial pattern on the seal was probably that of an O'Connell family in Co. Kilkenny who were not related to the O'Connells of Iveragh. The motto of the Kilkenny family was 'Servus Servorem Dei', and it is probably this which caused Count O'Connell to make the comment concerning 'some tenant of Church lands'.
- 2 O'Connell's father.
- 3 On 1 October a preliminary treaty was signed between the British and French which led to the Peace of Amiens in March 1802.

4 Toussaint L'Ouverture (1743-1803), a Negro leader of the slave revolt in St. Domingue (Haiti—the western part of the island of Hispaniola) in 1791. In 1801 he conquered the former Spanish colony, Santo Domingo (the eastern part of Hispaniola), where Countess O'Connell's estates appear to have been situated. Arrested by the French in 1802 and died in France in 1803.

57

From Mary O'Connell to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

Tralee, 6 November 1801

My dearest Dan,

Rick1 made me very happy this morning by showing me your letter from Cork. Could I now hear of your safe arrival in Dublin, I should be quite satisfied. The badness of the weather together with the unhappiness I felt at your departure from this has made me very low spirited and uneasy. . . . Let me beseech of you, my dearest love, to take great care of yourself. You cannot be too cautious at this season of the year. Do, my darling, if you have no other motive for it but that of complying with the earnest request of your little woman whose entire happiness is wrapped up in you. Believe me, my love, no woman ever loved her husband better than I love you. It is impossible they could for you are dearer to me than I can find words to express. How happy I feel at the idea I have of being able to accompany Betsey² to Dublin after Christmas. . . . Our son³ and heir is very well and his mother quite recovered. I wish to God she was now able to come downstairs for I have hardly a moment to myself with housekeeping and attending her and my mother who is still confined with her arm. She was obliged to stay in bed two days it was so sore. . . . Adieu, my dearest Dan, and believe me, ever your sincere and affectionate Maria O'Connell .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Her brother Rickard O'Connell.

2 Her sister Betsey Connor.

3 Obviously a flippant reference to her nephew Thomas O'Connell.

To Mary O'Connell, Tralee

Dublin, Monday, 8 November 1801

My dearest Mary,

... Do not, my sweet angel, show my letters to any of your family. I would feel a check if I did imagine anyone saw them but yourself. ... I should not if my letters were seen be able to tell you although it is literally the fact that you are my last thought at night and that I awake with you in my mind in the morning. Mary, by my sacred honour as a Gentleman I am thoroughly convinced that my existence depends on having you mine. ...

... Is it the ceremony that remains to be performed that should by its forced omission weaken the claims I have on you or you on me in the sight of God and Man. That ceremony is, my love, necessary I do admit for the sake of society and order as well as for conscience and honour: and your honour is infinitely dearer to me than my own. But do not imagine that our not being already *married* could induce me ever to relinquish one particle of the claims I have on you, Mary; you are bound, firmly bound to me as I am to you. The Clergyman and the Law will never be able to increase, though they will sweeten, the certainty with which I do now and hereafter ever shall call you my wife. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

59

To Mary O'Connell, Tralee

Dublin, 19 November 1801

My dear Mary,

... In the course of a long life which I expect to spend with you, I shall in every absence have to repeat again and again to you what I have so often already told you, and what I appeal to my whole life to confirm, 'that I love you more than ever man loved woman, that you are dearer to me than words can express and that I doat on you with an affection as ardent as it is respectful, as sincere as it is delicate.'... I will not write to you on Saturday as the frequency of your receiving and writing letters may be remarked. Could you not

get Rick¹ occasionally to direct your letters to me? . . . Do gratify my pride and my love by showing me that you already feel yourself my wife: that you are convinced we have no separate interest, and that your heart tells you there is no room whatsoever for having any delicacy upon these points with me. . . . Good God, how delightful it would be to me to have you treat me as you would your *real* husband. But surely, my beloved, not being yet married can make no difference on this point.

I shall therefore expect to hear from you candidly on this subject [the acceptance of presents from him]. Perhaps you will show me that you are my own dear little girl and that I am everything to you. . . .

Yours, unalterably yours,

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

1 Mary O'Connell's brother Rickard O'Connell.

60

To Mary O'Connell, at Mr. J. Connor's, Tralee

Dublin, 1 December 1801

[No salutation]

... I am glad the *affair of the presents* is settled. We are to have no more words about it but you *shall* take whatever I bring you. Accordingly I have purchased for you instead of the sable which I found unmanageable, a handkerchief of double silk trimmed with sable. I have also bought for you a *few* pairs of white stockings. The loose coat is in the hands of the tailor. . . .

. . . Depend on it that I think with the greatest impatience on our journey and the time which you are to spend in Dublin. I promise myself more pleasure from it than I have received from any other period of my existence. The satisfaction of being so much in your company and of being able to talk with you unreservedly and without danger of suspicion, is to me the most delightful. . . .

Tell your mother, whom I love in my heart, that she need be under no apprehension respecting Edward¹ whose name continues in the navy list. . . . Adieu-my darling love, never was woman so beloved, so doated on, so adored as you are

by Your

Daniel O'Connell . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Mary O'Connell's brother Edward O'Connell.

61

From Mary O'Connell to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

Tralee [Wednesday], 2 December 1801

My dearest Dan,

I received your letter last Saturday night and have to assure you nothing that has happened for some time gave me more pleasure than your not writing by yesterday week's post for this reason that, the mails being robbed, a number of the Dublin letters came to this office opened and, it is thought, went under the inspection of Mrs. Busteed¹ previous to their being given out. Had you written, it is probable your letter would meet with the same fate and then, indeed, our secret would be public enough. . . . It is impossible for me to tell you with what fond anxiety I look forward to your arrival here and to our journey to Dublin which I now have very little doubt of as Betsey² seems quite determined on going and James,³ I am sure, will have no objection, particularly as Ellen⁴ will accompany her mother, and the rest of the children she will leave in my mother's care. . . . I got my habit on Saturday. I like it very much and the buttons are excessively pretty but I can't think what the piece of brown cloth was intended for. I shall certainly not object to the hat's being a purchase of yours nor in future, my love, have any [one word missing] in accepting your presents as I see it is a gratification to you to be buying for your little woman. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Postmaster's wife, Tralee.
- 2 Her sister Betsey Connor.
- 3 James Connor.
- 4 Ellen Connor (1793-22 Dec. 1859), daughter of James and Betsey Connor and niece of Mary O'Connell.

To Mary O'Connell

Dublin, 10 December 1801

[No salutation]

I received, my darling Mary, a letter from you this morning. And sit down now to write to you in a hurry. I should perhaps have entirely omitted writing to you this post but that I ought to mention to you the change in our plans. James¹ is obliged to remain in town after me . . . and probably will not be able to leave town for another week. I set off for Cork to meet my Uncle on Saturday. . . .

I leave with James the *presents* for my beloved wife. You call them style presents. I wish you may find them worthy your acceptance. He will also carry down the sable for Betsey O'Connell and your mother's muff. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers James Connor.

62a

To Mary O'Connell

[Copy]

Dublin, 4 February 1802

My dearest Love,

I have read twenty times over your letter of the 21st of January and really the oftener I read the more completely am I puzzled to conceive the reason or motive which could have induced you to write to me in such a manner. The style is so different from anything you have written to me before that, as I cannot assign any rational cause for such, that I am fond to imagine that something must have occurred with respect to our correspondence in your town which makes you think it prudent to write to me in this way. At first I thought you might have wished to send such a letter as I could show to any person who was interested in the state of my friend Connor's¹ health but very little reflection showed me that such could not have been your intention for you begin by saying that you wrote to me often. Besides, you must know beyond a shadow of doubt that no consideration would induce me to tell that I receive any letters from you at all. I am too desirous,

you well know, not to excite suspicion for that. It could not therefore have been your idea to write a letter for me to show or speak of. You begin with 'dear Sir' and end with 'your affectionate cousin'. Good God, what can this mean? Surely you do not intend to quiz me? That you could undoubtedly have done and very effectually. But that would be treating me with a sort of solemn levity which I do not think my conduct to you merits and which I am sure I never would expect. I cannot however attribute this letter of yours to caprice or whim for, really, I never knew a human being, male or female, who had so little of either in their disposition as you have. Perhaps I have had the misfortune to have offended you. If so, believe, I entreat, the solemn assurance of my heart that nothing could have been more unintentional and that nothing on earth could have given me more sincere regret. I love you too much, with too delicate and honourable a passion not to be tortured at even the bare idea of giving you offence. If I have done so, all I can now say is that every atonement in my power I will now make without delay. Believe me, my dearest Love, that your letter has made me excessively melancholy and unhappy. So little did I expect one of its kind that, I assure you, I read it over entirely before I perceived the change of manner. O heaven, how wretchedly miserable a being I would be if this letter was a symptom of your ceasing to entertain for me the sentiments with which I did imagine I had inspired you. But I assuredly ought to banish every idea of this kind.

I wrote the foregoing part of this letter yesterday and can now assure you that I feel a kind of feverish heaviness on my mind which must last at least till I hear from you again. In fact, I am very miserable without exactly knowing why I should be so, but that perhaps is the strongest reason for my being so unhappy. I fear a thousand things of which perhaps there is not the slightest danger yet I ask again and again why you should write to me as you have done if there was not some cause for it. What that cause can be I am weary of conjecturing. You say you write to say merely how James² is. If that be the case, if you repent any promise or declaration you have made me, if you regret having formed so intimate a connection-I was going to say I would allow you to abandon it -but I feel I could not say that with truth-I mean, suffer it at your desire. Yet I should never conquer the grief and mortification it would occasion. Frankly and candidly I must tell you I have a strong conviction on my mind that women

never love as men, with half the sincerity. I could give you a hundred instances and a thousand reasons to confirm this opinion. Now I could no more write to you so long a letter containing so many particulars and circumstances in the same style of yours than I could wilfully offend you. One line only I may write you if I had no other opportunity of communicating my sentiments. I did so against my will when there was an absolute occasion for it. Surely you cannot have any similar reason for writing as you did—otherwise you would not say you write often.

I am now somewhat callous about your coming to Dublin. It is a happiness which I have no reason to expect but, certainly, at no time did James so much require the society of his family as he would do at the present. Really, if he comes up, Betsey³ will not do her duty unless she comes with him.

Believe me to be your unalterably devoted

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Kenneigh Papers

1 James Connor.

2 James Connor.

3 Betsey Connor, wife of James.

62b

To Mary O'Connell

[Copy]

9 February 1802

[No salutation]

You see you were mistaken, my dearest love, I did not laugh at your former letter to me. Indeed, its producing a comical effect on me would be directly contrary to every impression I entertain of you. I trust and am pretty confident that this experiment will suffice and that you will not in future sport with the feelings which you know are too sensitive to bear being played on. How could you, my only darling, treat me so coldly on so slight an occasion for you had not insisted that I should write to you by every post. And surely, surely, my dearest girl, you did know that your affections, your regard, were dearer to me than anything else in the world. I have told you I was proud of your love. . . Judge then how mortified I felt at finding so small an offence—shall I call it an offence?—put every idea of tenderness out of your bosom. For affection you could substitute thus easily the cold language of sentiment. . . . Do, I entreat you, look upon even the pain which your ceremonious letter gave me as a decisive proof of the energy of my affection. . . . Let me therefore anxiously and earnestly entreat that you will not use me in the same slighting manner in future. I beg of you, my love, humbly but as a favour which I think my respectful regard for you merits, that you will consider seriously before you treat me with such coldness. Indeed, indeed, I am unable to bear it. Could I tell you the pleasure your letter of the third gave me I should certainly do more than has yet been done in language of any kind. . . . I again found you what you are, what you ever must always be, my own dear little woman. You cannot conceive how the character becomes you in my eyes. You look a thousand times handsomer and better in my eyes as my little woman than as my affectionate cousin. That affectionate cousin is a saucy little baggage. I beg you not to keep her company. On the contrary, I entreat you will avoid her entirely. As for my little woman it is impossible for anyone to meet with by an hundred degrees so sweet, so amiable, so interesting, so sensible and so charming a little girl. In disposition and in heart she is all excellence, in temper all sweetness, in person all that painting can express or youthful poets fancy when they love. To tell you how much I love my little woman would be to express that of which no image can be formed. Think how much you love me and then add ten hundred thousand times as much and you will still have a feeble idea of the measure of my affection.

Love to your mother etc. How I long to press you to the heart of

your fond husband

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Kenneigh Papers

63

From Mary O'Connell to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

Tralee, Saturday, 8 May 1802

[No salutation]

I wrote to you, my dearest love, on Wednesday at which time I was sure we would have left this for Dublin, yesterday at farthest, but business Peter Hussey¹ had with James² delayed

us. As that gentleman did not arrive here until this morning, he purposes going to his place near Castleisland this evening and being in town early tomorrow morning to accompany us to Dublin. He takes a second carriage in which James and he will go in, Betsey,³ Ellen⁴ and I in the other. He wants me to go in the carriage with him instead of James but that is what I won't consent to. We leave this at nine o'clock tomorrow and hope with the help of God to see you, my darling, early on Wednesday. . . Writing to you, my darling, is my greatest pleasure. In your absence I feel no pleasure equal to it. I must bid you adieu as I am called to tea. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Peter Bodkin Hussey.
- 2 James Connor.
- 3 Betsey Connor.
- 4 Ellen Connor.

64

From Hunting-Cap to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

Derrynane, 27 May 1802

Dear Dan,

I last Sunday recd yours of the 18th, the purport of which I have duly considered. My opinion is that the most prudent part for us to take is to decide and fix upon one object and not suffer ourselves to be led astray and distracted by attempting to attend to too many at a time. That part of the Glyn property called the Tublerys [Tulleryr?], from your account of it, seems to be the most eligible object of any you have mentioned and, therefore, I would wish you to proceed to the purchase of it, if it can be accomplished at twenty-one years purchase. . .

With respect to the funds it may be running the risk of missing the purchase to wait either to get in money from those who owe it to me or to create the necessary sum by a saving out of my income. There is in Latouche's Bank $\pounds 2,350$ and the remainder I will make up, part in paper and part in money, without minding any calculation of loss that may be made out on disbursing the latter.

Our friend Marshall¹ told me last assizes he was speedily to receive a considerable sum of money (the rents of Callinafercy deposited with the Court) which he would apply to pay me. If he be in Dublin, present him my compliments and put him in mind of this, without going into a minute calculation. My demand is very little short of $f_{.1,500}$.

A few posts ago I had a letter of the 23rd of April from the General² from Paris. He was well, inquired very kindly for you and desired to be affectionately remembered to you. He does not expect to return to London till August. He had hopes of succeeding in the claim of his wife to her property in St. Domingo but it is probable the devastation of the Negroes will reach it and much reduce the value of it for some years. . . .

Your truly affte. Uncle and Friend,

Maurice O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Ralph Marshall.

2 Count O'Connell.

65

To his wife1

Dublin, Tuesday, 27 July 1802

[No salutation]

I trust, my heart's darling, that it is unnecessary for me to declare to you, though it is very true, that I have not had so happy a moment since you left me as the one in which I sit down to write to you. Indeed, sweet love, I would wrong you and myself much if I were to say it was the *only* one I since enjoyed. Though you are absent I am happy, very happy that I can call the most amiable of her sex my wife. I do not exaggerate, I declare solemnly to God I feel blessed with the certainty that I am the husband of the best as she is the loveliest of women. Your husband, my Mary, was at all times incapable of deceiving. You will now give him credit for only expressing a small part of what he feels in the fullness of a contented heart . . . [long expressions of love and affection].

I shall leave this on Friday, and expect to get to Ennis on Saturday or, at farthest, early on Sunday. You know that I am rapid in my motions on the road. Had you a good journey? How are you—what do you do? Do, for my sake, *if you love me*, do keep up your spirits. Be happy. Though we are obliged for the present to live so much asunder. Yet the time will soon come when things will be otherwise and I completely blessed with the best as she is the dearest of dear darlings. . . .
But always be convinced of the most scrupulous truth, fidelity and constancy from

Your most faithful and fond husband,

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Fitz-Simon Papers

¹ The first letter written by O'Connell to Mary as his wife. They had been married privately on 24 July 1802 at the lodgings of James Connor (Mary's brother-in-law) in Dame Street, Dublin. The celebrant was Rev. Charles J. Finn, D.D., P.P. of Irishtown, Dublin.

66

To his wife

Limerick, Saturday, 31 July 1802

[No salutation]

If I did not surely know that my beloved will feel as much pleasure on hearing from me as I do in writing to her I should not do so this night. In truth I am both weary and excessively sleepy, having been up at four these two days. But I declare solemnly to God that the torpor in my faculties occasioned by fatigue does not at all affect my mind, and that I do at this instant feel as lively and as enthusiastic an affection for my wife as if I had spent the day in idleness and inaction. . . .

... I left Dublin yesterday, came in the boat to Tullamore; and thence here today by post. I have no reason to complain of my journey.

You know that I doat with the fondest affection on you, and that I am your more

than affectionate and most faithful husband,

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

67

From his wife to Limerick¹

[Tralee, 4 August 1802] ... Not a word of news here. We found all our friends well... How anxious I am for Saturday sennight. The deuce take Mr. Mangin and his records. Were it not for him you would be here two or three days sooner but business must be minded and, thank God, you have it to mind. I must enclose my letter in this double sheet, lest (if I did it in a single one) their curiosity might induce the Busteeds² to read it. I shall also take the precaution of getting James³ to direct it. I will now conclude my dearest heart with assuring you that I am your fond and affectionate wife,

Maria O'Connell

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 The early part of this letter is not extant.

2 The postmaster and his wife.

3 James Connor.

68

To his wife

Ennis, Thursday, 5 [and Sunday, 8] August 1802 [No salutation]

... I feel a kind of tranquil certainty about me since our marriage which leaves my soul in a calm of happiness. It is to you that I am indebted for this. It is the benign and charming influence which you possess over me that even at the remotest distance can make my spirits light and my heart and soul gay. Dear, sweet little girl, you are indeed my bliss, my earthly felicity. ...

I shall be in Limerick tomorrow evening. . . . Can you guess what pleasure my getting a letter from you will create in my bosom! You certainly can, because you have felt the pleasure of hearing from *your* love.

Limerick, Sunday, 8 August I arrived in town too late on Friday night to get your letter of the 4th. I need not tell my Mary that her doating husband, as you call me most truly, was delighted at hearing from his beloved wife. There is a natural style, a kind of unaffected manner in your letters that goes direct to my heart. . . . I am lonesome and desolate without you. It is perhaps the inconsistency of love but I am at the same moment the happiest of men and yet irksomely miserable. My heart leans on my sweet companion, on the respectable mother of my children. . . .

You say my will shall be a law to you. My dearest Mary, I make no doubt of it. But believe me it is not on my *rights* as a husband that I rely, no it is only on my *conduct* as the

constant lover and the tender and ever attentive friend of your bosom. Partner of my soul. It will be my study to require nothing from your *duty*, everything from your *gratitude*. I have settled the plan of our lives in which I devoutly expect to make you the most enviable as you are the most amiable of women.... May the eternal Being protect you....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

69

To his wife,1 Tralee

Cork, 23 August 1802

[No salutation]

[Expressions of affection.]

You will be pleased to hear that poor Maurice² got through the journey surprisingly well. . . . Good God, what a pity it is that so noble a youth should have met with so early a misfortune. I love him sincerely and certainly not the less for your being a chief favourite with him.

Dear, darling girl, you cannot conceive how I doat of you. How much do I long for the hour when I shall be able to boast that I am married to the best and most charming creature in existence. I trust that the time is not distant. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 The letter is addressed to Mary as 'Miss Maria O'Connell', since O'Connell was keeping his marriage a secret until he could speak to Hunting-Cap. See letter 31, note 2.

2 Mary O'Connell's brother Maurice O'Connell.

70

To his wife,¹ Tralee

Cork, Thursday, 26 August 1802

[No salutation]

Your letter of Tuesday I got, my darling, this morning and feel a little disappointed that you did not get mine of Monday before you wrote . . . [long expressions of affection].

Maurice² is here still and intends to remain some days longer. . . . He is delighted with the match you have made. At least he tells *me* so. Do you believe him? I do for my part.

You have heard of the event of the duel.³ It was ludicrous enough in one point of view. I mean in poor Hussey's being obliged to quit his own country to procure a person to stand by while he was shot at. It ought to show him how unavailing wealth is without good conduct. . . .

I shall remain here till Saturday week. I then go by Berehaven to Derrynane. Console yourself with the assurance I give you that you shall soon see me, I mean soon after my return to Iveragh. I will easily find means to go to you. Depend on it, nothing shall detain [me] from you.

Your fond and faithful husband

Daniel O'Connell . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Addressed to Mary as 'Miss Maria O'Connell' (see letter 69, note 1).
- 2 Mary O'Connell's brother Maurice O'Connell.
- 3 Unidentified.

71

From his wife

Tralee, 27 August 1802

[No salutation]

What a comfort, my dearest Love, was your letter to me this morning. It afforded me the only degree of happiness I experienced since our parting. To hear from you and to know you are well is, believe me, my only consolation. I can't, as I see other women do, enjoy themselves in their husbands' absence. When you are away my wish is never to stir out. I could sit forever alone thinking of you and embracing your dear resemblance. Do not, my darling, be angry with me when I own to you that hardly a day passes that I do not shed tears on your picture. You will not, I know, be angry with me as it is a kind of indulgence I give myself. I always feel my spirits lighter after doing so, and therefore it must be of use to me to cry. . . . I shall be quite uneasy until I hear how you approve of my taking the lodgings. I would have written to you about them before my mother made the bargain but that I thought I was long enough at James Connor's, and another reason I had was that there were others about the lodgings. They are the best furnished ones in town, and the most convenient, therefore they are considered reasonable. . . . Write to me as often as you can before you go to Mr. O'Sullivan's¹ as then I shall have no chance of hearing from you, but on any account don't direct the letters yourself. Adieu, my darling

love, and be assured that I shall always be your sincere, affectionate and fond wife

Maria O'Connell

... I hope you will not show my letter to any one.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Probably Coulagh, Berchaven, Co. Cork, home of Capt, Dan O'Sullivan.

72

To his wife

[Derrynane, undated; probably early September 1802] [No salutation]

I again enjoy the delightful occupation of writing to my heart's darling. I have ten thousand things to say to her but there is one leading idea which I could most sincerely wish to infix on your mind. It is that I doat of you with the most sincere, the most constant, the most ardent and increasing affection. . . You do not require such declarations from me for you know that my life is devoted to your happiness.

... I came here from Berehaven yesterday where I left the rest of the Party. I came to see my uncle but do not return. I was much shocked to find that his late illness has made a considerable impression upon him. He has, however, got the upper hand of it and is fast recovering. ... Still he is far from being what he was at the assizes. You know me too well not to know that whatever the sincerest gratitude and filial affection can feel or do on such an occasion is mine. He has been to me more than a father and has shown for me an attachment which increases daily. I assure you my mother cannot show so much real fondness as he does. ...

I have told Ellen¹ of *our secret*—our attachment only. How you ought to doat of her! In your life you never saw a creature more delighted, that her dear Mary, her sweet little friend, was to be her sister. She was always afraid, she said, that I would marry some proud woman of fashion who would look down on my family and despise this wild country. But you, *she* said and I fondly believe, are everything that could be wished for me. You will, she promises, make me happy as you are the most discreet, well tempered, affectionate girl in existence. How I love her for her affection to you. She was my favourite sister before. Now I doat of her of human beings next to my Mary. Do you know that she says you are a lucky girl to have the prospect of such a husband as your humble servant? You would laugh at my vanity if I repeated half what she said. But I told her that I would endeavour to be still a better husband than ever she imagined. . . . The image of my wife attends me, her darling idea comforts me. In the vexations and troubles that I meet with I turn every thought to you and all becomes instantly calm and tranquil. This is not imagination, believe me. It is really the fact. I have in thinking of you a sure refuge from every disagreeable occurrence.

I am just going to the house of the Mahonys to take instructions for preparing the marriage settlement between Miss Nano,² the younger sister, and a Mr. Mayberry³ from Glanerought. In point of fortune and dispositions it is a very suitable match, rather favourable in fortune to the lady, in person to the gentleman. He gets beauty and she gets wealth. It is not an unusual traffic in the matrimonial way. These people without feelings such as ours may go on in a way which has been marked out by so many others. But for me, my darling, who have faith only in love, who believe in romance because I feel it, for me there are thousands upon thousands of delights of which the common race of men do not dream. I do know that I have felt and perhaps communicated more pleasure in mere conversation with you than persons of less enthusiastic minds can possibly know during the course of their lives. . . .

[End of letter missing.]

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His sister.

- 2 Honora, daughter of Daniel Mahony, Emilamore and Cappanagrown, Co. Kerry.
- 3 John Mayberry of Kenmare, later J.P., Green Lane, Kenmare.

73

To Hunting-Cap, Derrynane¹

Tralee, 28 September 1802

My dear Uncle,

. . . You require to know what the steps are [about three words missing] to be taken against oppressive tithe farmers. . . . It is therefore necessary for me to remark that the current of the statute law sets strongly in favour of the tithe dealer and it is upon this account absolutely necessary that the greatest

strictness should be employed. That strictness consists, first, in the regular service of the notices to set out the tithes which in the present case has been exactly attended to. Secondly, in punctually severing and putting by itself the tithe whether the person entitled attends or not. Let this be carefully observed. Let the tithe corn even be made up on the field in stacks and the tithe potatoes. . . .

[? If] the tithe man thinks he has been injured, his remedy [? lies in] a suit in the consistorial court in which he exhibits a libel for subtraction of his tithes. To this suit it is a sufficient and conclusive defence to show the service of the notice to attend the drawing home of the harvest and the setting out of the tithes as I have above mentioned. The tithe man may then indeed show that he has been obstructed in the drawing away of the tithes or that they have been used by the farmer.

From what I have said, you will easily collect that the tithe must be set out and carefully preserved and upon no account used, and *all* this though the tithe man should not attend. . . .

I have thrown these observations together for your information. They are somewhat untechnically expressed and I may perhaps not have made myself as intelligible as I could wish. On legal subjects professional men are too apt to suppose a degree of previous knowledge of legal phrases and ideas which their readers could not by possibility have attained. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Owing to damage to the paper, it has been necessary to omit the greater part of this letter.

73a

To his wife, Tralee

Derrynane, Wednesday, 20 October 1802

My darling Mary,

I was somewhat disappointed at not hearing from you by Jeffers, the more especially as I had written two letters to you. But I well know that if you did not write it was only because some reason prevented you which I am very ready to give credit for without knowing it. I am, thank God, too well convinced that my sweet, affectionate and constant little girl does not for one moment forget her doating husband to feel any uneasiness or resentment at your silence. Best and most beloved of women, whether you write or are silent your husband equally loves, equally confides in, your affection and your prudence. You are my comfort and my consolation. To you are all my thoughts turned. And even at this distance you fill my heart with the delight which the certainty of your virtuous affection never fails to bestow on me. You are distant yet you make me happy. Such is I believe always the effect of an union between persons who like you and me know where to place their happiness. It is not splendour nor wealth, nor even the fond ambition of fame and station that I consider as the means of making me happy. I am, it is true, attached to them and in the soberness of my soul I seek for them, but it is not there that real pleasure is to be found. No, my dear wife, they are my business only. My pleasures-my happiness lies entirely with you. Endeavouring to show how ardently, how sincerely I love—seeking every means to give you satisfaction—making your pleasure the law of my conduct, such shall ever be the delightful occupation and only real amusement of my life. You know me, Mary, and you will readily believe me. Indeed, darling, you deserve a great deal more. But be convinced that if I am not able to make you as happy as you merit, at least I am most fully and completely convinced of your worth. Believe it from me, Mary, that no woman ever in fact and in plain truth deserved so much gratitude as you do from your husband.

I could write to you forever in this style because the only exertion necessary is to commit my thoughts as they arise to paper. But you, my dearest darling, do not require, I verily believe, any assertion of mine to give credit to my fond, my faithful, my constant love. Dearest Mary, think of your husband but with half the affection that he remembers you and I will be too happy.

Darling, I sincerely regret that I cannot see you until next Thursday, the 28th. That day, unless the weather be desperate indeed, you may depend on seeing me. Give my sincerest love to your mother.

SOURCE : MSS 17070, NLI

74

To his wife, Tralee

11 November 1802, from Dublin Assures her that his cold is gone and expresses grief that she has felt unwell. ' The illness you feel is the natural consequence of having made me the happiest of men. It is the child of your Dan that gives you so much trouble.'

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

75

From his mother¹ to Post Office, Dublin

18 November 1802

My ever Dear Dan,

You will, I am very sure, be more pleased than surprised to hear that I have prevailed on my dear Ellen² to give up that foolish attachment so long and so uselessly carried on between her and Splinter . . . a report that was spread all over the country that they were married or so far engaged as not to have the power of being off, and were to be married at Christmas with your approbation. This at last reached your father. To express his rage is out of my power. He took a most solemn oath to cut her off with a shilling and meant to write to you to prevent Splinter's coming here, and writing to his brother³ to insist on his not going to Derrynane. . . . Sure it would have been hard that my ever dear Ellen should refuse to act as each of her sisters did, who gave up early prepossessions to gratify me who they well know had their interests only at heart. . . . What helped to enrage your father was hearing that Dan O'Connell of Portmagee4 would have proposed for Ellen but for the report I before mentioned. . . . I truly wish Splinter a good wife with a fortune that will enable him to live as he wants and expect before I die to have his thanks. . . .

All here join me in love to you and count with impatience the days until we can hope to see you, a happiness no one longs more for than your tenderly fond mother

Catherine O'Connell

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Catherine O'Connell.
- 2 Her daughter.
- 3 Hunting-Cap.
- 4 Daniel O'Connell († July 1762-7 May 1811) married Theresa Lombard at Killarney 20 November 1802.

To his wife, at Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee

Dublin, Tuesday, 23 November 1802

[No salutation]

Your letter of the 19th of November I got this day. . . .

Do you know that I treat myself with a kind of respect every time I recollect that you soon will make me the father of a being to which my heart, my soul and my every sentiment is attached. Mother, dear mother of my child, how shall I sit near you and tell how much my heart pants to make you know the *tender*, *tender* love the father of your children bears for you. . . .

The commands you gave me, love, arrived too late. The man was gone. But if I do not take you the muslin and the picture I will very shortly take you myself and if you can scold me then, and send me from you merely because I did not literally fulfil your commissions, you are not the dear little darling of a gay sensible *old* woman that I take you for. . . . I will not go to see Mrs. Siddons: ¹ I will not, indeed, sweet, I cannot go to any kind of public or private amusement in your absence. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

t Mrs. Sarah Siddons, actress, then appearing in the Theatre Royal, Dublin. See DNB.

77

To his wife,1 Tralee

Dublin, 25 November 1802

Darling,

I can write you but a few lines as it is grown so late, and my time is small. I was finishing some law business which I had solemnly promised to dispose of this night.

. . . Sweet Mary, I rave of you! I think only of you! I sigh for you, I weep for you! I almost pray to you!

. . . Indeed you are a dear, charming little woman.

... Mary, how fondly I shall cherish the little stranger coming! I hope it may be a daughter, and as like you as possible. Oh God! how I then will love her! . . .

[P.S.] In a week we shall be able to fix the time of our departure. Happy, happy moment that gives me my sweet wife again.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 13-14

1 Addressed to Mary as 'Miss Maria O'Connell' (see letter 69, note 1).

78

To his wife

Tuesday, 30 November 1802

[No salutation]

... You are so ill; so very ill that you even conceal your situation from your mother and Betsey.¹ These cold perspirations, these shiverings, fill my heart with apprehension and horror. Mary, dear Mary, sure you do not mean to leave your doating husband a prey to the tortures of knowing that through his fault you do not take sufficient precautions, that my foolish wish for secrecy prevents you from taking that regular exercise, those medical assistants which would render your situation so comparatively easy and trifling. I do most humbly but most fervently entreat that you will not again conceal your state of health from your mother and Betsey. Their experience, Darling, may at once point out means of affording you ease. ...

I have been obliged to disobey you. I could not conceal from James² your situation. The only time I ever have or ever shall refuse to comply with your wishes. But he easily perceived my broken-hearted appearance. I write to your Mother by this night's post to call in Dr. Leyne³ without delay. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Probably Betsey Connor.

2 James Connor.

3 Maurice Leyne, M.D. (Paris) (died 26 Jan. 1833), Tralee, Co. Kerry, J.P.; married 1786 Agnes Ruth Herbert, daughter of Cornelius, The MacGillicuddy of the Reeks.

To his wife at Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee

Dublin, 2 December 1802

[No salutation]

... Tell me, dearest, in what way shall I compensate you for the torture and the painful agony which you sustain? How will I reward you for the sufferings you now endure? Indeed, my Mary, if unremitting constancy, if unabated affection, if respectful doating and ever watchful care can in any measure recompense you for your present pains you may depend on receiving even more than I can mention from me....

Darling heart, good night. I will sleep with you I suppose this night fortnight. Oh God, the happiness of pressing my sweet girl to the heart of her fond and admiring husband.

D. O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

80

To his wife (addressed to 'Miss O'Connell, Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee ')¹

Dublin, Saturday, 4 December 1802

[No salutation]

... You frightened me a little by your letter of Friday week. A little do I say? Indeed I was greatly alarmed, and you will not fail to laugh when I tell you how I contributed myself to increase my own alarm. It was thus—no sooner did I get your letter than I sat down to read a treatise on *midwifery*. I read it through, and every species of illness which accompanies pregnancy being mentioned in detail, I filled my head with them and trembled for every one of them. God knows how sincerely I pitied and felt for my poor Mary. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 See letter 69, note 1.

To his wife

Carhen, Thursday, 30 December 1802

[No salutation]

I never felt so lonely and wretched as I have done, darling, since I left you. I catch myself sighing most bitterly and everyone remarks my dullness. You will naturally ask the cause but surely you ought to know I have no misfortune but being separated from you. . . .

The death of my grandmother¹ has forbidden all amusement in Iveragh. My mother bore the intelligence very well as under the circumstances she ought. John,² poor fellow, is mad at the loss of the Christmas dancing. He has no consolation but capering about the bedrooms.

I am just going to Derrynane. I will remain there nine days, then three here-one in Killorglin on business and the following I shall embrace the best, most amiable and most beloved little woman in the world. I wish to God my story was told to the old Gentleman.3 I shall feel devilish awkward. But I am full of hope and know no reason to be otherwise. If contrary to my sanguine expectations I should find my uncle desperate in not permitting me to marry without a fortune, I will not go further but you and your mother shall (if I get hers and your consent) come to Dublin on your way to join Maurice.4 But this is a scheme which I am determined not to want although I mention it. For I will not quit my uncle until I tell him of our marriage. At all events do not expect to hear from me till you see me as I shall like to be the bearer of my own good news. I feel as if I was very near to perfect happiness.

. . . You well know that you are dearer, much dearer, than life to your fond doating and constant husband. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Honora O'Mullane, widow of John O'Mullane, 'Chief of his Name', of Whitechurch, Mallow, Co. Cork, and daughter of O'Donnell, Kilbreedy, Co. Limerick.
- 2 O'Connell's second brother. See letter 46, note 3.

4 Maurice O'Connell, brother of Mary O'Connell.

³ Hunting-Cap.

To his wife ' at Mrs. Pembroke, Tralee'

Dublin, Thursday, 27 January 1803

[No salutation]

You will be happy, I know, my dearest heart, to hear that I arrived here in safety after a journey which was rendered disagreeable only by being separated from the sweet companion on whom my whole soul doats. . . .

You feel, love, some anxiety to hear of the fate of my letter to my uncle.¹ I cannot but say that I too am somewhat impatient. I know John² will deliver it as speedily as he possibly can, and I make no doubt that he will set your mind at ease about it without further delay. You have made me so happy. I am so delighted with you that I sometimes fear it is not in human nature to enjoy such happiness as I shall when I have you always with me. . . .

We are just going to dine with Bodkin.³ He gives a great feast at a tavern to about twenty of the trade. Three courses, a dessert, and claret, no less I assure you. See what a loss you have had in missing so splendid a fellow and getting only a stupid one like me. We will sit rather late. But depend upon it we will take care of ourselves. Peter will become popular if he consents to run out half his fortune in treats of this kind. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Hunting-Cap.

2 His brother.

3 Peter Bodkin Hussey.

83

To his wife at Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee

[Saturday] 29 January 1803

[No salutation]

I was disappointed, darling love, but assuredly not one bit displeased at not hearing from you by this day's post. Indeed I could not be displeased at anything that my sweet woman does, and in fact I had no right to expect your letter until Monday. Darling, my impatience to hear from you is somewhat increased by the state of suspense I am in towards my uncle, whilst perhaps the same suspense is the very reason

you did not write. I trust however that your spirits are sufficiently cheered before now with the hope that any displeasure of his can but be temporary whilst my love, my adoration, my constant and unremitting duty, my respectful attention to you shall be eternal. . .

Love, I conceive that an indifferent person would smile at a *husband's* writing thus to his wife after being married even so long as we are; but I should be truly ashamed if any person felt more fondness, or passion or did or suffered more for the object of illicit and criminal love than I would cheerfully do for my Mary. And yet I see men endure every hardship for the obtaining the possession of women whose persons alone can be desirable. Why then, in the name of common sense, should not I feel more strongly all the force of an affection which is justified by the lesser qualifications of the person and is commanded by the natural and heartfelt qualities of the mind.

Indeed, my heart's darling, I wish I could tell you half the strength of my doating.

How does my *daughter*¹ treat you. Surely she ought to behave well to such a mother. A mother whose idea even at a distance makes the only happiness of a doating husband. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Mary's unborn child was a son, Maurice, born six months later-27 June 1803.

84

From his brother John to Dublin

Carhen, Monday night [probably January 1803] My Dear Brother,

What my feelings are, at the moment I am about conveying an additional pang to your tortured bosom, I cannot easily describe. However, as there is no state less bearable than suspense, I must on. I returned this evening from Derrynane. My uncle¹ is more grieved and exasperated than we were aware of. I never witnessed such a struggle as was exhibited by him between affection and displeasure. Will you believe that on reading your letter for me yesterday he got into a most violent flood of tears. This circumstance proves the strength of his affection for you. I trust in God before many months elapse that [he] will overcome his disapprobation. You are now, my dear Dan, arrived at the most critical period of your life. Do not, I conjure you, give way to those acute feelings which I know you possess but exert that sound judgment and sense you are so remarkable for. Consider the claims your family and your amiable wife (whose idol you are) have on you and do not injure your health so precious to us all by too much sensibility. My father disapproves of your marriage only as far as he thinks it will hurt you with your uncle. At any moment you please, he is satisfied to receive Mary at Carhen. You may easily suppose she will meet with every attention from the rest of the family. I intend returning to Derrynane in the course of a few days. I shall then be able to form an opinion whether my uncle's displeasure is likely soon to wear off. Will you let me hear from you soon? I cannot conclude without again entreating you will not permit your feelings to injure your constitution. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645 1 Hunting-Cap.

85

To his wife at Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee

Tuesday, I February [1803]

[No salutation]

My darling love, when you read this letter the heart of your poor husband will perhaps have ceased to bleed for the sufferings of his angel wife. Indeed, my Mary, it is not possible for me to sustain the poignancy of the affliction which I endure when you are ill and absent from me. Indeed I have no joy, no pleasure, no hope that can cheer me even with one instant of comfort while you are sick and I uncertain of your state.

Good God, what a cold unfeeling wretch I am when I endeavour in such words as these to convey an idea of the black agony that harrows up my soul of souls. If you were well I care not for uncle, relatives, or fortune. I would accept poverty, tortures and death to give you either happiness or even a single proof of the unceasing and consuming passion which devours whilst it consumes this anguished heart of mine. . . .

I do not well know what I write but what I would urge to you is the absolute necessity there is of keeping up your spirits. . . . I do solemnly assure you that if you will not live for me, I will die for you. Mary, sweet, sweet Mary, I cannot, indeed, I cannot live without you. You are my life, my comfort. If I were a religionist I should spend every moment in praying for you—and this miserable philosophy which I have taken up and been proud of—in the room of religion, affords me now no consolation in my misery. How much truth do not I now feel in the assertion that man is a creature more of the heart than the reason. Sweet, dearest darling, write to me as soon as you can but do not hurry yourself until you are quite recovered, for you must indeed, my own Mary, you must recover. I have the insolence [*sic*] madness to say it must not be otherwise, or if it be, depend on soon meeting your husband, if a spirit so pure as yours will elsewhere consort with such a vile being as mine.

Darling, forgive the vehemence with which I write. At present I do not know what the effect of your illness may be but before, long before you get this I shall be calm and cool. My brain is heated by the anxiety I feel for my love. Oh how I doat of you, how I adore you. Till we married, till I knew you, I never loved you. What are prospects, what is business? What are fame or fortune? Most heartily should I despise them without you.

. . . Darling, it certainly was grief and anxiety that produced your illness. Do you mean to forsake me so early in our career? Do you intend to let me feel I was the death of the sweetest innocent? Spare, my darling, spare your distracted husband.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

86

From his wife to 19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin

3 February 1803

My dearest love,

This being the first day I got permission from the doctor to leave my room, I would not omit writing to you who I know feels no pleasure equal to a correspondence with a wife who feels herself the happiest of women, blessed with such a fond adoring husband. Indeed, darling, I will keep up my spirits and take care of myself as I have got so well over this last attack. I am now, thank God, almost perfectly well, and could I but hear [that] your uncle's¹ displeasure does not affect your health or spirits, I should have no cause for uneasiness. His displeasure, my darling, will I know give you more real sorrow than the loss of his fortune but I trust and am sure that displeasure will in a short time be completely done away. I beg and entreat of you then, my heart's dearest treasure, to take care of yourself and not give way to unavailing grief. I know from experience how injurious it is to the health. Consider, darling, if you do make yourself unhappy you will make one whose existence depends on yours the most miserable of beings. We will yet, love, be happy together. Depend on it I will take every care of myself if you promise to do the same. I must have done least writing too much would affect my head. I only got leave to write two lines but, as you perceive, I exceeded them. . . .

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Hunting-Cap.

87

To his wife at Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee

Dublin, 3 February 1803

[No salutation]

I cannot describe to you, my heart's darling, the transport I felt at getting your mother's letter this morning. From her former one I really feared that I had lost the only object for which my anxious soul ever felt a real anxiety. Indeed, indeed, Mary, you have and can have but a faint idea of what my sufferings were on your account. How truly bitter they were rendered by the conviction that pressed on my mind that your illness was principally occasioned by the state of doubt and suspense which I left you in with respect to my uncle.¹ This reflection you may be assured would soon have put a period to my existence if I had the misfortune to have lost you. . . .

Whatever should be the result of my letter to my uncle do not let that make you uneasy. Believe me, his anger is a storm that will soon blow over, and angry he will certainly be for some time. However, I insist that you will not suffer your spirits to be depressed. Think, my angel, what tortures your illness must give to the heart that adores you, and do therefore endeavour to preserve your health which can only be done by letting your mind be at ease. . . .

I have been looking at several houses and think I shall find

but little difficulty in suiting you with one. You know my plan of domestic felicity. You approve of it too and upon that account it is doubly dear to me. I cannot enjoy happiness out of your sweet society. Do I talk of happiness—Why the fact is that I have not one pleasant sensation of which you are not either the object or the sharer. . . .

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 Hunting-Cap.

88

To his wife at Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee

Dublin, 5 February 1803

My dearest love,

I have never till now made a single request of you with which you hesitated one moment to comply. I have therefore every reason to expect that you will not refuse the only serious one I ever made you-it is-that you will not suffer your spirits to fail you at the present juncture. If you have any confidence in me surely you will take care of your health and not let the anger of my uncle,1 which I do venture to assure you will not be of long continuance, to prey upon your mind. If you believe my fervent and ever constant love, if you think you have the doating husband which I conceive you have found me and ever shall find me, surely you will take care of yourself and of my darling little daughter.² I declare solemnly to God, Mary, I do not mean to survive you, therefore if you set any value on my existence do not permit your health to be affected by a cause which soon will be removed. I would not attempt to lull you with hope which I did not feel myself. But I do feel it and I know full well the force of the affection which he has always shown me. In truth, my darling, we could not have reasonably expected that he would have got over all his objections at once. I could not have hoped that he would not be somewhat displeased and angry. But I have every confidence that his anger will soon blow over the more particularly as I am aware of having gratified every other wish of his.

I have this post enclosed him a long letter, no less than two sheets. It is written with feeling and I think with some degree of talent. I have not got any letter from him yet and indeed cannot expect one sooner than Monday. But it is not what the writing may produce that I think so much of. I will see him personally at the assizes and I have no doubt of being my own most powerful intercessor. Do Darling, do my adorable Mary, cheer me by finding you keep up your spirits. Sure you know you have at all events got the most doating husband in existence, who is at all events, determined to cherish you in his heart of hearts. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Hunting-Cap.

2 Mary's unborn child, a son, Maurice.

89

From his wife to Post Office, Dublin

[Postmarked Tralee] 6 February 1803

[No salutation]

It will, I am pretty sure, give my dearest darling pleasure to hear his Mary is so much recovered as to be able to receive visitors all this day. . . . It was uneasiness and grief that brought this last illness on me, grief, my darling, at parting with you and uneasiness lest your uncle's' displeasure should affect you too much. It is not his fortune, I know, you would regret losing but incurring the displeasure of an uncle whom I so well know you felt a sincere love for, gave me more unhappiness than I can describe. However, I trust before many months elapse, he will be reconciled to you. Should he not, my darling, at all events he can't prevent us from being happy together. I declare to you most solemnly that if he altered his will tomorrow it would not give me a moment's unhappiness. It was not your fortune but yourself, my dearest heart, that I married. If you were possessed of but fifty pounds a year, I would be happy with you and think myself one of the most enviable women in the world, blessed with such a fond adoring husband. May God, my darling, preserve you to your Mary. You would laugh a good deal were you here, love, [to hear] the various reports that are set forward every day. One of them is that your mother is so exasperated that she never got out of bed since John² went home. I listen to all those stories and am quite indifferent about what they say or can say as I know it all proceeds from envy. What astonishes them most, they exclaim, is my seeming indifference at your being disinherited by your uncle for so they will have it, because they would wish it. . . . I do not give way to any grief at the displeasure of your uncle. Rick Connell³ is here and will not let me write more and, as he is a *doctor*, I must submit. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Hunting-Cap.

2 O'Connell's brother.

3 Dr. Rickard O'Connell, Tralee.

90

To his wife at Mrs. Pembroke's, Tralee

Dublin, Tuesday, 8 February 1803

[No salutation]

Sweet, sweet darling, I rejoice, I truly rejoice that I have the supreme pleasure of again seeing the lines that you traced. Your hand, my own Mary, appears to me like the sight of heaven to the departed. Indeed now, sweet, I do not exaggerate. I do not exceed I assure you the simple truth of my feelings when I say so. I feel happy perfectly happy at getting your dear letter. I wish you could see me kiss it and view how snug it lies in my bosom. I love you the better, a thousand times the better, for being the cause of my present certainty that you will continue your affection for your husband even though he should not be so fortunate as you expected. ... My uncle¹ has not written to me yet which I take to be a good, a very good, circumstance. If he had made up his mind against us he surely would not hesitate. Besides, dearest, you wrong yourself much very much if you imagine that I should possibly feel any real uneasiness but what proceeds from your state of health. Darling, whilst you are well and say you love me, I cannot, indeed I cannot affect to be unhappy. You are my life, my soul, my all.

We are young enough, Sweet, and strong enough to bear even misfortune if it should happen to meet us in its roughest and worst shape. But in fact, darling, there clearly is no reason at present to make sure of evils which may or may not happen. Do not think that I am either unwilling or unable to bear the delightful burden which I thank God I had an opportunity of imposing on myself when I called you my wife. Darling, I do so doat of you.

Sweet, sweet Mary, I would almost wish I could even by suffering show you the excess of my ardent affection.

... I am singularly circumstanced about your going to Iveragh. I have my strong wishes and fears about it. I wish I was with you ten minutes to talk to you on the subject. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Hunting-Cap.

91

To his wife, Tralee

Limerick, Sunday, 6 March 1803

[No salutation]

... In the meantime I amuse myself with the occupation which to me is always delightful—of writing to my sweet girl. I think continually of you, Mary, and I feel no small satisfaction in communicating to you the tender regards of my doating heart even in the tedious and clumsy mode of a letter. I am sure I love you more than any woman was ever loved.

I have enjoyed excellent health and very decent spirits since I left you, considering you know I hate Ennis. I got out of it yesterday. I had some employment there. When we meet I will tell you the particulars of a singular row I had with Baron Smith¹ who treated me so ill in Court during a cause in which I was concerned and clearly in the right, that by the advice of the Bar I waited on him to remonstrate with him in private. He is a singularly capricious animal. He received me with a strong threat to complain against me to the twelve judges but concluded by paying me all manner of compliments and offering me any retribution in his power. I believe he will not again try to put me down. If he attempts *that* I promise you he shall not succeed. The command which I have over my temper fits me for scenes of this kind. But I do hardly apprehend the possibility of such recurring.

... I cannot tell you when I shall be able to set out but have reason to hope to get as far as Listowel on Saturday. The judges will not be *in* till Monday night. You know, my dearest heart, that I shall be with you as soon as I possibly can. Indeed, Mary, I have the pleasure of living only when I am with you. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I William Cusac Smith (1766-1836), second baronet, Newtown, Tullamore and Merrion Square. Appointed baron of the exchequer, 1801. Succeeded to baronetcy, 1808. See DNB.

From his wife to Post Office, Limerick

6 March 1803

My darling love,

. . . Never was there a husband and wife, I will venture to say, so completely blessed in each other's affections as my darling and his little woman. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

93

From his wife to Post Office, Cork

Tralee [Friday], 25 March 1803

My dearest love,

... Believe me, darling, there is not a wife in existence more sincerely anxious to promote the happiness of a beloved husband than I am nor to deserve his love. ... I love you, my darling, so much and so sincerely that to see you look thoughtful or at all alter your manner towards me gives me the most sensible concern lest I may have unintentionally offended you. ... Will you take care of yourself? You know how apt you are to take cold. ... John¹ left this last Tuesday for Derrynane since which time I have not heard from thence. No news is good news and I hope you will meet the old gentleman² quite recovered. ...

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I O'Connell's brother.

2 Hunting-Cap.

94

To his wife, Tralee

Derrynane, Thursday [probably 7 April 1803] My dearest love,

I wrote to you yesterday and the day before and have now little to add in point of intelligence. My uncle¹ is hourly getting stronger and stronger and my heart and spirits are perfectly light and easy. I have full leisure to think of my sweet little girl. . . . I have not yet nor shall I for three or four days see the old gentleman. I am very anxious to talk to him for half an hour. I think that what remains of his displeasure will be apt to vanish when we come to converse soberly. If not, my heart, things are very well as they are. We have ample means of support for the present and most flattering prospects for the future. And we have love enough to sweeten the cup of life. Darling, I do *so* doat of you.

I have written to James Connor about a house. We shall certainly part no more. I will never again be deprived of the pleasure of pressing to my bosom the dearest, sweetest of her sex. . . .

Take care of your cold, darling. Let me find you quite well on my return to you which possibly may not take place before next Thursday. As you well know I must stay here till I have more than one conversation with my uncle....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I Hunting-Cap.

95

From his wife to Derrynane

9 April 1803

[No salutation]

... You promised me to be here the fourteenth and I know you will if possible fulfil any promise you make your Mary. I shall be very anxious to hear how your uncle¹ received you. Therefore I know you will write to me by the first opportunity. Indeed I do not dread but you will part as good friends as ever, for surely he will not keep up his resentment any longer to a nephew whom he loves better than all the world and a nephew that never before disobeyed him in the least. This is, my darling, only what everyone says of you. James Connor writes by this post to John² and encloses him a paper with an advertisement of Mr. Segerson's.3 You will, of course, see it, and I have to request, darling love, you will not take any notice of what the nasty fellow says. It is the opinion of all your friends here and indeed of every gentleman who reads the stuff that you and John ought to treat Mr. S. with the contempt he merits. This last act of his plainly shows the public what he is. He is so disappointed at not getting damages for his black eye that he is now trying to provoke you or John

to give him room for another action which I most sincerely hope he will be disappointed in. At all events, darling, you ought not to mind him. I wish to God you were out of Iveragh. I will be very unhappy until you are or until I hear your determination with respect to that odious fellow. All I dread is that John (who I know is very hasty) may try to be avenged on Mr. S. and thereby involve you but for my sake, darling, take care of yourself and do not think it worth your while to take notice of anything he says or does for he is beneath your notice. Mr. Prendergast,⁴ who was the first that showed me the paper, said he was very sure you would laugh a good deal at it. Do then, my darling, and let the fellow see you despise what he can say. Enclosed is a letter which I got at the office vesterday. Did you get your clothes safe? I would send you more by this post if I was not afraid it may be an inducement to you to remain longer in Iveragh.

Write to me, darling love, as soon as you possibly can for I cannot divest myself of the uneasy feel[ing] I have since I read that fellow's advertisement yesterday. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 2 O'Connell's brother John.
- 3 John Segerson, Westcove, Caherdaniel, Co. Kerry. He died in 1825.
- 4 Probably Walter Prendergast.

96

To his wife, Tralee

Limerick, Sunday, 7 August 1803

[No salutation]

I hope, darling love, that you and my poor boy¹ have arrived safe and sound at Carhen. The anxiety of my heart dwells on you both and I *feel* that I love you more because you are absent. Indeed, Mary, the best, the sweetest of wives is the comfort and the consolation of her doating husband. I think continually of you and always with gratitude for the happy life which your temper, your goodness and *yourself* have already given and promise to give me.

I have been in Ennis since the day we parted. The business was not abundant there. I got into that town without a

¹ Hunting-Cap.

Give me full details of the state of my boy's health. I hope he makes out his battles as well as he used to do, poor thing I cannot tell you how I doat of him. Give him a dozen kisses for me and write me a great deal about him.

Get John² to enclose the two letters (the one you carried and the one I now send) in a cover to my uncle.³ Let them be sent to him the day after you get this. I rely on it, my darling, that this will be done precisely as I ask it of you. If John be not at home send the letters yourself and be sure that nobody sees either but the person to whom they are directed. I would *not* wish John to go with them himself.

I am sure, my soul's darling, that I need make no professions of affection for you. You must now know by experience whether I love you or not but I do solemnly assure you that you do not, you cannot know half the ardour, half the doating which accompanies my love for you. My dearest, dearest darling. I am lonesome and melancholy in wanting the company of my sweet little girl. You are all my happiness and all my thoughts are with my wife and boy. In health I am perfectly well. The soreness of my throat went off easily. And indeed so soon that I almost forgot to tell you I was well of it. Give my love to everybody. Kiss my boy again for me. . . .

[P.S.] The Country everywhere is quiet and every reason to believe that it will remain so.

. . . I shall be in Tralee on Friday.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- Maurice Daniel O'Connell (27 June 1803-18 Oct. 1853). Educated Clongowes Wood College and Trinity College, Dublin; called to the bar, 1827; M.P. for Clare, 1831-32; for Tralee, 1832 till his death. Married Mary Frances, only daughter of Bindon Scott of Cahircon, Co. Clare, on 29 September 1832 in a Catholic ceremony in Tralee and again on 1 October 1832 in a Protestant ceremony in Kenmare.
- 2 His brother.
- 3 Hunting-Cap.

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, Sunday, 28 August 1803

[No salutation]

I wrote to my dearest darling by the last post—and though I have no news to communicate to you since yet as usual I have a great deal to say. But it is what I have told you a thousand times before and will ten thousand times again that you are the most beloved and the sweetest of women.

. . . I should make some excuse to you for my delay if you did not know that I am infinitely more impatient to see you than you can be to see me. In fact I have now a double motive for besides my darling little girl whom I doat of—and who in herself is all the world to me I have my poor little squalling brat to pull by the nose—a pleasure that I assure you I long very much to enjoy.

I have bespoke two pairs of shoes for you at the best shoemakers. They will be *round toed*. I will also send your boy a cradle and yourself a pair of pattens¹ which I should have sent from Tralee but that there were none to be had there. . . .

I shall travel by the way of Newmarket—and I believe that Jerry McCartie² will accompany me to KilCarhen.³ I will remain but one night at his house, and if my mare be before me in Killarney we will get home with ease the next day....

Young Emmett [sic] is, they say, certainly arrested in Dublin.⁴ If he has been concerned in the late insurrection of which I fancy there is no doubt—he merits and will suffer the severest punishment. For my part I think pity would be almost thrown away upon the contriver of the affair of the 23rd of July. A man who could coolly prepare so much bloodshed, so many murders—and such horrors of every kind has ceased to be an object of compassion. Besides, darling, I cannot forgive those wretches the agony of terror and sufferings which they made you endure. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Wooden overshoes.
- 2 His brother-in-law of Woodview, Newmarket, Co. Cork.
- 3 That is, Carhen.
- 4 Robert Emmet's insurrection had taken place on 23 July 1803. He was arrested in Dublin on 25 August and, after trial and conviction, was hanged on 20 September 1803.

To his wife, Carhen

Tralee, 9 October 1803

My dearest darling love,

... I saw your letter yesterday to your mother and I am sorry to perceive by it that you have not the feel of being happy. Indeed, indeed, Mary, it grieves me most sincerely to think that there exist circumstances which I cannot control to give you uneasiness. Will you, my darling, reflect that there always does occur something to prevent the exact completion of the wishes of any person—and that it is not wise to lessen the good one enjoys by thinking too much of the many accidents which it is not in one's power to govern. ...

How is my darling boy getting on?¹ You must not, sweet, be uneasy at the little illness which his teething will necessarily produce. He has strength of constitution sufficient to carry him through—indeed I have the consolation to think that the excellent care taken of him has already insured him a long life. That it may be a happy one must be our next and most serious care. Kiss my baby a thousand times for me. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 His infant son, Maurice.

99

To his wife, Carhen

Dublin, 10 November 1803

[No salutation]

... Darling, I doat of you with an affection which absence only increases—and which renders the air I breathe poison until I shall have clasped to my breast at least *the thoughts* of my beloved. I am all anxiety also to learn how you bore your journey—and how you are. Dear sweet darling—if you could but know how my trembling heart fills with anxiety to hear from you it would give you one of those sensations of silent melancholy pleasure which are the happiest *pains* of Life.

I write to you at present, my dearest love, with the fatigue of the day's *campaign* completely upon me. We were reviewed in the Park¹ this day—we got there at eleven and remained

until four besides being an hour under arms before we set out. I offer this to you as an excuse for the hasty and unconnected manner in which I write. . . .

Tell me how my sweet boy gets on.² My darling infant, how I doat of him because he is yours. Dear, dear darling, I most fervently wish that it were in the power of language to convey those exquisite emotions of the soul which I experience from the thoughts of you and of him.

Dearest, let me get long letters from you—write to me much of yourself, much of our boy—they are the subjects that interest me. Let me again entreat you to be convinced that under the canopy of heaven there breathes not a being so loved as you, best, sweetest and most deserving of wives, are by your own fond and adoring *soldier*...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I O'Connell was a member of the Lawyers' Yeomanry Corps.

2 His son, Maurice.

100

To his wife, Carhen

Dublin, Thursday, 17 November 1803

Darling heart's love,

Your letter of Friday I got yesterday and feel sincerely pleased that your mind is now relieved of so much of your apprehensions. You may now sleep in quiet as you now know that however lonely I may feel yet that I am not exposed to the coldness of these nights. Indeed they endeavour to make up for any relaxation of this kind that we enjoy by giving us as busy days as possible when we are on duty. I am as tired as a dog at this moment having been out for seven hours this day through the Park firing, marching, running and countermarching. It was, however, a lovely day—clear, cool and frosty. . . .

I cannot refrain from telling you an incident that occurred yesterday. It is flattering to my vanity and I will therefore tell it to you—I was concerned in an important cause¹ from the County of Clare on the Popery Laws. I was one of four who argued it. My argument lasted about an hour. In giving judgment the court was divided but they all concurred in praising my *display*—I had handsome things said of it particularly by the Chief Baron² and by Baron Smith. You need not say anything on this subject further than just mentioning it as you know my father exaggerates every matter of this kind. I am myself for many reasons pleased. The more especially as none of the judges owe me the slightest partiality. The thing has made some noise here.

Dearest darling love, I doat of you with an affection that increases as my profession opens upon me—because I feel you more mine own. Dearest sweetest angel, how I cling you to my heart. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Unidentified.

2 Barry (Yelverton), first Viscount Avonmore (1736-1805), chief baron of the exchequer, 1783-1805.

101

From his wife to Post Office, Dublin

Carhen, Friday [18 November 1803]

[No salutation]

You write to me, my darling, in such spirits and give me so many reasons for the little probability of an invasion in this kingdom that I have almost got rid of my fears though the different accounts in yesterday's paper are enough to give the most serious alarm. James Connor and others, I am told, mention there is hardly any business doing in the courts, nothing going forward but military business. Surely, heart, these accounts are not very pleasant. You say nothing of them because you do not wish to make me unhappy. I am quite delighted that you should enroll yourself in Sir Edward Denny's corps1 though, if it could be helped, I had rather you were not in any. However, it is a great consolation to me, should the French land, not to have you obliged to remain in Dublin. Kerry will be the last place they come to and the yeomanry, I trust in God, will be able to keep down the common people. They are the only [one word missing] I dread in this part of the world. . . . Your father and John² returned yesterday from Derrynane, the former in good spirits which is, I am told, unusual after a conference with the old gentleman.³ Your mother told me in confidence last night that John would be married to Miss Coppinger⁴ if they agreed about the settlements. Your uncle goes to Cork the first week in next month, and John, I think, is to go the latter end of [? next]

week. She also told me that the old gentleman would settle the entire of his landed property on John but would not tie himself down to settle more than ten thousand pounds on him. This, your father and mother both think, looks well. For God's sake, heart, say nothing of my having mentioned it to you. I would not wish that John or any of the family should know I said anything of the *old sinner's* intentions, one way or the other. If you have said anything of what I mentioned to you in my last letter relative to my mother's marriage⁵ I should be undone as she wrote to me yesterday requesting I would not mention it even to [one word missing] and hoping I did not as the strictest secrecy was necessary for some time longer. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- I Sir Edward Denny, third baronet (died 1831), Tralee, Co. Kerry; high sheriff, 1794; M.P. for Tralee, 1828-29. Sir Edward served as commanding officer of the Yeomanry Corps, 1802-03.
- 2 O'Connell's brother.
- 3 Hunting-Cap.
- 4 Elizabeth (Bess) Coppinger, daughter of William Coppinger of Ballyvolane and Barry's Court, both Co. Cork. Married 1806 O'Connell's brother John.
- 5 Ellen O'Connell married secondly John Henry (Harry) Blennerhassett of Tralee, 31 October 1803.

102

To his wife, Carhen

Saturday, 19 November 1803

[No salutation]

My dearest heart's darling's letter of Monday I got yesterday in court with more than the pleasure of the blessed because it was written with less despondence than any of her former ones—indeed, my Mary, if you could but know how sincere and how tender my doating affection is for you—even in absence you would feel more happiness than *some* do in their best moments.

I thank you for having written so much about my dear little baby—your idea of his attempting to talk to you is both natural and affecting. The inarticulate sounds of his infant voice vibrate on my ear when I read that passage of your letter, and I see both you and him in the liveliness of my imagination —he will talk my baby—he soon will talk. If we can shield him from every rude blast of adversity. If we can give him the big heart that swells with affection but that can grow cold when unfeeling oppression commands—May my boy have strong, distinct and marked traits in his character. The pitiful disposition that never soars beyond mediocrity shall never be praised before our son, darling.

Why should you be angry because the folks of Tralee have made verses on your mother and Harry?¹ I respect her as sincerely as anyone can, but I really should be surprised that such a match could take place without some kind of pasquinade. Harry certainly is a subject for the comic muse. Do not be angry, darling, but laugh. One always lives the longer for laughing. . . Darling, this has been a miserable term to others but with me it has been particularly good. I this day was employed by total strangers—if the ordinary business of the court was done I should have made a small fortune. But there is a considerable stagnation in *the trade* of the law as well as in every other. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I Blennerhasset.

103

To his wife, Carhen

Dublin, Thursday, 24 November 1803

Dearest heart's love,

Your letter of Friday the 18th I got yesterday and am indeed pleased to find that you have overcome some of your fears on the subject of invasion. In truth, darling, there seems hardly a possibility of the attack being made this winter and as an additional proof that such is the idea of Government I can tell you that the yeomanry were put off permanent duty this day. We (the Lawyers' Corps) take no pay and therefore we have done no duty, nor shall we, except that of parading twice a week. The other Corps have until this day taken most of the city guards at night.

I thank you, my sweet love, for the account you give me of my boy. My darling baby, how my heart doats of him. It warms when I read any mention of him in your letters. . . .

Dearest heart, you caution me against mentioning your mother's marriage as if it were a secret—why love, everybody

here that knows either of them knows when and where and by whom they were married. Believe me, darling, nothing can be more ridiculous than for them to imagine that such a secret would be concealed a moment. However I have contradicted the report but of course without effect. . . .

... Business is certainly slack; but not near so much as you imagine—I have undoubtedly done more for myself this term than in any other three terms before in point of character and advancement in profession—*this is between ourselves*. Darling, I do *so* doat of you. Kiss my baby for me. You say you *will be* a happy woman when he walks and talks....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

104

To his wife, Carhen

Dublin, Saturday, 26 November 1803

[No salutation]

I was happy, my darling, to find by your letter of the 21st that you continue in better spirits than you have been. . . .

I cannot tell you how alarmed I feel about poor James.¹ This return of his illness is a convincing proof that he must give up all idea of the profession of an attorney. Darling, do endeavour to cheer him up and make him of all things keep up his spirits—dearest heart, I cannot tell you the anxiety I feel on his account. Tell him, however, that I entreat of him to take care of himself for the sake of those friends who love him—he always has been most dear to my heart.

And now I must write about my baby. How my heart clings to the chubby fellow. I figure to myself his image continually and it is my amusement when alone to gaze with my mind's eye on you caressing him. Hug my darling baby for his fond father.

Dearest, you will I know delight to hear that my prospects in business daily, I may say hourly, increase. I would not deceive you and you know I am incapable of misrepresenting and therefore you will be rejoiced when I venture to tell you that there is not a single individual of the Irish Bar with whom I would consent to change professional *expectations*. I do not of course speak of the men who are at the head of the profession *already*. I only speak of those whose business is on the increase.

Tell my father that James Connor is about agreeing with Anthony Denny² for the house at Blennerville—but that he will give my father his own bargain if he chooses to take it...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I O'Connell's youngest brother.

2 Probably Anthony Denny (1773-1806), Moorstown, Co. Tipperary, nephew of Sir Barry Denny, first baronet, of Tralee and husband of Frances Anne Wilhelmina, daughter of William Blennerhassett of Ballyseedy, Tralee.

105

To his wife, Carhen

Dublin, 30 November 1803

My darling love,

Your letter of Friday I got in due course yesterday—to me it is delightful to read the sweet affectionate letters of my own dear little woman. I think to read them now with double pleasure as the time for seeing you approaches. I have the satisfaction to tell you that as the eight days begin tomorrow I will be able to leave this on Sunday week—Rice,¹ James Connor and I travel together. We will go on Sunday to Tullamore—and it will be hard with me if I have not the happiness to embrace you and my sweet baby on Thursday. . . .

I have taken lodgings on Upper Ormond Quay No. 7— The first floor consisting of three rooms and two rooms on the second all perfectly furnished. An admirably good kitchen and two servants rooms with coal cellar and a small wine vault. I pay of course I [one word illegible] about a guinea and a half a week—only think how much cheaper than those lodgings. Besides there will be no communication between my family and that of the house. All I regret is that we must leave our babe behind us.

I am just going to Judge Day's² where I am to dine and to settle finally with him both as to my father's being allowed to set his demesne in Valentia and about Primrose's³ business. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Probably either Dominick or Stephen Rice.
- 2 Robert Day.
- 3 John Primrose (died 18 May 1840), of Hillgrove, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry. Married Honoria O'Connell, Riverstown, the Glen, Cahirciveen, cousin of O'Connell.

106

From his wife to Post Office, Dublin

Carhen, 2 December 1803

[No salutation]

Yesterday, my dearest heart, I received your letter of the 24th of last month. . . . My darling life, what delight it is to me to think that on Sunday fortnight I shall behold the best and dearest of husbands, that I shall again see you with our sweet infant pressed to the fond bosom of his dear father. . . . Our dear James¹ set out yesterday for Killarney, much better than when I last wrote to you which we impute to a syrup composed of snails and sugar-a-candy. The milk diet which he lived on for three weeks made him very weak and low spirited and surely it was no wonder, such light diet for a young creature that had outgrown his strength. We all prevailed on him to take a bit of fresh meat and a glass of sherry every day for a fortnight and he has owned that he found a most material change for the better within that time. . . . Your father will certainly take the house from James Connor as his departure from this is determined on. At all events, should John² not be married, he is to live at Derrynane, and his hounds he intends disposing of as soon as he returns from Cork, an arrangement which gives your mother a good deal of pleasure. Have you fixed on any lodgings against your return to Dublin? I sincerely hope we will not be obliged to go to the lodgings you are in at present as the want of a second kitchen makes them extremely inconvenient. Besides they are too retired for you. I wish Maurice3 was old enough to take him with us. My sweet little fellow, I will often wish for him but it is a pleasing circumstance to us that we will leave him in good hands, under the care of his grandmother.4 . . . I heard from my mother yesterday. Her marriage is yet a secret and our Papa⁵ is still confined. She is quite unhappy at the verses that have

been made on her and more so at giving room for being caricatured by, she believes, John Harry and Miss Fitzgerald in consequence of having paid Harry a visit in the beginning of his illness. She tells me she is represented as sitting by Harry and he seated on a certain chair. Only think of their wickedness. If she can find out that John Harry had any hand in the business she is determined on making him repent it. . . Now, darling, let me request of you, *if you love me*, not to say anything of what I mention concerning my mother to any person and, when you come here, don't say she is married as she wishes to keep it secret until the Protestant ceremony is gone through. As matters have turned out, I regret more than I can tell, her union with Harry. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 O'Connell's brother.
- 2 O'Connell's brother.
- 3 Infant son, Maurice.
- 4 O'Connell's mother, Catherine O'Connell.
- 5 Harry Biennerhassett. See letter 101, note 5.

107

To his wife, Carhen

Dublin, 3 December 1803

My dearest Love,

... The mean and shabby conduct of my uncle¹ about that hundred pounds a year from my father does neither fret or astonish me. I knew the man's disposition so well that I had no notion he would go through with his liberality unmixed by some act of this sort. I really am surprised that I was so long a favourite of his and indeed I am almost ashamed of it. He could not but perceive that in every action my mind scorned the narrow bounds of his.

Darling, instead of vexing, it has amused me much and pleased me not a little. It surely in itself affords a vindication of my *quarrel* with him. How completely will he be despised. I have a strong confidence that John² never will receive a shilling of this money. If he does it will certainly alter my opinion of him not a little. But I will not wrong him so much as to think of it for one moment. Let all this of course remain between ourselves a perfect secret.

. . . Indeed, dearest heart, I never spent so lonesome a
time as I have done this term. I never passed an hour without regretting I had left you behind me and feeling the want of your dear society. Darling, I have talked to you, really I have by the hour-and I dream of you and my dearest babe. On my little boy how tenderly do I doat of him-And you, my Angel, I love beyond the power of language to express. Indeed, my dearest, you say truly that his wealth could not give the happiness we feel. Dear heart, there is a sacred pleasure in the union of affectionate souls which the cold calculators of the world never even guess at. I have more happiness in thinking of my wife-the wife of my soul-than these wretches suppose can be found on earth. How little does this man know the delight I experience in calling you mine-the ecstasy of folding you in my arms and the exquisite bliss of seeing you reach me the tender pledge of our affections. You have indeed, my Mary, made a happy and a better man of me. I do so doat of you. . . . I mentioned in my last that I had taken lodgings on Upper Ormond Quay. I hope you will approve of them. They have every convenience for a man of my trade. And it will be no small matter to be so near Court. . . .

... I am not a little grieved that James³ is gone to Dr. Moriarty—for in my opinion he is a sorry Quack—Leyne⁴ is the only scientific Physician in Kerry....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Hunting-Cap.
- 2 His brother.
- 3 His brother.
- 4 Dr. Maurice Leyne.

108

From his wife to Post Office, Dublin

5 December 1803

[No salutation]

I am sorry, darling, to tell you your letter arrived too late to require Dr. Leyne's¹ opinion on the ill state of James'² health. He having set out for Killarney last Thursday, where he is at present under Moriarty's care. He writes to his mother that the journey did not disagree with him nor increase the pain in his side which Moriarty considers a most favourable symptom. God send my poor fellow will benefit by his trip though I have not a very great opinion of the abilities of Dr. Moriarty. . . . The pleasure of seeing you even three days sooner than I expected from your last letter delights me more than I can tell. I am quite an altered being. I am so gay and look the picture of happiness. . . . We were surprised here yesterday by the arrival of four of the Kenmare yeomen. They have got orders to remain in the neighbourhood in case any of the enemy's fleet should be seen off this coast, to proceed to Cara bridge with the information as there are some of the Milltown quartered there who will take the *dispatches* further. Bob Bowen³ and Mr. Roger McInerney⁴ are among those of the Kenmare. They dined and slept here yesterday, and this morning went ' for directions to Captain Spotswood⁵ under whose command they are. I don't know how it is but I don't feel half so much in terror at the apprehension of an invasion as I did. I believe it is because you are coming home. . . . How wonderfully cheap you have got lodgings, I may say an entire house. The greatest convenience of all is a kitchen to ourselves. I think, darling, if you agree for them by the year you would get them even cheaper and it would be so pleasant to you not to be every day removing from one place to the other. . . . Papa⁶ is better and will be soon able to go out. . . . All here desire their affectionate love to you. I gave my baby a hundred kisses for you which you must return me. Adieu, dearest darling life, and believe that your Mary doats of you with the fondest and sincerest affection. I don't much like your coming in the boat this time of the year as I think it rather dangerous. Don't forget my boy's wrappers. .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Maurice Leyne.
- 2 O'Connell's brother.
- 3 Unidentified.
- 4 Unidentified.
- 5 Captain John Spotswood (1779-2 April 1859), J.P., Co. Kerry. Commanded a yeomanry corps on Valentia Island. Married 15 March 1810 Catherine, daughter of Maurice Leyne, M.D., Tralee. Cousin of O'Connell.
- 6 Harry Blennerhassett, Mary O'Connell's stepfather.

To his wife, Carhen

Dublin, 8 December 1803

My darling love,

... If the frost which here is very violent should continue I will walk from Tralee. If there be a thaw send some horse for me to Tralee if you can. . . . I shall take down only a small portmanteau. . . . We must be up before the beginning of term. My business imperiously demands it, and I have the satisfaction to be able to tell the partner of all my thoughts that I have every reason to expect to clear a thousand pounds next year. Remember, darling, I promise you that it shall fall very little short of that sum. In existence I suppose that the pauses of business are not filled with so many pleasant sensations as I experience now that the time draws near in which I shall embrace the dearest, the best, the sweetest of her sex. Darling, I doat of you to a degree of enthusiasm which can only be equalled by the desire I feel to make myself beloved by you. Our new lodgings are in every respect excellent. I hope the promise they make will meet an adequate performance.

I have every reason to be in spirits. Not a day passes without enlarging my professional expectations. It seems to be that I press forward for the first rank. This is *entirely* between ourselves. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

110

From his wife to Tralee

[Carhen] Tuesday night [probably 13 December 1803] Darling,

I got your letter yesterday and in the hope of seeing you before Friday I send you a horse and mule for your portmanteau early tomorrow morning. Perhaps you would sleep in Tralee tomorrow night. I have my hopes that you will. I can't tell you, heart, how delighted I am at the thought of seeing you. How impatiently I shall count the hours until your arrival. Your father had a letter this day from your Uncle O'Mullane¹ mentioning your uncle² the King (as he calls him) had told him he had made a will in John's favour since his arrival in Cork as a consequence of your having run counter to his wishes. Thank God, he can't do more. There was no letter from John nor did the carrier see him but your Uncle O'Mullane mentions that it is probable his match with Miss Coppinger³ would be concluded on before [? the King] left Cork as he had been at Barryscourt⁴ for a few days. The old sinner, he will never have such a representative as the one he has so shamefully given up. You will be glad to hear, darling, that James⁵ is much recovered. He writes from Killarney that the pain in his side is nearly gone. Dr. Moriarty did not think it necessary to prescribe for him further than ordering him meat at his dinner and three or four glasses of wine. Our little darling⁶ is, thank God, mighty well. If you were to see the delight of his grandfather when he reaches his little hands to him. He takes him in his arms and sings one of his merriest tunes with which the little fellow seems quite delighted. . . .

P.S. Have I any occasion to beg you will not show this letter to any person?

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- I John O'Mullane (c. 1750-July 1806), Nutgrove, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, and Whitechurch, Brittas, near Mallow, Co. Cork.
- 2 Hunting-Cap.
- 3 Elizabeth (Bess) Coppinger.
- 4 Home of William Coppinger, near Midleton, Co. Cork.
- 5 O'Connell's brother.
- 6 Infant son, Maurice.

111

To his wife, Carhen

Tralee, Monday, 12 March 1804

My dearest love,

When I wrote to you yesterday I suffered my desire to see you to get the better of the obstacles which I fear should prevent you from coming here. I now am uneasy least your former journey may have had more serious consequences than you were willing to admit when you wrote. Write to me by the bearer and let me know precisely whether you have taken cold or suffer any other inconvenience from the 1804

wetting you got. . . . Do not leave Carhen, my heart, until I go there unless you really and without any inducement from me—find yourself absolutely resolved to come. I leave you entirely at your own discretion. I certainly would prefer your company—but I do more strongly prefer your avoiding the fatigue and perhaps risk of the journey to this place.

I find that the circumstantial account of a duel between John and Spotswood which I got in Limerick is utterly false.¹

Kiss my sweet baby again and again. The darling little rascal, how I long to press him to my heart. Surely, my love, no person but a parent can possibly know the fond delight which a beloved infant confers on those that gave it being. Doat on mine for me...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His brother John and probably Capt. John Spotswood.

112

From his wife to Cork

Carhen, 23 March 1804

My dearest life,

The day after you left Tralee I got James Connor's mare and servant to ride before me and came to Killorglin that night. . . I wish you could have a peep just now at your son. Both his little cheeks as red as a rose and he dancing away at a great rate. He is, God bless him, a sweet fellow. How his mother doats of him. He is beginning to know me but he is more attached to his Uncle James than to anybody else, his nurse and grandfather excepted. I wish, darling, you were come home. I can't tell you how I feel without you. I am never so happy, darling, as I am with you for I doat of you, my heart's love, with the truest and fondest affection and no woman has such a husband as I have. It is impossible for any man to love a wife as you do yours, my dearest best of darlings. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

To Daniel O'Connell,1 Kilgorey, Tulla, Co. Clare

7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin, 27 April 1804

The Marquis of Thomond² has consented to give a renewal of the lands of Maghery, Clounmacthon and Dromicarrig for the benefit of the children of poor Maurice.³ The lease I must take out in order to secure the payment of the rent which is f_{210} a year.

... Can I ask you to take the trouble of ... letting the lands, if possible, to the tenants in possession for one year at a profit rent.

I wish to have them let for one year only because that will give us an opportunity of making the most of them. . . . My first object ought to be my own safety from the rent and my only further view to make things as productive as possible for the children. . . .

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

- 1 Of Kilgorey, Tulla, and Ayle, Co. Clare; J.P. Married 3 March 1794 Miss Howley of Limerick. A delegate for Co. Clare to the Catholic Convention of 1792. Died 22 February 1833.
- 2 Murrough (O'Brien), fifth earl of Inchiquin and tenth Baron Inchiquin (1726-1808). Created first marquis of Thomond, 1800.
- 3 Probably Maurice O'Connell of Moyresk and Braintree, Co. Clare.

114

To his wife, 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

Limerick, ½ after 9 o'clock, Tuesday, 22 May 1804

My darling love,

... Darling, I must go and get my dinner as I am very hungry having eaten my breakfast at Emo,¹ and nothing but that meal since I left Dublin. Dearest, I do so doat of you. God bless you, my love...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Emo, near Portarlington, Laoighis (Queen's Co.).

Dear Dan,

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, 20 August 1804

[No salutation]

... Darling love, how my heart warms at the account you give me of my own boy.¹ What a satisfaction it is to me that you should have him to entertain and interest you in my absence. For my part the truth is that without you my heart is a complete void. I *vegetate* but I don't *live*. Do now, dearest, contrive to get rid of your burden² as early in October as possible for indeed, indeed I cannot possibly go to Dublin without you. The fact is, heart, that we arranged the matter badly.

Hug my dear baby for me, tell him that *spitting* is a spiteful ugly trick. . . .

My leg is so well that I almost forgot to say anything to you about it. I want to go to Berehaven some time during the vacation, and if I can get rid of my Mallow business, I shall make the other my way home and so have that job over. I know you are unfond of that expedition—But if I do go I solemnly pledge myself to you that I will not put my foot in any other than Capt. O'Sullivan's³ own boat...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His son, Maurice.

2 Mary's unborn child.

3 Daniel O'Sullivan (1761?-1814), Coulagh, Eyries, and Ceinetringane House, Castletownbere, both Co. Cork, first cousin of O'Connell; grand-nephew of Morty Oge O'Sullivan, who was honoured by Maria Theresa for his services as an officer in the Austrian army and shot by government forces at Eyries in 1754; a captain of the Berehaven ycomanry. On the death of his elder brother, John (c. 1796), Daniel held a large property around Coulagh in trust for his nephew Morty O'Sullivan. He was active against the French fleet in Bantry Bay in 1796, as a result of which he was made a freeman of the city of Cork, the first Catholic so honoured since the reign of Queen Anne. Coulagh is situated on the north side of the Berehaven peninsula, across the Kenmare estuary from Derrynane.

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, 23 August 1804

[No salutation]

... I mentioned to you in my last that I thought I should be obliged to go by Coulagh, and on reflection I am convinced it is the best plan I can adopt. . . And to do away all uneasiness remember that I pledge myself most unequivocally to you and at the same time most solemnly not to run the slightest risk. Darling heart, I beg of you to set your mind at ease on the subject. . . .

My impatience to see you and my boy is really extreme. To press you both to my heart is the anxious desire of my every moment. Indeed, darling, I rave of you both. I do hope to be able to enjoy this pleasure within ten days but I much fear not sooner. We will hardly set out for Coulagh before Monday and arriving there on Tuesday. I have so much business as will detain me four or five days there so that I have hardly any expectation of seeing you before Monday week. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

117

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, 26 August 1804

[No salutation]

... And so my poor Nell¹ has lost her babe. Indeed, indeed, I feel for her. It is to her a grievous calamity. How deplorable in itself to have all her sufferings thus thrown away in giving life to a being that breathed but for an instant and then sunk in eternal rest. Endeavour, my darling, to turn her thoughts from the sad subject. Perhaps you ought to avoid caressing your boy before her and if you think it useful to her to keep him from her sight you ought to be very careful in doing so.

... I shall set out tomorrow evening for Bandon. On Tuesday I shall sleep at Honora's,² on Wednesday I mean to be at Coulagh if the weather be perfectly fair and I shall be as soon after as I possibly can with my heart's dearest treasures.

1804

But I must remain at least four days and most probably six at that place so that you cannot expect me till Wednesday or Thursday in the ensuing week. In the meantime I do declare to you most solemnly and I do pledge myself to you by all that is sacred that I will not run the slightest risk by attempting the passage unless the weather be perfectly calm. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His sister Ellen O'Connell.

2 Honora O'Sullivan (c. 1774-23 Mar. 1823), sister of O'Connell, married her cousin Daniel O'Sullivan of Reendonegan, near Bantry, Co. Cork.

118

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, 27 August 1804

My darling love,

I write to you again because I shall not have an opportunity of sending you any other letter until our meeting and because I have no pleasure equal to that of writing to you. It is not only an amusement but a delight to me, and now that I am on the point of leaving this cursed town and of returning to you I indulge myself unlimitedly in the feelings of affection which the speedy prospect of embracing you gives rise to. My God, my heart's love, how fondly how tenderly do I doat of you. What an enchanting emotion that is which you produce in my mind. . . .

Indeed, my sweet love, I do doat of you, darling Mary, 1 do so doat of my Cousha! How sincerely do I long to press her to my heart. . . .

Did you ever hear of any person being so unlucky as poor Rick.¹ He resigned in the expectation of getting more than \pounds 600 for his lieutenancy but is allowed to sell only the ensigncy. Now since he sent in his resignation a great promotion has taken place and three lieuts. who were younger than him have got companies without purchase. He *must* have got one. Besides he cannot get the adjutancy of the Kerry. Notwithstanding all this I never saw him in such quiet good spirits. I cannot tell you how grieved I am at his unthinking unsteadiness. . . .

SOURCE: Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Mary O'Connell's brother Rickard O'Connell.

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 7 November 1804

My dearest life,

Knowing what pleasure it will give you to hear from myself I will venture to write a few lines instead of Kitty's¹ doing so. I have the pleasure, my darling, of telling you I am getting quite stout and purpose with the assistance of God to go to the drawing-room on Sunday at the farthest. Our dear little Morgan² is very well and very much *admired* by everyone that sees him. May God spare him to us and our other little darling of whom I heard by this day's post. . . . Take care of yourself for our sakes and believe there is not a wife in the world doats of a husband as I doat of mine and adieu, my dearest, dearest heart. . . .

P.S. Darling, this day 4 years was the first day you spoke to me.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- I Catherine (Kitty) O'Connell (c. 1790-1867), youngest sister of O'Connell; married 19 October 1805 Humphrey Moynihan, J.P., Rathbeg, Rathmore, Co. Kerry.
- 2 Morgan O'Connell (31 Oct. 1804-1885). Married 23 July 1840 Kate, daughter of Michael Balfe, South Park, Co. Roscommon. M.P. for Meath, 1832-40. Assistant registrar of deeds, 1840-46; registrar, 1846-69. See DNB.

120

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, 8 November 1804

My darling love,

... Darling, I am perfectly well and doing *permanent* duty at my lodgings. The corps¹ is, I understand, out daily *but* I did not arrive in town until this evening and so could not join them. The courts meet only to adjourn but tomorrow they will do business...

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

1 The Lawyers' Ycomanry Corps.

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 9 November 1804

My dearest life,

Your welcome letter I received last night and cannot tell you the pleasure it gave me to find you had so speedy and safe a journey. My darling heart, what a happy woman I am with you and our boys! What a comfort it is to me to have my *little* boy¹ with me now that you are away.... You may rely on it I will take special care of him. Tell me, darling, did you write to your father requesting he would permit his namesake to stay at Carhen until after Christmas? If you did not, I wish you would on receipt of this without mentioning that I had wrote or spoke to you on the subject, and do not omit mentioning if your mother has no objection to it. Perhaps it would be better for you [to] write to herself about [it]. In my opinion it would. The two nurses and the children could sleep in my room very well. Now, darling heart, to tell you of myself. I am quite stout and well, eat, drink and sleep mighty well but as yet would not venture to write a long letter though I think I have done pretty well for this turn. . . .

source: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Morgan, her infant son.

122

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 11 November 1804

My dearest life,

This being the first day I ventured downstairs and, tormented with such a number of visitors that I have only just time to tell you, my darling, that I am perfectly well and so is our dear little babe. I heard from our other darling yesterday. His grandmother¹ says he is quite well and the most engaging babe she ever saw. Rely on it, my dearest heart, that I will take every care of myself. No woman has greater inducements than I have to do so and do you, my darling, take care of yourself in return. You are now a man with a *family* and you should be cautious of yourself. I had your sweet letter last night. . .

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Catherine O'Connell.

123

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, 13 November 1804

My dearest love,

The anxiety respecting you which my last letter expressed will give you some idea of the pleasure I felt on getting one from *yourself* yesterday morning. I did not expect, my dear life, that you could have attempted to write for many days to come. It was therefore to me a *double* pleasure, if indeed I should use any expression of quantity to a gratification unbounded in its nature.

... Write to me every post if you are able. Write as I do the same thing over and over but at all events write

... I live the most regular life possible. I am in certainly before eight at night. I then write for two or three hours and am at the desk in the morning *before eight* without failure. Yet I am growing very fat.

There is to be a Catholic meeting on Saturday with Lord Fingall¹ in the chair. I fancy I shall have occasion to speak there. If it should be a public one you will see it in the newspapers. If private, I will give you an account of it. Public or private, I am resolved to take a part but do not say a word on the subject till it is over. . . .

SOURCE: MSS 422, NLI

1 Arthur James (Plunkett), eighth earl of Fingall (1759-1836).

124

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 16 November 1804

No salutation

... How often do I wish, darling, you could have a peep at our sweet *little* Morgan. You can't think how improved he is. I never saw an infant thriving better than he is and no wonder, for indeed he is the same sleepy, *drunken*, *little rascal*

you left him, more improved in the latter as his nurse has now no occasion to milk herself. I wish to God I had him safe at home, my sweet babe. I am so uneasy about the measles as well as the intense cold of this horrid house. I hope in God (if you consent to it) to be able to go as far as Killorglin either tomorrow or after tomorrow fortnight. You need not apprehend the least danger at my encountering the journey at that time as I shall be better than a month brought to bed, and at this moment, darling, I can assure you I am perfectly well and as stout as ever. My dearest heart, how happy I shall be when, please God, you return to me. What delight I shall feel when presenting you [with] our sweet boys and telling you what a happy woman their mother is. My infants, may the great God spare them and their darling father to me, and I ask for nothing more. Parson Morris¹ was giving me a great account of our darling little fellow at Carhen. He says he is the finest boy he ever saw and the most engaging. . . . You did not tell me if you wrote to your mother. What I would give to have her keep my little darling² at Carhen while I remained there but I fear I have no chance and, darling, what a pity it is (if we could help it) ever to send my sweet fellow to Valentia³ though I am convinced his nurse will take very good care of him for she absolutely adores him and she is one of the mildest creatures I ever knew and seems to be very well disposed. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Unidentified.

2 Her son Morgan.

3 To be wet-nursed on Valentia Island, just off the coast at Cahirciveen.

125

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, 17 November 1804

My dearest love,

... Go as soon as you please, if you are well enough. My hurry has prevented me from writing to my father or mother as you desired but I will certainly do it by the next post. Heart's Darling, take care of yourself, and of *my* baby for I do so doat of you both. I am charmed to hear that Maurice¹ is so much recovered. As soon as you get to Carhen write to me a long account of him. Take the child and nurse in a carriage all the way. Send to John² to meet you in Killorglin and sleep there. You had better ride over the hill. . . .

I am just come from the Catholic meeting. We had a most respectable one. I believe the most so of any this country has produced. Of course I was on my legs but we had not much speeching. The result has been the appointment of a committee to prepare a petition to Parliament. I am a member of the committee. It consists of 25 among whom are no less than four peers and three baronets.³ We are to report on the 14th of December to a general meeting that is to be held on that day. It will give me some additional trouble but *that* is very immaterial. I am glad however that I shall not be delayed in town by it. You will see nothing of it in the public papers, at least nothing from us till the general meeting takes place. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Their eldest son.
- 2 O'Connell's brother.
- 3 'A Committee of 25 Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Roman Catholic Body have been appointed to prepare an application for the total abolition' of the Penal Laws' (*DEP*, 20 Nov. 1804).

126

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 18 November 1804

[No Salutation]

... I much fear there will be no use in your writing to your father and mother as I know that all old people have an objection to having young children squalling about them. I hope you did not mention my name in the request. . . . I wish, darling, you would get Mrs Ryan¹ to buy for me three yards of white lace at nine English shillings per yard. Let her not go beyond that price and tell her to buy it at Culpurse Row. Enclose it to me, heart, as I want it very much for caps which I am now obliged to wear every day. I can't tell you, my dearest heart, what a comfort it is to me to hear from you so regularly every post and such letters, darling. How fondly I doat of you, my heart's blood. There never was such a husband as you are and, believe me, darling, no wife ever idolized a husband more nor as much as your cousha does, love. I kiss your little babe twenty times in the day for you. Everyone that sees him says he is the image of you. You know I said so

1804

from the beginning but you only laughed at me. He has your mouth and chin as complete as anything I ever saw. I can't tell you how much more I doat of him for his likeness to you. . . .

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Housekeeper.

127

To his wife, Tralee

[Dublin] Tuesday, 19 November 1804

My darling love,

I shall be able to say but a few words to you this nightthough I shall write to the last moment. I have been out all day endeavouring to make up a quarrel between Wat Prendergast1 and Mr. Edward Orpen.2 But in vain so I was obliged to see them fight. Neither of them was at all hurt though they fired two shots each. The quarrel arose a week ago at a tavern. Certainly no man was ever more wrong than Orpen who was the challenger. To this I am sure he was principally excited by Mr. John Segerson-the cowardly ruffian who is without spirit to revenge his own quarrel, caused Orpen to send the message by which an extremely valuable life might have been lost. They both behaved well but particularly Prendergast. You who are acquainted with the excessive warmth of my feelings will easily imagine how interested I was for Wat. And indeed I may say that the hurry of my spirits is hardly quite over. What gave me so much agitation was the idea that the scoundrel Segerson should be able by his abominable machinations to bring to the immediate chance of death so valuable a fellow as Wat. I never saw any person conduct himself better than Wat did-and he left the ground without making the slightest concession. . .

My own sweet love, I have hardly time to add another word: but I cannot refrain from telling you how much how sincerely I doat of you. I am perfectly well, *very*, *very* busy not one idle moment and though I am up before eight every morning yet I cannot get through half my business. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Walter Prendergast, attorney, Tralee.
- 2 Edward Orpen (born 1778), probably of Clontogh and later of Island Lodge, Dunkerron, both Co. Kerry.

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 21 November 1804

My dearest life,

Since I received your letter on Monday giving me permission to leave this I consulted with Dr. O'Connell if I may venture to set out on Sunday next should the day permit, and I have the pleasure to tell you, darling, that he perfectly approved of it, so that, with the assistance of God, I hope to be at Carhen with both my babes to dinner on Monday. I am terrified about the measles, it being everywhere about me. . . . I know it would delight you so much to see your babe so strong and so very likely to make as big a man as ever there was of the name notwithstanding his mother being a miserable rag of a woman. Our sweet boy at Carhen¹ is very well. . . . Kitty² wrote to your mother . . . requesting she would send a mule for our luggage as I think we will be load enough for one pair of horses without any luggage. . . . I wish most sincerely your letter to your mother would reach her before I get home. I know it will put her a *little* out of temper. Remember, darling, I shall be very angry with you if you mention my name at all in the request for reasons which I can't tell you until we meet. . . .

Papa Harry³ has been asking me for the books he lent you which I told him you had locked up among your own. God bless you, heart, let me know where they are as he is quite uneasy about it least you might have lent them to anyone in this town. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Their son Maurice.
- 2 O'Connell's sister.
- 3 Harry Blennerhassett.

129

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 23 November 1804

My dearest heart,

. . . That abominable Segerson,¹ I wish to God he was either closely confined or *safe* at home at his castle. Surely, darling, you will avoid having any row or quarrel with the fellow or with any of his champions. I can't tell you how uneasy I am since I heard of Mr. Prendergast's² duel. I know so well that Segerson would leave no means untried to be revenged of any person he dislikes but, my darling heart, I am sure you have a greater regard for yourself and for your boys (not to mention their mother) to mind anything the fellow says or does. I was at Mrs. Rice's3 when I got your letter last night. Mrs. Rice had one from Mr. Prendergast giving her a full account of the business. Thank God, it ended so happily. In my opinion a person must be very industrious to fall out with Prendergast. . . . John⁴ tells me Maurice is a fine stout boy, very entertaining. He was greatly admired by your friend, the Knight of Kerry,5 who spent [one word missing] days at Carhen. James⁶ went to [about one word missing] him and asked him to the house [at] your father's desire. John was at Butler's⁷ to which place he went in order to avoid the honour of the Night's [sic] company. Our sweet Morgan⁸ is very well, thriving every day. . . . Dearest darling, I am very well and very happy. The expectation of soon seeing you gives me great spirits and our little darlings are so well that I am quite a happy woman. May God preserve you, my heart, and send you safe home to us. Take care of yourself and of all things let me beg of you to avoid any row. I know it is unnecessary for me to give you any caution of that kind but that fellow Segerson gives me not a little uneasiness. Goodbye, my dearest life. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 John Segerson.
- 2 Walter Prendergast.
- 3 Mrs. Stephen H. Rice, sister of Walter Prendergast and widow of Thomas Hussey.
- 4 O'Connell's brother.
- 5 Maurice FitzGerald, eighteenth knight of Kerry (1774-1849). M.P. for Co. Kerry, 1794-1831; of Ballinruddery, Listowel, and Glanleam, Valentia, both Co. Kerry. See DNB.
- 6 O'Connell's brother.
- 7 Residence of James Butler, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
- 8 Their son.

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, Thursday, 29 November 1804

My own darling love,

... If each day consisted of 48 hours I should not be able to do half my business. ... That unfortunate Connolly Hussey¹ was yesterday sentenced to six months imprisonment and to a fine of f_{100} , a punishment that astonished everybody who heard it pronounced.² But, my darling, to me who knows the *secret history* of the transaction, though my indignation was excited, I was not at all surprised. Say nothing as from me of the matter but in *entire secrecy* let me tell you that Day, the judge, fully justified what Segerson³ formerly called him —*a mass of corruption*. I know, my heart, you will not say a word of this to anyone. The mention of it may injure *me*, and in fact Day has never been unfriendly to *us*. ...

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

- 1 Nicholas Connolly Hussey, Dingle.
- 2 In sentencing Hussey, Judge Day accused him of having refused to pay a medical fee to Dr. Patrick Moriarty. When the latter made 'coarse observations' about him, he challenged the doctor to a duel. On Moriarty's refusal to demean his profession by fighting (Judge Day continued), Hussey libelled him publicly as 'a scoundrel and a coward ' (FJ, 6 Dec. 1804).
- 3 John Segerson.

131

To his wife, Tralee

[Dublin] Tuesday, 4 December 1804

My own love,

. . . Never did lover so *desire* the sweet lip of his mistress as I do that of my wife. Never did retarded expectation pant for the happiness of being encircled in the arms of delight as I do for the tender embrace of the mother of *my boys. Indeed*, dearest, I long for the happiness of folding you in my arms with the utmost impatience.

And will not my own little darling forgive me for the uneasiness I have given her in requiring the explanation her last letter contained. . . . I fear that there must have been an air of unkindness or of suspicion in my asking for it. Yet surely, surely, my own dearest knows that the heart of her husband is and ought to be filled only with confidence and affection.

... Nothing I do believe can give such delight to the heart of a parent as the watching the first faint glimmerings of rational ideas as they fall from the lips of little *beginning babblers*. What a pleasure to hear him call you *mama* and to perceive that he has some notion of the meaning of the word. For my part I shall spend the entire of the Christmas teaching him his letters. I will take him down a book or two and some engravings of dogs, cows, etc. ...

Dearest, I am very busy at present in framing the Catholic petition.¹ The fate of millions perhaps depends on my poor pen —at least so in my enthusiasm I say to myself and to you—But to you, you alone. There are five appointed for this purpose. We must have the petition ready on Sunday. Until then believe me that I shall sleep little. Heart, my law business goes on right well. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I See letter 125.

132

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 5 December 1804

My dearest heart,

I was much disappointed at getting so short a letter from you last post but not angry because I am well convinced that nothing but extreme hurry would prevent my darling from writing me a long letter, particularly as he knows his letters are my greatest comfort in absence. I wish from my heart the Committee may put on a resolution of meeting no more until after Christmas for this reason that I much fear your attendance on it will detain you longer in Dublin than usual, and though I may forgive your short letter, darling, I certainly would not forgive you for staying a day or two extraordinary from me without having the most pressing business to detain you. . . . My darling heart, how delighted I am that you have escaped that nasty hoarseness you were subject to. Let me entreat of you to take care of yourself on the road and to wear the flannel waistcoat that has the sleeves. You will find it so comfortable travelling. I had a letter from Kate¹ this morning.

She tells me Maurice is everything I could wish, the sweetest babe she ever saw. My little darling, how I long to see him! Our young *fellow*² is thriving every hour. Without the least partiality he is one of the finest children I ever saw of his age and, indeed, I am not the only one that says so though, to be sure, you will laugh at me and say 'Oh, the mother.' I think I am looking at you saying it but I will answer for it. When you see the villain you will think as I do. You must get Mrs. Ryan to buy me a cradle blanket for him as I can't get one here. Tell her she need not go to a great price for it as he is to be nursed out. You can bring it in your trunk as it will help to pack your clothes. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 O'Connell's sister.
- 2 Their son Morgan.

133

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, Thursday, 6 December 1804

My dearest love,

... I will write to James¹ by the next post to inform you whether a carriage can go all the way to Carhen at this season; if the roads permit *that* why, though *we* shall get horses to take us over the hill, the babe and his nurse must continue in the carriage...

Love, my business increases daily. I do fondly hope that the time is not distant when you shall have all the luxuries of life, now I cannot bestow on you much more than *endearments*. But what I can give affords me great delight, so that, my heart, you may rely on it that you shall have your lace before you. Is it not *white* you wish for? I have conceived it so and sent for it accordingly. I have ordered fourteen yards at thirteen shillings British the yard.

Did I tell you that I am one of the subcommittee appointed by the general committee to prepare *our* petition. Our number is five and the meetings are held at my lodgings. So that between politics and law my time is most abundantly occupied but my heart is light and my health excellent—adding the speedy prospect of soon embracing my darling little wife. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 His brother.



O'Connell, a portrait by John Gubbins, 1817-18.



Courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland

O'Connell about 1835, painted and engraved by R. M. Hodgetts.



O'Connell shortly before his death, a portrait in the possession of Mrs. John Cunningham.



Maurice (Hunting-Cap) O'Connell, a portrait in the possession of Sir Morgan O'Connell, Bart.



Lt. Gen. Daniel Charles, Count O'Connell, painted by Paulin Guérin.



Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland

O'Connell's wife, Mary, and their youngest son, Daniel, Jr., painted by John Gubbins, 1817-18.



O'Connell's eldest son, Maurice, painted in 1852 or 1853.



O'Connell's second son, Morgan, in the uniform of the Irish Legion to South America, painted in 1820.



Sheves the house toles Mon vuy obedant Mun ble Suveres 6 Saul Conull 111 And way thought and wish of mine Unconquered Fin I shall be hime Maniel Olometh M: P. Stutten for him for the County of look Barn Jann Menion Squee Sholm 9 4 September 1841 Ever most faithfully Vanuel Tommell 1m Smith Brienby M 2

National Library of Ireland

Three specimens of O'Connell's handwriting, from manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland. The samples date from 1827, 1841 and 1846.



Bord Fáilte Photo

Ballycarbery Castle, near Cahirciveen.

O'Connell's family were its hereditary constables for their overlord, MacCarthy Mor, from about 1350 until 1650 when it was dismantled and abandoned by order of the Cromwellian government.



Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland

The ruins of Carhen, home of O'Connell's parents, near Cahirciveen. O'Connell was born in a cottage some miles away.



Derrynane, facing north. This, the oldest part of the house, was built in the first half of the eighteenth century and was demolished in 1965.



Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland

Derrynane, facing east. The two extensions to the left, including the crenellated wing, were built by O'Connell in 1825.

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, 8 December 1804

My dearest darling,

Your letter in answer to my short one I got this morning and immediately employed Mrs. Ryan to buy the blanket for the young fellow, you may rely on it that I shall not omit taking down the shoes and cap for Maurice. I shall also take him a small pair of boots.

Do not make yourself uneasy least I should permit the *Committee* to detain me here longer than I mentioned. The fact is that our labours close on Wednesday next and the general meeting will take place on Saturday. . . .

My sweet love I am sure you must have led a very lonely and disagreeable life of it since I left you but more especially whilst deprived of Kate.¹ I am curious to know why—I mean the real reason—my mother had for sending for her. I however must conjecture that it originated in some one of those strange caprices in which she is so fond of indulging her fancy that from talking of something very absurd and incredible so often she at length persuades herself of its reality. . . . When I have you I want no company and in the enjoyment of my happiness I have not a wish beyond the little circle of my family. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His sister.

135

From his wife to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Tralee] 12 December 1804

My dearest life,

... I think a carriage could go all the way to Carhen by having you and I ride over the hill. Our sweet babe and his nurse could stay in the carriage. ... I am so lonesome though never at home, yet, my darling, I feel lonely. Your society is all I want and indeed you do me but justice in saying I would not desire any other company than yours. With you, my heart, I am always happy. Even when you are engaged writing or reading, it is company to me to be looking at you for never was there a husband so adored as you are. . . I can't tell you, heart, what reason your mother had for sending for Kitty.¹ The only one she gave was being very lonesome, not in the habit of being without one of her daughters. My conjecture is she was perhaps afraid she may form some attachment here though, God knows, she need not dread that for there were no inducements here for Kitty. . . . Our sweet Maurice is very well but his head is beginning to break out. As for the young villain he is getting stouter every day, God bless him. He will be as big as his grandfather² at the rate he gets on. I think him extremely like you, darling. He *has* your mouth and chin as complete as anything I ever saw but, to be sure, when you see him you won't allow he is one bit like you though everyone says it. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 O'Connell's sister.
- 2 Morgan O'Connell of Carhen.

136

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, Saturday, 15 December 1804

My dearest love,

I am more than grieved at telling you that I shall not be able to leave town until *long* after I proposed. . . . I cannot leave the business that presses upon me from various quarters. . . .

Darling, we have drawn up a most *beautiful* petition,¹ and are to continue our labours for the common cause until the 2d of February when the *general* meeting is definitely to take place. Segerson² was at the general meeting³ this day and took with him a *note taker* to have his speech published but unfortunately he was completely put down. Impudent as he is, even he was abashed and unable to pronounce three sentences.

This business is completely over for the present and now I have to turn every faculty of my mind towards clearing my table of every single paper. Dearest, it would *amuse you* to take a peep at my *fee book* this term. I shall not go to bed any night until one nor have I these many nights past, for though the Committee gave me considerable employment I contrived to keep my law business still in motion. The truth is, I do

1804

solemnly assure you, that I made it a religious point not to permit the Committee to interfere so as to retard my departure. . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 See letter 125.
- 2 John Segerson.
- 3 Not reported in the press.

137

To Denys Scully¹

[Dublin] Wednesday [19 December 1804]

Dear Scully,

I have been thinking much since I saw you of the necessity of sending a person to London on the business of the petition.² And really I am at present inclined to think that, if I were competent, I ought to be willing to go. I shall write to you further from Tralee on the subject and beg your advice. I should be ready to leave *this town* by the 10th of January.

This you feel is a subject that I mention to you in confidence with liberty to use your discretion about it. I should not accept of pecuniary compensation though I remained during the term but the expenses should be paid out of a fund to which I should also contribute. . . .

SOURCE : Scully Papers

1 Denys Scully (1773-1830), barrister and landowner, eldest son of James Scully of Kilfeacle, Co. Tipperary.

2 See letter 125.

138

To Denys Scully, Baggot St., Dublin

Tralee, 23 December 1804

Dear Scully,

I wrote you a few lines just as I was leaving Dublin. Since that time a great deal of my attention has been directed to the consideration of the subject about which I wrote and I rather think we took up the idea too hastily that there would be a difficulty in finding persons to undertake the London part of the business of the petition.¹ But now upon reflection I

1805

should conceive that the importance and even the necessity of that measure must have made as strong an impression on the minds of others as it has on mine, and that therefore no occasion can exist for my services. In which case you will of course not mention my name, and in any event you feel that I would not condescend to *tender* myself.

However, should it be necessary I will have no hesitation to accept of *that* employment. Professionally it must be both inconvenient and injurious nor should I upon any terms consent to *be paid*. The fact is that even in my humble situation at the Bar no money could repay me for the loss *consequent* to absence during term. But I am ready to make this sacrifice to the feverish anxiety I feel for the success of our cause, should any sacrifice of mine be deemed useful.

... Should it happen that I were wanted, or in any event, I would fain persuade you to share the burden of this expedition. The long and minute attention you have bestowed on the *Catholic question* peculiarly qualifies you for the undertaking. ... I am fully convinced that the business cannot be well done without your assistance. ...

Will you let me hear what you are doing? Direct to me at Tralee and give me my title of counsellor least any other person of my name may get the letter. This is a precaution that I am always driven to whilst in this county.

SOURCE : Scully Papers

1 See letter 125.

139

From his father to 7 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin

[Milltown, Co. Kerry, 13 March 1805]

My dear Dan,

... Your uncle¹ has got a score casks. He gave me one and James² two. I suppose he'll clear $f_{1,100}$ on this job, but not a word about that. Your little boys are perfectly well, Maurice constantly flying about the house and always crying out for his grandmother and me, the most attached and best natured creature in the world. . . .

P.S. I have kissed Maurice over and over for Mary and you.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Hunting-Cap. See letters 141 and 142.
- 2 His brother.
To Denys Scully at Mrs. Bostock's, 7 Thayer St., Manchester Square, London

Dublin, 19 March 1805

High and Mighty!

For certainly the great Rustifusti or the greater Miamouchi was a mere dandle compared with the representative of four million, five hundred thousand of the creatures in Ireland styled *men*. Out of the excess of your dignity your recollection has been thrown away and you have not a thought to throw away upon your former acquaintance. Yet you did undertake and faithfully promise and upon yourself assume to write regularly, but not one dispatch has as yet arrived. That you should have broken faith with heretics, that would have been in the regular course but with me, me a Papist like yourself, there can be no excuse for you.

But seriously, the Committee¹ met this day to compare notes and, miserably deficient we should have been in information but that Rice² favoured us with a most manly, rational and comfortable letter from my Lord Kenmare.³ I write to you chiefly to assure you that the interpretation given by the delegates of the phrase most eligible meets with the approbation of every individual here, Bellew⁴ only excepted. You may imagine how he feels. He says you all are mad and for his part he is resolved to abandon Catholic politics for ever. Tant mieux.

If the persons, in whose hands the petition now is, should wish—and they *ought* to wish—to have it unfettered with any restriction as to *its* immediate adoption, you may act upon the certainty of the restriction being taken away by the unanimous vote of a general meeting and that meeting may be had as speedily as you in London please to have it. Nothing could give more satisfaction to the public mind, I believe *not even* the repeal of the obnoxious code, as the turn that affairs have taken. The rejection of the measure by Pitt⁵ has created a sentiment of contempt for him that is finely contrasted by the readiness of Irish enthusiasm for the Prince and his friends. Depend upon it that you will have the public with you. Go what lengths you please in opposition. I should not venture to assert *this* but that I am certain that the facts will prove me right. Should further signatures be necessary you shall have them in the greatest abundance and of the *best sort*. . . .

SOURCE : Scully Papers

- 1 See letter 125.
- 2 Probably Counsellor Stephen Henry Rice.
- 3 A delegation from the Catholic Committee were now in London with a petition to parliament.
- 4 Probably William Bellew, a barrister, fourth son of Sir Patrick Bellew, fifth baronet, and Mary, daughter and coheiress of Matthew Hore of Shandon, Co. Waterford.
- 5 On 12 March, Lords Fingall, Kenmare, Shrewsbury, Southwell, Trimleston, Sir Edward Bellew, Denys Scully and James Ryan visited Pitt, the prime minister, and asked him to present their petition to the House of Commons but he refused to do so (*DEP*, 28 Feb., 19 and 21 Mar. 1805). On 25 March 1805 Lord Grenville presented the petition to the Lords and Charles James Fox presented it to the Commons (*DEP*, 30 Mar., 1805). On 13 May Grenville's motion that it be considered in committee was rejected by 178 to 49; and the corresponding motion by Fox on 14 May in the Commons was rejected by 336 to 124 (*DEP*, 16, 18 and 21 May 1805).

141

To Hunting-Cap

Dublin, 21 March 1805

Sir,

Having taken the liberty to write to you a long letter upon a speculation which afterwards turned out perfectly vain and groundless it seems to me (though perhaps I am mistaken) to be the only atonement I can make to lay before you, if not concisely, I hope distinctly, the situation of Mr. Bayly's property, and the nature of the indemnity which *both* your counsel have upon deliberation considered sufficient. . . . [He discusses the purchase of Bayly's property.]

Perhaps you would pardon me for taking up your time whilst I give you the following information. The late wrecks¹ on your coast have been much talked of here—and a long memorial from Berill² was presented to the Board stating amongst other things that you had got more than forty Pipes³ of brandy and calling for instructions how to act. The Commissioners laid a case before their counsel, and the following is a literal copy of the opinion given. 'From the manner in

which the Brandy in question appears to have come into the County of Kerry I do not conceive the same is liable to seizure or the payment of duty. It cannot be said that this brandy was *imported* nor is there any evidence that it was smuggled. I therefore think that the brandy should be returned to the person from whom it was taken. But no person should be allowed to retail any part of it without taking out a licence for that purpose.'

I have the honour to make this communication to you in the strictest secrecy and closed confidence. Upon its accuracy you may place the firmest reliance though I am not at liberty even to hint at the channel through which I acquired my knowledge. The Board have however sent the case to the Attorney General⁴ who will not return it these three weeks to come, and will then give a similar opinion should he not *change* very much in the interval. . . .

I had an idea of troubling you with a few words respecting myself but knowing how disagreeable that subject is to you, and the matter on which I wish to write those words not being of any sufficient importance to you, I shall not venture to obtrude further upon you.

Allow me to assure you that I am with the most profound respect

Your ever devoted and most humble Servt.

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- r A search of the indexes in the State Paper Office and the Public Record Office reveals nothing about these wrecks and the consequent activities.
- 2 Peter Berill, surveyor of Valentia.
- 3 Casks, usually containing sixty gallons.
- 4 Standish O'Grady.

142

To Hunting-Cap

23 March 1805

Sir,

In my last letter to you I gave you a copy of the opinion taken by the Board on a memorial sent up by Berill and also one transmitted by Mannix.¹ . . .

My letters received this morning mention that Mannix had

1805

been at Derrynane and had seized some part of the brandy which came into your hands. As the Attorney General² sails this night for England I felt that by not losing a moment I might perhaps be of some use to you and at all events that I should prevent all future trouble on the occasion. Besides if any of the brandy seized should be transmitted to Tralee the quality if not the quantity would be materially injured. I did, therefore, following my first impressions, call upon Henry D. Grady³ who is counsel to the Board and asked his confidential advice. He dictated to me the form of a short memorial to the Board stating shortly the manner in which this brandy had been got by several persons on your coast and praying that it might be restored to the persons from whom any of it was seized. This memorial is handed in and there will be an answer on Tuesday. . . . I was with the solicitor for the Revenue, Mr. Waller,4 and he told me the Board's determination would be guided by the opinion of the Attorney General (who promised that opinion this evening) if that opinion should coincide with the one given by the Board's immediate counsel and of which I sent you a copy. I also know that the Attorney General's opinion will be an exact copy of the other. He gets but two guineas with such cases and never reads them. He simply copies the former opinion. This is accurately the fact. I have it from the best possible authority. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Unidentified. See letter 141, note 1.
- 2 Standish O'Grady.
- 3 Henry Deane Grady, K.C., counsel to commissioners of the revenue; M.P. for Limerick City, 1798-1802.
- 4 Richard Waller.

143

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, 16 April 1805

My darling love,

... There is not very much business here though it cannot be called a bad assizes. I have got off very tolerably and am just come in after getting a verdict for my friend Austen in a cause that went against us twice before.¹

How I envy you, Darling, the society of your boys. Talk to them love of their father and let my name be familiar to

the ear of my little prattler. . . . I have some hopes Baron McClelland² will *dash* through the County business with his usual rapidity. Indeed if the snail-paced Browne³ were not his fellow labourer, I should have little doubt of leaving this on Sunday. I will not however set out for Tralee till the Killarney sessions are over. I hope to make my expenses to Dublin there. I am sure of five guineas and I shall not certainly be put off with twice as much. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Probably Dr. Joseph William Austen, a physician. The law case is not identified.
- 2 James McClelland (c. 1768-1831), solicitor-general, 1801-03; baron of the exchequer, 1803-30.
- 3 Arthur Browne (1756?-1805), M.P. for Dublin University, 1783-1800; prime serjeant, 1802-05. Son of Rev. Marmaduke Browne, rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island. See DNB.

144

From his wife to Capt. Mahony's, Patrick St., Cork

[Carhen] 16 April [1805]

My dearest life,

I arrived here late yesterday evening and was met by James¹ at Filemore² who told me he had come at the instance of his father and mother to request I would go down to Carhen. To gratify you, my heart, I agreed to do so. Your father came to the gate to meet me and welcomed me in the kindest manner. Your mother was out walking but soon came in and received me rather stiffly. However, I don't mind that as she is coming off of it this day. I found our darling Maurice much improved. He talks a great deal but all in Irish. He is already taken with me and calls me Mama Mary. He is very fond of your picture since morning, kisses it and calls it Dan. I hope in God you will be able to see him. You would be so delighted with him. I shall go see the other fellow tomorrow.³ . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650.

- 1 O'Connell's brother.
- 2 About five miles east of Cahirciveen.
- 3 Their son Morgan.

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, 22 April 1805

My darling Love,

... Everybody tells me that my little prattler¹ is a charming fellow—and I with the facility of a father's prejudice believe everybody that tells me so. How I long to hear you talk about *them*. Hug both over and over for me and say fifty things of his father to each of the chubby rogues.

My business has detained me here longer than I expected and has of course been much more productive. I was up last night in court until past ten—and that of course before dinner.

Dearest love, I can write no more to you but be assured that I should be long since with you if I had not the strong hope that your illness was merely the result of fatigue and of *your situation*. Do not attempt to go to Tralee in one day. Sleep at Killorglin and send for a carriage to meet you there. . . .

source : Fitz-Simon Papers T Their son Maurice.

146

From his wife to Cork, redirected to Killarney, redirected to Tralee, redirected to Dublin

Carhen, Friday [3 May 1805]

My dearest heart,

... Our darling boys are very well. Maurice is certainly the most entertaining little creature in the world of his age. You will laugh at this and say, 'Oh, the mother.'... He attempts telling a story in Irish. How often I wish you were hearkening to him. He now talks of you constantly and regularly gets a pen to write to Dan. ... I went to see our sweet Morgan on Wednesday. He is as stout a fellow as ever I saw and grown amazingly like Maurice. ... That unfortunate Splinter's business with Foster¹ is quite public here. By some chance your mother heard it. She is very much enraged and so is your father. I assure you I have not been a little uneasy since I came, in consequence of your being

involved in it so far as paying the money. The morning after I arrived your father came into my room and asked me how in the world could you have spent all the Knight's² money. I told him that I was sure you did not get all of it which I thought was the case until he afterwards came and told me you had paid it for Dan [O'] Connell.³ Your mother told him it was so which seemed to satisfy him a little though he said to me it was a hard case you should be paying money for him. Believe me, darling, had I known it was the Knight's money that was to pay the debt I would have used my utmost to prevent you from paying it. Your mother is quite mad with Splinter for involving you at all. The unfortunate man, what a job he has done for himself. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650.

- 1 Unidentified.
- 2 The Knight of Kerry.
- 3 Splinter.

147

To Hunting-Cap, 15 May 1805, from 12 Grafton Street, Dublin

Concerning the purchase of Bayly's estate and the foreclosing on Markham's¹ mortgage.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

r Probably John Markham, Callinafercy, Milltown, Co. Kerry, high sheriff, 1784, whose only child and heir, Jane, married Ralph Marshall.

148

From Jeremiah McCartie to 12 Grafton St., Dublin

[Woodview, Newmarket, Co. Cork] 26 June 1805 My dear Dan,

Your favour of the 15th instant I received in due course and was extremely happy at hearing of your getting fat though busy, and of Mrs. O'Connell's being perfectly well. . . . [Expresses strong disapproval of the marriage arranged between O'Connell's sister Kitty and Humphrey Moynihan¹]. Good God, what hurry are they with her, can't they wait a little and a proper connection will offer itself. Besides, when Kitty was here, she detested him of all people. Sure it would be a pity to force her inclination. I know your mother is partial to the family and indeed I do not know why. He now goes to Carhen for a wife after searching town and country and being disappointed. I will say no more on the subject but God forbid my children should ever be obliged to call him cousin. . . . Wouldn't you and your lady make this your way and even spend one week with us? . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

Humphrey Moynihan of Rathbeg and Freemount (near Rathmore), both Co. Kerry. Married 19 October 1805 O'Connell's sister Catherine.

149

To his wife, I Westland Row or 12 Grafton Street, Dublin

[Carhen] 23 July 1805

My darling love,

I need not tell you that I have great pleasure in informing you that there is at present every prospect of my father's restoration though his disorder has been of the most violent and dangerous kind. It was a paralytic stroke—sudden, of course, and deprived him of the use of almost all his limbs. . . .

... My poor father was much affected and wept at seeing me, ... his spirits have been evidently improved since my arrival. He has been all attention to our infant and will not suffer that he should be prevented from shouting and making all the noise he chooses...

... Morgan's foster father is just come.... Only think of Maurice having had the thought of going and taking the towel and wiping his grandfather's mouth which was dirty after having drank broth. He poor man doats of the infant....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

150

From his wife to care of James Connor Esgr., Tralee

Westland Row [Dublin], 25 July 1805

My dearest life,

... I removed here last night and am very busy all day

regulating matters. Tomorrow I shall get your shelves put up and your books arranged. . . . I wish to God, darling, I was with you and my boys. I can't tell you how lonely I felt last night taking possession without you and not having the happiness of seeing you in your own house, the day three years we were married. . . I shall . . . leave Mrs. Ryan to take care of the house. I shall also leave directions to have it painted and whitewashed for indeed it wants it very much, except the large drawing-room. I am perfectly well, only anxious to hear from you. Say everything kind for me to all at Carhen, and need I ask you to kiss my boy for me? If your dear father be recovered, congratulate him for me and assure him of my sincerest love. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650.

151

To his wife, I Westland Row or 12 Grafton Street, Dublin

Carhen [Thursday], 25 July 1805

My darling Love,

I have sincere happiness in informing you that my father is hourly recovering. The doctor has left him and we have no doubt of his amendment. The dear, affectionate old man will be spared, I trust, much longer to a family by whom he is justly beloved.

I have not seen Morgan yet but am just going in to him. He is, however, I am informed, the sweetest and finest creature imaginable. Your son Maurice is as like you as two eggs—and has all that sauciness of temper and disposition. He is a wonderful favourite and the most affectionate little villain in the world. His temper is certainly hasty but he is never for one moment sulky or sullen and I already perceive that there would be little difficulty in bringing him into proper discipline. . . . He remarked of himself this morning that Ellen¹ was with child and said it was a baby for Splin [*sic*].² The old man at Derrynane³ was here for two days and took much notice of the child but the other treated him with the most philosophic indifference and would not even take wine from him.

Darling, I cannot possibly get to Limerick before Friday. Do not be angry with me, my own Mary, you know how I long to meet my sweet love but I am earning money for her, and cannot get away sooner. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 O'Connell's sister.

2 Splinter.

3 Hunting-Cap.

152

To his wife, Carhen

Limerick, 12 August 1805

[No salutation]

... Ennis was, of course, the dismal place it always has been, the business but small and though I had of *that* my full share yet I know not why I felt it unusually dreary and disgusting.... Do you know that I attribute much of it to the Ennis atmosphere, for my spirits and feelings are quite changed since I got thus far on my return to you....

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

153

From his wife to Limerick

Carhen, 12 August 1805

My dearest life,

. . . Your father came downstairs yesterday and feels himself getting stouter every hour. He is wonderfully recovered in his looks since I came here and indeed it delights me to see so great an amendment both in his looks and spirits. . . . Our sweet babes are very well. Morgan I can't get courage to go see but I hear from him every day. He is quite recovered from the last attack and I certainly must pluck up resolution to go see him the next fine day.¹ Our darling Maurice is a sweet fellow. . . I have now, my dearest heart, one request to make to you. You never refused me any and I am sure you will not this. It is, my darling, that you will not take any further notice of the change in your father's will in James'² favour. Despise it, my heart, and be reconciled to your brother when you meet, if it should be proposed to you. It grieves me, my darling, that you should have any difference with any of

your family, more particularly as I feel myself unintentionally the cause of your present quarrel with James. Don't refuse me this request, my own darling, and consider that you have every prospect of making a fortune independently of the dirty trifle taken from you and left to James, and consider also, heart, that you have a wife who doats of you and who would equally be as fond of you were you in poverty as in affluence. I know I need say no more to you on this subject. Write to me on receipt and let me know if you will gratify me. Indeed I am sure you will. I did not pretend to know a word of the business and I hope, my heart, you will think no more about it. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 See letter 154, note 3.
- 2 O'Connell's brother.

154

From his wife to J. Connor's Esqr., Tralee

Carhen, Friday, 16 August 1805

My darling heart,

. . . Your father, my heart, is recovering every day. . . . We had Arthur [Blenner] Hassett¹ and Butler² here the day before yesterday at dinner. Your father was in very good spirits and seemed to enjoy their society very much. . . . Our sweet Maurice is perfectly well. He is much attached to me though he sometimes calls me a bitch and desires me go to Tralee to Dada Dan. His nurse was to visit him yesterday and anything to equal his delight to see her I never saw. He kissed every bit of her and made her take out her breast and press it to his own. . . . I have not seen our sweet Morgan yet nor can I conquer the dread I have on me of getting into a boat.³ You may suppose how great it is to have me here nearly a fortnight without seeing my little angel but as I am so much in terror, I think it better not run any risk as the smallest fright may be of dangerous consequence to me at present. . . . I think, my darling, you ought to write to McKenna⁴ about getting the part of the shelves in your study painted as you mentioned to me and to remind him of making the step ladder for you. . . . Should you have occasion to go to Tralee after you return here I will accompany you, and what would you think of our taking Maurice to get him inoculated. It is a shocking thing to have him in danger of getting the smallpox. Perhaps your father would have no objection to letting him go with us to Dublin. You can speak to him and your mother about it when you come here. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Probably Arthur (1776-1839), son of Rowland Blennerhassett, later (1809) Sir Rowland, baronet, of Blennerville, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
- 2 James Butler (1780-1863), Waterville, Co. Kerry.
- 3 In order to go to Valentia Island, about half a mile off the coast.
- 4 A tradesman. Probably Arthur McKenna, timber and slate merchant, Thomas Street, Dublin.

155

To his wife, Carhen

My heart's delight,

Tralee, 23 August 1805

... As to your *request* I have the sincere pleasure to inform you that [it] is already complied with. James and I are perfectly reconciled.¹ And now, you villain, I shall when we meet put you in mind of all your fair promises of compliance with every request of mine. In your letters you are the best of all possible wives and the most obedient. But in point of fact you are the sauciest and sturdiest little Vixen that I ever met with. . . . Seriously, darling, I do *so* doat of you.

... I believe I have made at these assizes twice as much as any one else. And then the old gentleman² and I are upon the best possible terms. He met me with as much cordiality and talked to me with as much familiarity as ever he did. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I See letter 153.

2 Hunting-Cap.

156

To his wife, Carhen

My darling love,

Cork, 26 August 1805

... I have already joked with you more than once on the *dutiful* declarations which your letter *of thanks* to Tralee contained. Darling, that is a subject which I have by no means exhausted for I mean to quiz you again about it—if my poor father is in spirits—you must *bribe* me or I will make him

laugh at the excellent account you give of yourself. But in truth, my heart's fond love, you have said nothing but the fact when you declared your desire to oblige and gratify your husband: you know how reciprocal the feelings of that husband are upon the subject.

The business of *the City* is very very trifling, however I have got a share of it—that of the County will be much more considerable and though it does not commence until late tomorrow yet I have already got briefs. . . .

How are my babes—but you are such a shocking and *abominable* coward that I suppose you have not *yet* seen my little Morgan. Do now, darling, pluck up courage and go to see him. Tell Maurice I will certainly bring him a gun. Is there anything you would wish me to bring you, my darling? . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

157

From his wife to Tralee

[Carhen] Saturday night 9 o'clock [perhaps late August 1805]

My dearest life,

When I wrote to you last night I was almost sure all danger was over with our sweet babe,¹ but early this morning I had an account of his getting a relapse about midnight. I was so fatigued after yesterday and so shocked at hearing of his relapsing (when I thought I had left him getting well) that I had not power to stir though determined to go in again to him, but your mother would not permit me and went herself accompanied by Mrs. Primrose.² They are this moment returned and I have the happiness to tell you, my darling, they left our babe much better. Your mother has every hope of him if he gets over this night. Indeed, I never will forget her attention and anxiety about him. May the great God restore our infant to us. . . I shall go tomorrow to Valentia and, if our sweet fellow continues recovering, I hope to be with you on Monday. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

2 Wife of John Primrose of Hillgrove, Cahirciveen, and daughter of Charles Philip O'Connell, Riverstown, the Glen, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry. She died 12 August 1835.

¹ Morgan.

To his wife

Cork, Friday, 30 August 1805

My darling Love,

I must now write to you in the most excessive hurry as I have not one moment to myself. I got your letter, life, with the pleasure which any intercourse with you communicates to the heart of your doating husband. I am sorry you have not seen your other little boy and rather surprised that the feelings of maternal anxiety to hug your babe do not overcome that terror of going into a boat which, believe me, darling, is the most unfounded in the world. However, that terror must indeed be strong as it keeps you from your infant.¹...

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 See letter 154, note 3.

159

To his wife, Carhen

Cork, Friday, 6 September 1805

My darling Love,

... I cannot tell you, my darling, how mortified I am at being totally prevented from even the expectation of leaving this before Tuesday next. ... The truth is, heart, that I have got more to do here than ever I had, both in Court and out of it, and amongst the rest I am concerned in the very *last* record in the list which will not be tried before tomorrow evening. Only think of the fatigue which another would feel in being kept in Court until ten at night without eating a single morsel. This has occurred to me more than once these assizes and yet I never was in better health or spirits. You know how I love the bustle of the courts. I think I may now venture to hope that I shall be able to divide the Cork business with some of my seniors in profession. ...

My dearest love, there is literally a crowd waiting for me so I can only desire a thousand loves to my father and all the family. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

From Daniel O'Connell (Splinter) to 2 Westland Row, Dublin

Tralee, 22 December 1805

My dear Dan,

I received yours last night and can't tell you what anxiety it relieved poor Nell¹ and me from, never hearing one word notwithstanding both our sickness. . . .

My poor darling is very much recovered after I believe 3 weeks of the most dreadful agony to complete which your mother came to town and merely, I believe, to distress poor Nell, invited herself to Charles [O'] Connell's,² which she made her headquarters though Ellen sent her repeated invitations. She of course came to see Nell and I must own it would be as well she did not, for the time she spent with her added much more to her distress as she scarcely stopped talking what to your poor Nell was distressing to the soul. She remained two days in town. She has agreed for a house and fields at Blennerville. She pays $f_{32.12.0}$ rent for the house and it will cost at least f_{100} to furnish it, and 5 gns. an acre for a 5-acre field. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Ellen, O'Connell's sister.
- 2 Dr. Charles O'Connell.

161

To Denis McCarthy,¹ Mail Coach Hotel

Westland Row [Dublin], 20 January 1806

My dear Denny,

... The purchase of my house² and the first expenses of getting in to it have made it extremely desirable to me to get the use of two hundred pounds for a year, but it is still much more necessary for me that no third person should know that I wanted or got the money. If it were your convenience to accommodate me I should be certain of *discretion*.... Should I die my property even in this city would pay ten times the sum.... I beg your answer before twelve to-

morrow. This is the first serious favour I have ever asked of any person. . . .

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

- I Unidentified. The hotel is probably the Royal Mail Hotel (proprietor: Andrew Faulkner), 12 Dawson Street, Dublin.
- 2 No. 1 Westland Row. See letter 150.

162

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 10 March 1806

My dearest love,

... Be sure you let me know particularly and precisely how your cold is getting on. Do not deceive me about it. ... I wish to God, my dearest heart, I had *forced* you to consult a physician before I left town. I have at least one hundred times since I left town reproached myself with not having done so. ...

We had a pleasant journey of it but the weather was the bitterest I ever experienced. My throat would have suffered, I believe, had I not taken the precaution of putting flannel about it this morning. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

163

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 21 March 1806

My darling heart,

I got your letter without a date this day. . . . My dearest love, I am perfectly well and much more busy in Limerick than I ever was before both in court and out of it, making money for the best and sweetest of wives and her *lovely* babes and no less lovely sure than beloved. . . . Take great care of the cold air and, sweet pet, do not be going to Mass until you are quite well and until the weather grows mild. Let me have the comfort to think you will not for any mistaken devotion risk your health. Indeed, my darling, that devotion which could take you to any danger of your health must be mistaken. . . .

. . . Why, my sweet Mary, will you suffer yourself to

be idly alarmed? Believe me, Thomas and James¹ are an abundant protection. No robbers would venture for any booty to attack a house in Dublin when alarm ensures detection protected by two able and armed men. Only think, my love, that there is nothing of sufficient value to tempt them to any risk. They would get but little either of plate or money. Indeed, my own Mary does not use her sound and excellent understanding when she suffers herself to be overcome with unnecessary terrors. Surely there is, I may say, *no* instance of such robbery in Dublin. You never hear of any such thing. . . .

I shall not set out for Tralee until Sunday morning. Stephen Rice and I will go all the way that day as we shall take four horses to Listowel. These have been very bloody assizes—near a dozen men capitally convicted. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Men-servants.

164

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork, 31 March 1806

[No salutation]

... As to the meeting with my uncle,¹ nothing could be pleasanter to me. He told me of the hereditary property being mine and gave me most distinctly to understand that he intended all the rest for me. He told Robin Hickson² that he had forgiven me and I felt it completely. Our former familiarity is restored and you will never again see a formal letter from him. In other respects, my life, I have been very fortunate. My business in Tralee was as great as it possibly could be. I was engaged in everything, and besides, Mountain Mahony³ paid me one hundred pounds which I never expected to have returned....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Hunting-Cap.

- 2 Of the Square, Tralee.
- 3 Probably James Mountain Mahony, lieutenant, Kerry Militia, 1796c. 1811. Mountain was a surname.

From his wife to Captn. Mahony's, Patrick St., Cork

2 April 1806

[No salutation]

. . . Indeed, my darling, I am sincerely rejoiced that your uncle¹ and you will in future be on the terms you formerly were. For many reasons, if you never were to get a shilling from him, I would wish him to be reconciled with you because I know it is a gratification to you and it will to some be a great disappointment. How fortunate you were in getting the money from Mahony.² I wish all those who owe you money would surprise you as he has done. . . . Remember, darling, I expect you will bring a great purse home with you. If you were to know how anxiously I count the days and weeks until the time I expect your return. . . . [Mrs. Hussey] told me that you were employed in everything in Tralee. . . . Affectionate regards to Captn. Mahony and Mrs. Mahony. Kitty³ desires me to tell you with her love she is very angry with you for telling her mother she could be married if it was not her own fault. She says you are a great quiz. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Hunting-Cap.
- 2 Mountain Mahony. See letter 164.
- 3 Kitty Tuohy, a first cousin of Mary O'Connell.

166

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork [Friday], 4 April 1806

My darling Love,

The judges are gone to church and as I therefore have time to write to you I prefer doing so although my letter cannot be sent off till tomorrow. . . I believe I shall be able to send a large remittance to you from this though perhaps I shall prefer keeping the money together until I can add to it fifty pounds from my father which I am to receive in Iveragh. I will not stay an hour there beyond one night. I will not even see one hunt. . . .

John's wife¹ is breeding. She complains much of the sick-

I did not tell you that I am employed by the Iveragh tenants of the Shelburne estate to transact the business of the purchase of their chief rents from Lord Henry Petty's² agents here. I flatter myself I shall put at least one hundred guineas in my pocket by the job. It is not possible I should be paid less. They met in Tralee and appointed me their counsel. Wilson³ acts for Lord Headley⁴ and Mrs. Bl[enner]hassett of Bath and he has also concurred in my appointment. You see, sweet love, everything opens our prospects. Darling, how I rejoice for your sake. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 2 Henry Petty (1780-1863). Later (1809) third marquis of Lansdowne. In 1818 he reverted to the family name of Petty-Fitzmaurice. Home secretary, July 1827-January 1828; lord president of the council, 1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-52.
- 3 William Wilson, attorney, Tralee.
- 4 Charles (Winn-Allanson), second baron Headley (1784-1840).

167

To Hunting-Cap

Cork, 8 April 1806

My dear Uncle,

For I cannot refrain from addressing the best of parents and my first my only friend in my accustomed style. You never did forbid me to use it, and your late kindness induces me to venture again to employ the language which seems to me most suited to convey the expression of that affection, respect and gratitude I am most deeply impressed with. Indeed these are not idle words. In the variety of my professional success I have but one wish unsatisfied, and that is the desire to convince you by the most humble but sincere protestations that my respectful gratitude, my strongest affections, are directed to you alone. I am even too proud not to be anxious to obtain the forgiveness and the patronage and countenance of such a man but I would sacrifice all sooner than you should entertain the slightest idea that I could be actuated

¹ Bess O'Connell.

by any other motive than that of personal esteem and dutiful gratitude. I shall not trespass further on this subject but by saying that the moment you express the smallest displeasure at the liberty I assume I will that instant abandon it.

[Concerning purchase of Bayly's estate.]

I shall close this tedious epistle by answering your kind inquiries as to my assizes business by informing you that it is considerably beyond my expectations. I am just getting into notice in this county and have the satisfaction to perceive that those who *once* employ me seem disposed to repeat their attentions. The number of causes here is so great that my professional emoluments almost equal those which I received in Tralee. I have amongst other things got retainers in two heavy Chancery suits.

Allow me to assure you that I shall always remain, with the most unfeigned respect,

My dear Uncle

Your devotedly grateful and most sincerely affectionate nephew Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

168

From his wife to Captn. Mahony's, Patrick St., Cork

[Dublin] 14 April 1806

Dearest life,

... Let me tell you how unhappy I was at not hearing from you on Saturday. I would not be persuaded but you were ill and I assure you I cried myself almost sick. ... Don't be angry with me, heart, for being so unhappy at your silence. You were always so particular in writing to me that your letting nearly eight days pass without a line I could only attribute to indisposition or some *row* either of your *own* or John's.¹ You see, heart, what a *fool* I was but I am now as happy as it is possible for woman to be and in the greatest spirits. ... I am getting your study cleaned and settled out for you. ...

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 O'Connell's brother.

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork, 15 April 1806

My darling Heart,

... Darling, I have made a little fortune here—and have I believe laid the foundation for a *much greater*. But I had the grief of perceiving, dearest, that the last week slipped through my hands without perceiving it so that you, my own love, were alarmed about me when I was in the best health and in the greatest spirits I could without my darling and her babes possibly be. My letter of Monday, written by me on Saturday, must however have put an end to your anxiety. ...

. . . The subject on which I told you I made some noise in this city was one in which a client of mine, a Mr. Charles Connell of this county, having threatened to horsewhip Harry Grady for being abusive in court, was about to be punished by the judge for attacking a lawyer in the discharge of his duty. I took up the question in that state and made a discourse of about an hour before the most thronged audience you ever saw or that even I ever witnessed. The consequence was that my client, on whom a fine of at least £500 and an imprisonment of three months [? was] about to be inflicted, was discharged for a fine of thirteen shillings and four pence. You cannot conceive anything so much spoken of as my exhibition was. In fact, darling, I felt the case strongly and spoke vehemently and with perhaps some feeling. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

170

To his wife, Tralee

Limerick, 3 August 1806

My darling Love,

... The business at Ennis was very considerable and I as usual got my share of it. I made more money there this assizes than I ever did before... Indeed, darling, there is not, I think, the least danger of any want of complete success in this trade of mine. *That* and beyond all, love, you and my babes make me the happiest of men...

And so, darling, you are quite a rake going every day to races and every night to balls. I am afraid you forget your poor husband all this time. To remind you of me I beg of you to hug my sweet little boy a thousand times for his father. Tell my own Ally¹ I will give her three kisses and what is better get her a husband....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

 Alicia O'Connell (1788-8 Dec. 1862), sister of O'Connell; married c. 22 January 1812 William Francis Finn.

171

To his wife, Tralee

Limerick, Wednesday evening [probably 6 August 1806]

My darling Love,

... I did not recollect entreating of you to continue your bathing and for that purpose to engage one of the Tralee carriages by the week. The only reason that can operate to prevent you is the expense and if we could not afford that I confess I would applaud your prudence in avoiding it. But, sweet love, I can well, very well afford it. I have had here a *splendid* assizes and even if things were not so well I assuredly would be able to pay for what would be so useful to my own love and her babes. Do, dearest, for their sake and mine comply with my request.

I told you I had a good assizes here, darling, besides civil business almost the entire dock has fallen into my hands and as yet I have been *eminently* successful. There are still three criminal cases of much importance in which I am engaged untried and one record that will last near *two* days. The business in general has not been heavy so that I am apt to be the more vain of having had so much. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

172

To his wife, Tralee

Cork, 19 August 1806

My darling Love,

. . . I arrived here in perfect safety and in excellent spirits

though if anything were capable of destroying my natural vivacity it would be those infernal mountains and roads between Killarney and this town. There has *not* been much business in the City but of *that* I have had my share. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

173

From his wife to Post Office, Cork

Tralee, 26 [August] 1806

My dearest love,

... The bishop¹ is here since Saturday, looking very well. I dine in company with him this day at Betsey's.² He has disposed of all the seats in the Chapel. Your mother has bought one much against her inclination for five guineas, and were it not for your subscription, it would have cost her eight or nine. . . . Let your mother, who can so [? well] afford it, pay for the seat. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Charles Sugrue (1761-1824), appointed bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe (Kerry), 10 December 1797; nephew of Hunting-Cap and first cousin of O'Connell.
- 2 Probably Betsey Connor.

174

To his wife, Tralee

Cork, 27 August [? 1806]

My darling Love,

... I have been so busy I did not get an instant to write, and I have now only one moment as I am just going off to Barryscourt to see John's wife¹ who—but do not mention it—has again miscarried and continues very delicate. I will return to breakfast in the morning.

Set your mind at ease, darling, I will not go to Coulagh.²...

The assizes are over but I shall not be out of this before Monday or Tuesday. I have so much *after* business to do. You will be delighted to hear that I got an *immense* deal to do. I was one of the foremost in point of briefs and bustle. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Bess O'Connell.
- 2 Home of Daniel O'Sullivan, O'Connell's first cousin. Mary obviously feared that if her husband went to Coulagh, he would cross from there by boat to Derrynane. She had a nervous fear of such sea crossings.

175

From Ralph Marshall

Tralee, 20 January 1807

Dear O'Connell,

I have paid $\pounds_{1,203}$ odd to James¹ for your uncle² and have lodged a sum with Mr. Connor³ for the costs. I request to know if you mean, as you said, to apply the costs to the payment of the trifle you owe and which you have shown such impatience to be quit of. When you placed that confidence in me first of communicating your want to me, you were not to repay it for a very long time. That time has not elapsed and I should much rather continue your creditor.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I O'Connell's brother.

2 Hunting-Cap.

3 James Connor.

176

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 3 March 1807

My dearest Love,

I have suffered the extreme of anxiety and uncasiness since I left you. Why, my own darling, will you give way to *childish* fears? I could almost quarrel with you for indulging them and if you are *so good* as to give them up I promise you to return to you from Cork without going back to Kerry. You know I never broke my word with you. . . .

I have also been very anxious about my poor little Morgan. When I went to kiss him he started and seemed very feverish

and uneasy. Do not, my dearest, hesitate to send for physicians for him should my babe prove at all seriously attacked. . . .

... I do entreat of my darling Mary to keep up her spirits ... I shall be with you again before you lie in. How I long to hear from you, love...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

177

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Ennis, 6 March 1807

My dearest Mary,

I was greatly delighted to find by your letter of Tuesday that you have kept up your spirits better than I expected. . . .

... Darling, I am perfectly well and when my anxiety for you is lulled I am very happy and in full business here. I have been a good deal employed for the prisoners also and remarkably lucky.

I shall leave this in the evening and sleep in the little town of Newmarket¹ so as to be in Limerick early tomorrow. I doubt much whether the business will be finished here as there are still five records [? entered] in four of which I am concerned. In truth I never made *half* the money here that I did this time.

My darling love, there are *hundreds* pouring in upon me about business. I thought to write much more but those people prevent me. My own Mary, how my heart doats of you, sweetest of women.

Kiss my babes for me. My dear Maurice, how I love the fellow. I am delighted at Morgan's recovery. And in my heart of hearts I hug my little Nell.² I hope, darling, this will be another daughter. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare.
- 2 Their eldest daughter, Ellen (12 Nov. 1805-1883). Married 17 July 1825 Christopher Fitz-Simon, Ballinamona, Arklow, Co. Wicklow, and Glencullen, Co. Dublin.

From his wife to Post Office, Limerick

Dublin, 7 March 1807

[No salutation]

... The hope and the almost certainty I feel that you will be back with me before my confinement gives me the greatest spirits and consolation. I trust in God I shall at all events not be confined until the beginning of April.... [Your father is] extremely anxious to go back to Carhen, where she [your mother] thinks they will not be able to go to until the first of next month in consequence of John O'Connell's having set the outhouses at Carhen to wretched tenants whom she does not approve of as such near neighbours.... We had your speech at full length in the *Correspondent* of Thursday night.¹ I dare say it will be in the *Kerry Dispatch* next week....

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

A Catholic meeting took place in Dublin on 24 February 1807 at which it was decided to have Lord Fingall transmit to Henry Grattan an Emancipation petition to parliament. O'Connell's speech, reported in the *Correspondent* of 5 March and not in the ordinary reports of the meeting, was an appeal for a more aggressive attitude to the present (Grenville) ministry. He stated that he would place the Catholic claims 'on the new score of justice—of that justice which would emancipate the Protestant in Spain and Portugal, the Christian at Constantinople'.

179

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 9 March 1807

My dearest Mary,

I got a very pleasant letter from you last night as it informed me you were resolved to keep up your spirits. Surely, my darling, there is no reason why you should not. *Nothing* shall induce me to return from Cork to Kerry so that you may with the utmost certainty rely on my being with you very early in April. . . . Every hour increases my happiness with my darling Mary as besides anything else it advances our independence. I have received already 21 guineas here and shall get more. So you may judge of my

success elsewhere when in this, my *worst* town, I have made even so much. Ennis was very well. I believe really, heart, that taking it for all in all I had as least as much there as any other barrister whatsoever.

Darling, the bill you paid was precisely the one I expected to be called for. There is no other bill of mine out but one for the College rent¹ which will be due in April. . . .

... Every case I have been concerned in one way or the other serves to increase my confidence *in myself*. I may be mistaken but, darling, I think there is not much reason to fear. Perhaps my vanity misguides me but *the effect* of my success is apparent.

James Connor arrived here on Saturday night and went on on Sunday morning to Tralee. I did not see him not having got farther out of Ennis than to Newmarket on Saturday.

The number of records here are very few, and several have been this day tried. Unless some of my dock clients should be late in the list, I should hope to arrive in Tralee early on Saturday next. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I The head-rent which O'Connell paid to Trinity College, Dublin, for part of his estate.

180

To his wife, I Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 12 March 1807

My dearest Love,

... Darling, on the faith of your promise I will both believe that you will refrain from eating fish and *neglect* to give you a scolding for the present but when I go back to Dublin I will scold you and *much*. So you will live in constant apprehension of my return. Will you not, Love?

I found I could spare fifty guineas out of my circuit earnings and so I got the enclosed bill for them. . . . Of course, my dearest, I leave you altogether at your own discretion as to this as well as to every other part of my property. I know full well you will be as prudent as you reasonably can, but my pride and pleasure in collecting the earnings of my profession is first to give you every convenience and then every comfortable luxury of life. I doat of you, my sweet Mary, and nothing can give me such pleasure as seeing you in affluence. . . .

Dan O'Connell of Kilgorey goes to Dublin in a day or two. Make him dine with you, heart. Take no excuse from him and *drink* a bottle of old claret with him. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

181

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, Saturday, 14 March 1807

Sweet Mary,

I have only time to write two lines to you, heart, as I am just off for Tralee. I got your letter last night and repeat to you my most unalterable resolution of being with you early in April. Heart's darling, I am pleased with even so small an occasion of showing you what pleasure it gives me to comply with your wishes. Indeed, my Mary, you do constitute my happiness. There never was a man so blest in a wife.

I am, dearest, a little out of spirits this morning as three of my clients were condemned last night. They certainly deserve their fate, and I have no reason to blame myself, yet I cannot help feeling out of spirits.

Dearest love, no man can be more in the enjoyment of life than I am. No man can be more satisfied with his prospects. My own Mary, how my exulting heart doats of you and of my babes. Kiss them for me. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

182

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork, 26 March 1807

My dearest Mary,

I had the happiness of getting Ellen Connor's letter of the 24th this morning and was delighted to find you have been already up. Ellen indeed wrote a very *dainty* letter for which I am most obliged. Tell her so with my sincerest love.

Darling, I cannot write much to you as the County assizes

have commenced and I am in full business. I am really getting a load of money. At this rate you shall soon have not only carriages but a country house. It is an infinite pleasure to me to succeed thus as it enables me to give my sweetest little woman all the luxuries of life. We loved each other, darling, when we were poor, and as we were really so, it was almost our only consolation to love each other. And now that we are becoming rich it is the chief sweetener of life. At least to me, darling. Without the affections of my dear Mary life would not be worth having. I do so doat of you, darling.

Darling Mary, I cannot write more to you. I beg to hear from you every day whilst I am here. I will write every day if I possibly can. At all events no two days shall pass without my writing. How delighted shall I be to see your own dear writing again. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

183

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork, 1 April 1807

My darling Love,

I was so excessively hurried for the last two days that I had not a moment to write even to you. It is not possible to conceive the rapidity with which time slips away when every moment is engaged. I assure you, darling, I could hardly believe I had been so long without writing to you as I perceived when I sat down that I had.

Dearest Love, Ellen¹ tells me you were not to leave your room until *Wednesday* instead of coming down on Sunday. Surely, heart, you have not been attacked with any illness that caused your detention. I should be wild if I did suffer myself for one moment to think that my sweet, dear little woman was unwell. No, my heart's darling, I will believe Ellen's letter and your assurance that you are perfectly well. *Now* it would in my prosperity more than break my heart to doubt for one instant that my beloved Mary was not able to enjoy that prosperity.

I did not send you money from Kerry for this reason that I was obliged to lay out my assizes earnings upwards of \pounds 100 in repaying Zeb Mac² money that he lent me in November to take up the executions against Splinter. . . . I will send you fifty guineas from this by the post of tomorrow, and I have bought here another hogshead of claret and two quarter casks of white wine together with a hogshead of cider of the finest kind. Zeb Mac's money will I apprehend take me back through Kerry, yet if I can avoid it I will not go. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Ellen Connor.

2 Unidentified.

184

From his wife, 1 April 1807, to Capt. Mahony's, Patrick St., Cork

'I hope in God, love, you will not be obliged to go to Kerry. If you did not get something worthwhile for going, I think the trip both distressing to yourself and expensive.'

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

185

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Killarney, 8 April 1807

My darling Love,

I avail myself of the one moment which the sudden departure of James Connor allows me to tell you that I am perfectly well and excessively busy, and what will please you quite as much that I shall infallibly leave Tralee on Sunday, so as to be certain of seeing you on Tuesday.

Poor Bess O'Connell was yesterday delivered of a six months child. It was of course dead and had been so for a considerable time. She herself is in a fair way for doing well but has suffered considerably. Ellen¹ too miscarried of a seven months child. She fell down some stairs at Derrynane and carried the child dead some weeks. It was extremely lucky that the poor thing got over it as she, of course, had no medical assistance. . . . You will hear from James Connor how completely restored I am to my Uncle's² good graces. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I His sister Ellen O'Connell.

I This sister Enerro Com

2 Hunting-Cap.

186

To the Knight of Kerry

Westland Row, Dublin, 14 May 1807

Dear Sir,

I had the honour of receiving your letter this morning, and should have been happy to have contributed to your re-election¹ were it in my power. I do assure you you would have found my exertions most zealous and cordial, however unable I might have been to render them useful.

I have no doubt you will receive all the support my family can give. They all concur with me in thinking that no person can have such claims on that support either from reasons of personal respect or motives of public principle.

source : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 14-15 1 The contest for Co. Kerry in the general election of May 1807.

187

From his wife to Tralee

Dublin, 21 May 1807

My dearest life,

... your return [to Dublin] which I hope and expect will be very soon as I hear the election won't hold more than a few days. There was a report yesterday that Mr. John Rowan¹ had given all his interest to the Knight of Kerry. I hope it is not true for I am told if he did so the election would not be contested. I shall be all anxiety until Saturday's post. We are all very well here. Ally² and I dined at Mrs. O'Gorman's³ yesterday in company with the celebrated Miss Owenson.⁴ She said many handsome things of you to Ally and expressed a great wish to know you. She is, I think, a wonderful creature, her manners most pleasing but in person very ugly. I took Maurice to drink tea with Mrs. O'Gorman.

He was as good as possible and much *admired*. He and Morgan are this moment returned from walking and both desire their love to you. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 John Rowan, Castlegregory, Co. Kerry; high sheriff, 1805.
- 2 Alicia O'Connell.
- 3 Probably the wife of Nicholas P. O'Gorman, Harcourt Place, Dublin.
- 4 Sydney Owenson (1783-1859), novelist, married 1812 Sir Thomas Charles Morgan, M.D. See DNB.

188

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

[Tralee] 22 May 1807

(In Haste)

My sweet darling Love,

Everything goes on rapidly. The contest continues. . . .

I wish I could write to you an history of what has happened. The election began yesterday—we had several speeches. The Knight [of Kerry] completely put down Segerson¹ and Maurice O'Connor² and made a great display of talent. I did not think him what he is. Only two each were polled yesterday. After a polling of seven hours this day the numbers are 57 for the Knight and Herbert³ and 13 for Crosbie.⁴ I had at least one hundred points to rule this day and do you know, heart, I rather think I gave satisfaction to everybody. At least I determined every point with the purest conscience, I may say, dearest, with the proudest and certainly unaffected independence. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 John Segerson.
- 2 The Square, Tralee. Died 1840.
- 3 Henry Arthur Herbert, Muckross, Killarney. M.P. for Co. Kerry, 1806-12; Tralee, 1812-13.
- 4 Col. James Crosbie, Ballyheigue, Tralee, Co. Kerry. High sheriff, 1792, and M.P. for Co. Kerry, 1801-06, 1812-26. Died 1836.

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Tralee, Friday, 29 May 1807

My darling Mary,

... The election closes probably tomorrow and the ensuing day I must remain here to settle *the books* with Rowan¹ or rather for him. ...

My. uncle² will not go up for the present but I should not be surprised if we had him *with us* before the end of next term.

I ought to tell you election news yet, my heart, I have so many other things to say and yet nothing of importance. The poll, darling, stands thus: for the Knight, 642—for Herbert, 626—for Crosbie, 182. I hope and believe it will end tomorrow.³ There is not one particle of spirit or fun of any kind going on except *the speeches* of the candidates and of honest Jack Segerson. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I George Rowan, Tralee; high sheriff, 1807.
- 2 Hunting-Cap.
- 3 On 30 May on the retirement of Crosbie (the voting was then 685 each for the Knight and Herbert, 185 for Crosbie), the Knight and Herbert were declared elected.

190

From his wife, Tralee, 25 July 1807, to Post Office, Limerick

Tells of the arrival in Tralee of herself and their children.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

191

From his brother James to I Westland Row

Carhen, 21 December 1807

My Dear Dan,

. . . The day before my uncle¹ left Cork he had a consultation on the complaint of his eyes. The physicians were clearly of opinion that there were cataracts formed on them and said the most he could expect was to retain the little sight he had at present. They ordered small blisters to be applied to his head which he has not as yet made use of. I think his sight has even considerably declined since he came home. I have no doubt if he continues to grow worse that he will either go to Dublin or to England before March next to undergo the operation of having the cataracts cut off.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Hunting-Cap.

166

192

To the Knight of Kerry

Westland Row, Dublin, 26 December 1807

My dear Sir,

I have a request to make of you to which I am urged by several of the gentlemen here who have been active in preparing the Catholic petition. . . .

The object arises thus: a petition was prepared last year for presenting but postponed on account of the change in administration. That petition has since got into print, and we are induced to believe that, having been once printed and published, it cannot, according to the humours of the House of Commons, be presented. Now, as the Speaker is bound to know the law of the House and, as we conceive, to communicate it to any of the members, we are anxious in our request to you to ascertain the matter as speedily as may suit your convenience.

As soon as Lord Fingall comes to town we shall hold our first general meeting, and there certainly shall be a petition presented early in the session. . . .

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 15-16

193

From his brother James, Carhen, 3 February 1808, to 1 Westland Row, Dublin

Concerning the letting of Carhen (house and land). SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

From his wife to Post Office, Ennis

Dublin, 21 March 1808

My darling heart,

I write to you today in very bad spirits indeed. The account I had of my dearest Edward¹ is truly melancholy. Maurice² writes that Dr. Leyne holds out not the smallest hope of his recovery (his youth excepted). . . .

The society of your sweet babes are the greatest comfort to me. My sweet Maurice often talks of you and his James,³ but Morgan is as indifferent as you please. Ellen says you are in the study but our sweet little Kate,⁴ when she came into the room last night and was kissing me, she held out her little mouth towards the bed, and Johanna⁵ was obliged to take her to it. The little infant looked quite disappointed when she did not find you there. This, you won't believe, but indeed, heart, it is true. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Mary O'Connell's brother Edward O'Connell.
- 2 Mary O'Connell's brother Maurice O'Connell.
- 3 Probably O'Connell's man-servant, but possibly O'Connell's brother.
- 4 Their second daughter Catherine (Kate) O'Connell (18 Mar. 1807-19 April 1891). Married 7 October 1832 her distant cousin Charles O'Connell, Bahoss, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry.
- 5 Maidservant.

195

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Ennis, 22 March 1808

My darling Love,

Though I wrote to you yesterday yet *perhaps* you will *excuse* me for writing again this day. I have one moment of leisure and cannot employ it so pleasantly as in writing to my sweet darling and talking to her of her babes and of myself. . . . In point of business I am greatly treated. There are 15 records and I am concerned in no less than twelve of them. I received this morning forty-one guineas out of which I enclose you the one half of the only Dublin note in my collection. . . I will also make you a splendid remittance from Limerick. I know, Darling, you do not want money but the pleasantest way is to send it up. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

196

From his wife to Anthony Bodkin's Esq., Limerick

26 March 1808

My dearest Love,

I wrote to you yesterday by Peter Hussey and he can tell you how well I am keeping up my spirits. . . . The last account I had of my dear Edward¹ . . . was more favourable than the former letters contained. . . . I had also a letter from Mrs. Primrose, written the eighteenth. She says your father was attacked with a severe fit. . . . Your uncle,² Ellen³ and John⁴ were sent for and arrived on Thursday but left it on Friday as there was a change for the better in him that day. . . . I will allow you must naturally feel a great deal at the loss of so kind and affectionate a parent but, Darling, I know you won't be unreasonable, should it please God to take him to himself. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Her brother.
- 2 Hunting-Cap.

3 O'Connell's sister.

4 O'Connell's brother.

197

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, Saturday, 26 March 1808

My darling Mary,

... Darling, I slept last night at Kilgorey¹ where I left Dan and his wife perfectly well. They made the kindest inquiries for you and my babes. I came in from there this day which was one of the bitterest I have ever known in so much that the ground was completely covered with snow and we were glad to keep up all the windows of the carriage. I have not taken any cold and am perfectly well and in much better spirits since I got your last letter. I am sure I had more busi-
ness in Ennis than any other barrister. I was concerned in twelve records and in all the criminal business. It is not as yet possible for me to say how trade will go on here. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 In Co. Clare; home of Daniel O'Connell, a kinsman.

198

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

[Limerick] Sunday, 27 March 1808

My dearest Heart,

Hussey¹ gave me your letter last night and with it the heaviest intelligence I have ever received. First, for I will put that first, he told me that you were at least two days confined by the excess of your grief and affliction about poor Edward.² Indeed, darling, I am unpardonable in not going off instantly for Dublin and I certainly should do so but that Hussey assured me you were up on Thursday and from that until his departure. Is this, darling, what you promised me? I now feel the reason why my love with all her babes about her has written me such short and almost uncomfortable [letters]. Sweet, sweet Mary, I am almost distracted about you. There is, I see, no use in my recommending moderation to you. But certainly, if you knew the horrible anxiety which I am obliged to feel for the mother of my infants, the sweetest of wives, my only treasure, you would not allow any other consideration to predominate. Darling, I do not know how I can stay from you under those circumstances. I have therefore written by this post to William Bernard³ to watch you, and if it be impossible to give you sufficient fortitude to bear this calamity in my absence, I will consider my professional sacrifice of course as nothing compared with the duty and the desire of giving you support. Or you have only to express the slightest wish to have me with you and I shall be in town in ten or twelve hours.

Besides this calamity, I for the first intelligence find from your letter that my poor dear father is seriously ill. The best, the most affectionate of human hearts was his, and whatever there be of the milk of human kindness about me serves only to prove that I am his son. . . .

... Good God, how miserable a wretch I could be. Yet,

yet I am sure my sweet Mary will take compassion on me and not, by yielding to any calamity, drive me to distraction. I will write every day whilst I remain in Limerick. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Peter Bodkin Hussey.
- 2 Mary O'Connell's brother.

3 Attorney, 26 Arran Quay, Dublin.

199

From his wife to Anthony Bodkin's Esgr., Limerick

Dublin, 28 March 1808

My darling love,

... You will be happy to hear I had an account of our dear Edward¹ this morning which gives me the greatest spirits. The letter was from Ellen Connor. ... May God send my poor fellow will get over this attack. ... Ellen also mentions that the Iveragh post[man] ... said your father was better when he left Carhen the day before, ... so that you see, my darling, you have nothing serious to apprehend for him this turn. ... I was asked to a great christening at Captain Blaquiere's² in Denzil Street for this day. Indeed Mrs. B³ came herself to ask me to dine with her when she found I was alone and, as I had so good an account of Edward this morning, I will go there in the evening if I find my cold better. ...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- I Her brother.
- 2 Probably Hon. Peter Boyle de Blaquiere (1784-1860), son of first baron de Blaquiere.
- 3 Probably Eliza, wife of Hon. Peter Boyle de Blaquiere and daughter of Denis O'Brien, Newcastle, Co. Limerick. She died in 1814.

200

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 29 March 1808

My dearest Love,

. . . I do not expect to be able to leave this before Saturday. I have done right well here, and my business is on the 1808

most manifest *increase*. It would all be well most well if I could but allay my fears for you.

I have not had a word from Kerry since I wrote last. Neither indeed do I hope to hear any, for unless they have bad news to communicate they will not write at all.

Rick O'Connell,¹ the surgeon, has been just with me. He is on his way from Galway to Bandon. His wife remains at Sir John Blake's² to lie in. He joins the 38th who are under orders for South America. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I See letter 42, note I.

2 Sir John Blake (1753-1834), eleventh baronet, Menlough Castle, Co. Galway. Married secondly 1801 Rose, daughter of Edward Brice, Kilroot, Co. Antrim.

201

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

[Limerick] Wednesday, 30 March 1808

My darling Mary,

I got yours of the 28th last night and am greatly delighted to find your spirits better. . . .

I hope you went to Mrs. Blaquiere and that you were pleasant there. But, my heart, I have a strange notion floating in my mind that she is not precisely the kind of woman I should be anxious to have you intimate with. However, dearest, I know your good sense and discretion too well to think it necessary even to put you on your guard about her or to suggest to you any inquiries. My notion may be altogether groundless and in truth I cannot distinctly tell how I came to form the idea at all.

I have been, love, extremely successful here. All my prisoners have been acquitted. The dock alone has produced me a small fortune. I had the County Court-house this day for near an hour in a roar of laughter at a witness whom I examined, the judge, jury and all the spectators. I have always remarked that nothing advances an Irish barrister more than the talent of ridicule. At present I am a little proud, darling, of my success in that line. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

From his wife to Limerick, c/o Anthony Bodkin's Esq.

[Dublin] 31 March 1808

My dearest Life,

... I had a letter from my poor mother this morning. She says Edward¹ is much in the same state. She writes in a most feeling manner to me to take care of myself and keep up my spirits. She says she is perfectly resigned should she have the heavy misfortune of losing her fine young man and surely, darling, my feelings in comparison with hers are nothing. Therefore it would be sinful of me to indulge in unavailing sorrow when I am blessed with many comforts. Indeed, heart, I am as well as you could possibly wish or expect and let me entreat of you to set your mind at ease respecting me.

... I assure you I am very *prudent* and should you, my darling, not send me up the money as you earn it, you will be *tempted* to distribute it when you go to Kerry. It is there all the claims are on you, putting *Splinter first of all*. You may rest assured your father is quite recovered from his last attack. No news is good news. ...

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Her brother.

203

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 2 April 1808

My dearest Mary,

You have enclosed a bill for £115.10.7. out of which you will have two large payments to make, the one of £70 a bill of mine to Hickson,¹ the woollen draper, which will be due the 14th of April and the other of £26 and some shillings which will be due a few days after. This second bill I gave McKenna for his work in the house. . . .

There is also a note or bill of mine out for £50 which you are not to pay, darling, unless you get money for that purpose from a Mr. Clarke, an attorney. You may in the event of its not being sent to you, I mean the money, by Mr. Clarke allow it to be protested. I am not one bit uneasy about it.

... I hardly expected to be able to do so much even from Tralee. In the pecuniary way I have now no further difficulty and I think I cannot give my darling a more distinct proof of the increase of my business than *this* of being able already to send her no less than \pounds_{125} since the commencement of this circuit. The fact is that there is nothing in the profession beyond my almost immediate expectation...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Robert Hickson, woollen draper, 36 College Green, Dublin. Died 1816.

203a

From his wife to Tralee

Westland Row, 2 April 1808

My dearest life,

... With sincere sorrow I have to inform you of the illness of poor Mrs. Ryan. She was attacked yesterday with a violent stitch in her side and, though blistered and blooded, she still continues very bad and [has] no relief from the pain. Dr. Teeling,¹ who is attending her, has not the smallest hope she will recover. The blisters did not rise which he thinks a very bad symptom. Poor woman, she sent to beg I would go to her but really, in my present situation and spirits, I could not summon up resolution to go as I don't know what effect seeing her in such agony may have on me. I have sent her wine and every hour I send to inquire for her. . . . I am sure, heart, you will not be displeased at my not going to her. I know you are convinced that any attention or affection in my power I would show her for your sake but, love, I know it would not be proper for me to run any risks at present. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Christopher Teeling, M.D., 61 Exchequer Street, Dublin.

204

From his wife to Tralee

5 April 1808

My Dearest Love,

I got your letter yesterday with the note enclosed. You must indeed, my heart, have been uncommonly successful in Limerick to be able to remit me so large a sum. I can't tell you what pleasure it gave me to see so much of your earnings. Hussey¹ told them all in Tralee that you were concerned in everything going forward in Limerick and that you would be the richest man at the Bar. How proud your uncle² would be of you if he heard it! . . . Maurice [is] very anxious to know, as his Aunt Connor³ has got a new house, if she has given her old one to a poor man. . . . Morgan is obliged to be often put in the black hole, not a word of his lesson will he say until he is put in there. He is an astonishing, sulky child. I constantly talk of you to him but he never makes me a reply. . . . I suppose *you* are *among* all the pretty girls at Mrs. Kenny's,⁴ a dangerous place, I must allow. However I am not very *uneasy* about it. . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Peter Bodkin Hussey.

2 Hunting-Cap.

3 Betsey Connor.

4 The house where O'Connell lodged on this occasion.

205

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Tralee, 6 April 1808

My dearest love,

I have but one moment to write to you. I am perfectly well. My poor father is worse, much worse. Edward¹ is exactly in the same situation.

I have been detained in Court until this moment. Tell Hanna² that after a tedious trial her husband is just *acquitted*. I made a great *battle* for him. I am pleased for her sake at this success. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Mary O'Connell's brother.

2 Maidservant, wife of James, O'Connell's servant.

Cork, 12 April 1808

My dearest Mary,

... Poor Edward¹ I left precisely as I found him—in good spirits, utterly unconscious of his danger but certainly with very many symptoms of rapid decay. He is up the greater part of every day and though he chats freely the strong perspiration is almost incessant. However nature at his age has great resources and ... though I am afraid of encouraging hopes yet I cannot avoid entertaining some expectation of his ultimate recovery....

I brought something more than $f_{.50}$ from Kerry after paying all my expenses thither and to this place. . . I think on the whole you will not therefore be *dissatisfied* with my success in Kerry. When though the entire business was small, I was in point of fact concerned in everything and of course in much more than any other person.

My uncle² did not come to Tralee and his present disposition is not to go to Dublin, but I have written to him in such strong terms as makes me hope he will alter his determination. James³ is to send me an express here if that event happens and of course I will instantly communicate it to you. Till *then* you need not make any preparations for him. He sent me a present of f_{100} ... I am pleased at this present because, though small, it is the first sum actually given by him since our quarrel. He intends continuing to give the same sum at every assizes...

As to my poor father I am afraid to trust myself to write about him. He is, I very very much fear, in the last stage. I will go as soon as I can to embrace him, alas, for the last time. I will spend one night at Carhen, another at Derrynane and then off again for the arms of my own love and for the additional happiness, it is strange to think it *additional*, of hugging to my heart of hearts our dear, dear babes. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Mary O'Connell's brother.
- 2 Hunting-Cap.
- 3 His brother.

Cork, 14 April 1808

My dearest Love,

I could not have written to you yesterday the court sat so late, and this day I am prevented, from doing so at any length, though the melancholy account I got of poor Edward¹ this day would induce me to write as much of consolation on other subjects as I possibly could. The expression made use of in my letter from Tralee of this day is that Edward is *rather worse*. It dispirits me excessively to be absent from you just now. . . .

There is an immense deal of business and the judges [are] very, very slow. It fatigues me to think what a length of time I shall be detained here. I am greatly off for my share of the business. Tell Maurice² that I will send James³ to him with a sword from this town in about a week, and tell my darling fellow that I doat of him. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Edward O'Connell.
- 2 His son Maurice.
- 3 His servant.

208

From his wife to Cork

Dublin, 18 April 1808

My dearest love,

... Betsey O'Connell and Tom¹ arrived here last night in the boat from Tullamore. . . . Your father is still confined to his bed but in no pain yet extremely weak. He may in that state of health hold out for many a year so that, darling, there is not the slightest cause for you to make yourself uneasy. . . . I dare say you will make a small fortune in Cork for by everything I hear you are concerned in all the business of any consequence going forward there. How proud your uncle² must be at your success! I am told that when he hears of your making any great speech that he sheds tears of joy. Do you know that I am beginning to like [him] since I heard it?

1808

It is a proud day to you, my darling, to support the family you do, independent of him or any other person, thank God. You are, at all events, the most respectable of your family in every sense of the word, notwithstanding the grand connections. . . Poor Mrs. Ryan still holds out, as bad as she can be. Nothing more could be done for her. Indeed it is impossible to expect she can get over so severe an attack at her time of life. Poor woman, I am sincerely sorry for her, and wish with all my heart I could summon up resolution to go see her but that is out of the question at present.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Wife of her brother Rickard and their eldest son.
- 2 Hunting-Cap.

209

From his wife to Cork

[Dublin] 19 April 1808

My dearest love,

. . . Ellen Connor mentioned to me Mr. O'Sullivan¹ was with Edward² and had administered the rites of the Church to him which, I assure you, is the greatest consolation to me and to the rest of his family. Poor Mrs. Ryan is no more. She died this morning at eight o'clock in little Biddy's arms who sat up with her all night. . . . I shall give money to defray her funeral expenses, and she has left orders to have her furniture sold to repay me. Her will is in my possession. . . . I understand she has left you her executor. . . . I am greatly pleased that your uncle has at length determined on coming to Dublin and I hope to us, though an inconvenience in point of room, but it is an inconvenience I am perfectly satisfied to put up [with] but, love, it will be necessary for us to get a standing bed made preparatory to his arrival. . . . It frets me to think [that] you will not be able to go see your father for this reason that I know it would be such a comfort to the poor man to see you, and such an ease to your mind and feelings to know precisely the state he is in. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Rev. Michael O'Sullivan (1752-c. 1811); P.P., Tralee, 1801-11.
- 2 Edward O'Connell.

Cork, 21 April 1808

My dearest Love,

I am now four days without hearing from you and I in my turn experience all the anxiety you felt. I write, however, at this early hour, seven in the morning, because I know I shall not get a moment for the rest of the day to write. . . .

... The criminal business is, however, over and both judges will this day go into records so that it is becoming just possible that we may have made a considerable progress by Saturday.... That indeed would enable [me] to do everything I could wish for indeed, Love, if I am unable to see my poor father I shall ever reproach myself with my absence as with a crime. I cannot describe to you the horror I entertain at the thought of not seeing him now, as this is I *much*, *much* fear the very last opportunity I shall ever have of pressing my lips to the most tender and affectionate of parents. Darling, you do not know how much this idea makes me suffer....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

211

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork, 22 April 1808

My darling love,

... Darling, do exactly whatever pleases you about the bed,¹ gratify yourself by doing whatever you think will be most convenient to you. We can well afford the expense.

... I feel sincerely sorry for poor Mrs. Ryan. She was a strange woman in many particulars but affectionate and well disposed. I never shall think without disgust of the conduct of her brutal and unfeeling sister. I got a most pressing message from my poor father to go to see him. Good God, what shall I do as this damned assizes seems eternal. . . .

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 See letter 209.

212

From his wife to Cork

Dublin, Saturday, 23 April 1808

My dearest Love,

... There are people coming every day to know when you will certainly be home, and I tell them the fourth of May or perhaps the day before. Indeed, love, I hope you will be able to go see your dear father before your return, but in your anxiety to see him take care you won't injure your health by making so rapid a journey as you describe in your letter to me yesterday. There is, I trust, every hope of your seeing him again even if you are obliged to come up this term without going to Kerry. ... I know what a comfort and consolation it would be both to you and him that you should go to Carhen. ...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

213

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

[Cork] 25 April 1808

My darling Mary,

. . . The close of this assizes has been much more pressing in point of business than its commencement, and I am hardly escaped from court at the time, sweetest, that I now sit down to write to you. Tomorrow I set off on my travels. . . .

My heart, I need not tell you that having disengaged my mind of the business of Cork, my soul rests only on you and yours. . . .

. . . Dearest, I feel all the wild riot of a schoolboy as I

perceive myself now disengaged. One record alone remains untried and in that Burton¹ takes my brief. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Charles Burton, K.C. (1760-1847). Born Northamptonshire; came to Ireland and devilled with John Philpot Curran; called to the Irish bar, 1792; justice of the King's Bench, 1820. As a judge in the state trials of 1844 he passed sentence on O'Connell.

214

From his wife to Cork, redirected to Dublin

25 April 1808

My darling love,

. . . Indeed, love, I can't tell you how anxious and uneasy I feel at the idea of your not being able to go see your dear father but, heart, why will you not keep up your spirits with the hope of seeing him in the course of the summer. By every account I can hear of him there is no immediate danger. . . . I well know from experience how injurious any uneasiness of mind is to any person, more particularly to one that has such an affectionate and feeling heart as you, my darling, are possessed of. . . . Edward¹ is precisely in the same state. Mr. Sullivan² attends him regularly, and the poor fellow is become as devout as possible. What a change in one that never thought of anything of that kind since he first got into the Navy. . . . With respect to the bed, love, I shan't do anything about it until I hear to a certainty that your uncle is determined on coming to my house. Should you go to Kerry you will know from him. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Edward O'Connell, Mary O'Connell's brother.

2 See letter 209.

215

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Ennis, I August 1808

My dearest Mary,

I was not able to write to you yesterday, the press and hurry of *business* was so great in endeavouring to adjourn

1808

the election¹ until after the assizes. I now apprehend that will not be done so that you may imagine the situation I shall be in between the courts and the election. My dearest love, I have ten thousand things to say to you about business, particularly those bills of mine due for Dan O'Sullivan,² but really, really I cannot get one moment to do it in. Write to me, darling, what William Bernard has done with Mr. Cooper³ of Merrion Square. See Bernard . . . to tell him I entreat .his particular attention to what I told him to do respecting those bills. . . .

I shall if possible write to you every day. I have as yet received no *election* money. The moment I do I will remit to you the entire.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- An election for Co. Clare caused by the resignation of one of the members, Hon. Francis Nathaniel Pierpoint Burton, Buncraggy, Co. Clare, twin brother of first Marquess Conyngham.
- 2 Probably O'Connell's brother-in-law of Reendonegan, Bantry, Co. Cork.
- 3 Either Austin Cooper, 4 Merrion Square, North, and Abbeville, Malahide, Co. Dublin, or Samuel Cooper, 4 Merrion Square, North, attorney.

216

From his wife to Ennis

3 August 1808

My dearest love,

I know you will be happy to hear I came downstairs this day and feel, thank God, very stout and well. My darling Edward¹ is thriving as well as my heart can wish. . . . I am vexed, my darling, at this business [bills of exchange] because I know how it must fret you but, love, I am more uneasy lest through the hurry of the election and assizes business you may fatigue yourself too much, particularly as the weather is so extremely oppressive and really, heart, I think you ought to give up the assizes business for it is impossible you can attend to both without excessive fatigue. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Their infant son (c. July 1808-c. Jan. 1809).

Ennis, 5 August 1808

My dearest love,

I am still here and likely to remain for two or three days longer. The candidates¹ have at length agreed to pay me three hundred guineas making £341.5.0. I think they ought to have made it the clear £400, but it is comfortable to get the other sum in one payment although I shall lose the best part of the Limerick assizes to it. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

r Augustine FitzGerald (successful) and Capt. James O'Bryen (O'Brien), R.N.

218

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Ennis, 7 August 1808

My darling love,

... Let me know, darling, when you think you shall be able to leave Dublin. The election will certainly detain me here two days longer, but then I understand that I am to get two hundred guineas apiece from the candidates. Notwithstanding that, it begins to fatigue me to stay here so long and so much alone from that kind of society which I am pleased with. The only remark I can make upon this town besides what you already know of it is the strange want of hospitality. Only think that I am obliged to trudge off to a solitary dinner at a tavern every day, and that too when without vanity I may be allowed to say I have made an impression on *the natives*. After all, darling, I am more pleasant by myself than in any of their companies.

... I have not as yet touched one shilling from the candidates. I was only waiting for their money to behave *handsomely* to you...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

Limerick, 10 August 1808

My dearest Mary,

You will be pleased to get a letter from this from me after the bustle and fatigue of the election for Ennis are completely at an end. I came in here last night bringing with me \pounds 419, besides the trifling remittance made to you, and my expenses at Ennis and to Kerry. I will send you near \pounds 200 tomorrow to pay *our* debts, darling. You will give \pounds 50 to Robert Hickson to pay for me and you will, darling, pay L'Estrange¹ in Dame St., the watchmaker, what I owe him, I should suppose about ten guineas. I do not recollect any other debt unpaid as you have discharged that to Franklin.² The residue of this money you will, my dearest, apply according as you think it necessary. . . .

I have not said a word about this damned business of the O'Sullivans.³ The fact is, darling, that I do not allow myself to think of it. Pray beg of Rick⁴ to take that bill for f_{400} which I left with Bernard to Mr. Cooper of Merrion Square. He lives within two doors of Judge Day's, and beg of him to give up for it a bill of mine for f_{361} due to Mr. Cooper of Cashel and to get *the difference*. If Cooper of Merrion Square refuses he must not get the f_{400} bill. I will make no apology to Rick for this trouble. If you get *the difference*, lodge that also with R[obert] Hickson, College Green, for me.

... My joy, my comfort and my happiness are wrapped up in you, sweetest Mary, but yet I would not consent to your leaving town until there was not a shadow of doubt of your capability of sustaining the journey without a possibility of suffering by it. ... You will, darling, be pleased to hear that *everybody* was satisfied with me at Ennis, not only Col. FitzGerald,⁵ who was successful, but even the O'Bryan⁶ party who were defeated. Although I have lost the assizes here yet I feel no little comfort at having made myself so well known in another county. Darling, as to the balance of the $\pounds 400$ I wish to tell you my plan respecting it. ... The residue I will keep for my uncle⁷ towards the discharge of Major Botet's debt.⁸ This is my plan but, beloved Mary, do you make any alteration in it you please. I like to be directed by you. The truth honestly is, darling, that I hourly increase in affection and tenderness for you. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Anthony L'Estrange, clock- and watchmaker, 81 Dame Street, Dublin.
- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 Possibly concerning bills due to his brother-in-law Daniel O'Sullivan.
- 4 Rickard O'Connell, Mary O'Connell's brother.
- 5 Lt. Col. Augustine FitzGerald (c. 1763-1834), Carrigoran, Co. Clare. M.P. Created a baronet, 5 January 1821.
- 6 Capt. James O'Bryen, R.N. (c. 1768-1855), later (1846) third marquis of Thomond.
- 7 Hunting-Cap.
- 8 Major A. Botet from whom O'Connell purchased r Westland Row, Dublin, in 1805.

220

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Tralee, 12 August 1808

My darling Mary,

I sit down to write you a line after my journey from Rathkeale this day to tell you, heart, that I am quite well and only want *you* and my boys. I sent you bills yesterday for $f_{.307}$ some shillings. . . .

I lodge *in spite* of you at Kenny's.¹ The truth is, heart's sweet love, I could not help it by any possibility. James Connor had taken the lodgings for me and I declare to God I could *not* get others. Dearest, I am truly sorry to disobey you even in this trifle. . . .

I owed a bill for shoes and boots to Cole² on Ormond Quay. Pay that, love, and pay off in full the man who sold us oats and everybody else. McCarthy³ had a pair of coloured breeches for me. You may wear them *coming down*. Cole had strong shoes to make for me. Bring them *also* to me, heart's love. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I See letter 204.
- 2 John Cole, shoemaker, 2 Ormond Quay, Dublin.
- 3 Jeremiah McCarthy, tailor, 44 William Street and later of 62 Dawson Street, Dublin.

From his wife to Cork

20 August 1808

My dearest love,

... What has prevented you from giving me even a line to say you are well? Business is no excuse because, love, in your greatest hurry you would find time to say, ' Mary, I am well.' Indeed, heart, were you to know how uneasy your silence makes me you would be angry with yourself for not writing. . . . I have paid every person we owed anything to. Indeed, love, you will be surprised at all the money I have spent though not on myself. I know, heart, it is unnecessary for me to tell you none of it went in any extravagance. I will be able to give you a good account of how I paid it. . . . Edward is getting as big and as stout as possible. I assure you he does not give his nurse much rest. I never saw a child (God bless him) suck so much, and she has plenty of it for him as I take care to give her good nourishment. He feeds once or twice in the day as I think it is a good custom. It agreed very well with the other children and it seems to do so with him. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

222

From his brother James to I Westland Row [Dublin]

Carhen, 22 November 1808

My dear Dan,

... John¹ was here a few days ago and seemed much disappointed at not getting the rent of his demesne though I told him (with truth) that there was not $\pounds 40$ in the house. In fact he has not the smallest chance that I will pay so large a sum as $\pounds 128$ a year out of my father's income without my Uncle Maurice's knowledge as he seemed to be much surprised on my not being able to pay more debts than I did out of the last May and November rents. ... If John has a right to get this money, I see no reason why he should conceal it from my uncle. ... I am the only one of our family who is almost entirely dependent on him [their father, Morgan O'Connell]. ... The house and outoffices are at *length* perfectly well repaired and I promise you they shall be kept so.

Perhaps you may be able to procure me the commission of the peace so as to send it down by James Connor at Christmas. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I O'Connell's brother.

223

From his brother James to Westland Row, Dublin

Carhen, 20 December 1808

My dear Dan,

... I returned from Cork last week where I had been for seven or eight days transacting some business for my Uncle Maurice. I carried eighteen hundred pounds from him to John Gallwey¹ for the use of Lord Kenmare for which he is to get the Earl's bond, I need not tell *you payable with interest*. Do not mention this circumstance as my uncle might not like it should be known.

I am glad to find you intend writing to $John^2$ about his claim on my father for the £140 a year though, even if you were not to do so, he has not the slightest chance of getting one guinea from me without my uncle's knowledge. I fear very much that John thinks I am to blame for his not getting this money as he says you never had the smallest objection to his being paid. Nor, I am sure, would I if he told my uncle he claimed it as his right but he would not have it mentioned to him. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- John Gallwey (died I Jan. 1845), son of Thomas Gallwey. Lieutenant in 16th Regiment of Foot, 1802; captain, 1806. Joined constabulary at its formation in 1823. Deputy inspector-general of police from 1839. Married firstly (1819) Bridget, daughter of Neptune Blood, Ballintlea, Co. Clare; secondly Henrietta, daughter of John Cassidy, Monasterevan, Co. Kildare.
- 2 O'Connell's brother.

From his brother James to Westland Row, Dublin

Carhen, 9 January 1809

My dear Dan,

... I sincerely hope we may meet in Tralee¹ at the special commission but fear very much those prisoners who are to be tried could not pay you anything like what would be a compensation for your leaving Dublin at the beginning of term. ...

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 O'Connell did not go to Tralee on this occasion though he did attend a special commission assize in Limerick (see letter 228).

225

To Connell O'Connell¹

Maryborough, 14 January 1809

My dear Connell,

After I wrote in an angry mood my note about the instructions for the declarations I found them where I did not look for them—locked up carefully, and then I received your affectionate letter.

... It has been the strange colour of my life to have been of eminent use to many persons from some of whom I never received the gratitude of an acknowledgment—from others I have learned the inestimable benefit of mutual friendship—but you are the only being from whom I have received gratuitous, I may call it, kindness; ... Take perfect care of yourself; command my little mare as if she were altogether your own, and of all things avoid cold. ...

SOURCE : Fitzpatrick, Corr. I, 16-17

1 Attorney, Fitzgibbon Street, Dublin, and Kerry, Died 1837.

226

From his wife to Limerick

[Dublin] 2 o'clock, Saturday [14 January 1809] [No salutation]

. . . Let me beg of you, darling, not to be tormenting yourself with imaginations which, believe me, heart, will be

injurious to your happiness. If you had any cause for those fancies but you are, thank God, healthy and have every appearance of health and, though I am an *old sickly creature*, I have every hope to see you yet as fine an old man as your uncle.

. . . William will not nor cannot attend to the mare and, if every person who wishes for it is to get it, you must hire a groom to convenience them. William¹ told me this day the little animal had a great cough and that, if you knew it, he was sure you would not lend her so often. However, if you wish Mr. O'Connell² should get her, his servant must make her up when he brings her home every day, for John³ cannot attend me if he is to attend him.

Maurice cried a good deal after you. My sweet fellow has a heart like your own. He begs me to tell you he will be a good boy until you come back. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Servant.

2 Connell O'Connell.

3 Coachman, c. 1809-c. 1826.

227

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 15 January 1809

My darling Love,

I will write but three lines to you this night, to say that I arrived here before seven having been in the carriage since five this morning, wading for some hours in the snow. The Judge who left Roscrea came only to Nenagh, but for my part this did not seem to me near as bad a day as yesterday. I travelled as snug as if I was on the road in summer—and, darling, I never was better in health or in spirits as I this moment got your wicked scolding letter about the mare and Connell O'Connell. . . . Dearest darling, do just as you choose about the mare and everything else for I doat of you with the fondest and most sincere affection. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

Limerick, 16 January 1809

My dearest Love,

I have no chance of a letter from you this night, darling, and have therefore only the pleasure of being *good* in writing to you.

There was no business done this day but the routine of swearing the grand juries. Tomorrow we go to work and I much fear that it will be a bloody week.¹ I cannot however as yet form any estimate of the event from more than conjecture nor can I attempt to tell what the profit of this wretched traffic may be but I do not expect to make above fifty or sixty guineas beyond my expenses, perhaps not near so much. . . . I remain unalterably fixed in my determination not to go to Kerry. On this you may firmly rely.

I have been in my lodgings all day as busy reading and writing as if I had been in my own study but not so happy for I had not the patter of my babes, the sight of you or the perpetual visits of my Maurice who sometimes annoys me but is easily forgiven. The darling fellow, how I doat of him.

Have you got over the passion you were in about Connell O'Connell and the little mare? You were very angry. How I doat of you and your passion. Indeed, my sweet love, no day passes that does not increase the fond and steady and lively affection of my heart for you.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 A special commission sat in Limerick city from 16 to 21 January to try cases from both city and county involving violence, mostly robberies (*Ennis Chronicle*, 18, 21, 25 Jan. 1809).

229

From his wife to Post Office, Limerick

Dublin, 16 January 1809

My Dearest Love,

... Indeed, heart, it delights me much more than I can tell you to hear that *you* think yourself perfectly well. Thank God, darling, you are healthy and happy and have not the slightest cause for those imaginations with which you torment yourself. The journey, I knew, would be of use to you and it is my opinion that you confine yourself entirely too much to your study. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

230

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 17 January 1809

My darling Love,

I send in this letter half notes to the amount of twenty-nine guineas, the other halves of which I left in the hands of the Hicksons in College Green. Send them these half notes also and when a docket comes in on the 20th or 21st for $\pounds 184$ or thereabouts let the Hicksons discharge it out of the amount of the bill for $\pounds 151$ and of those notes, . . .

The assizes have commenced.¹ This day was taken up with the trials of two unfortunate clients of mine both of whom were convicted on the clearest evidence and will be executed tomorrow. Yet I confess I never felt less uneasy sensations for any clients. I did my duty and they were certainly guilty, yet they were fine young men deserving of a better fate. Do you know, darling, that I feel the less for them because they were both bachelors. . . .

Talk to my Maurice continually of me. Tell him how anxious I am that he should know and understand everything. If he loves me he will be good and attentive. Give him a thousand kisses for me. Kiss my poor *neglected* Morgan for me. Tell my Nell she is my doat. And hug my own own Rosebud Kate.

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 See letter 228, note 1.

231

From his wife, Dublin, 17 January 1809, to Limerick at the Post Office

'I judged my saucy letter of Saturday [letter 226] would make you laugh.'

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

Ennis, 9 March 1809

My darling Love,

... I have been greatly busied here. Indeed I think I may venture to say that I have had at least as much business as any one of the Bar. I was concerned in every record but one and have had an immense deal of criminal business. ...

Tell Aunt Nagle¹ that I am extremely grateful to her for her letters though, darling, I am most anxious to change my correspondent. When will my own sweet woman be able to write to me?...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Honora (née O'Mullane), sister of O'Connell's mother and widow of Nicholas Nagle of Castletherry, Co. Cork. Nicholas was a first cousin of the celebrated Edmund Burke.

233

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Limerick, 12 March 1809

My darling Love,

I just got my sweet little boy's1 first letter and cannot describe to you the kind of sensation it has given me. My sweet fellow, how I doat of him and what a consolation to me it is to look forward to the qualities of mind and of heart which I think he announces! Perhaps it is the fond delusion of paternal love, but I cannot avoid enjoying the hope which the intelligence and the affection of my little boy inspires. There is about him an ardour and a distinctness which please me much, but indeed I am the more gratified by those qualities in him because they are I know through life the sources of the only genuine pleasures-of those pleasures which alone render life worth having. It was that turn of mind gave me to my Mary and showed me that she was the only woman on earth that could gratify the ardent but wavering and capricious temper of my affections. It was that decided and distinct character that enabled me to take my sweet dear darling in spite of every resistance and to adorn and

sweeten my life with the affectionate tenderness of the best of wives—the most exemplary of mothers—my own, own Mary....

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 His son Maurice.

234

From his wife to Limerick

Dublin, 14 March 1809

My darling love,

I got your letter of Sunday this morning. You can't think, heart, how delighted Maurice was to hear you had got his letter. I read a great part of yours for him and he now desires me tell you with his love that he expects a letter from you. Do, darling, indulge him for he really is a sweet, sensible fellow and, I trust in God, will yet answer your expectations and be a pride and a comfort to both of us. . . . He is the most affectionate of all beings except *one* more that I am *pretty well acquainted* with. My darling heart, your Maurice is as like you in heart and disposition as it is possible for him to be. . . . Your babes are all well, Kate growing more *impertinent* every day but she is a little darling. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

235

From his wife to Limerick

Dublin, 15 March 1809

My darling heart,

Before this reaches you you will have received two letters written by me on Monday and yesterday which will prevent you from writing *another sermon*. Indeed, love, James Connor told you truth. I am, thank God, very well, much much better than even when he saw me because I am getting stronger every day. I told you before, heart, I went through more this turn than ever I did. Consequently, [I] could not possibly get stout all at once. My head this turn was very much affected. I could not bear even the children in the room for any time last week, and when I attempted to stand or 1809

My darling Love,

walk would get a migraine. . . . Aunt Nagle and the girls desire their love to you. I can't get the aunt to go out even in the carriage. She says she won't go out a step from me until I am downstairs. Her society is the greatest comfort to me. I want money, love. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

236

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Tralee, Sunday, 19 March 1809

I found your sweet letter of Thursday before me here on my arrival and indeed, heart, a sweet letter it truly is. Your own tender expression of affection would be sufficient to endear it to me but certainly, sweet darling, the charm is heightened by the account you give me of my babes. I am now anxious to know how my darling Maurice received my letter to him. Describe to me, heart, his feelings just as he showed them. Do not exaggerate or diminish. Tell him I love him with the sincerest affection and look to his progress through life with strong though anxious hope. Tell my dear boy too that I am greatly pleased with his tenderness and affection to you and to his brother and sisters. Let my dear Morgan know I love him very much and beg of him to be attentive to his book. Tell my darling little Nell that she is her father's greatest favourite and that his soul is exhausted in affection for her. She is so good and so sweet. Kiss my own own little saucy Kate a thousand and a thousand times for me. . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

237

From his wife to Tralee

Dublin, 21 March 1809

My dearest heart,

... I came downstairs on Sunday and am, thank God, as well as possible... I hope, darling, you did not eat meat on Friday or Saturday since you left this and surely I need not beg of you to abstain from meat next week. You

can't be at a loss for fish in Cork. And Good Friday the judges will go to prayers and certainly you can then spare time to go. At all events I hope you will hear prayers on Easter Sunday. You see, heart, how good I want you to be. I do, darling, because I doat of you. I would wish you to be attentive to your religion and thankful to God for all his blessings and favours to both of us. I often with delight, darling, heard you say you were the happiest of men and I say with truth I am the happiest of women. In gratitude to the Almighty then we should at least attend to the duties of our religion and, darling, I can't tell you what real happiness it gives me to have you this sometime back say your prayers and attend Mass so regularly, not to say anything of your observance of the days of abstinence. I will, heart, say no more on this subject until we meet. . . . Where do you lodge? I suppose not at Betsey's as you would be a troublesome visitor these busy times. You have such crowded levees. . .

[P.S.] Surely I need not ask you not to show my letters to any person.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

238

From his wife to care of Collins Dumas Esgr., Killarney

[Dublin] 22 March 1809

[No salutation]

... A lady just called for your address but not a young one. I therefore gave it to her. . . . Take care, heart, and don't be so liberal to Julia Blake¹ this assizes as you were this time twelvemonth. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 I Unidentified.

239

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Tralee, 24 March 1809

My darling Love,

I got your Sermon last night and am condemned to eat fish, nothing but fish for more than a week. Yet, heart, I

1809

am so good as to be satisfied as I find you have been able to go downstairs and that my sweet, sweet, saucy Kate bid you welcome. Will she say welcome to me?...

. . . What a sweet bedfellow my darling will be before me if she takes care of herself. And what a saucy wretch I am to talk to her in this way.

The assizes have been over since an early hour this day. No hanging here though four fellows had indeed a narrow escape. However, darling, I knocked up in the cross-examination the witnesses for the prosecution. The country is still far from being quiet. Last night the house of Tom Riordan at Cock Hill¹ was broken into and robbed by a large party of men [of] \pounds_{400} in money and other articles of value.

My own darling Love will, I hope, take care of herself notwithstanding my impudence. Do, my own sweet, sweet darling, because I do so doat of you. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 Cock Hill, Killarney.

240

From his wife to Cork

25 March 1809

My darling love,

... I am still taking care of myself, sitting in state in your sweet room. How often I regret its being a study and if I was not afraid of somebody I would before his return change rooms with him. ... The horses are in great order and William¹ most attentive to them. ... Our babes, heart, are as well as your heart could wish, Maurice sometimes a little bold but as sweet and as affectionate as usual, Morgan as independent as ever, Ellen, a sweet good child, telling everyone that she is your greatest favourite, Kate is as saucy as she can be but she is a darling, darling little cherub. I am teaching her to say she has Papa's eyes. She is, darling, very like you particularly the upper part of her face. She is too, love, *like you* in sauciness. They are all about me now. ...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Coachman.

Cork, 27 March 1809

I am fretted at the scolding letter I got from you this morning for not writing to you by what you call the post of Wednesday from Tralee as I declare most solemnly to God I wrote by every post while in that town that I could learn left it. . . .

... You cannot have an idea of anything half so terrible as the road from Killarney to Millstreet. It is throughout a broken pavement. . . .

You may perceive, my love, how it really affects me to have you write a page of reproof to me. I have been unhappy and miserable all day about this fancied *post of Wednesday*.

Now, heart's love, let me make up my quarrel with you by promising you most faithfully not to return by Kerry. I will go back from this direct to Dublin. Indeed I shall, for the truth is that I cannot exist without you and even your *scolding* only makes me more anxious to be with you.

... He [Splinter] is so little addicted to telling truth that he assured me he had seen you but once and that on Tuesday, the day of his departure from Dublin....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

242

From his son Maurice¹ to Cork

28 March [1809]

[No salutation]

I received your letter. I was glad to get it and was a long time *waiting* for it. . . . I am very sorry to hear you hurt your hand. I hope it is now quite [better] for I love you very much. I hope you will soon be home. [Childish news of family events and personalities.] . . . Give my love to my cousins, the O'Mullanes, that were so fond of me when I was in Cork.

I am, my Darling Father, your affectionate son,

Maurice O'Connell

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645 1 The letter is in the handwriting of Mary O'Connell.

My darling love,

From his wife to Cork

[Dublin] 28 March 1809

My Dearest Love,

... I judged as Bess¹ was to travel with you, you would not be able to go as expeditiously as you otherwise would. You know from *experience*, love, that ladies are *lazy* at *getting up early*.... Let me know, love, in your next [letter] where I am to get white wine or if you will send it home from Cork. There is none at present in the house nor will it be wanting until you return, as the ladies all prefer *port*. I have to beg of you *seriously*, heart, to stop the *Southern Reporter*. We are really tormented with it. Besides, it is a a nasty *filthy* paper....

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645 1 Bess O'Connell.

244

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork, 28 March 1809

My own darling Love,

... There is an immense deal of business and I have indeed a full share of it. We have had a most interesting criminal trial for the greater part of the day of a young officer¹ of the Westmeath Militia for taking Bank notes out of the post office. A very [? nice] youth not above nineteen. He was acquitted upon a point of law. Poor fellow, I felt much for him. He was of course a client of mine, as are all the prisoners.

Darling heart, you will perhaps think me *pettish* from my letter of last night. I was so fretted at being scolded by my own Love that I went to bed in *a rage* and dreamt of nothing but quarrels and battles all night. I am now sincerely sorry I expressed even the slightest vexation because I know that it will give you some uneasiness and I am vexed with myself for not having thought of *that* last night. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Ensign Richard Grey (CMC, 29 Mar. 1809).

My darling Love,

Cork, 29 March 1809

... I had several debts to pay in Kerry.... After all I shall have much more than two hundred pounds spared of actual receipts from this circuit, including what I already sent you, and in Tralee alone there are ten guineas *certain* due to me....

The quarrel between Kitty¹ and Bess² originated in some expression of my poor Kate's in a letter to Ally³ which Ally lost at Grenagh.⁴ Bess is certainly a pleasant fellow traveller enough but I was thinking of a little woman that is sweetness personified, and who was at a distance from me. Can you guess who that little woman is? After all I doubt whether she loves me in return. If you did, heart, you would tell me that, as I return at once to you from this, you will *certainly* do anything I ask you when I reach home. *Promise* me that, darling. Do, darling, *promise me*.

You would smile to see with what composure I eat my fish dinner. I do not dine at the Bar mess but go by myself to the Club and get some salmon and a bottle of Claret and plenty of water. I then return to my lodgings and spend the long evening until near ten in writing to you and *taking care* of my business. Indeed, heart, I am tired of this dull life and long, impertinent as you are, to be with you and my saucy Kate. Mary, it never entered into the heart of man to love more tenderly or indeed with half the affection with which I *doat*, *doat* of you. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Kitty Moynihan.
- 2 Bess O'Connell.
- 3 O'Connell's sister.
- 4 Home of John and Bess O'Connell.

246

From Maurice Charles Phillip O'Connell, London, 4 April 1809, to Merrion Square

Concerning an ensigncy in the 73rd Regiment which the writer had procured for George Hickson, nephew of George Hickson of Hillville, but which the young man does not now appear to want. The writer wishes to know if the young man has done something of bad character.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

247

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

My darling Love,

Cork, 4 April 1809

... I was detained in Court until past nine so that it was impossible for me to write. I do assure you I felt *lonely* at being an entire day without addressing myself to you and I had no other consolation than in thinking the more of the sweetest of her sex. Darling, if anybody were to read our *Love letters* they would perhaps laugh at us, but we have the happiness to know that instead of exaggerating any feeling the difficulty is to find expressions sufficiently strong to describe those affections which we really entertain for each other. At least, sweet love, it is literally so *with me*, for from my soul I do *so* doat of you. . . .

I enclose you half notes for £70.7.5. I am told that James O'Sullivan¹ remitted £300 to my house about three weeks ago. If so the money must have miscarried otherwise you surely would have informed me of its arrival.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I Unidentified.

My dearest darling,

248

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin

Cork, 5 April 1809

I feel something refreshed by a little of *half idleness* during this day from the fatigues of the assizes. Indeed I do not know when I was so wearied by anything as I was by this circuit. I did not feel it severely until the last two or three days but for those days I was actually exhausted from continued exertions. The long sleep however of this morning and the doing business only at my own lodgings for the day have much mended me. . . .

As to Rick¹ and his wife, you know, Darling, you need not consult me. There is nothing either kind or even generous towards them that would not give me delight. We can afford to show them attention and they want it. Be assured I will not think you go too far in any arrangement you make for their accommodation.

I wish even that you had it in your power to lodge them yourself. It would afford me much pleasure. Do therefore, Darling, exactly as you please and you will gratify me.

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 Rickard and Betsey O'Connell.

249

To his wife, Westland Row, Dublin, 6 April 1809, from Cork

Has worked at arbitrations all day from 6.00 a.m. until 10.00 p.m.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

My dear Dan,

250

From his brother James

Carhen, 11 April 1809

I am sorry to tell you that my poor father is very ill. He got a sore on his foot two or three days ago which at first did not much alarm us, but on the poultices which were applied being taken off yesterday, we perceived that his foot broke out in two or three different places and a quantity of pure blood issued from the sores. Myles McSwiney,¹ who is here, set out for Killarney and brought young Dr. Moriarty² with him who has just now dressed his foot. He says that a mortification has certainly taken place but has not extended far yet. He has some hopes of being able to stop its progress. Indeed, I fear very much, my dear fellow, you will never again see the best and most affectionate of parents. His state of health for some time back leaves little hope for his recovery. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- Myles McSwiney, Drumquinna, Kenmare, Co. Kerry, married c. 1804 O'Connell's sister Bridget. Land agent to O'Connell from about 1812 to 1822 when succeeded by John Primrose, Jr. Lived at Carhen from c. 1809.
- 2 Either Patrick or Mortimer of New Street, Killarney.

From H. M. Morres,¹ Malahide, Co. Dublin, 24 April 1809

Sends pedigree notes on O'Connell's ancestors but they are not of a scientific nature.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I Hervey Montmorency Morres (1767-1839), United Irishman, of a Co. Tipperary family, served with distinction in the Austrian and the Napoleonic French army. Genealogist. See DNB

252

From his brother James to I Westland Row, Dublin

Carhen, 20 May 1809

My dear Dan,

Will be glad to hear that my poor father is rather better than he has been since he got the last attack as the mortification is very much checked for the present which gives us some hope that he may yet hold out some weeks.

. . . I think you had better put off coming down at present as it must be very inconvenient to you to leave Dublin and as there is yet a hope that my father may be alive at August.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

253

From his brother James to I Westland Row, Dublin

Carhen, 30 May 1809

My dear Dan,

You have heard some days ago of the death of our dear father. That lamented event took place on Saturday the 27 of May about two o'clock. He suffered a great deal for the last two days though he retained his memory to the moment before he expired. His funeral was attended, of course, by all the gentlemen in the country who carried his remains to Cahir[civeen] on Monday evening. . . .

Myles McSwiney went to Killarney yesterday to take lodgings or a small house for my mother and Ally.¹ They will leave this about the 14th of June. I have sold some of her cows and will sell the remainder tomorrow. Any part of the furniture she wishes to dispose of will be sold by auction next week. As it is now too late to set the demesne, if it should be your intention to do so next year, you will get a very great rent for it. In the meantime I will endeavour to turn the land to the best account I can. My intention is to put dry cattle on the ground until November which I will then sell fat, and take graziers on the entire from that until May. The tillage on the demesne will sell for sixty guineas at least, so that on the entire I think the land will be as productive this year as it possibly can for any one year those ten years to come. I am to go to live to Derrynane by my uncle's² directions where I am to remain during his life. Write to me on receipt of this. You will be glad to hear that my mother is every day growing more resigned. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 O'Connell's sister.

2 Hunting-Cap.

254

From Myles McSwiney to No. 1 Westland Row, Dublin

Carhen, Tuesday, 30 May 1809

My Dear Dan,

I am sincerely sorry to have to communicate to you the dissolution of your poor dear father who expired about two o'clock on Saturday. For some days previous he was gradually becoming much more feeble than before and was speechless for [a] great part of the two last days but continued perfectly in his reason to the last. Your uncle¹ was immediately sent to but did not come here until yesterday morning (the day of interment) in consequence [of] poor Ellen's² being confined having lain in of a young daughter about four or five days before. He returned yesterday again and at leaving home gave positive orders that no person should let her know of it for some days.

I wish I could mention to you that this lamented event was met by your mother and the rest of the family with the degree of composure that his long confinement without hopes of amendment gave people cause to expect, for indeed I never saw a family in such distress, as the shock was as great to them as if he had been suddenly taken off from good health. Your mother is this day something more composed and with Ally³

1809

etc. promise to exert themselves. I need scarcely tell you there were great crowds of every description to attend the wake and funeral.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Hunting-Cap.
- 2 O'Connell's sister.
- 3 O'Connell's sister.

255

From his brother James to I Westland Row, Dublin

Killarney, 17 June 1809

My Dear Dan,

You have heard before now of Sir Richard Kellet's¹ Bank having stopped payments which is an event that will be of the most serious consequence to the counties of Cork and Kerry. It was on Thursday morning the 8 of June that the Bank closed, and I wish to know from you if any person receiving their notes on Wednesday or the day before, is obliged to change them as the general opinion here is that they are. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I Sir Richard Kellett (1761-1853), Lota, Co. Cork. Created baronet, 1801. Partner in the banking firm of Cotter and Kellett which had a very large business. The failure in June 1809 led to liquidation, a protracted legal involvement and, in 1820, an act of parliament (I Geo. IV, private, c. 50) designed to facilitate the winding-up of the bank's affairs (Eoin O'Kelly, The Old Private Banks and Bankers of Munster [Cork 1959], pp. 55-61).

256

To his wife at James Connor's Esq., Tralee

Cork, 2 August 1809

My darling love,

[Detests Cork city because of the irregularity of its postal service.]

. . . You have already heard of the fate of that unfortunate Eager.¹ He was capitally convicted of the forgery notwithstanding the positive swearing of his father. Good God, how cool and deliberate the old rascal gave his evidence whilst the life of his son was in such imminent danger. It struck to my mind what a parent's feelings ought to be at any peril to his infants. And I felt some consolation after the conviction at thinking that at least the father would suffer little....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Unidentified.

257

From his wife to Cork

4 August 1809

My dearest life,

I write to you yet I scarce know what I write from the agitation of my mind. Good God, heart, why don't you write to me if you are well? I think you would not be eight days without writing me a single line if you could but see what bitter tears I shed while writing this. You would condemn yourself much for letting anything prevent you from writing one line to tell me you are well. I am in such anxiety that I watch every person's countenance and think when I see two people whisper each other that it is something that is the matter with you. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

258

From his wife to Cork

13 August 1809

My darling love,

... Reserve some of the pondage pigs to be converted into bacon for your use by Mrs. Primrose,¹ who will most cheerfully take the task on her. You know, darling, how much you want bacon and how hard it is to get it good in Dublin and, as you have now such an opportunity of getting it good, I would recommend to you to take advantage of it. ... I am sure you ought to be well paid for all the time you are spending there [Cork city] but in general I think your Cork clients pay you very badly, I mean those that keep you there in arbitrations. ...

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Wife of John Primrose, Hillgrove, Cahirciveen.
From his wife to Derrynane

Monday [probably 18 or 25 September 1809] My dearest love,

... I wish to God you could get the house in the Square¹ off your hands. Where on earth will you be able to get a thousand guineas for Ruxton?² I can't tell you, love, how unhappy I am about this business as I do not see the smallest chance of you ever getting it settled to your satisfaction. . . . You have so many inducements in Iveragh that I do not expect you for another week nor do I expect [you] to be able to leave this when you promised as you have determined on staying in the country longer than you said you would. For God's sake, darling love, let me entreat of you to give up this house in the Square if it is in your power as I see no other way for you to get out of difficulties. If you borrow this money for Ruxton how will you pay it back? In short, love, I scarce know what I write I am so unhappy about this business. . . . I send you a packet of letters and beg you will come to town. Every person is crying out for you. There is even a gentleman from Cork waiting this two days in town expecting your arrival.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

I No. 30 Merrion Square, South, now remembered as 58, which O'Connell was in the process of purchasing.

2 Unidentified.

260

From his brother James, Hillgrove, Cahirciveen, 5 October 1809, to Tralee c/o James Connor Esq.

Sends a copy of O'Connell's rent roll (roll not extant). SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

261

To Hunting-Cap, Derrynane

Tralee, 13 October 1809

My Dear Uncle,

Your messenger brought me on Wednesday \pounds 750. 7. 9 being the amount of my proportion of the purchase money of Mr. Staughton's¹ interest in the College lands in Iveragh. . . . This very liberal and indeed splendid donation is enhanced by the kindness of manner in which you have bestowed it. You are the only person living capable of such exalted acts of bounty. Your family may possibly cherish in their hearts sentiments of gratitude worthy of your kindness and affection, but I am quite sure it is not possible they should find any language adequate to the expression of those sentiments. For my part I shall not attempt it, but I shall ever entertain the most lively sense of your goodness.

[Discusses James's illness.] . . .

I have some pleasure in telling you that our friend, the Knight of Kerry, is now quite recovered. He is pleased to express himself in the kindest way of me.

I am collecting subscriptions to defray the expenses of the Catholic petition,² having received *positive* directions from Dublin to do so. In Killarney I received in one day about eighty guineas. Mr. Cronin³ gave me ten guineas, and several others five guineas apiece. I am also proceeding with considerable success in this town. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Thomas Stoughton, Ballyhorgan, Ballyduff, Tralee.
- 2 The petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland presented to the House of Commons on 27 February 1810.
- 3 Daniel Cronin, The Park, Killarney, Co. Kerry; married 1771 Mary Coppinger.

262

To Sir James Riddall,¹ 7 January 1810, from Limerick

Regrets that he cannot return to Dublin in time to keep his appointment with him.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 17

1 Sir James Riddall; knighted, 1809; high sheriff of Dublin city, 1810.

263

To his wife, Merrion Square

Tralee, 15 January 1810

My darling love,

... All our salvagers are gone to Dingle this day to the auction of the *wine* lately wrecked there¹ and the trial² is

adjourned until Wednesday. Dominick Rice attends for some of those persons. *All* have employed me—his clients as well as the others—and I think I shall do him the service of being off to you on Friday. Indeed this is a point upon which I am quite resolved. The trial cannot be over for ten days to come or perhaps still longer but I cannot and will not wait for it. On this, darling, you may rely. Even, darling, your stipulated sum of ten guineas a day shall not keep me. I will however take you the fifty guineas at the least which you ask. Indeed I should be sorry not to carry you much more.

Darling, you have made me very happy by giving me so excellent an account of Maurice. Tell him I do beg of him to continue to deserve such a favourable report and I will do anything for him he asks on my arrival.

Poor James³ still continues very unwell but is not I believe in any danger. However I cannot help feeling excessively anxious and uneasy about him. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 A search of the indexes in the State Paper Office and Public Record Office reveals nothing of this matter.
- 2 This trial is not reported in the newspapers.
- 3 O'Connell's brother.

264

To his wife, Merrion Square

Tralee [Thursday], 18 January 1810

My darling love,

... I am quite determined to be off for Listowel tomorrow evening with James Connor and Peter Hussey. We will reach Limerick on Saturday and be early on Monday in Dublin. The salvage trial¹ with *good management* may last these three months and therefore I am determined not to wait for it...

I do not send you money as I will carry you *plenty* on Monday. I have got upwards of f_{100} of my own money.

Our darling James² is, thank God, recovering fast. . . .

Robin Hickson of the Square has become a Roman Catholic publicly. This has given some amusement to the talkative inhabitants of Tralee.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Unidentified. See letter 263, notes 1 and 2.

2 His brother.

From Edward Jerningham¹

London, 9 February 1810

I beg leave to express the concern I feel to find by the Irish papers that the resolutions passed at the English Catholic meeting on the 1st of February have been so unfortunately misconceived.

On the days I wrote to the editor of the *Dublin Herald*² and to Dr. Troy³ I was not in the smallest degree aware that the question of veto was likely to be brought forward in any shape and from any quarter and no communications were, or had been, at that time in contemplation between the Board of English Catholics and any persons whomsoever upon this subject. I believe it was a day or two after writing to Dr. Troy, viz., on the 24 or 25 of January, that I first saw the printed letter of Lord Grenville⁴ to Lord Fingall.⁵

The surprise excited by this very unexpected and extraordinary measure was universal with all parties. It was the first moment that I had reason to apprehend in any degree the revival of so odious a subject, and being further alarmed by the opinions of some of our own body which were beginning to get around, previous to our then intended meeting of the 1st inst. I lost no time in waiting upon Lord Grey⁶ to ascertain whether the petition of the English Catholics was intended in the sense of Lord Grenville's letter to Lord Fingall.

Upon receiving an answer in the affirmative, I could have no hesitation in stating the absolute impossibility of annexing any such condition to our Petition.

A negotiation of several days took place and we at length succeeded in stifling the discussion altogether among ourselves, and obtained from Lords Grey and Grenville the avowal that it was neither proper nor politic to press us any further upon the subject.

Still, they were extremely desirous that we should come to some resolution which might tend to general conciliation and that we should annex the same to our Petition.

After the repeated oaths and general declarations we had all at different times made or taken, nothing surely could be more ungracious than this request; but after much consideration our Board was of opinion that, provided no declaration

Sir,

was expected but what was substantially contained in our former oaths and declarations, and that in particular no direct or indirect mention was made as to the nomination of our vicars apostolic, their existing circumstances rendered it advisable to acquiesce in the wishes of our public friends.

A deputation was accordingly appointed to wait upon Lords Grey and Grenville on Wednesday, the 31st ultimo, and they proposed to us the language as expressed in our resolution No. 5 and which we accordingly adopted.

I shall make no further comment upon this resolution; it was adopted by the English Catholic meeting from pure motives of courtesy to Lords Grey and Grenville but in no degree as any echo to the latter's letter to Lord Fingall which is universally reprobated by every sensible English Catholic; and I have only to add the full approbation which the Board of English Catholics has directed me to express to you on their part of the highly proper and dignified resolutions7 of the General Committee in Dublin. We were in great hopes on the day of our meeting that the intentions of Lords Grey and Grenville were sincere in wishing the question of Veto to be altogether laid aside and that they merely meant the language in our 5th resolution as a step to general conciliation on that head, and it was under this impression that I wrote my letter to Dr. Troy of the 2nd inst. But if we have been anyways mistaken in the motives of our public friends, I can only say that nothing could be purer than those of the English Catholics at their meeting and that they are anxious for nothing more than always to preserve the most perfect unanimity of sentiment and endeavours with their brethren in Ireland for the attaining of their common rights and liberties.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 Edward Jerningham (1774-1822), third son of Sir William Jerningham, sixth baronet; barrister; secretary to the English Catholic Board from 1808 until his death 29 May 1822.
- 2 Not extant.
- 3 John Thomas Troy, O.P. (1739-1823), bishop of Ossory, 1776-86; archbishop of Dublin from 1786. See DNB.
- 4 William Wyndham (Grenville), first baron Grenville (1759-1834), Supported the Catholic claims, 1807-23. See DNB.
- 5 On 16 and 18 January 1810 the Dublin Evening Post reported that the English Catholic laity intended to offer the king a veto on the nomination of Catholic bishops. On 22 January, Lord Grenville wrote to Lord Fingall, suggesting that the king be granted such a

veto (DEP, 30 Jan. 1810). On the same day, Edward Jerningham wrote from London to the Dublin Evening Post (DEP, 27 Jan. 1810) stating that the English Catholic Board and the English Catholics had no intention of proposing such a veto. The fifth resolution, passed by the meeting of the 'English Roman Catholic Noblemen, Gentlemen and Clergy' on I February, contained the statement that 'they are firmly persuaded that adequate provision for the maintenance of the civil and religious establishments of this kingdom may be made . . . and that any arrangement founded on this basis . . . will meet with their grateful concurrence' (DEP, 6 Feb. 1810).

- 6 Charles (Grey), second earl Grey (1764-1845). Opposed the Act of Union, 1800. Supported Catholic claims, 1800-29. Prime minister, 1830-34. See DNB.
- 7 At a meeting of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland on 31 January 1810. It was resolved to pursue Emancipation more vigorously especially with reference to parliamentary petitions (*DEP*, 1 Feb. 1810).

266

From John Keogh¹

Mount Jerome [Dublin], 12 February 1810

Dear Sir,

I am extremely obliged by your kind attention in favouring me with the perusal of Mr. Jerningham's letter which I return herewith.

It seems that Lords Grenville and Grey have yielded the important point of not calling a VETO by *that name*. These statesmen and candidates for power are content with the *substance* under any other *title*; the English Catholics also approve of the terms in their 5th resolution—being 'vague and general', and appear happy in this 'unexpected turn in the minds of our public friends'. How weak and childish is this if they are really serious!

I entertain no doubt that if a similar measure should be proposed to the Catholic body, it will be reprobated. They will not, I hope, agree to arrangements to be made for them by any others, but first demand what are those arrangements or concessions to which Lord G. alludes.

The situation of the Catholics of Ireland is critical and dangerous. The precipitate conduct of the English Catholics will increase our difficulties. Confidence and union between

clergy and laity may yet save both. One false step may divide and ruin us for ever. May God direct our humble efforts or the efforts of those who act for the body.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I John Keogh (1740-1817), the celebrated Catholic leader. See DNB.

267

To Edward Jerningham

[Copy]

[c. mid-February 1810]

Sir,

I have the honour of receiving your letter of the 9th inst. which I felt it my duty to lay before the General Committee.

I am directed to return you their thanks for the politeness which induced you to make the communication contained in your letter and to assure you that the Committee feel anxious that the English Catholics may be able to avoid the embarrassment which they apprehend from a misconception of their Resolution. The Committee however beg leave to observe that the Irish Catholics cannot be affected by the consequences of a resolution in which they have had no participation either directly or indirectly.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

268

From Edward Jerningham

London, 15 February 1810

Feeling particularly anxious to put an end, if possible, to the unfortunate misconception which appears still to prevail in Ireland upon the subject of our late resolutions, I must beg leave therefore to report most distinctly that the language adopted by us in our 5th resolution was never meant to be understood as referring in any degree to the question of Veto as now pending; and still less that it should be considered as any echo to the letter of Lord Grenville to Lord Fingall.

You are in possession, Sir, I believe, of all the facts which led to the resolution in question, and I have only to add that we adopted it under the pressure of circumstances so peculiar

Sir,

as would have rendered any demur on our part highly improper.

Between the first appearance of Lord Grenville's letter to Lord Fingall on the 25th of January and our meeting on the following Thursday, we had to combat not only the unexpected demands of our public friends but the equally unexpected requisitions of several of our own body, who were most anxious to bring on a full discussion upon the subject in question.

I am very sure, Sir, that the Catholic Committee in Dublin will feel disposed to give full credit to the exertions of the brethren in London for having (within the period of a few days) not only suppressed the threatened discussion among themselves but for having obtained from their public friends the avowal that it was no longer proper nor politic to press them any further upon the terms of Lord Grenville's letter to Lord Fingall.

I will further appeal to the candour of yourself, Sir, and of the Dublin committee whether under such circumstances we could have done otherwise than yield to the wishes of our public friends when they merely requested of us to adopt such general [one word illegible] terms of mutual security and satisfaction (as to the civil and religious rights of both contracting parties) as would have been inserted without difficulty in the body of our petition, had we been aware of their wishes on that hand and, which it is very much to be lamented, were not sooner imparted as it would have spared us the extreme awkwardness we now have been obliged to submit to.

To prevent, however, all increasing misunderstanding, I waited two days since upon Lord Grenville, and I have his full authority to state that, in dictating to us the terms of our 5th resolution, he intended no reference whatever to the question of veto as now in agitation but simply such general expressions of mutual security and conciliation as ought, in his opinion, to accompany any petition from our body under existing circumstances.

P.S. I have just read in the *Dublin Herald*¹ paper a letter² addressed to Dr. Milner³ so much beneath the notice of the Catholics of England that I feel difficulty in mentioning to you my surprise that such insertions should be introduced and admitted into any respectable paper.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 Not extant.
- 2 What appears to be this letter is published in the Dublin press. It

is dated 16 January 1810 (DEP, 20 Jan.; FJ, 22 Jan. 1810), the writer being Rev. Edward Ryan, D.D. (died 1819), a Protestant apologist (see DNB). The letter is not concerned with the current veto controversy.

3 John Milner (1752-1826), bishop of Castabala and vicar apostolic of midland district, England, from 1803. Determined opponent of the veto. Enjoyed the confidence of the Irish bishops and acted as their agent in Rome during the veto controversy (1814-15). See DNB.

269

To William Talbot,¹ Mount Talbot, Co. Roscommon

Merrion Square, 19 February 1810

I am directed by my uncle, Mr. O'Connell of Derrynane in the county of Kerry, to request that you will be so good as to transmit either to him or to me the amount of your bond executed as a security for the Earl of Glandore.² The entire interest from the date of the bond is due as Lord Glandore has declined, notwithstanding repeated applications, to pay any part of it, and it would be useless to endeavour to compel the payment from him, nor indeed is my uncle disposed to take any harsh steps against his Lordship, and it was this feeling which made him insist upon a highly solvent security before he would consent to lend money to Lord Glandore. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 William John Talbot; married 1775 Lady Anne Crosbie, daughter of William, first earl of Glandore.
- 2 John Crosbie, third baron and second earl of Glandore (1753-1815), Ardfert, Co. Kerry.

270

From Lord Fingall

72 Welbeck St., London, 27 February 1810

Sir,

Mr. Grattan¹ as you will see presented our petition yesterday and what he stated is in the papers in none, I believe, more correctly than the *Morning Chronicle*. My Lord Donoughmore² will present the petition to the Lords in a day or two, I trust, not further off than Monday and when the time for discussion is fixed in the House of Commons it can be in the

Sir,

Lords and I believe it is best have these discussions as near the same day as possible. In my last I begged to know the wishes of the Committee as to the time of discussion, who will at the same time see that something in this respect must be left to our parliamentary advocates themselves. I have adhered as far as possible to the instructions I have received which, from the peculiar circumstances in which things stand here, has been a more difficult task than could have been imagined and I trust it will be found that, under existing circumstances, though not as speedily as I could have wished, I have done in all for the best. I shall be happy to know as soon as convenient the wishes of the Committee as to the time of discussion. In general our friends conceive, as I before stated, that it is not advantageous to press the discussion when Parliament is so occupied and it must be evident that the best time for Irish questions is when the greatest number of Irish members is here, and I must repeat that our advocates themselves consider this a thing somewhat to be left to their discretion. I shall have the honour of communicating to you again in a few days anything further that occurs. Mr. Hay, who is writing, is so good as to post this under his cover to you. It is impossible to do justice to his indefatigable zeal and exertions.

SOURCE : MSS, 10,525, NLI

- 1 Henry Grattan (1746-1820), the celebrated statesman and orator. See DNB.
- 2 Richard Hely (Hely-Hutchinson) (1756-1825), second baron Donoughmore; created viscount Donoughmore, 1797; earl of Donoughmore, 1800. See DNB.

271

From Edward Hay¹ to Merrion Square

London, 28 February 1810

My dear friend,

I have just returned with Lord Fingall from Lord Donoughmore who has consented to present the petition to the Lords and, after a great many objections on the impolicy of discussing the question in the Lords, his Lordship at last consented to return it to the conditions of the resolutions by consenting to originate a motion on the petition.

Lord Fingall has written on the subject to you which you

have enclosed which supersedes the necessity of saying anything further on the subject than that I am ready to obey any commands of the Catholic body. I am more convinced than ever of the necessity of getting a correct report of the debates and to have them published with all convenient speed with a great deal of matter in the appendix. I have most material documents that are absolutely necessary to state the case of the Catholics of Ireland as it ought to be. I already told you that I shall undertake the publication provided that I shall have what may be necessary to employ reporters etc. and I feel anxious to have everything done that may undeceive the people here as to the wrong notions entertained of us.

Mr. Grattan's speech is best reported in the Morning Chronicle to which I beg leave to refer you as it is taken at the committee rooms. If the discussion on our petitions should not take place till May, which our friends seem to think should be left to their discretion, I think in that case it would be as good that I was in Ireland as soon as I conveniently can.

I could not get a pen and ink yesterday in the gallery of the House of Commons and I hope you were able to decipher the pencilled account that Mr. Grattan was in the House with the Catholic petition. The Knight of Kerry is so anxious about the Kerry petition that he honours me with daily inquiries and you may be certain that he mentions you in the most friendly manner and requests his best remembrance. I have so many letters to write the earliest intelligence that I am sure you will excuse me from saying more at present.

[P.S.] I anxiously expect an account of the resolutions of the bishops if they decide on the propriety of the [?Chapters] etc. I think we shall have the sure support of the growing independent party neither connected with the Talents nor no popery. If Dr. Delany² is in town I should be glad he got the enclosed....

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I Secretary of the Catholic Committee. Born at Ballinkeele, Co. Wexford, c. 1761 and educated on the continent, Edward Hay had been connected with Catholic relief movements for many years. He died in penury in 1826. See DNB.
- 2 Daniel Delany (1747-1814), coadjutor bishop of Dansara, 1783; bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, 1787-1814.

From Archbishop Troy to 4 Crow Street

11 Blackhall Street, Dublin, 2 March 1810

Sir,

The Roman Catholic prelates, lately assembled in this city, having signed several general resolutions¹ explanatory of those which have appeared in the newspapers, deemed it expedient that the former should be notified to the general Catholic committee by the bearer Most Rev. Dr. Murray,² previous to the publication of them which cannot take place before next week.

D. O'Connell, Esq.

Acting Secretary³ to the General Catholic Committee

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 The sixteen resolutions entered into by the prelates were published in the *Freeman's Journal* of 9 March 1810. They expressed hostility to the grant of a veto.
- 2 Daniel Murray, D.D. (1768-1852), archbishop of Dublin, 1823. Coadjutor to Archbishop Troy, 1809. See DNB.
- 3 Edward Hay, secretary to the Catholic Board, had gone to England with the Catholic petition on 2 February (FJ, 3 Feb. 1810).

273

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

[London] 5 March 1810

My dear friend,

In my last of the 2nd inst. I informed you that I thought Lord Donoughmore would have presented our petition to the Lords this day but his Lordship informed Lord Fingall and me this morning that from the peculiarity of some parliamentary business he would postpone it till tomorrow. I already requested you might attend to the necessity of having the debates accurately reported and published with all convenient speed as, really, I think that the appendix will require to be very considerable to supply what our advocates may not sufficiently explain for I found them greatly altered in their opinions since I came to London, even before the news of the Pope¹ being deprived of his dominions, and their fears in

consequence of his being considered a French subject. I long to see the publication² of the bishops as it is not fair to judge until then, but the resolutions published in the papers have not been relished by our parliamentary friend.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 Pius VII (1742-1823); pontificate 14 March 1800 to 20 August 1823.
- 2 See letter 272, note 1.

274

To his wife

Ennis, 14 March 1810

My darling Love,

I cannot tell you how bitterly I regret that I was unable to write to you yesterday. Darling, it being the first day of the assizes there was not one single moment of the morning without having a crowd in my room, and Baron Smith sat until ten at night as usual with him. . . .

There is an immense deal of business here and I do believe not only that I have as much as any barrister but more, *a* great deal more. Indeed this is as usual a famous town for business. There is a most laudable spirit of litigation.

I have just, darling, got your letter. I see you profit by my uncle's¹ lecture on economy and save me seven pence. We cannot at this rate fail to make a fortune for our youngest daughter² so that I think the valuable *acquisition* likely to be provided for. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Hunting-Cap.

2 Elizabeth Mary O'Connell (Betsey) (21 Feb. 1810 – 3 Feb. 1893). Married 1831 Nicholas Joseph Ffrench, Fortwilliam, Ballymoe, and later Frenchlawn, Castlereagh, both Co. Roscommon.

275

From his wife to Limerick

Dublin, 16 March 1810

My dearest Dan,

... I ought not, darling, regret so much your going circuit for in general the change and bustle of it is of use to you. It completely does away any little *hippishness* you may have and then, heart, the pleasure you have in looking forward to the time you will be with your *little woman* and your babes again makes up to you in a great measure for being away from them. Betsey's nurse arrived yesterday in the day coach. She seems to be a healthy looking young woman but as to *beauty* or *smartness* she has not much of either to boast of, but if my little acquisition thrives with her as well as she has with me I shall be satisfied as to her beauty. . . . Poor Betsey¹ and her family have severe weather on the road. They left us yesterday and you can't think how lonely we feel after them. If it was not for the society of Rick and Betsey,² Ally³ and I would be wretchedly lonesome. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Mary O'Connell's sister Betsey Connor.
- 2 Mary O'Connell's brother Rickard O'Connell and his wife.
- 3 Alicia (Ally) O'Connell, sister of O'Connell.

276

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, 18 March 1810

Darling,

I am only just come in from Ennis, having been obliged to send back the carriage and horses as my friend Baron Smith took up the entire day yesterday with one record. When I left court I was sure it was over but by a strange accident it actually recommenced and so I was kept in Ennis last night. He is a most strange man, this little Baron. Amongst other proofs of his insanity he told a jury on Friday night that I was the best lawyer and the most eloquent man on the Munster circuit!!! Only think, darling, how mad this little judge must be.

. . . Do, darling, what you please with nurses. Dispose of them precisely as you like. . . . I cannot *permit* you (pardon the harsh expression) to nurse yourself. Darling, you are not stout enough to nurse, and I only blame myself every time you get the least cold. Think, my own Mary, of how your husband loves you and do not nurse. I declare to God I doat of my little Betsey. She clings to my heart, the sweet fly of a babe, but, own darling, do not harass yourself by nursing her. However, wife of my fondest heart, remember I only *advise*. Gratify yourself and you make me happy because to gratify you is my

first pleasure, my only substantial delight. Indeed I should have preferred your curing the Iveragh nurse of her itch and keeping her but in this and everything else do, *darling*, *darling*, *darling*, just as you please provided you leave yourself your strength and your health for the fondest of husbands and the sweetest of babes.

Tell my own Maurice that if I am a good father to him I am also quite sure that I shall find in him the best of sons and the most sincere of friends.

[P.S.] . . . Darling, make Rick and Betsey¹ live with you, and, treasure, if you can, keep the Iveragh nurse. Next to you and my babes I love Iveragh. But do as you choose.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I Rickard O'Connell and his wife.

277

From Hunting-Cap, Derrynane, 24 March 1810

States he will pay O'Connell's proportion of the money for landed property being purchased from Mr. Gun.¹

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 George Gun (died 1827), Kilmorna, Co. Kerry. Assumed name of Cunninghame, 1826.

278

From his wife to Tralee

Dublin, 27 March 1810

My darling Dan,

... As for Maurice he is never without a book. He begged of me this morning not to send for him to school until four by the clock as he was greatly amused (after his lessons were over) with reading the history of the *Roman Empire* which Mrs. Wolstoncraft¹ indulged him with... He says if he is a good scholar, when you return that he is sure you will buy him the history of England and of the Roman Empire. It would be hard to refuse him....

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

I Recte Miss Everina Wollstonecraft, sister of Mrs. Eliza Bishop with whom she conducted a preparatory school at 17 Hume Street, Dublin. They were sisters of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.

To his wife, Merrion Square

Killarney, 31 March 1810

My dearest Mary,

I have time only to enclose to you the halves of six notes for \pounds_{100} each and of one for \pounds_{50} and of eight of \pounds_{20} , making together upwards of \pounds_{800} . This is part of my purchase money for Gun.

I could not possibly write to you on Thursday. I suppose somebody informed you that James Connor got a verdict for \pounds 500 against Purcell¹...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Probably Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman.

280

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 2 April 1810

My darling Mary,

I wrote to you but one letter from Tralee because I was confined in court all day on Thursday and I left town at six on Saturday. On that day, however, I wrote from Killarney and enclosed the one halves of Bank of Ireland notes to the amount of $\int 817$. 9. 0. As soon, my love, as you acknowledge the receipt of those halves I will send you the remainder with directions, love, as to its application. You may easily imagine, heart, that this is money from my uncle¹ for Gun's purchase. I had another letter from him in Tralee, quite as kind as the last and not including any scolding whatsoever. He not only buys for me Gun's rent but also that farm which Spread² holds under the college in Iveragh. At least I am certain of getting $\int 1,000$ towards that purchase. Surely there is not such a man living. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Hunting-Cap.

² Charles Spread, barrister, Lansdowne Lodge, Kenmare, Co. Kerry; land agent to the marquis of Lansdowne, 1799-1815.

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 5 April 1810

My darling love,

I write at this early hour, 7 in the morning, because it is easy for me to foresee that I shall not have much leisure during the day and, darling, I should dread a *scolding* if I missed a single day. See what it is to be too indulgent to a saucy cocknosed woman. But I doat of you, darling, and I love even your passion.

The county business began yesterday. There are 51 records which upon an average of about 7 a day would bring the assizes to a close on Wednesday next and, indeed, I do not think it can last longer. I shall then want two days to complete my additional labours. . . .

[P.S.] Send word to Mr. Gun that you cannot pay him any money till Monday.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

282

From Bishop Delany

Naas [Co. Kildare], 19 May 1810

Worthy Good Sir,

I have just now received information of a meeting of the Catholic committee to be held . . . for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of marking their sense of gratitude towards our Secretary Mr. Hay.1... I eagerly hasten, permit me to say, to beg your acceptance of the enclosed ten guinea note on the Bank of Messrs. Shaw and Needham,² etc., as my individual mite towards an object in which both clergy and laity should *alike* feel prompted to take, I humbly conceive, the most general and lively interest. Confessedly eminent indeed have the services been of this gentleman in our common cause; to which from the most early period of his public career has he uniformly devoted himself, it is well known, with the most active and persevering zeal and application, unrelaxed energy and unabating ardour, without one sordid view, I am convinced in my inmost soul, to anything like pecuniary remuneration. . . . More truly disinterested

than Edward Hay's, I firmly believe, never in modern days, inspired the *patriot* breast.

- SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives
- I See letter 283, note 2.
- 2 Robert Shaw, Thomas Needham and Ponsonby Shaw, bankers, Foster Place, Dublin.

283

From Sylvester Costigin¹ to 4 Crow Street, Dublin

Thomas Street [Dublin], 6 June 1810

Dear Sir,

I am favoured with your circular letter of the 5th² and highly approve of the intention of paying Mr. Hay some particular mark of public approbation in the way most gratifying to his feelings.

And also of a general subscription to defray the expenses attending our unsuccessful exertions (as yet) to emancipate the enslaved natives, I send you enclosed ten guineas for myself and, if a further sum is necessary, I will cheerfully subscribe more; on account of public credit the time is most unpropitious for a general subscription, yet I will lend my aid to any other gentlemen that may be appointed to collect this part of the city.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 A distiller of 161-2 Thomas Street, Dublin.
- 2 At a meeting on 21 May, the Catholic Committee decided to organize a collection on behalf of their secretary, Edward Hay (*DEP*, 22 May 1810).

284

From his brother James to Merrion Square

1 Fountain Buildings, Bath, 8 June 1810

My dear Dan,

I arrived here yesterday perfectly well. My passage to the Holyhead was very tedious as I did not get there before 11 o'clock on Sunday night. I propose remaining here five or six days and will then proceed to Cheltenham.

. . . They speak of nothing here but a revolution if there

is not a reform in parliament. The unfortunate Papists have again been refused the prayer of their petition.¹

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I On I June Grattan's motion that the various petitions on behalf of Catholic Emancipation be committed was defeated by 213 to 109 (the division was actually taken in the early hours of 2 June). In the Lords on 6 June an identical motion, proposed by Lord Donoughmore, was negatived by 154 to 68.

285

From Charles Young¹ to 4 Crow Street, Dublin

Dublin, 9 June 1810

Sir,

On my return from the Co. Roscommon this morning I received your letter of the 5th inst. and feel the justice of your observations concerning the debts incurred to lay with propriety before parliament the Catholic claims and the great debt of honour contracted with our valuable secretary.²

On the first point I early suggested to Mr. Hay the necessity of a general call, and I laid before him my idea of the manner, by writing an official letter to the different pastors requiring a general meeting to be called in each parish, where the parish could be subdivided and collectors for each subdivision appointed. I distinctly laid before him the propriety of my not interfering in this business (except to be called on like another parishioner) as I was a battered and worn down applicant upon many occasions; and it appears to me that the householders would feel a certain pride in being resorted to in the first instance on this occasion.

The second I hold of high importance. It will not be executed properly but by an *urgent* and general call among our brethren in the different towns through the kingdom.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 Charles Young (born 1746), wealthy merchant, partner in Lynch and Young, 31 West New Row, Dublin; nephew of John Young, bishop of Limerick, 1796-1813. A native of Limerick city, he was one of the representatives of that city at the Catholic convention in 1792. Married c. 1782 Margaret Hevey. See Myles Ronan, An Apostle of Catholic Dublin (Dublin 1944), pp. 77-80.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.

From a correspondent to 4 Crow St.,¹ Dublin

9 June 1810

Mr. O'Connell is informed that circular letters with his name have been received in the neighbourhood of Ballyboy.² There, however all the best feelings of the Irish Catholic be called on to testify the gratitude and consideration due to Mr. Hay's eminent and disinterested services,³ there is, it is feared, little to be expected, at least at present, in *proof* of these sentiments, owing to the circumstance of the principal persons (one or two only excepted) not residing in the neighbourhood. The intimation is expressed on the occasion with much regret by one ardently interested for the cause of the Catholics in general and for their faithful and persevering champion (Mr. Hay) in particular.

Capt. Fitzsimons⁴ is not expected home for some time, having been obliged to go to Quarters.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

1 The address of the Catholic Committee.

- 2 Ballyboy, King's Co.
- 3 See letter 283, note 2.
- 4 John Fitzsimmons, captain, 19th Regiment of Militia, Castlewood, Ballyboy, King's Co.

287

From Luke Teeling¹ to 4 Crow St.

Belfast, 9 June 1810

Sir,

I have the honour of your printed letter dated the 5th inst. informing me that the Catholic committee of Dublin has resolved to present their secretary, Edward Hay, Esq., with a gold cup as a mark of his services² and their gratitude, and calling on me to procure subscriptions in aid of this measure.

My acquaintance with Mr. Hay having taught me to admire his public and private virtues, and to subscribe to your favourable report of him, I feel great pain in being prevented by official duty from acting in conformity with your wishes. In a letter which I wrote to Mr. Hay the 13th August last, and to which I now beg leave to refer, I particularly remarked the difficulty of procuring subscriptions in this county for Catholic purposes. These impediments cannot be lessened by the present call for money. On the contrary, I am sorry to believe that the presenting Mr. Hay with a gold cup will tend to jealousy and division among the Catholics of Ireland because it is derogatory to the merit of others, and will give ideas that his services exceed those of every other person; and you well know that *our* importance depends on union and good temper.

In the year 1792 and 1793 when the representatives of all the Catholics of Ireland met in Dublin and acted with so much honour to themselves and benefit to their constituents, compensation and reimbursement were made to such as pleased to accept of them; but nothing was given by way of distinction, though very distinguished services were rendered by some of the body which must always be gratefully remembered by their countrymen. It is far from my wishes to overlook the services of any of these gentlemen, and I wish my local knowledge was equal to particularize them; but the services of Mr. Keogh³ are so numerous and so deeply impressed on the hearts of Irish men, that I am persuaded, were it necessary, he would be selected by the Catholics for preeminence.

Under all these circumstances I cannot help wishing that Mr. Hay may prefer precedent to innovation, and accept of Catholic goodwill on similar terms with William Todd Jones Esq.⁴

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I Luke Teeling, Lisburn, Co. Antrim, linen merchant. Delegate for Co. Antrim to the Catholic convention of 1792. Father of United Irishmen Charles and Bartholomew Teeling. Associated with the United Irish Society though not a member. Arrested, 1796; imprisoned for alleged treason, 1796-1802.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.
- 3 John Keogh.
- 4 William Todd Jones (1755-1818), Lisburn, Co. Antrim, barrister and M.P. Volunteer; sat in Dungannon convention, 1782. Teeling erred in stating that Jones received merely 'Catholic goodwill'. In fact, he received at least £500 and possibly as much as £1,500 (Proceedings of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland which met on Tuesday April 16 and finally dissolved on this day April 25, 1793).

From Rev. Arthur Murphy¹ to 4 Crow St., Dublin

Kilcock [Co. Kildare], 11 June 1810

I have been yesterday favoured with your letter, and most cheerfully I enclose you this small token of my great esteem for Mr. Hay:² in which I am joined by my curate, Mr. Doyle. We are sorry indeed that there is not more of system in the collection of this tribute of gratitude and (I may say) justice, for why should any individual throw away his time and property in the pursuit of a great public good without public retribution in some shape? Though small our mite, if even so much came from all the priests in Ireland, what would it amount to? As they are collected this time of year at conferences, surely it would be very easy for the different masters on the strength of the bishops' recommendation to raise this money and send it to you or, if the prelates wrote circular letters on the subject to all the P. Priests, this would be then sufficient in amount to call on their respective flocks. I merely suggest these ideas to your much better judgement. Should anything of this kind be established, we shall immediately adopt it.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

1 Rev. Arthur Murphy, parish priest of Kilcock from 180r until his death in 1816. Appointed to succeed Bishop Delany of Kildare in 1814 but declined the appointment.

2 See letter 283, note 2.

289

From D. Moylan¹ to 4 Crow St., Dublin

Cork, 16 June 1810

Dear Sir,

I received the printed letter you favoured me with and communicated it to some of our principal R.C. in this city.² Under existing circumstances I am sorry to find very little disposition in our people to raise subscriptions for the most laudable purposes. Mr. Hay's constant and indefatigable exertions in the C[atholic] cause certainly and most justly deserve every compliment that the C[atholic] body of this kingdom could pay him. I beg leave to offer my small mite towards the

Dear Sir.

gold cup intended for him and pray to be affectionately remembered to him.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I Either Dennis Moylan, merchant, North Mall, Cork, or Dennis Richard Moylan, merchant, Blarney Lane and Patrick's Hill, both Cork city.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.

290

From H. O'Beirne¹

Jamestown Lodge [Co. Leitrim], 16 June 1810

Dear Sir,

I am favoured by your letter of the 5th inst.² to which I would reply earlier but finding a general failure in my expectations of subscriptions from the few Catholics of condition in this county, I sent a messenger with your letter amongst them in the expectation that it would urge them to send me their subscriptions. I am sorry to inform you that this step produced nothing but the renewal of promises. I got five guineas from Mr. Conor O'Donel³ in March last, and two guineas from a Mr. Keon⁴ which he collected in the village of Mohill which, with any addition I may get, in addition to my own subscription, I will send you or Mr. Hay by my son in the next week.

I have got no kind of assistance from our clergy on this occasion: they collect for themselves only.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 Hugh O'Beirne (died 1813), Jamestown Lodge, Drumsna, Co. Leitrim.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.
- 3 Conor O'Donel, Larkfield, Manorhamilton, Co. Leitrim. Married 1795 Mary, daughter of Denis O'Conor, Belanagare, Co. Roscommon.
- 4 Probably Myles Gerald Keon (died 1824), Keonbrook, near Carrick-on-Shannon. Called to the bar, 1805. Delegate for Co. Leitrim to the Catholic convention of 1792. Between November 1799 and January 1800, a Myles Keon collected more than 1,500 Roman Catholic signatures in Co. Roscommon to a petition in favour of the proposed Act of Union, but it is uncertain whether this person is the Mr. Keon mentioned above. See G. C. Bolton, *The Passing of the Irish Act of Union : A Study in Parliamentary Politics* (London 1966), p. 190.

From John Lonergan¹ to 4 Crow St., Dublin

Waterford, 18 June 1810

Dear Sir,

I have before me one of your circular letters of the 5th inst. respecting the resolution of the Catholic Committee of Ireland tending to pay the well merited respect of gratitude ([of] that body at large in this kingdom) [to] one, Edward Hay, Esq., secy. to their Committee.² I am however sorry from the nature of my constant confinement to my house by a rheumatic gout inflicted on me in consequence of the late and unfortunate rebellion of this country as an officer of the yeomanry corps here, [which] renders me incapable of using my exertions Mr. Hay so well merits. However, I have no kind of doubt but it will tend to the same purpose of activity in the other gentlemen here who have received your kind circulars as I have. I am indeed extremely sorry to refuse your well merited request, by indisposition alone.

source : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- r Probably John Lonergan, Patrick Street, Waterford, flax manufacturer.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.

292

From Owen O'Conor¹ to 4 Crow St., Dublin

Belanagare [Co. Roscommon], 11 July 1810

Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your much esteemed letter of the 5th ult. and to assure you that, though I have to apologize to you for not having written to you long before this time, no one more highly approves of the resolution entered into by the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland to take into consideration the services of Mr. Hay² and that no person is more willing to mark his sense of gratitude for those services than I am. The fact is, I expected to have been in town long before this time and to have talked with you on the subject, from a wish principally to be guided by you and by seeing the subscriptions of others. My going to Dublin has been deferred much longer than I expected and,

though I intend to be there soon, it is impossible for me to be at the meeting of the 16th. As at that meeting something may be done for Mr. Hay, I think it right to inform you that I most heartily join in the general wish and shall most cheerfully pay such sum as the generality of his *friends* may subscribe, in any way and for any purpose most grateful to Mr. Hay's feelings.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 Owen O'Conor (1763-1831), Belanagare, Co. Roscommon; M.P. for Co. Roscommon, 1830-31; succeeded to the title of O'Conor Don on death of Alexander O'Conor in 1820.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.

293

From Bishop James O'Shaughnessy¹

Newmarket on Fergus [Co. Clare], 28 July 1810 My dear Sir,

On my return this day after a long absence from home on the parochial visitation of this extensive and populous diocese, I found your much esteemed circular of the 5th of June,² and I hope what I mention will account for the delay of my answering.

For Mr. Hay I entertain personally the highest respect and friendship: of his activity, zeal, integrity, ability and every other virtue and good quality, I am fully convinced, and will greatly thank you, on receipt of this, if you will have the goodness to add to the fund the small mite of \pounds 10 on my own individual account which I will thankfully hand to you at our next assizes.

Last Thursday's *Dublin Evening Post* is now before me, and [I] do most sincerely wish and pray that Divine Providence may reward your labours and distinguished exertions and talents with every prosperity and happiness here and hereafter.

Those Percivals, Grenvilles, Ponsonbys and that driveling Richardson³ himself will put you to death: it seems that true Blues and Orangemen don't frighten you. No, they do not, a good cause encourages. Go on to prosper!

My humble residence being at no distance off the road between Limerick and Ennis, a call from my much respected friend would [be] to me highly gratifying, and though the fare were frugal, I assure you the welcome would be sincerely warm.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I James O'Shaughnessy, consecrated bishop of Killaloe, 1799; died 1819.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.
- 3 Probably William Richardson, Rich Hill, Armagh; M.P. for Armagh city, 1807-18; Co. Armagh, 1818-20.

294

To his wife, Merrion Square, 3 August 1810 from Maryborough

"We got to Naas only yesterday evening and left it before five this morning. It is not yet ten so that we have every chance of getting to Kilgorey today."

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

My dearest Love,

295

To his wife, Merrion Square

Ennis, Saturday, 4 August 1810

... Connell¹ and I got from Naas to Kilgorey yesterday. A pretty good journey and I rode into town with him having had the luck to meet a very pretty hunt on the way. I am perfectly well, darling, and in good spirits now, though indeed I have since I left you had some *horrible*, *horrible* moments thinking of the measles. Do not, heart's treasure, conceal from me if any of my babes take ill of it, and separate *them*, darling, at any expense from the ill ones. I am quite ashamed to tell you how much and how bitterly I have tortured myself on this subject but I shall endeavour to appease my feelings. ...

If you learn that you can get your letters sooner by my addressing to Clontarf² let me know. I think you had better speak to the postman yourself. A *bribe* has always great efficacy.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Connell O'Connell.
- 2 Mary O'Connell and her children were spending the summer at Clontarf on the north side of Dublin Bay.

230

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin, 12 August 1810, from Limerick

Asks her to send him the Irish Magazine for August and volume two of The Reports in the Time of Lord Redesdale in Ireland.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

297

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin

Limerick, 17 August 1810

My darling Love,

. . . This has been an assizes of little comparative business but I have made a *small* fortune. . . .

It would delight you, heart, if you could see how my vanity is gratified by the events of my professional career. Nothing amuses me also more than the attacks¹ made upon me by the Dublin scribblers. They call me too a *briefless* barrister whilst I have really as many briefs as are sufficient to satisfy the most ambitious of human beings in that pursuit. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 A ditty appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of 7 August 1810 in which satirical reference is made to O'Connell.

298

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin

Tralee, 20 August 1810

My darling Mary,

. . . I am in treaty with Cade Segerson for a purchase of an income of $\pounds 250$ for my life at six years purchase. My uncle¹ will, I believe, give the money. It would just be paid by the wreck money² in the collector's hands. If my uncle does not give the money I shall not deal for it at all as I wish to reserve myself for something more permanent. All our friends in

Iveragh are quite well. The poor mother as gay as a lark but at eternal war with the Primroses.³

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Hunting-Cap.
- 2 A search of the indexes in the State Paper Office and the Public Record Office reveals nothing of this matter.
- 3 The family of that name who lived at Hillgrove, Cahirciveen.

299

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin

My dearest Mary,

Tralee, 24 August 1810

Notwithstanding all my promises, the post of Wednesday has passed without my writing. The truth is, heart, that I was quite too hurried between Segerson Cade's trial¹ with Rowan² and some murder cases. The jury in Rowan's business gave a most miserable verdict, only \pounds roo damages although, if they followed the judge's charge, they would have given five thousand. Their only excuse was that the deft Segerson was too poor to pay greater damages but he certainly is malignant enough to deserve to pay much larger sums. However, I really believe that even this verdict will effectually crush the unfortunate ruffian. . . .

The business here except Segerson's was very triffing, yet I think I shall have made £100.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I John Segerson was nicknamed Cade due to his turbulent and quarrelsome disposition.
- 2 Any of several persons. John Rowan was high sheriff, 1805; George Rowan in 1807. A George Rowan was collector of excise for the Tralee area from c. 1805 to 1817.

300

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin, 25 August 1810, from Tralee

'The assizes news are confined to the story¹ of Segerson against Rowan. The ruffian has had a wonderful escape but still I think we shall never hear of him again in the way of litigation.'

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Unidentified, See letter 299.

232

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin

Limerick, Monday, 24 September 1810

My darling Love,

I left Dublin at two yesterday and got last night before nine to Maryborough. I have been here since five this evening. This was a charming day. It would have been delightful for *a hunt*....

I think, darling, you ought to control your girls a little more. They are to be sure very young but habits of selfwill and obstinacy are very apt to be acquired and are impossible to be eradicated. Ellen certainly has an adventurous spirit and Kate¹ should not, I think, be allowed to be so *decided* in her opinions. Consider of it, my love, and see whether it be better to begin with an early and gentle control. As to Miss Lynch² I really think her manner injures the children. She obtains no respect. It would be cruel to let her know my sentiments or to think of dismissing her but I should not be sorry our babes were rid of her, yet I would not for the world of worlds that we *turned her off* directly or indirectly.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

 Kate O'Connell (18 March 1807 - 19 April 1891), second daughter of O'Connell; married 7 August 1832 her distant cousin Charles O'Connell, Bahoss, Cahirciveen.

2 Governess, 1808-12. Later sacked for pilfering.

302

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, Dublin

Tralee, 27 September 1810

My darling Heart,

... I set off for Iveragh in the morning, where I promise myself a week's hunting and shooting or at the utmost ten days. Do believe me, darling, that on my return from Iveragh I shall not make any delay here but proceed to Dublin as rapidly as possible....

I shall attend most minutely to what you tell me of my Mother and Ally.¹ Rely upon it that I shall comply with your wishes in every particular and that none of your letters shall be read by any third person. I shall lock them up as I receive them. Do not be one bit uneasy on that head. . . .

... Will you let me know how my speech² and *picture* get on. Inquire the first day you go to town about it.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His sister.

2 See letter 303.

303

From his wife to Iveragh via Tralee

[Dublin], 29 September 1810

Darling Dan,

... I found your speech¹ before me, such a likeness, the image of Prince *Le Boo*. I send you one of the speeches by this night's post and another to James Connor. My love, what a fright they have made of you. I am quite provoked with them. ...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

I Apparently a sketch. Dr. Johnson's dictionary gives 'to exhibit' as one meaning for 'to speak'. Possibly 'speech' had some such meaning.

304

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin

Waterville [Co. Kerry], 30 September 1810

My darling Mary,

... I came to Iveragh on Friday having spent no less than five hours and a half travelling in the dark and rain from Killorglin on a tired horse, and yet as there was not wind to prevent my holding up the umbrella, I did not get wet and in fact the change of scene amused me.

We had a great hunt yesterday at the patron¹ and dined there with a large party of ladies; both my sisters Honora² and Biddy³ were there and we had a very pleasant day of it. For my part I was greatly amused.

I closed with Segerson⁴ and paid him a great part of his purchase money. I will be able to let you know in my next letter whether my uncle⁵ will give me the immediate enjoyment

of this property. James thinks he will but I think not myself.

My mother and all my friends here are perfectly well. I never saw the poor mother looking so well. The family of Aughermonge⁶ are breaking up: Jerry⁷ is going into the army; Capt. McCarthy⁸ to sea. If you were here you would pity poor Mary McCarthy.⁹ I have a great mind to ask her to sleep with Ally¹⁰ for the winter. If you give me leave, I will do it. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Patron or pattern. The annual religious and social festivities in honour of the patron saint of a parish.
- 2 Honora O'Sullivan.
- 3 Bridget McSwiney.
- 4 Cade Segerson.
- 5 Hunting-Cap.
- 6 Aughermonge (Oghermong), Cahirciveen, the home of O'Connell's aunt Elizabeth (deceased), wife of Timothy McCarthy.
- 7 Jerry McCarthy.
- 8 Possibly Capt. Charles McCarthy.
- 9 O'Connell's first cousin.
- 10 O'Connell's sister.

305

From his wife to Iveragh

[Green Lane, Clontarf, Dublin] 7 October 1810

My darling Dan,

You don't *deserve* I should write to you so regularly. Indeed you don't. You are a week yesterday in Iveragh and not one line have you written to *poor me* during that week. . . . I know how much you enjoy yourself always in Iveragh and I am aware there is nothing more beneficial to you than a little recreation from business. There are notices coming every day for you from Mr. Conway,¹ one to attend at the Secretary's house to wait on Mr. Shaw² and another to wait on Mr. Grattan. Surely Conway ought to know you are from home.

Your babes are all well and gay, bathing regularly every day.... I left them today with a promise to carry them as much fruit as their father used to carry them....

[P.S.] I beg you will have sent me by Whelan half a hundred of the common salt salmon, not the smoked kind, and if you could get for love or money a small crock of corned butter about twelve pounds, it would be a great treat to me. It must be made particularly for myself and put in a crock, no cask after the vile butter I got last year.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Frederick William Conway (1782-1853), born probably in Loughrea, Co. Galway. Edited Freeman's Journal, 1806-12; edited the new Dublin weekly Messenger from autumn 1808 and, though a Protestant, 'devoted it to the service of the Catholic Board' (Brian Inglis, Freedom of the Press in Ireland, 1784-1841 [London 1954], p. 122); editor and proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post, 1814-53.
- 2 Robert Shaw (1774-1849), Bushy Park, Co. Dublin, son of Robert Shaw of Kilkenny; colonel, Royal Dublin Militia; M.P. for Dublin city, 1804-26. Created baronet, 1821.

306

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin

[Derrynane, postmarked Tralee, c. 8 October 1810] My darling Mary,

I this evening got your scolding letter of the 29th of September which you are since convinced I did not deserve. I am astonished how it could happen that my letter of Thursday could have been delayed as I put it into the office myself. There is no post of Wednesday as, under the present mail-coach arrangement, the Cork and Dublin posts arrive at and depart from Tralee at the same hour. . . .

I am still of opinion that my uncle will keep this new bought income to himself for the present.¹ At all events it is impossible for any man to be more kind and affectionate than he is to me. He inquired more than once for you and my boys. He had no doubt that the young ladies were thriving. He also, heart, is to give me money for the Buncare purchase. Indeed I am a very great favourite of his, more so, I think, than ever. He is greatly afraid least I should fatigue myself too much by walking—as to John² and Butler³ he says that they would march fourteen miles for one grouse and then tell what fine sport they had.

It is impossible to have finer weather or more amusement, in the absence of my sweetest treasure. Darling, the likeness you sent down is very striking but is thought too handsome.⁴ You say the reverse because you want to flatter me. At all events I doat of you though I gave you such a *lecture* about

your girls.⁵ Control them, heart, for me. They will be the happier for it.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 See letters 298 and 304.
- 2 His brother.
- 3 James Butler.
- 4 See letter 303.
- 5 See letter 301.

307

From Alexander McCarthy,¹ Tralee, 10 October 1810, to Derrynane

Concerning the proposed sale of the lands of Coomnahorna by Segerson² to O'Connell, part of the money to be paid in cash and the rest on security of Daniel O'Connell of Portmagee, but neither O'Connell nor Daniel O'Connell has turned up to transact the sale with McCarthy in Tralee. McCarthy says he is determined to sell Ballinskelligs to John Segerson of Cove.³

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- I Probably O'Connell's cousin, Alexander McCarthy, Kilgarvan, Co. Kerry, who was killed in a duel by John Raymond, Tralee, c. 1816-17.
- 2 Cade Segerson.
- 3 Westcove House, about five miles east along the coast from Derrynane.

308

From his wife to Iveragh

[Clontarf, near Dublin] 11 October 1810

My darling Love,

Your letter of the 3rd of this month I got yesterday and, as the weather has been so favourable, I hope you profited by it and remained longer in Iveragh than you first intended. Believe me, heart, I feel quite happy that you should be so amused and am not at all anxious you should be in any hurry to return to Tralee to be *persecuted* with business. Thank God, it is not necessary for you to be harrassing yourself about the world and while you are young and able to partake of the amusements which Iveragh affords, I don't see why you should debar yourself from doing so and, though impatient to see you, I declare most solemnly that I am in hopes you are yet at Derrynane. Surely your uncle is the kindest of men but, my heart, independent of his affections for you, he feels quite proud of you. The *noise* which you make here and the esteem in which you are held must flatter him greatly. But who could be so blind as to say the likeness I sent you was striking but too handsome, so determined and angry a counte-

nance I scarcely ever beheld as it exhibits not a trace of you? I am not the only person who says so. Every individual in Dublin that ever saw you considers it a most *abominable* likeness.¹...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 See letters 303 and 306.

309

To his wife, Green Lane, Clontarf, near Dublin

Derrynane, 14 October 1810

My darling Love,

I am now two posts without hearing from you though I have not missed a single opportunity of writing. This is decisive with me to leave Derrynane and accordingly, heart, I shall set out for Tralee on the day on which this will reach you. I am now fully satisfied with my hunting and shooting matches. . . .

I never was better in health or spirits, darling. My uncle is extremely fond of me. He is indeed a surprising man. As cheerful, pleasant, affectionate and to me liberal at eighty-two as if he was a youth of twenty. He never was half so fond of me as he is at present. He will I am sure give me money to purchase Buncare out of his next gale. In short his entire income is at my command for the benefit of *your* children. Darling, tell them how I doat of them. Hug them for me and take them into our warm house in the Square.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

To his wife, Merrion Square, 22 October 1810, from Tralee

'O'Gorman¹ has got at least $f_{2,000}$, I believe three thousand, certainly not more. There is but one life between him and a noble estate.'

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman (1778-1857). Born Co. Clare; imprisoned in Ennis, 1798; called to the bar, 1803; member of the Catholic Board; succeeded Edward Hay c. 1818 as secretary to the Catholics of Ireland and was first secretary to the Catholic Association. Appointed assistant barrister, 5 March 1834; removed to Kilkenny, 20 May 1835. Second son of James O'Gorman, Ennis, Co. Clare, and Susanna Mahon.

311

To Hunting-Cap

Merrion Square, 20 November 1810

[No salutation]

[Discusses difficulties in dealing with the dishonest Cade Segerson over the purchase of property from him.]

The King is certainly most [?outrageously] mad. I hope I shall be able within ten days to give you some curious information on this subject. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

312

From Nicholas Power¹ to 4 Crow St., Dublin

Snowhill, [Co. Kilkenny, near] Cheekpoint, [Co. Waterford,] 4 December 1810

Sir,

I am much concerned not to have had it in my power to remit you the money I was promised sooner to get Mr. Hay a gold cup,² which was caused by my not getting some of the subscriptions until a few days ago. The subscribers are Lady Esmonde³ and Sir Thomas,⁴ five guineas each, the Rev. John Fitzpatrick, one guinea, Mrs. Cody and Mr. Sinnot, one guinea each, my subscription, five guineas. I am exceedingly sorry I could not collect more for one so deserving as Mr. Hay from his character in every respect, for all the trouble he has so disinterestedly taken.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I Ancestor of the O'Neill-Power family of Snowhill.
- 2 See letter 283, note 2.
- 3 Letitia (died 1851), widow of Sir Thomas Esmonde, eighth baronet.
- 4 Sir Thomas Esmonde, ninth baronet (1786-1868), succeeded 1803.

313

From his brother James to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 15 December 1810

My dear Dan,

I received your letter of the 4th inst. and according to your directions went to Ballybrack and told Maurice O'Connell¹ that you were obliged to pay the Roches² $f_{273.17.0}$, being the balance due of his brother Geoffrey, and that you were determined to issue executions against the lands of Ballybrack and have his interest sold in them unless he paid me a considerable part of the above sum which money should be paid before the first of January, and that your resolution was unalterably fixed to proceed to a sale of his little property in the event of your not being immediately paid. [James says he does not believe Maurice O'Connell's promises to pay.] . . . Were you not afraid it would come to my Uncle Maurice's ears, the sooner you commenced law proceedings the better.

With respect to my having his tenants distrained for the November rent, it would be quite useless as the far greater part of the farm is in his own hands and the few tenants he has are the most miserable wretches in existence. . . . The fairs have been very bad and no price for anything the poor people have to sell but butter. I certainly think it is very severe that you should be at the entire risk and trouble of remitting Sir Rowland Blennerhassett's³ fines⁴ to Dublin and the risk of sending $\pounds 500$ or $\pounds 600$ by a common man to Cork to procure a bill is more than you are aware of.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I Maurice O'Connell, Ballybrack, Waterville, Co. Kerry, a cousin of O'Connell.
1810

- 2 Probably the Cork bankers Stephen and James Roche.
- 3 Sir Rowland Blennerhassett (1741-1821), Blennerville, Co. Kerry. Created baronet 1809.
- 4 A fine in this context is a payment made by the tenant when a lease is renewed.

314

From Denys Scully to Merrion Square

Merrion Square, 18 December 1810

Dear O'Connell,

I am sorry that the introduction of my name in the report of your speech¹ (as in this day's *Freeman's Journal*) and the manner of its introduction, must prevent my putting into any circulation the imperfect compilation which I had prepared.

You are aware that I had private and personal reasons against annexing publicity to my name in this instance, and the understanding upon which I was to proceed being now rendered ineffectual, you will perceive that I am only consistent in now remanding this manuscript,² so overrated by your kindness and that of my other friends, to my private drawer: at least, until some more favourable occasion shall offer.³

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- I At a meeting of the Catholic Committee on 15 December O'Connell suggested laying before every member of the House of Commons a statement of the Penal Laws explanatory of all the insults and injuries to which Catholics were subjected. Such a statement could not prudently be given to the public since it might be considered a libel by a prejudiced jury. A man now present among them, continued O'Connell (the *Freeman's Journal* names Scully as the man referred to), had prepared such a statement (*FJ*, 18 Dec. 1810).
- 2 Obviously A Statement of the Penal Laws which Aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland which appeared anonymously in 1812, published by Hugh FitzPatrick, Dublin.
- 3 At the next Catholic meeting, on 22 December, O'Connell denied that he had been referring to Scully when he mentioned the statement on the Penal Laws (*DEP*, 24 Dec. 1810).

From his brother James to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 18 December 1810

[The first part of this letter is not extant]

Ally¹ will no doubt be entirely guided by my mother and you who, I confess, are more competent to advise her than I am. However, I cannot conclude without again declaring that I most decidedly and unequivocally disapprove of this match and think it was far better for her [if] she never married than marry Mr. Moriarty.²

We will spend a very melancholy Christmas here. There is not a creature at Derrynane but my uncle, Ellen,³ etc. Splinter is employed in Tralee about some salvage trial⁴ and we have not seen him yet. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 O'Connell's sister Alicia.

- 2 Unidentified. The proposed marriage did not take place.
- 3 O'Connell's sister.

4 Unidentified.

316

From John Stack¹ to Merrion Square

Cork, 2 January 1811

My dear O'Connell,

I am favoured with your letter of 31st ult. and have not much time by this post to reply to it. I am however, anxious you should see that the Sub-Committee (of which I have the honour to be a member) have in a great measure anticipated your wishes as to a concurrence with our Dublin brethren and I accordingly transmit you a copy of the resolutions² they have prepared for approval of the General Committee, who are to meet on Sunday. The subject you mention of a subscription shall meet our attention. Mrs. Stack unites with me in wishing you and Mrs. O'Connell many happy returns of the present season.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 Merchant, Patrick's Hill, Cork.
- 2 In these the sub-committee praise the Catholic Committee in Dublin and Lord Fingall, applauding their moderate and constitutional

conduct. They particularly approve of the proceedings of the Dublin aggregate meeting of 26 (recte 22) December and concur in their confidence in the prince regent's principles which can now be implemented. (The copy of the resolutions is written on the back of this letter.) It had been known since George III's mental derangement in the previous October that the prince of Wales would shortly become regent. He assumed that position officially on 6 February 1811.

317

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Cork, 8 January 1811

My Dear Dan,

As James¹ was unwilling to send $f_{.700}$ by a common messenger and also did not know who to send it to here to remit to you, I came with it and enclose to you by this night's post . . . [bills and bank notes totalling $f_{.700.2.6.]}$ When I left Killarney Lord Kenmare was renewing the leases of his tenants generally on their raising their rents, on very easy terms. Moynihan² was to make his offer the day I came through. His Lordship is giving three new lives or forty-one years and has refused the offers of some tenants, stating that they offered too much and reduced the offers to what he considered a sufficient increase.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

1 O'Connell's brother.

2 Humphrey Moynihan.

318

From John Ignatius Burke¹ to care of Edward Hay, 4 Capel St., Dublin

Ardfry, Oranmore [Co. Galway], 17 January 1811

My dear Sir,

I perceived by the newspapers that it is the intention of the Committee to appoint on the 19th persons to assist Lord Fingall in the management of our petition.² Feeling as I do the great prospect of success, nothing would be so flattering to me as to be appointed by my Catholic countrymen to fill so honourable a position. My eyes naturally turn on you as the 244

most proper person to propose me and, if you are kind enough to do so, I have no doubt of success between your influence and my own pretensions. A person like me, already acquainted with the Prince and most of the members of the Opposition, might be of some service and who would not degrade the people that sent me by living in coffee-houses in a shabby manner. I conceive that persons sent over on occasions of this kind should have both the ability and inclination to keep up the respect of our body by living in a splendid manner. O'Gorman,³ I am sure, will give you every assistance in his power, and tell him I desired you to speak to him. You will be well supported in the Committee and, if you demand a poll if necessary, I have no doubt of being chosen. No family in Ireland has lost more than mine by our adherence to our religion, and Sir Ulick Burke of Glinsk4 beat the King's troops under Sir Charles Coote⁵ and another Sir Ulick⁶ was the last Catholic that represented the county of Galway.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I John Ignatius Burke (1784-1845), Ardfry, Oranmore, Co. Galway, succeeded his cousin in 1814 as tenth baronet.
- 2 The Catholic Committee met on 19 January but deferred for two weeks the nomination of persons to go to London with Lord Fingall (*DEP*, 22 Jan. 1811). At the next meeting (2 Feb.) the matter was apparently not discussed (*DEP*, 7, 9 and 14 Feb. 1811). At the meeting of 9 February it was decided not to appoint any persons to accompany Lord Fingall (*DEP*, 21 Feb. 1811).
- 3 Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman.
- 4 Sir Ulick Burke, Knight of Glinske, Co. Roscommon; created baronet, 1628; M.P. for Co. Galway, 1639-61; colonel in Confederate army.
- 5 Sir Charles Coote (died 1661), second baronet; created earl of Mountrath, 1660; lord president of Connacht from 1645.
- 6 Probably Sir Ulick, first baronet (see note 4). The writer seems to have been confused.

319

From his brother James to Merrion Square

Grenagh, 17 January 1811

My dear Dan,

I received your letter of the 10th inst. in which you mention having got $f_{.700.2.6.}$ from Myles McSwiney which I am glad

to find reached you so soon. I have not seen my Uncle Maurice for the last fortnight as I was occupied at Carhen collecting your rents. I therefore had not an opportunity of communicating to him how much the members of the Catholic Committee wished that you should be one of the persons who would go to London with the petition.1 However you will perceive by the following paragraph which I copy out of a letter I received from him, written the 13th of this month, that it has occurred to himself that you may have some idea of going to London on this business, and you will perceive how averse he is to your doing so. You had better pretend to him that you never thought about it as it would be quite impossible to make him change his opinion. What he says on that subject is this: 'In your next letter to Dan, tell him that I fear his political avocations occupy too much of his time and thoughts, and may possibly have the effect of taking him off from his professional pursuits. A man may be serious and assiduous in promoting the very laudable cause of Catholic Emancipation but prudence would require from him not to be led away by that zeal to the neglect of his private affairs-est modus in rebus sunt certi denique fines.² By the papers I see the Catholic Committee are about to appoint some persons to attend in London to assist Lord Fingall in constructing and forwarding the Catholic petition to both Houses. I trust he has no thoughts of becoming one of that number. A moment's cool reflection must convince him that it must be ruinous to his affairs as it would unavoidably take him off from the prosecution of his profession, on which the support of his family and credit depend. Nor would reason or experience in any degree bear him out in the vain expectation that he could resume with any prospect of success a profession which he had once, though partially, withdrawn from or relinquished. My decided opinion and desire is that he shall not by any means think of taking such a step, and you are to tell him that it is my particular command that you make this communication.' . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I On 22 December 1810 the Catholic Committee decided to ask Lord Donoughmore and Henry Grattan to present their petition to parliament (*DEP*, 24, 27 Dec. 1810). See letter 318.
- 2 Horace, Satires, I, 106. It is the first part of a quotation which praises moderation.

From Eneas MacDonnell¹ to Merrion Square

Westport [Co. Mayo], 30 January 1811

My Dear O'Connell,

As I apprehend it will not be in my power to attend the meeting of the Committee next Saturday, I beg you will allow me to submit through you the draft of an address to the Prince, subject entirely to your correction. As our views have generally coincided, I trust it will meet your approbation. . . .

I observe by the papers that a clause is introduced into the Regency Bill compelling the Prince to take the oath recited in one of the acts of our accursed code against the admission of Papists to either of the Houses of Parliament. . . .

I beg you will inform our very best of all possible secretaries² that I have upwards of seven hundred signatures ready for him. For God's sake, endeavour to expedite the procuring of signatures, *particularly in the country* for . . . I have felt since I came here . . . that it generates a very strong feeling of independence among the peasantry. I assure you it is scarcely credible how much it has diminished the terror of the petty tyrant in this wretched county. . . I trust the hour of redemption is nigh. Indeed I think the Prince will be happy to have it in his power to do an act of such transcendent justice.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I Eneas MacDonnell (1783-1858), born Co. Mayo; called to the bar. 1810; editor and proprietor *Dublin Chronicle*, 1815-17; editor *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*.

2 Edward Hay.

321

From his brother James to Merrion Square

Carhen, 10 February 1811

My dear Dan,

The forged five pound Bank of Ireland note. . . was brought to Iveragh by Patrick Kennedy of Ahanbee¹ who buys small cows and carries them to Dublin to sell and has been in the habit of bringing forged notes to the country which he circulates among the people. . . . As Kennedy is an old offender I thought it necessary to punish him, as if he was suffered to go on in this way he would inundate the country 1811

with forged notes. I therefore took informations against him and sent him to Tralee Gaol where he remained for ten days when Richard Blennerhassett² took bail for him and he was discharged and is now at home.

. . . If in case of conviction he is only to be transported or otherwise punished, but if I supposed he was in any danger of being hanged, I would not interfere in the business etc. farther than returning the informations. I will thank you, my dear Dan, to write me a few lines on this subject, and that you may be able to form a more accurate opinion I enclose a copy of the information sworn against Kennedy. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry.
- 2 Richard Francis Blennerhasset (1772-1827), Kells Bay, Cahirciveen; second son of Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, first baronet.

322

From Edward Keane¹ to Merrion Square

London, 13 February 1811

Dear Sir,

You will no doubt have seen the account of Mr. Finnerty's² conduct and sentence. It has been most fully reported in the *Statesman*. However it is still imperfect as Finnerty behaved most boldly and, notwithstanding the looks and interruptions of the judges, has said as much as will render Lord Castle-reagh³ a detested character in this country and has set the people on inquiring into the truth of the charges.

The severity of the court at first must be wholly attributed to the desire the court had to save Lord Castlereagh's character, and there is no doubt but his punishment would have been lessened by an affidavit properly framed for that purpose, but still F. persisted in his first resolution and said to his friends here that he would not surrender up the confidence his Irish friends reposed in him and would use their affidavits, and no man could make stronger efforts to do so to the great astonishment of the Bar and a crowded court. . . .

It was certainly designed by the confinement at Lincoln to destroy F. and it will certainly have this effect unless something be done to relieve him. . . .

There is an idea of a subscription here and it would be much forwarded by anything been [sic] done in that way

in Ireland as it would show the opinion of the Irish as to the truth of the charges against Lord Castlereagh and, between you and I, his interference in Catholic business did not serve him as neither party wish the question to be agitated at present. There can be no chance in the petition as the King is recovering fast and the Regent is bound by the bill and his oath not to alter the Test Laws. You will only give popularity to the present administration as the people seem greatly afraid to open the door for the Presbyterians. Sir F. Burdett⁴ and Lord Erskine⁵ say that they will interfere in F's behalf and he has gained much ground in general by his conduct. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Unidentified.
- 2 Peter Finnerty (1766?-1822), an Irish journalist in London. On 7 February 1811 he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for a libel on Lord Castlereagh charging him with cruelty in Ireland. A public subscription of £2,000 was raised on his behalf. See DNB.
- 3 Robert (Stewart) (1796-1822), styled Viscount Castlereagh, 1796-1821; second marquis of Londonderry, 1821. See DNB.
- 4 Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844), fifth baronet; political and radical reformer. See DNB.
- 5 Thomas (Erskine) (1749/50-1823), created 1806 Baron Erskine of Restormel Castle; lord chancellor of England, 1806-07. See DNB.

323

To his wife, Merrion Square

Ennis, Friday, 15 March 1811

My darling Mary,

... I wrote to you already about James Sugrue's¹ bills. You are to keep them for me. Of course not to lodge them in the bank. Neither did I intend that you should have sent Connor's² acceptance there. I thought I told you, heart, to transmit to me but it will answer as well as it is. ...

With respect to the alteration in the study, I could much wish that you would get the proper estimates or as many estimates as you may deem necessary made. . . . If the expense be anything reasonable I should be glad to have the work done as soon as possible. I do not like embarking in a heavy speculation particularly with builders, who are of all others the greatest rogues in the community. As to the drawing-room windows, do with those precisely what you desire. Have either a balcony or gallery as you please. The gallery certainly will give the house a more marked and genteel appearance, and, what is of much more consequence, it will be much safer for the children. The difference of expense cannot surely create any obstacle. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I James Sugrue, who was for fourteen years informal financial agent to O'Connell before 1830, has proved impossible to identify.

2 James Connor.

324

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, Tuesday, 19 March 1811

My dearest love,

I could not possibly contrive to write one line to you yesterday, the little Baron¹ having detained us in court until past ten at night. . . .

You have already all my directions on the subject of the projected improvements in the house. The only condition I propose is that of arranging the new study in such a way as to give me space to put up my shelves and bookcases as nearly possible in their present shape and also to have a dressing closet inside my study. Darling, with these restrictions I give you quite a *carte blanche* as to carrying on those buildings and also as to the time of commencing them. If you resolve upon the work, get Hussey² to draw up the contract with the carpenters, builders, etc. It is impossible to be sufficiently guarded with those kind of people.

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

I Sir William Cusac Smith.

2 Probably Peter Bodkin Hussey.

325

To his wife

Limerick, Wednesday, 20 March 1811

My own Love,

. . . I am impatient to hear whether you have come to any determination as to the new study. It certainly will very much

contribute to your comforts, and though you will *not* believe it, darling, yet it would really give me pleasure to make you feel comfortable. Besides, until you have a sitting parlour, it is quite impossible that you should be able to have your drawing-rooms in anything like neat and perfect order.

I shall write to Maurice¹ as you desire, but indeed, indeed, heart, I wish that you would be more peremptory with him. One effort would reduce him to perpetual obedience. You might punish him by confining him to the nursery, or excluding him from your dinner table, or in any other manner of that kind, but you ought not to suffer him to impose on you.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 18 1 His son.

326

From his wife to No. 1 Staughton's Row, Tralee

[Dublin] 23 March 1811

My darling Dan,

. . . I went to Lord ffrench's bank yesterday and deposited the bill for two hundred pounds and the forty pounds out of O'Leary's sixty for which I got two accountable receipts. . . . I got a letter this morning from James O'Leary' enclosing me, as he says, national notes to the amount of $f_{.44.2.9}$ but on my counting them I found he had sent me but f_{39} . 2. 9. . . . I have just written to him on this subject. . . . I saw him [Splinter] walking Merrion Square on Tuesday last with some bucks and John² told me he rode out the grey horse at five o'clock just as we were going to dine with Hussey.³ He called here on Monday last and sent up to me for the key of the study to get some letter of his which he said was there. I sent him down word that you desired me not to give the key of the study to any person for that there were neither letters nor papers belonging to anyone there. He did not call since. You can't think, love, how much Maurice feels my having complained him to you. When I read that part of your letter for him concerning him he burst into tears. . . . He begs I shall tell you with his love that he will be more cautious in future. He has got a present from Miss Wolstonecraft which he prizes very much as he got it for being head of his class during a month. . . . When you write to Maurice, love, I would wish you to advise him to speak and salute everyone who speaks to

1811

him. Miss Wolstonecraft complains also of him about this and says what a pity a boy of such talents should be so sheepish and careless. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 James O'Leary, woollen merchant and chapman, Killarney, Co. Kerry.
- 2 Coachman.
- 3 Probably Peter Bodkin Hussey.

327

To his wife, Merrion Square, 24 March 1811, from Tralee

Has written the resolutions for the Tralee Catholic meeting of today.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

328

From his wife to 2 Staughton's Row, Tralee

[Dublin] 26 March 1811

My dearest love,

I got your letter of Saturday yesterday morning with the bills . . . which I got accepted and have this moment sent them to the bank as you desire by John to deposit to your credit and to bring me accountable receipts but, love, I must scold you for telling me in a postscript not to lodge the bills until they were accepted. Now, heart, what do you deserve for this *insult*? Surely I must be a great *fool* to go lodge bills before they were accepted. You *may expect* a good *scolding* for this when we meet. . . . I also got a letter from O'Leary enclosing me the five pounds which was deficient of the sum he specified in his former letter. . . . I have bought from Hughs,¹ the coal factor, half a dozen tons of coals as they are now cheap. I suppose they will come to about ten pounds, carriage and all. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Probably Michael Hughes, 119 Townsend Street, Dublin.

From his wife to Cork

[Dublin] 30 March 1811

My darling love,

... My poor Nell, such a scene as I had with her yesterday. You may suppose how bold she must have been when I was obliged to beat her with a rod, all occasioned by fear and terror of going to school. The day before, Mrs. Bishop¹ beat and punished her for not having her hymn, and doubled her task for yesterday in consequence of which the poor infant made every resistance to going to school. You would hardly believe what a complete battle she had not to go.

She never ceased crying from the time she got up in the morning and entreating of me not to send her any more to Mrs. Bishop's, but when I would not listen to her she threw herself on the stairs and I assure you it was a difficult matter to take her up. However, she was at length forced to school. Mrs. Bishop, I am convinced, is severe and ill-tempered. She does not consider Ellen's youth and is forever complaining her. She is, she says, an annoyance to the other children, that she is never at rest and as to her temper, it is very bad-my darling child that has the sweetest temper and disposition I ever saw. I completely gave up to you, love, in this respect of sending her to Mrs. Bishop's as I would for many reasons prefer sending her to a school that is near me in Fitzwilliam Street but it is not now worth my while to remove her as I purpose leaving her only at school until she is seven years old but, love, really I can't tell you how it hurts my feelings to have Mrs. Bishop forever saying she is ill-tempered. The darling is just come in from school and begs of me with pleasure in her sweet eyes to tell you with her love that she is first in her spelling class today. . . . Mr. Hay was here just now to know your address in Cork as he wished to write and send you papers by the mail. . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

I Mrs. Eliza Bishop, sister of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, conducted a school for girls; her sister, Everina Wollstonecraft, a school for boys; at 17 Hume Street, Dublin.

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, Monday, 1 April 1811

My darling Love,

I am greatly obliged to you for your firmness with my poor Nell. If you had given up the point she would have conquered you for life. Rely on it, heart, that I am not mistaken about Mrs. Bishop and that our sweet child does require for her own sake more control than you imagine. The infant is really selfwilled and the tender indulgence she meets at home requires a greater degree of austerity abroad. Otherwise she may be a torment to herself and to us. Rely on it, my love, that you behaved towards her exactly as you ought in obliging her to yield. I am sure there never was a parent who doated of his child, I will say, so much as I do of her and yet I think she requires control. Indeed, indeed, my darling Mary, I am greatly pleased with your determination on the occasion but, heart, I have never had reason to be otherwise than delighted with your conduct on every occasion. There certainly never was a man so blessed with everything that is rational, tender and prudent in a wife. You know, love, I say this from my heart, from my heart of hearts.

... My uncle has forbidden poor Splinter his house by reason of a complaint urged against him by one of his clients. It happens to be a false one which aggravates his situation. Poor fellow, I know not what he can do with himself.

I hope, heart, you take care of the *Cobbett's*¹ for me, and preserve at least one newspaper every day... Send to Hussey² not to omit letting me have every weekly *Messenger* that contains anything *popish*.

. . . The poor mother always complaining. She is in great dread of being *starved*—-200 guineas a year are quite incompetent to her support. It would be just the same if she had $\pounds 2,000$ a year.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I William Cobbett's weekly Political Register.
- 2 Thomas Hussey, stationer, Capel Street, Dublin.

From his wife, Dublin, 2 April 1811, to Cork

Has signed contract for erection of gallery balcony at their home in Merrion Square at a cost of thirty guineas. 'What do you think of getting him [their son John]¹ inoculated next week for the cow pock?'

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

 John O'Connell (20 Dec. 1810-1858), third surviving son of O'Connell. B.L.; M.P. for Youghal, 1832-37, Athlone, 1837-41, Kilkenny city, 1841-47, Clonmel, 1853-57; clerk of the crown and hanaper, 1857-58. Married 28 March 1838 Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. James Ryan, Jubilee Hall, Bray, Co. Wicklow.

332

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, Wednesday, 3 April 1811

My darling Mary,

... I was greatly amused by my poor Nell's¹ competition in vanity. The sex all over, heart, is it not? This you will say is saucy, whether it be true or not. Take care, however, that my poor child does not give herself the habit of saying she is first in the class when the fact is not so. I detected her twice in doing so and that, I assure you, alarmed me not a little. It could not happen but for the dislike you have conceived to the *mistresses* of her school, because their detection would be certain. I mean if you were occasionally to see them. The infant is so very young that she does not know the crime of falsehood. But it is so easily fallen into that it will require all your caution to guard against it. . . .

source : Fitz-Simon Papers 1 His daughter.

333

From his wife to Cork

[Dublin] 10 April 1811

My dearest Dan,

You ought to take my consulting you with respect to the ware as a proof of the wish I always have to gratify you. I judged, my heart, that you preferred everything Irish, therefore I wished to mention my intention of gratifying you when it lay in my power. For my own part, there is some of the English ware I would prefer to the Irish, but above all things, darling, I wish to please you and I am determined on bespeaking a set at Donovan's^I with the crest done on it. . . . I hope, love, you will hear prayers on Good Friday and Easter Sunday, should you be in Cork.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

I James Donovan, glass, china and lustre manufacturer, 23 George's Quay, and 25 Poolbeg Street, both Dublin.

334

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 12 April 1811

My darling Mary,

... I have had an extreme deal of business of every kind but an enormous deal in the criminal court. My success has also been almost as complete as I could have possibly wished. ... Tell Maurice that as long as he remains every day at the head of his class I will consent to his not getting his lessons at nights.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

335

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, Monday, 15 April 1811

My darling Mary,

The assizes *have* actually ended and I have ordered a chaise for twelve tomorrow so as certainly to be out of town by two in the afternoon. James¹ will go in the mail tomorrow night, as Goold² and I travel up together. I am in great spirits at the immediate prospect of being off, the more especially as the tediousness of the manner of doing the business has tired and disgusted me. . . .

My success this circuit has been great, very great. I have

that vanity which makes me think I have made an *impression*. You will not laugh at me though anybody else would. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His man-servant.

2 Thomas Goold (1766-1846), called to the bar, 1791; third serjeant, 1823; king's serjeant, 1830; master in chancery, 1832. See DNB.

336

From his brother John to Merrion Square

Grenagh [Killarney, Co. Kerry], 10 May 1811 My Dear Dan,

... If you have given the subject of the commons of Ardfert any consideration, let James Connor know it and he will communicate with me. It would be a pleasant circumstance to obtain an additional force of sixty freeholders if we can accomplish it.

SOURCE : National Museum of Ireland

337

From Hunting-Cap to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 16 May 1811

Dear Dan,

[He instructs O'Connell not to advance any money to Segerson¹ until Segerson signs the deed of conveyance since he is untrustworthy.]

... I am now to open to you another matter to which I not only require but in the strongest terms insist on your particular attention. It is this. Mr. Cronin² of the Park, who is one of the executors of the late Daniel O'Connell of Portmagee, has arrived this last Sunday evening and is since engaged in inspecting and, I suppose, endeavouring to arrange the affairs of the deceased which, I am sorry to hear from report only, are in rather a perplexed situation, his western tenants being, it is said, in arrear much beyond what their effects can discharge. He has since his arrival been closely attended by John Primrose and Patrick Trant³ who, it is said, are respectively candidates for being employed to set the lands, collect the rents and manage the affairs of the succession under him. He

must no doubt employ some person in that situation as he could not possibly find time to attend minutely to the business himself. It has therefore occurred to me that he may be expecting security from the person he would appoint, and that John Primrose, who is not at all bashful or backward at making any applications that may in any degree tend to his own interest, may take up the resolution of mentioning you and in consequence may apply to you to become security for him. This therefore is what I have in the most earnest and decided terms to caution you against. I know the softness and facility of your disposition and I also know that Primrose has contrived to get deeply into your confidence and good opinion but, if you have a proper consideration or attention to the interest of your young family, you should shudder at a proposal of that nature being made you even by those of your nearest and dearest connection, as it may involve in it, and not at all indeed improbably, the complete and irrevocable ruin of you and your family. I can scarcely express to you the uneasiness I feel since this matter has occurred to me, well knowing as I before mentioned the softness and facility of your disposition and with what ease designing men may draw you into their measures, when in fact and in truth acceding to such a proposal from Primrose must have the effect of inevitably ruining you beyond redemption. I therefore again and again most earnestly caution you against it and further add that no feeble or temporizing excuses will have any sort of weight with me, and that your neglecting to comply with what I not only so earnestly beseech and request but what I absolutely and decidedly command, will create a breach between us never to be healed, and decidedly determine me during the period of my existence never to exchange a word with you. It distresses me indeed to think that it is necessary to write to you in such strong terms when a bare intimation of my will ought, and I hope would, be sufficient but the business is of so very serious and dangerous a nature that the utmost exertion I can make cannot be too strong to deter you from it.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Cade Segerson.
- 2 Daniel Cronin, The Park, Killarney.
- 3 Patrick Trant, Waterview, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry, county inspector of revenue.

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

Stratford Place Hotel, London, 4 June 1811 My dear friend,

I arrived here yesterday morning as expeditiously [as] I could from the time I could set off in the mail as soon after my arrival at Holyhead as I had a bad passage. I wrote to the members of the deputation yesterday, 3rd June: 'I arrived this day in London with the address to the Prince Regent and the petitions to parliament which I consider my duty to lay before the deputation immediately the better to carry into effect the resolutions of the general meeting on Tuesday last. Your presence is accordingly requested at one o'clock tomorrow at the Earl of Fingall's lodgings, No. 67 Welbeck [? Place]. I have the honour to be etc. Edward Hay'.

In consequence of which the attendance was composed of the Earls of Shrewsbury¹ and Fingall, Lords Southwell² and Castlerosse,³ Sirs Hugh O'Reilly⁴ and Francis Goold,⁵ Colonel Burke,⁶ General O'Ferrall,⁷ Messrs. O'Reilly,⁸ McDonnell,⁹ O'Conor,¹⁰ Burke.¹¹ The only absent were Sir Edward Bellew¹² and Mr. Bryan,¹³ but I hope we shall have them all tomorrow.

The address to the Prince Regent has been approved of by all our parliamentary friends that I have seen, but the petitions to Parliament are not considered written in the manner becoming the dignity of the Catholics of Ireland, and the opinion of O'Gorman¹⁴ as to the inadmissibility of the petition as it stood has been signified to us this day by Mr. Grattan, who states that Sir John Newport¹⁵ and Mr. Ponsonby¹⁶ are of the same opinion. Lords Donoughmore, Hutchinson¹⁷ and Mr. Parnell¹⁸ consider our case might be put stronger without the objectionable language in the petition. The clause deemed inadmissible is that of proselytizing the country by rooting up the Catholic religion, etc., and so on to the clause framed by Counsellor McDonnell relative to the chaplains to jails which is highly spoken of. The prayer is good in the opinion of all.

These sentiments have been communicated to the Earl of Fingall, it was thought necessary that Lord Southwell, Sir Francis Goold, Messrs. O'Conor, O'Reilly and Burke should wait on Mr. Grattan and, as it is necessary to present the petition tomorrow in the Commons previous to the third reading of the militia transfer bill, there is no time to be lost in having it ready and, as I shall take no responsibility on myself, I shall have the petitions ready to be affixed to the rolls as they come from Ireland and copies with the omission of the clause, that would make the other inadmissible, ready for the members of the deputation when they again assemble at one o'clock tomorrow, and I conclude that whatever is considered most to the advantage of the Catholics in Ireland will be adopted.

The copy of the address to the Prince of Wales has been sent to Lord Moira¹⁹ on whom the Earl of Fingall is to wait tomorrow to know how it is best to have the address presented in time to produce any good. As it is understood that a levee may not be held for two months it would then be too late to produce the good effects of its presentation, if after the militia transfer bill had been passed. Lord Donoughmore is of course ready to present this petition to the Lords in due time to meet the progress of the militia bill there. . . .

... I have not yet seen Major Bryan or Mr. Hussey,²⁰ as I was not fortunate to meet them at home when I called yesterday. I saw Sir Edward Bellew who was just setting off for a day or two as I called on him.

[P.S.] Direct to me under cover to Lord Donoughmore, Mr. Grattan or Henry Parnell Esq., Stratford Place, Oxford St., London.

Lords Fingall and Donoughmore wrote letters to me which I understand are very interesting.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I Charles (Talbot), fifteenth earl of Shrewsbury (1753-1827).
- 2 Thomas Anthony (Southwell), third Viscount Southwell (1777-1860).
- 3 Valentine (Browne) (1788-1853), styled Viscount Castlerosse, 1801-12; later (1812) second earl of Kenmare.
- 4 Sir Hugh O'Reilly (1741-1827), Ballinlough Castle, Co. Westmeath; created baronet, 1795; assumed his maternal surname in 1812 on the death of his uncle John Nugent of Tulloughan, Co. Westmeath.
- 5 Sir Francis Goold (d. 1818), Old Court, Co. Cork; created baronet, 1801.
- 6 Col. John Burke (1782-1847), Marble Hill, Co. Galway; colonel in 98th Foot which his father, Sir Thomas, had raised. Later (1813) Sir John Burke, second baronet. M.P. for Co. Galway, 1830-32; high sheriff of Co. Galway, 1838.
- 7 Maj. Gen. James O'Ferrall of the Austrian service (c. 1753-1828), Balyna, Co. Kildare.

- 8 Dominick W. O'Reilly, Kildangan Castle, Monasterevan, Co. Kildare.
- 9 Randal McDonnell, Allen Court, Mullinahack, Co. Dublin, and Kilmore and Brackney, both in Co. Antrim.
- 10 Owen O'Conor.
- 11 John Ignatius Burke.
- 12 Sir Edward Bellew, sixth baronet (died 1827), Barmeath, Co. Louth.
- 13 Maj. George Bryan (1770-1843), Jenkinstown, Kilkenny, and Henrietta Street, Dublin. M.P. for Co. Kilkenny, 1837-43.
- 14 Nicholas P. O'Gorman.
- 15 Sir John Newport (1756-1843), created baronet, 1789; M.P. for Waterford city, 1802-32. See DNB.
- 16 George Ponsonby (1755-1817), Inchiquin, Co. Cork. Member of late Irish parliament; lord chancellor of Ireland, 1806-07; M.P. for Co. Wicklow, 1802-06; Co. Cork, 1806-07; Tavistock, 1808-12; Peterborough, 1812-16; leader of the opposition, 1808-17. See DNB.
- 17 Maj. Gen. John (Hely-Hutchinson) (1757-1832), created Baron Hutchinson, 1801; succeeded as second earl of Donoughmore, 1825. See DNB.
- 18 Henry Brooke Parnell (1776-1842), Rathleague, Queen's Co.; succeeded as fourth baronet, 30 July 1812; M.P. for Queen's Co., 1806-32; Dundee, 1833-41; created Baron Congleton, 1841. See DNB.
- 19 Francis (Rawdon-Hastings), second earl of Moira (1754-1826), created marquess of Hastings, 1817. Governor general and commander-inchief in India, 1813-22. See DNB.
- 20 Peter Bodkin Hussey.

339

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square¹

Stratford Place Hotel, London, 5 June 1811

My Dear Friend,

Yesterday I gave an account of all that had taken place. Mr. Grattan dined with Lord Grey where he met Mr. Whitbread,² Mr. Tierney,³ Sir J. Newport, Mr. Ponsonby. They unanimously declared the petition was inadmissible and that it could not in any degree be altered so that the only remedy was to have a petition signed by the members of the deputation, and Mr. Parnell drew a draft of a petition but the deputation did not think it right to adopt that measure.

I had the original petition I placed on the table with the [one or two words illegible] annexed when I called on the deputation for their opinion and they all, except Major Bryan who declared that I ought to have it presented by any member I could get, though he at the time declared that he thought the petition a very bad one and would not sign it. The remainder of the deputation signified their reason why they departed from the advice of Major Bryan which he gave me in a letter, that he would afterwards call on me to produce at an aggregate meeting, so that I fear that there will be the devil to pay at our next meeting. I consider that once the deputation met me I had no more to say in their decision than any other individual. I shall have the petition for the Lords ready tomorrow and bring it to Lord Donoughmore.

I should have told you before that I brought the petition to the Commons to Mr. Grattan who would not take charge of it and as it was at the time half past four, it became impossible to get a member to present it in time to meet the third reading of the Militia Bill⁴ but Mr. Parnell has a clause to propose that will [one word illegible] the freedom of religion for the Catholic soldier if it passes.

Mr. Grattan promised to write me a letter stating his opinion as well as those of the other parliamentary friends he consulted which has not yet come to me but I shall enclose it to you tomorrow.

In case that you should wish to have another petition to the Lords that would not be objectionable, you will of course make the necessary arrangement so that I shall be glad to have your opinion of the [one word illegible] of the case. I am so terribly hurried as I am just going to dress to meet the members of the deputation at dinner.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

- I This letter was franked by Henry Parnell, M.P.
- 2 Samuel Whitbread (1758-1815), English political radical, M.P. for Bedford borough from 1790. Married 1789 Elizabeth, daughter of first earl Grey. Died by suícide, 6 July 1815. See DNB.
- 3 George Tierney (1761-1830), son of Thomas Tierney, Limerick. M.P. from 1789. Leader of the opposition, 1817-21. Master of the mint, 1827-28. See DNB.
- 4 A bill which received the royal assent on 1 July 1811 as 'An Act to permit the Interchange of the British and Irish Militias respectively' (51 Geo. III c. 118). On the third reading of the bill on 5 June, Parnell proposed that a clause be added 'for securing to soldiers, Dissenters from the Church of England, the free exercise of their Religion'. His motion was defeated by 56 to 21 (Commons Journal, LXVI, 395). The home secretary, Richard Ryder, stated

on several occasions during the course of the bill through the Commons that the commander-in-chief in Great Britain would issue an order protecting Catholic soldiers in the free exercise of their religion (*Hansard*, XX, 202, 295, 456).

340

From William F. Finn¹ to Merrion Square

Carlow, 23 June 1811

My dear O'Connell,

I received from you a letter the day on which you received mine of course. Instead of considering myself for a moment neglected by you, I feel that I owe you an apology for not writing to you sooner in answer to your former letter. I was waiting each day to see if my father should appear likely to recover. As I mentioned to you before, my father has made his will and, as far as concerns myself, I believe I know whatever is of moment. He has left to me an estate in the Co. Kilkenny now producing £400 per annum. It would produce, if out of lease, more than f1,000 per annum. The leases will expire in about ten years with the exception of one lease which has thirteen years to run and I believe one surviving life out of three. . . . The rent under this lease is f_{280} a year [but the land is really worth much more]. . . . Part of this land is set at 15s. per acre. The highest rent is 22s. The ground immediately adjoining was set for £5 per acre two years ago-100 acres at that rent. The man who holds it told me that part of my father's land was better than his. He has left me as I before mentioned a freehold in this county of f_{23} per annum to expire upon the termination of the longest lease in the County Kilkenny. . . . If the utmost industry in my profession, the greatest kindness and attention towards that person² who must of course be your first object, could supply the deficiency of fortune, this much I could promise and if I know my own heart I should find but little difficulty in performing. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- I William Francis Finn (1784 8 Dec. 1862), B.L.; M.P. for Co. Kilkenny, 1832-37; son of a rich Carlow merchant who owned Finn's *Leinster Journal*, Kilkenny; married O'Connell's sister Alicia (Ally) c. 22 Jan. 1812.
- 2 Alicia (Ally) O'Connell, sister of O'Connell.

To his wife, Staughton's Row, Tralee

Ennis, 1 August 1811

My darling Mary,

... The business here has been of the most trivial nature imaginable. There were but eight records and the criminal business too was but of little importance. I have as usual my full share. You know that even in my *younger* days I was a favourite here. ...

Give my darling Betsey¹ my tenderest love and tell her nobody wishes to see her in health and spirits so much as I do and, darling, remember me most affectionately to your mother. You have now a good opportunity to ask her *the question* I bid you, and as you admit in your note from Tarbert, that you are sometimes *impertinent*, I do not see what is to hinder you from asking that question except your *unwillingness* to oblige me. . . .

I know not what to say to you of my babes. My boys, I dare say, are quite wild and troublesome and my daughters saucy and impudent but, you know, it was *kind* for them. I love them still perhaps the better.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Mary O'Connell's sister Betsey Connor.

342

To his wife, Staughton's Row, Tralee

Limerick, 4 August 1811

My darling Love,

I was again greatly delighted at finding your letter from Tralee before me on my arrival here last night. I wish, however, you had been able to tell me you were *quite* rid of your cold and that the lump had broke with my poor little John.¹ But, darling, I ought to be satisfied after your having given me such a fright.

The business in the courts at Ennis was over on Thursday. We spent Friday in arbitrations. Yesterday I remained for a Catholic meeting. All the respectable Catholics of the county attended and were extremely anxious to run the risk of becoming members of the Committee.² There were accordPole.⁴ Indeed, darling, I am quite sure that this last proclamation is precisely what will secure our unanimity and raise a spirit amongst us that will put success beyond a doubt. But you know my love I actually *rave* upon those subjects. We *must* have a grand meeting in Kerry. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I John O'Connell (20 Dec. 1810-1858), third surviving son of O'Connell. Educated at Clongowes Wood College and Trinity College, Dublin. Called to the bar, 1837; married 1838, Elizabeth, daughter of James Ryan, M.D., Jubilee Hall, Bray, Co. Wicklow; M.P. for Youghal, 1832-37; for Athlone, 1837-41; for Kilkenny city, 1841-47; for Clonmel, 1853-57; clerk of the crown and hanaper, 1857-58. See DNB.
- 2 On 3 August the Co. Clare aggregate Catholic meeting was held in Ennis. Ten men were appointed to attend the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland: James O'Gorman, Ennis; Daniel O'Connell, Kilgorey, Tulla; Nicholas Mahon, Dublin; Francis McMahon, Cahirmakerela, Ennistymon (the above were delegates to the famous Catholic convention of 1792 in Tailors Hall, Dublin, known as the 'Back-Lane Parliament '); William Butler, Bunnahow, Gort; Mathew Canny, Castlefergus, Newmarket-on-Fergus; Stephen Woulfe, Tiermaclane, Ennis; Patrick Mahon, Newpark, Ennis; Connell O'Connell, Cappahard, Ennis; and Michael O'Loghlen, Port, Ennis.
- 3 The Irish Parliament's Convention Act of 1793 (33 Geo. III c. 29) declared illegal the holding of any representative assembly of a political nature (other than the House of Commons and corporate bodies). It also made it illegal for any person to elect such representatives. The Catholic Committee were now attempting to organize on a representative basis and thus to test the effectiveness of the convention act and the government's determination to enforce it. On 9 July an aggregate meeting of 'The Catholics of Ireland ' was held in Dublin, Lord Fingall in the chair. The vital resolutions passed were:
 - 1 That a committee of Catholics be appointed to frame petitions to parliament and to procure signatures thereto in all parts of Ireland.
 - 2 'That said committee do consist of the Catholic peers and their eldest sons, the Catholic baronets, the prelates of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and also ten persons to be appointed by the Catholics in each county in Ireland, the survivors of the delegates of 1792, to constitute an integral part of that number, and also

On 30 July the lord-lieutenant proclaimed the assembly, intended to be convened, as illegal because of the convention act of 1793 and called for the arrest of any persons taking part in the convening of such an assembly (*DEP*, 1 Aug. 1811). See letter 343, note 3.

4 William Wellesley-Pole (1763-1845), formerly Wellesley, brother of the duke of Wellington. Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1809-12; created Baron Maryborough, 1821; succeeded as third earl of Mornington, 1842. See DNB.

343

From Hugh FitzPatrick¹ to Tralee

Dublin, 9 August [1811], 6 o'clock p.m.

My dear Sir,

Though I have ordered the Herald² to be sent you this night, which will give you general information of the arrest of six gentlemen of our parish (St. Mary's, etc.), yet I feel it right to drop you a hasty line to apprise you more particularly of the circumstances. Let me first however inform you that the meeting of the householders of our parish was requested and held on the day on which the proclamation was to be issued. The meeting was ignorant of the issuing or tendency of it. They therefore met to appoint persons capable of preparing their petition for a repeal of the oppressive laws of which they complain, and without ballot or other form (merely the selection of persons whom they thought competent to such a trust), they chose the following:3 viz., Dr. Sheridan, Hen Taaffe, Thomas Kirwan, William Sweetman, Jnr.4 and Mr. [Richard] Sheil,⁵ and without entering upon any other business they dispersed. Notwithstanding the regularity of this deportment, warrants were issued, and the chairman (Dr. Sheridan), the gentleman who pro forma was called to the chair (Dr. Burke) to return thanks to Dr. S., and two of the gentlemen chosen to prepare the petition, as also two of the gentlemen who proposed the persons whom they thought eligible to be entrusted with the preparation of the petition, were arrested (Dr. Sheridan being in Drogheda has not been as yet arrested but his name is first in the warrant) and held to bail. I must however observe to you that one of the gentlemen arrested (Dr. Breen) was not present at the meeting. Of course, if an action for false arrest can lie, he has it and will prove it by many witnesses. We feel no sort of apprehension; we know and are conscious of having acted constitutionally and therefore have no doubt of our cause being ultimately triumphant. In the interim I am confident the Board will act with firmness and that spirit which should actuate every Irishman struggling for his country's good. . . .

I know I need not apologize for this intrusion, aware of your feeling in unison with your friends here. May I request my best respects to Mrs. O'Connell and Co. and my hope that you have all arrived at the *dulce domum* in good health and spirits.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- Hugh FitzPatrick (died 23 Oct. 1818), 4 Capel Street, Dublin, printer and bookseller. Published Denys Scully's Statement of the Penal Laws (Dublin 1812) and was subsequently prosecuted for libel and fined £200 with eighteen months' imprisonment.
- 2 Not extant. This meeting was held on 31 July in Liffey Street Catholic chapel (DEP, 10 Aug. 1811).
- 3 The six arrested were: John Breen, M.D., 29 Abbey Street; John Joseph Burke, M.D., 49 Rutland Square, West; Thomas Kirwan, merchant, Abbey Street; Gregory Scurlog, wine merchant, 44 Dominick Street; Edward Sheridan, M.D., Dominick Street and 39 Usher's Quay; Henry Edmond Taaffe, Liffey Street, partner in the Bank of Lord ffrench and Co., 21 Dominick Street (*DEP*, 10, 13 Aug. 1811). Sheridan was acquitted on 22 November (*DEP*, 23 Nov. 1811) but, when Kirwan was found guilty, the attorney-general stated that the government would not continue with the trials of those arrested with him since the law was now clear to all (King's Bench, 3 Feb.; *DEP*, 4 Feb. 1812). Kirwan was fined a nominal sum (King's Bench, 6 Feb.; *DEP*, 6 Feb. 1812). See William Ridgeway, *Report of the Proceedings in the Cases of T. Kirwan*... (1811).
- 4 William Sweetman, Jr., son of William Sweetman (died 1825), brewer, Aston's Quay, Dublin.
- 5 Richard Lalor Sheil (1791-1851), B.L., dramatist and famous political orator. Prominent leader in the movement for Catholic Emancipation though a supporter of the veto. M.P. for Co. Louth, 1831-32; Co. Tipperary, 1833-35; Dungarvan, 1841-51. Appointed master of the mint, 1846. Married first (1816) Miss O'Halloran, niece of Sir William MacMahon, master of the rolls, and second (1830) Anastasia Phelan Lalor, daughter of John Lalor, Cranagh and Long Orchard, both Co. Tipperary, and widow of Edmond Power, Gurteen, Co. Waterford.

To his wife, Staughton's Row, Tralee

Cork, 20 August 1811

My dearest Mary,

... I am anxious, my dearest love, that you should set out as soon as possible from Tralee. There are a thousand reasons to wish you were at Derrynane with my boys and girls. Remember I *insist* on your taking the girls there. My uncle will not think it wise of you to remain for so silly a thing as he considers the Tralee races, and Maurice wants the salt water *very* very much.

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

345

To his wife, Staughton's Row, Tralee

Cork, 22 August 1811

My dearest Love,

... Darling, I beg again to entreat of you to set out for Derrynane as soon as you can with any kind of convenience. I am quite impatient to have you and my boys and girls begin to bathe. Maurice and Kitty particularly require the sea bathing. Indeed I should urge the point of your departure more strongly but that I fear I may incommode you by making you leave Tralee sooner than was pleasant to you....

The business of the city is nearly over. I have had a greater share of it than I ever before had in the city and, though the county business will not be heavy, I think my assizes *excellent*.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

346

To his wife, Staughton's Row, Tralee

Cork, 28 August 1811

My darling Mary,

I own you have cured me of all anxiety for your going off to Derrynane by the apprehension you express of taking cold It would make you laugh if I were to tell you how I dream of them [their children] and of you too. I awoke this morning talking to you. The truth is that my heart and soul are wound up in you *and* them. I really do not know which of them is my greatest favourite. I fear sometimes that I am too harsh to my darling sweet fellow Maurice yet I do love him most tenderly. . . .

By Saturday week or Sunday at farthest, I shall be with you at Derrynane, *that is*, if you intend to go there at all of which, if I was not afraid of the *cock nose*, I should venture to express a doubt.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

347

From his wife to Cork

[Tralee] Sunday, 2 September 1811

My dearest love,

... My letter of Friday will explain to you the reason of my delaying my departure for Derrynane and can now with *truth* assure you that my babes and I will leave this on Wednesday next. ... My cold is completely gone and my babes all well. ... Ere this you are convinced that I had other motives (than what you seemed to imply) for delaying my journey to the country. I assure you, heart, I was as anxious to leave this town as you were to have me leave it. I am not very partial to it. On the contrary, I should never wish to come to Tralee if my mother and Betsey¹ were out of it. At all events, please God, it will be a long time before I am again induced to leave Dublin and my comfortable house.

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Her sister Betsey Connor.

268

From Edward Hay to Tralee

4 Capel St., Dublin, 10 October 1811

My dear O'Connell,

I returned to Dublin on Monday last, after a month's absence from town in the Co. Wexford where I went to attend the meeting on the 12th ulto. attended by all the officers of the Kerry militia and but few other Protestants, but I never witnessed so respectable a Catholic meeting in that country.¹ I have, since my return, endeavoured to bring the principal Catholics here together to consult on what is best to be done on the 19th when the Committee are to meet, pursuant to the adjournment resolved on the 25 July and confirmed on the 31st. I think it necessary to communicate to you in the first instance the opinion of Mr. Taaffe, who respects you much, that it is necessary for you to attend on the 19th for many and obvious reasons as you are looked up to more than all the other barristers. It is roundly asserted that, if there should be no attendance from the barristers, that they would place others in a situation they were unwilling to encounter themselves. Mr. T[aaffe] requested I might inform you of this prevailing opinion and urge you most strenuously to attend on the 19th.² . . .

There has been notice served on Lord Fingall (as well as the Hon. Mr. Barnewall³) to attend on the 28th at the house of the Attorney-General to show cause if they can why an information *ex officio* should not be issued for his being concerned in the appointment of persons at Navan⁴ to attend an illegal meeting. These notices were served on Monday but neither this nor the arrest of the gentlemen of Liffey St. parish should prevent us from pursuing the legal and constitutional course we believe we have determined on.

Should the government persist in dispersing us at the meeting on the 19th by force if necessary, as they are said to have determined on, we may then call a general meeting of the Catholics of Ireland where we can add this to the detail of our other grievances and adopt and forward petitions and take such other measures as may be necessary and, if this is followed by a like conduct in all the counties, it is possible that the conduct of the government may be as much contrary in effect to their intentions as the proclamation has proved to be, 270

for had they any idea that it would have not proved a nopopery cry, they never could have determined on such a measure.

The English Catholics are in rapturous amaze at what they call our gigantic stride which they have every expect[at]ion of terminating in success as 'tis hoped that, as the Prince Regent has cautiously avoided giving any opinion though he has attentively listened to all, when the restrictions are removed he will then declare in our favour, as there has been no kind of interruption in the intimacy of his friends who are all well known to be most friendly to Ireland.

I long to hear how my suit⁵ against the proprietor of the Southern Reporter has terminated, as our friend M. O'Connell⁶ informed me, the inquiry before the sheriff of the Co. Kerry was to take place at the beginning of October.

I saw your brother-in-law Capt. O'Connell⁷ in Wexford and regretted I could not accept of his invitation to dine with the officers of the Kerry militia as I stayed in that town but two days, but I hope that he may have gone to [New] Ross where my namesake and relative may show him every mark of respect and attention as there is part of the regiment quartered in that town. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- The Co. Wexford Catholic meeting was held on 12 September in 'the Chapel of Wexford'. It instructed thirteen men (including Edward Hay, the secretary of the General Committee) to 'consult with the General Committee of the Catholics in Ireland' (*DEP*, 14 Sept. 1811).
- ² Henry Edmond Taaffe. O'Connell is not mentioned in the press accounts of the general Catholic Committee's meeting in Dublin on 19 October though he almost certainly attended it since he was one of the men appointed by Townsend Street parish (FI, 19 Oct. 1811). Only peers and their sons and baronets are reported as having taken a prominent part in the meeting. Doubtless this emphasis on titled persons was part of a plan to give the meeting greater prestige, particularly in governing circles in Dublin and London, and to meet criticisms within the Committee that its lawyer members were becoming too prominent in its activities.
- 3 Hon. John Thomas Barnewall (1773-1839), later (1813) fifteenth Baron Trimleston.
- 4 The Co. Meath Catholic meeting was held in Navan on 29 August, Lord Fingall in the chair. Fifteen men, including Fingall and Barnewall, were appointed to 'confer and cooperate with such

persons as may be appointed . . . at the several meetings of Catholics throughout the country so as to constitute . . . a General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland' (*DEP*, 31 Aug. and 3 Sept. 1811).

- 5 Unidentified.
- 6 Unidentified.
- 7 Rickard O'Connell.

349

From his brother James to Tralee

Derrynane, 21 October 1811

My dear Dan,

I received your letter of the 16th inst. only this day as also the letter for Maurice O'Connell.¹...

As it is now too late for me to go to Ballybrack, I must put it off until tomorrow morning when I will hand Maurice your letter and at the same time inform him that I have the notices of ejectment to be served on his tenants. If he does not immediately consent to carry the former agreement into execution, which I have no doubt, when he perceives you are determined to proceed to extremities, he will not be so totally devoid of understanding as to refuse doing. . . .

I confess the more I think on this subject, the more anxious I am to have the business brought to a conclusion without its coming to my uncle's² knowledge, but you may rest satisfied that I will not delay having the notices of ejectment served if Maurice does not at once consent to execute the deed.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Of Ballybrack, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
- 2 Hunting-Cap.

350

From his brother James to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 26 October 1811

[first part of letter missing]

of your last May gale of course deducting head rents was $\pounds 852$. 13. 4. out of which you had the following payments to make:

My mother's jointure to 1/2 a year's interest on £2,400 due of my father's property to an allowance to Mr. Primrose for houses as per agreements	£113. £112. 6.		0
	£231.	15.	0
to sundry persons small debts due of my father as <i>mentioned in your letter</i> to Do paid by yourself some time ago	50.		
to Humphrey Moynihan to Do paid by you to Botet's represen-	104.	7.	6
tative to Do to Michael Leyne, ¹ Cork	100. 50.		
	£536.		
Amount May gale as above from which this sum is to be deducted	£852. 536.	13. 2.	46
	£316.	10.	10

By this statement you perceive the balance remaining in your hands of the May gale would be f_{316} . 10. 10, but I think you had better put off entering into any discussion of this subject with my Uncle Maurice until after the March assizes when you and I will meet and see how we can account for the entire year's income with the old gentleman. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Unidentified.

351

From Lord Fingall to Merrion Square

No. 5 Earl St., Dublin, 24 December 1811

My dear Sir,

My situation is so very critical and the time between this and Thursday so short, that if it were not very inconvenient I should be extremely obliged by your allowing me to look over the resolutions¹ which I will return to you very early tomorrow morning. I beg you will excuse my thus troubling you. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

I On 23 December 1811 a meeting of the General Catholic Committee was dispersed by a magistrate as being illegal. The members withdrew to the Crown and Anchor tavern and held a meeting at which it was resolved to hold an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland on 26 December (*DEP*, 24 Dec. 1811). It is obviously to the resolutions passed at this second meeting (on 23 Dec.) that Lord Fingall refers.

352

From Lord Fingall to Merrion Square

5 Earl St., Dublin, Christmas Day [1811]

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

My best thanks are due for your polite and kind attention in sending me the resolutions. I wish it were possible for us to be temperate when our enemies have been so much the reverse. It would give us high ground indeed with your assistance, influence and talents. Permit me to say, I hope and trust we shall do a great deal to prevent the most serious calamities and forward our own cause.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

353

From George Sandes' to Merrion Square

Greenville [Listowel, Co. Kerry], 2 January 1812

Private

My dear Sir,

As there is at present appearance of hostility on the part of Capt. Gun² against me, although not openly avowed, I think it necessary to inform you as my confidential lawyer and friend. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 George Sandes, B.A. (1772-1829), J.P.; high sheriff, 1795.
- 2 Unidentified. Possibly George Gun.

From John Stack to Merrion Square

Cork, 4 January 1812

My dear O'Connell,

I perceive by your letter of 2nd inst. that you have totally mistaken us here. The fact was, the first impulse of our feelings induced us to publish a requisition for an aggregate meeting the moment the account of the outrage in Dublin reached us and, as we wished in everything to pursue your steps, we thought it right not to specify the purpose of the meeting but 'to take into consideration the present state of Catholic Affairs'. Several Protestant gentlemen concluded by this that they could not with propriety attend as it appeared exclusively a discussion for Catholics. They also suggested the probability of our being dispersed, not having met for the purpose of petitioning either the Sovereign or the Houses of Parliament. Accordingly, to meet their ideas and prevent the possibility of dispersion, we introduced the word petition,¹ but you will perceive by the resolutions I have sent you that we are determined to stand by you in every sense of the word and have by no means given up the point of delegation, which, above all things, we will hold by until the law through a jury declares against it. The resolutions I sent you have since undergone in some phrases a little variation of which Mr. Roche² tells me he has given you a copy. I have also the pleasure to inform you that there can be no doubt of a handsome subscription going up. I take no small credit to myself for having particularly pressed that important point. I must however confess that the first letter you wrote me was the weapon to break in upon a firm resolution to the contrary as I had once before made an attempt but failed. The first man I applied to on the subject was my own father-in-law who authorized me to put his name down for 20 guineas. I mentioned this to James Roche who tells me that he and his brother will give £50 between them. I trust we will send you £500 at least. It is thought Sir Francis Goold will be our chairman. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

I On 27 December fifteen men, including John Stack and James Roche, inserted in the press a request to hold a 'meeting of the Roman Catholics of this City and County' for 6 January to 'take into consideration the present state of Catholic affairs'. Later, five others inserted a request for the same meeting but for a different purpose, that is, to consider the petition to parliament prepared in consequence of the (Cork) meeting of 2 September and to consider also 'the late proceedings of our Catholic Brethren in Dublin'. Both requests were inserted in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle of 30 December 1811.

2 James Roche (1770-1853), banker and author. Established a bank at Cork with his brother Stephen in 1800. It suspended payment during the monetary crisis of 1819. Parliamentary agent for Cork in London, 1819-26; resided in Paris, 1826-32; director of National Bank of Ireland, 1832-53. See DNB.

355

From James Lawlor¹ to Merrion Square

Killarney, Sunday, 5 January 1812

My dear Sir,

I received your letter of the 2nd inst. this night. . . . I know it will give you pleasure to learn that it has been this day (through the interference and exertion of Dominick Rice) determined upon that a meeting of this county should take place at Tralee on the 18th inst. to give verbal and written (and I hope pecuniary) support² to the General Committee and proceedings of the aggregate meeting at Dublin, and I have this night sent off a requisition to be inserted in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle of Wednesday next.³ I took the liberty of putting the name of your excellent brother James to this requisition because I was sure that he would not be offended at my doing so, and because I would not wish to publish a requisition of the Roman Catholics of this county without one of the name of O'Connell being signed to it. I shall write to you by next post more fully on the subject of your letter.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 James Justin Lawlor (died 27 May 1836), son of Martin Lawlor, Killarney.
- 2 The meeting of 18 January did give full support to the Committee in Dublin and, also, a money grant as shown by their resolution, 'That we voluntarily contribute the sum of £500 to be applied in the defence of our Invaded Rights' (DEP, 23 Jan. 1812).
- 3 The insertion (CMC, 8 Jan. 1812) lists twenty requisitionists including Dominick Rice and James Lawlor.

To the Knight of Kerry

Merrion Square, Monday [6 January 1812]

My dear Sir,

I cannot defer acknowledging the deep obligation which you have laid on me and on the Catholic body at large by your exertions on Saturday. The conduct of the Attorney-General [Saurin] will, I hope, remain distinctly in your recollection. It was certainly *unprecedented*, as no law officer ever before postponed information on the subject of treason. I am delighted that you pressed, and, in fact, extorted an interview for us.¹ It is, I think, exactly the best thing that has occurred in our cause.

We saw him and Mr. Pole today. He—the Attorney-General²—made an awkward apology for the delay. We stated our facts—gave him names and dates—were met with great politeness, and left those gentlemen—being ourselves quite satisfied that the thing has been managed for us, and by us, as it ought. We have certainly done our duty. Will the administrators do theirs? I hope we may find the connecting link of the chain.

Yours faithfully,

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 18-19

1 About 31 December 1811 a Catholic schoolmaster, allegedly drunk, stated to the trustees of his school (attached to the Catholic chapel in Church Street, Dublin) that he was a member of an association engaged in attempting to separate Ireland from Great Britain by force. He added that Edward Hay and the Catholic Committee were involved. In consequence, members of the Catholic Committee induced Grattan and the Knight of Kerry to report the matter to the attorney-general, William Saurin. The latter refused to accept the communication and stated that it should be made to a police magistrate in the first instance. Grattan and the Knight procured an interview with the attorney-general and the chief secretary, Pole, for Lord Fingall, George Bryan, Nicholas O'Gorman and O'Connell, the interview taking place on 6 January (DEP, 7 Jan. 1812). In its report of the matter the Dublin Evening Post suggested by implication that the schoolmaster was an agent provocateur employed by the government. He was arrested and charged but the attorneygeneral decided not to proceed with the trial (DEP, 9 Jan., 22 Feb. 1812).

2 William Saurin (1757?-1839), attorney-general, 1807-22; vigorous opponent of Catholic emancipation. See DNB.
From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Carhen, 9 January 1812

My Dear Dan,

[A long description of the recent illness of James,¹ attended by Dr. Moriarty.]

Dr. Moriarty is strong of opinion that the solitary life he leads at Derrynane is extremely unfavourable to him and would wish him to mix more in society. James intends in the course of ten days or a fortnight to go to Grenagh to spend some time with John² who was for two or three days during his illness at Derrynane to see him.

James desired me acknowledge to you the receipt of your letter on the subject of Ally's³ marriage with Counsellor Finn, and to mention to you that he would in a very short time, probably in a few days, be prepared to pay the sum of $\pounds 200$, which he promised on that occasion, either to Mr. Thompson⁴ or remit it as you may direct. Your mother also writes to you by this post. She mentions to me the only money she can afford to pay *in hand* is some of the money due to her of you, except $\pounds 50$ of her last gale which she lent to James but this sum James is prepared to pay at any moment. . . .

James will shortly write to you. I am at present busily employed in collecting his and your rents and would wish you may direct me about the disposal of your part.

Mr. Prendergast,⁵ the Crown Solicitor, has written to the different proprietors of land in this barony, through whose lands the roads are to be made, to purchase their interest in so much of the land as the roads are to be made through. I mention this to you as the roads are to be made to Bolus through Aliheemore. Mr. Prendergast has offered to purchase from your uncle⁶ at £3 an acre but your uncle expects £4 which he probably will get. John has proposed for the entire works for himself and me and is promised the interest of Mr. Prendergast with the Barrackmaster-General (General Freeman)⁷ on that occasion. In settling your business with the Crown Solicitor you may be able to serve us on the occasion.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

2 O'Connell's brother.

¹ O'Connell's brother.

- 3 O'Connell's sister.
- 4 Unidentified.
- 5 Samuel Prendergast, 10 Upper Merrion Street and Dawson Street, Dublin. Crown solicitor, Munster circuit.
- 6 Hunting-Cap.
- 7 Maj. Gen. Quin John Freeman, appointed chief commissioner of barracks and deputy barrackmaster-general, 1808.

358

From James Larkin to Merrion Square

7th Division E.I. Infantry, Army Depot, Isle of Wight, 13 January 1812

Sir,

. . . I am a soldier and fully understand the general order in favour of Catholic worship. It would be invidious, perhaps improper, at present to make any comments upon the many methods that are put in practice to have that order contravened, I might almost say, nugatory. An event, however, has occurred this day which I think deserves some notice. The soldiers when permitted to go to Mass are always attended by a number of noncommissioned officers and the command or superintendence of the whole always given to some non-Catholic sergeant, as was the case today after prayers when the men were forming into their respective regiments and divisions. A soldier belonging to the East India Company's Artillery, by name John Moore, of the 2nd Division, modestly replied (to a Sergt. Sutherland of the 50th Regiment who had the chief command) that they or we had a sergeant of our own. For this the fellow said he would put him in the guard house and immediately hauled him out of the ranks and dragged him through the channel into the street head over heels, not leaving a stitch of his clothes but were bedaubed with dirt. In this plight he walked towards the barracks, and on the road was met by our sergeant-major who, upon inquiring the cause, instantly assumed the command, re-formed the men and threatened the man Moore with instant confinement if he did not beg the sergeant's pardon. Moore complied, and the matter is of course hushed for the present. All our men knew the sergeant was wrong. What then, we are Catholics and dare not complain lest worse might happen. We enjoy our religion by indulgence, the sergeants their insolence by I know not what. Our sergeant never before interfered with us on our return. The men say he is a Methodist. The Catholics of the company are 4/5ths Irish and I'm sure 7/8 Catholics. There are two lance corporals Irishmen. . . . The truth of what I aver cannot be questioned. My brother, M. Larkin, auctioneer, of the City Repository, Grafton St., will tell you or any other inquirer how far what I say may be relied on.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

359

From John Primrose to Merrion Square

Hillgrove, 13 January 1812

My dear Counsellor,

This instant I received your much esteemed letter of the 9th ult. and do not lose a moment in assuring you with sincere pleasure that your brother James is now, *thank God, perfectly well*, though I assure you he had a very severe attack these ten days. . . .

My anxiety was such to know if you got the bills that I believe I was rather troublesome till I received Mrs. O'Connell's very kind letter. As to attention to your interest or what may be a convenience to you, surely is no merit in me, as there is tenfold due of me. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

360

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Kenmare, 16 January 1812

My dear Dan,

I am truly happy to have to inform you that James¹ is now quite well of his late attack which was for some days very severe. . . I got a note from James from Derrynane, desiring I would forward to Cork to Frank Segerson² as much of your rent as I had then received. I accordingly sent off on Monday last, the 13th, by an express to Cork four hundred pounds, which James by letter directed Segerson to remit to you without delay. . . . I suppose I may congratulate Ally³ on her change of name by this time and most sincerely wish her every happiness.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 O'Connell's brother.
- 2 Francis Segerson, near Parliament Bridge, Cork. His daughter married O'Connell's cousin Charles Sugrue in 1813.
- 3 Alicia O'Connell, who married W. F. Finn in January 1812.

361

From Eneas MacDonnell to Merrion Square

Cork, 27 January 1812

Dear O'Connell,

Although you do not seem to have leisure to answer any letter from me, still I expect that they are regularly received. . . .

In an interview which I had this day with our truly honest friend, Mr. Beamish,¹ he informed me that he observed a very great unwillingness among the friends of Lord Donoughmore to sign the petition.² They have declined after consulting with each other. For example, Sir Anthony Perrier,³ who is himself married to a Catholic, refused to give any answer to Beamish until he should consult with a Mr. Lumly.⁴ Beamish then desired him to go to Lumly which he did and, on meeting Beamish again, he informed him that he did not wish to sign one way or the other. This is the answer given by them all which, coupled with Lord Donoughmore's refusal to dine either with the Catholics of Dublin or of Cork, puzzles me a good deal, particularly when I reflect that he remained in his own place several weeks after he urged as his reason for not attending that the sessions of Parliament would prevent him.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Probably William Beamish (1760-1828), Beaumont, Cork, merchant. Freeman of the city of Cork, 1790.
- 2 At the Cork Catholic meeting on 6 January it was suggested by several Protestant speakers that the Protestants should sign a petition in support of the Catholic petition (*DEP*, 6 Jan. 1812). A Protestant petition was sent from Dublin to William Beamish who obtained signatures to it in Cork with what seems to have been considerable energy (*CMC*, 20 Jan. 1812, passim).
- 3 Sir Anthony Perrier, Knt. (1770-1845), J.P., Carrigmore, Co. Cork.

1812

High sheriff for Cork city, 1808-09; mayor, 1820-21; married 1800 Jane, daughter of George Black of Limerick.

4 Probably William Lumley, Douglas House, Cork.

361a

From Peter McSwiney¹ to Merrion Square

Seapoint [i.e. Reen House, Adrigole, Co. Cork], 3 February 1812

My Dear Counsellor,

I rec[eive]d this moment your esteemed fav[ou]r of the 1st inst. and agreeable to your wish I send you the other half notes, and return you my best thanks for your friendship on all occasions. I hope you will be always successful against our villinious [sic] enemy. With sincere regards to Mrs. O'Connell and the children etc.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

Peter McSwiney (1783-1860), son of Peter McSwiney of Reen House, Adrigole, Castletownbere, Co. Cork. He married in 1815 Lucinda Maria, daughter of Routledge Browne of Rathcahill, Co. Limerick, and niece of the last McFineen Dubh. Moved from Reen House to Derreen House, Lauragh, Kenmare, in 1815. He was a noted duellist and went on the run for the shooting in September 1812 of a local tithe proctor (on an issue apparently unconnected with tithes). His aquittal in 1814 was said to have been due to Lord Bantry's influence. Evicted for arrears of rent by his head landlord, Lord Lansdowne, in 1856 and died at Ahakista, Bantry. According to local tradition McSwiney was regarded by his tenants as a good landlord.

362

From James Roche to Merrion Square

Cork, 8 February 1812

My dear Sir,

... I perceive by the newspapers that your Committee are to meet, according to their original advertisement, on the 28th inst. Allow me to inquire whether this be true and, if true, whether it be prudent and advisable. My own opinion on the subject is of little consequence but I know it will not be easy to reconcile the Catholics of this city to the measure, and I need scarcely say how much we are bound to avoid every appearance of disunion, particularly between the two leading cities of the Kingdom. I apprehend that it would be even difficult to prevent the open expression of our disapprobation but I contemplate such an event with too much horror to dwell an instant on it and I shall only request your earliest information and advice for my guidance on the occasion. The question of law, it appears to us, has been decided—wrongfully and unconstitutionally, I believe in my soul—but until reversed, as I trust it will, by a superior tribunal, is it not our duty to yield a temporary submission?¹...

[P.S.] I easily accounted to myself for your silence to the two letters I had the pleasure of addressing you last month, as I knew and was happy to think you were better employed.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

1 At the aggregate Catholic meeting on 26 December it was resolved to prepare an address to the prince regent. The meeting appointed a *board* of specifically named individuals to prepare the address and present it to an *aggregate* Catholic meeting on 28 February (*DEP*, 31 'Dec. 1811). James Roche was obviously mistaken in supposing that the General Catholic Committee intended to defy the law as decided by the conviction of Kirwan (see letter 343, note 3). When the aggregate meeting was held on 28 February it was resolved that the 'General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, appointed in pursuance of the Resolutions of the Aggregate Meeting of the 9th of July last '(1811) should not meet or function ' until the question lately raised on the convention act be decided ' (*DEP*, 3 Mar. 1812). Henceforth the central Catholic organization is known as the Catholic Board.

363

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Kenmare, 20 February 1812

Dear Dan,

As I was obliged to come to this country about the collection of county charges . . .

... The sum which I conceive your mother will send of her second hundred pounds is £75 which she intended to pay at March but, as her gale then becoming due is to be paid out of your last Sept. and Nov. rents, she can receive so much out of it for that purpose.

I was highly gratified by your mentioning that you think Emancipation certain. You must feel highly gratified as it is allowed, I believe, through the Kingdom generally that your efforts in that great cause have in an eminent degree contributed to the attainment of that most desirable object.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

364

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, 1 March 1812

My darling Love,

... Dearest darling, take great care of yourself in my absence. If you love me you will let me find you stout and *fat* on my return. I wish you would borrow a little of the propensity to fatten from me.

Give my sincerest love to Ally and Finn.¹ Tell my Maurice I entertain a faint hope of his conducting himself with some decency in my absence. As to my darling Morgan, you *must* control him.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His sister and her husband, William F. Finn.

365

To his wife, Merrion Square

Ennis, 2 March 1812

My darling Mary,

You got my letter from Limerick. It told you how pleasant a journey I had thither. This was one of the most delightful days I ever saw. How I envied the owner of some handsome beagles I saw going out to hunt at an early hour today.

There is not much business here. The gaol however is rather full so that I am likely to have a disagreeable week of it in company with the 'magnanimous' Judge Day. I shall smile to see him addressing me from the bench. Darling, I have great pleasure [about three words illegible] of mind that enables me to set those fellows at utter defiance. It is *rather* contrary to the practice of other barristers, many of whom are guilty of vile truths to ingratiate themselves with the judges, but you know, heart, I would prefer never getting a brief to submitting to any of the fellows. . . .

How do my boys get on? Has Maurice attended to his lessons? If not, I will thank you, darling, to call at Mr. White's¹ and learn his terms for there I will certainly send him the moment I go home. I am quite serious in this respect.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Samuel Whyte (1733-1811), schoolmaster and author; opened a school in Grafton Street, Dublin, in 1758 which he conducted until his death in 1811 when it was taken over by his son Edward. See DNB.

366

To his wife

Ennis, 5 March 1812

My dearest Mary,

... The business here is over, completely over. I was concerned in every record, not left out of one, and I was the only counsel so circumstanced. I am apt to think I shall not be able to leave this tomorrow. Between chamber business and a Popish aggregate, it is likely that I shall be detained till Saturday....

Will you take care and keep *Cobbett*¹ for me safely. If you entrust this commission to anybody else, you may depend on it that some of the numbers will be missed. Call on Mr. Hay, love, and tell him from me that the members of the Board in this county are very anxious to get copies of the petition² in order to proceed for signatures.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 19-20 I Cobbett's weekly Political Register.

2 See letter 374, note 3.

367

From his wife to Limerick to care of Anthony Bodkin, Esq., Quay Lane

[Dublin] 6 March 1812

[No salutation]

... Saucy as I am, darling, I love you too much to be angry with you, did you even *intentionally* neglect writing to me but I love to have a little saucy chat with you. All pets,

1812

you know, heart, are impertinent. How I delight in your letters! You write in such good spirits and exactly as if you were talking to me. I never can reconcile myself to your absence until I get your first letter, then the company of our babes and the happiness I look forward to when we shall again meet, in some measure consoles me for the lonesome feeling I have. . . Miss Lynch¹ will take them [the children] to the [Merrion] Square. It is a delightful day. The army are drawn up there and two or three bands playing. . . . This moment I have got the *Statesman* of the 3d mentioning positively that Lord Moira had refused the situation of Governor-General of India as he is determined not to accept of any situation under any administration that would not grant Catholic *Emancipation*. . . .

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 The governess.

368

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, 8 March 1812

My own dearest Mary,

The reason why you do not get a letter from me tomorrow, Monday, is that our county of Clare aggregate meeting¹ detained me. . . .

You could not delight me more when we are separated than by getting each of my four eldest babes to dictate a sentence each to me just as in your letter of yesterday. . . .

Tell Finn² we had a great *aggregate* in Ennis. The spirit is got abroad and it would be impossible to allay it without full emancipation. You cannot conceive how anxious everybody is to press forward. I think we shall have a great day here on Friday next. I made a damn bad speech at the Ennis meeting. Had you been there, darling, you would have inspired me with more of talent. The fact is when you are at any of those meetings I want to *coax* you by making a display.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 At this meeting on 7 March, the members resolved not to vote for any candidate at the next parliamentary election who would be unwilling to discountenance the present administration (*Limerick Evening Post*, 11 Mar. 1812).
- 2 William F. Finn.

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, 9 March 1812

My darling Mary,

. . . My usual practice, darling, is to mention the amount of the business on the second day of each assizes. I believe if you were to look over my letters you would find that I have always taken up part in that way. The fact is that I am so vain of my increasing success I always boast of it. I have now to say that I am even here in my worst town at the head of the business.

... Darling, write instantly to Edward O'Mullane¹ to say you got his letter in my absence which you have forwarded to me but that you know I have just completed a small purchase which has completely drained me of money, that you are sure nothing but a circumstance of that nature could oblige me to decline any wish of his which however at present you much fear must be the case.

Lodge any money O'Leary² sends you with that f_{100} bill as speedily as possible at Lord ffrench's bank which is now removed to Ormond Quay. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 O'Connell's first cousin of Nutgrove, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, and later of Cork city. He was a spendthrift. Died 1846.
- 2 James O'Leary.

370

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, 10 March 1812

My darling Mary,

. . . With respect to the jaunting car, love, do precisely as you choose. Indeed if I were to interfere with any wish of my own upon the subject it would certainly be in favour of your plan. That being the case, love, you may bespeak a car as speedily as you can. I should think that a good plain car would suit your purpose better than one upon which ornament was exhausted. Yet, my heart, this is your affair and not mine so that you will treat yourself and your sweet babes to just such a vehicle as suits your fancy. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

From his wife to Tralee

Dublin, 19 March [1812]

[No salutation]

... Are your lodgings comfortable? I am sure you will be well taken care of between Mrs. Jeffers¹ and her pretty girls. Were I the jealous [? pated] Cock nose that you say, I certainly would not take such lodgings for you. . . . I must now give you an account of our party last night. At seven o'clock the front drawing-room was lit up. Ellen, Kitty² and the boys entered, dressed at all points to receive their company. At Kitty's request I was obliged to have the folding doors opened and lights put in the lustre between the windows. At a few moments after everything was ready, the company assembled, amounting to thirteen, all kissing Catherine and wishing her many happy returns of her birthday and saluting Ellen by the title of Miss O'Connell. With great ceremony Maurice opened the ball with Miss Blood,³ followed by Morgan and one of the Miss Blakes.4 Kitty would not dance the first set but led off the second. After tea they continued dancing until ten o'clock when supper was brought in to which they all sat down and enjoyed it very much. We were greatly amused with them, they looked so happy. My Kate was in the greatest delight and looked very pretty. At half past ten they took their leave, the girls seeing them downstairs and asking them if they did not get a nice supper, to which they replied, 'Indeed, we had a most pleasant party.' How often I thought of you, love! How you would enjoy seeing your babes so happy! Ellen and Kitty at their own request went to school today, I suppose to talk over their party. Miss Wolstonecraft is ill which gave the boys a holiday. They go to the play tonight with James Sugrue. . . . I have not got cold in the slightest way notwithstanding this severe season. I never get cold but in Kerry or on my way to and from it. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Unidentified.
- 2 Their daughter Kate whose fifth birthday was being celebrated.
- 3 Possibly daughter of Edmund Maghlin Blood, barrister, 38 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.
- 4 Unidentified.

From his wife's brother, Maurice O'Connell, to Tralee

[Merrion Square-O'Connell's home] 27 March 1812

My dear Dan,

Your long expected letter of the 23d we did not get until vesterday. It was indeed a welcome cordial to our completely depressed spirits and, I need not assure you, restored us all from a complete state of wretchedness to one of superlative joy. Your letter via Killarney we also received this day. I should have written to you to Tralee yesterday and meant to give as correct a detail as I could of the truly alarming reports that have been so industriously circulated here since this day se'night, but that I recollected you would (through John Hickson) be in possession of every circumstance relative to those diabolical rumours long before my letter could reach you.1 I enclose the infernal letter which I am almost sure was the principal and only cause of all our misery. The person whom it was written to is, I understand, a writing clerk to Wm. Hart, attorney, Fownes's St. The account the fellow writes from Cork must, I should suppose, have originated from the row which they say you had with H. D. Grady at Limerick, and you will perceive the rascal wrote this letter 16th March, precisely the day you wrote to Mary from Listowel so that you see what an unaccountable propensity to lying the person must have who first set the report afloat. . . . I trust in God poor dear Mary has escaped any ill effects from her dangerous journey, for such it was to her just at this season. What fortunate circumstance her leaving this for, had she remained, I think she could hardly escape hearing the worst as, I can assure you, we had more than enough to do in answering the incessant inquiries made after you. I don't think this poor old mad King, who now amuses himself playing on the harpsichord, or even the Prince Regent himself could be more universally and *sincerely* regretted than you have been for, believe me, the general idea was that you were as dead as a door nail, as it was confidently asserted and as certainly believed you lived only two hours after being shot. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

This matter has not been identified.

To Hunting-Cap

Tralee, 28 March 1812

My dearest Uncle,

I should have answered your letter by express the first day of the assizes but that I was attacked with a feverish cold which had been accumulating on me since I left Ennis and still detains me here though, I thank God, I am hourly attaining health. . . .

I cannot avoid saying that it is strange to what miserable lengths the malignant jealousy, which Mr. Domk. Rice has conceived at my success in profession, leads him, but I despise them too much to take any notice of them. . . .

[Concerning Hunting-Cap's purchase from Mr. Burke of the property formerly owned by the Fitzmaurices of Duagh.]

... This has been an unhappy season to me. Until I arrived here I was decidedly at the head of this circuit. I lost very little by my illness here but I shall certainly be at least 300 guineas minus by losing Cork assizes. All this I can very well bear if I am not so miserable as to have incurred your permanent displeasure on these subjects. It was at my pressing instance you lent the money on the Bolus mortgage. If you have the least desire to be rid of that transaction, let me know it and I will instantly proceed to call in your money....

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

374

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

Booker's,¹ 61 New Bond St., London, 4 [and 7] May 1812

[No salutation]

Though I have written some letters to Doctor Dromgoole² yet he has not condescended even to acknowledge their receipt, and I well recollect when you were so good as to act for me in my absence you were kind enough to let me hear from you regularly.

I regret much you were not here.³ You must be made to come next time. It would be your interest in the end as well as the advantage of the body at large.

I am so occupied in preparing to print the debates on our

petitions that I am if possible more hurried than ever and have so many of the speakers calling on me that I must forego the satisfaction I had promised to myself in writing you a long letter. . . .

[P.S.] 7 May 1812

Mr. Canning made a motion⁴ for consideration on the 12th, last night. It was quite unknown to every one of the delegates and I also have reason to believe with the privity or [one word illegible] of the English Board.

The only parliamentary friend I saw today was Mr. Grattan whom Mr. Canning consulted some time ago but disapproved of the measure, and he concluded it had been given up until he was surprised at its introduction last night.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Joseph Booker, bookseller and publisher.
- 2 Thomas Dromgoole, M.D. (1750?-1826?), a strong opponent of the veto. See DNB.
- 3 A deputation from the Catholic Board were now in London. They were appointed on 4 March (*DEP*, 5 Mar. 1812) and brought with them the address to the prince regent and the petition to both houses of parliament passed at the aggregate Catholic meeting of 28 February (*DEP*, 29 Feb. 1812). They were allowed to present the address at a levee on 16 April but their request for a personal interview with the prince was refused. After their return to Ireland, one of the delegates, Peter Bodkin Hussey, reported on these proceedings to an aggregate Catholic meeting on 18 June (*DEP*, 20 June 1812).
- 4 See letter 375, note 2.

375

From the Knight of Kerry

House of Commons, Wednesday, 6 [May 1812] Dear O'Connell,

I have just time to tell you that Mr. Canning¹ has given notice for the 28th of a motion for 'an Address to the Regent to call his attention in the interval between this and the next session to the Penal Laws still affecting the Catholics and to the consideration of such securities as it may be necessary to adopt for the preservation of the Establishment in case of a removal of the disabilities affecting that class of subjects '.²

Everything seems to indicate so decisive a change of senti-

1812

ment on the subject that we may look with certainty to some arrangement in the course of the next sessions.

I had intended to have spoken in the late debate but am always ready to sacrifice my own wishes to what may appear to others the most useful course of debate for the measure.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- I George Canning (1770-1827); foreign secretary, 1807-09 and 1822-27; prime minister, 10 April-8 August 1827. See DNB.
- 2 This motion was made in the Commons on 6 May (FJ, 11 May 1812).

376

From Peter Bodkin Hussey

My dear friend,

London, 7 May 1812

I would have written you before but was expecting every day to leave this. Nor would I write you now but from what I have heard from authority I can't question, namely, that Mr. Perceval¹ is at this present moment through the medium of some third person in negotiation with the Irish bishops in order to prevail on them to enter into certain arrangements *with him* respecting our question, in order to enable him to concede at least in part those concessions to Ireland which the late division showed him he could no longer resist, and thereby obtain a perpetuation of that power which was originally procured by his avowed hostility to us.

The great progress our cause has made is certainly owing to the sacrifices made to us by our friends in Parliament and the unconditional support we have received from them. Their acceptance of power or office is inseparable from our emancipation and I hope they never, while they so conduct themselves, will have cause to reproach the Irish Catholics with want of either gratitude or sincerity. I must confess that, though this report comes from excellent authority, nothing can induce *even* me to believe the bishops would be guilty of an act of such baseness and duplicity, at the same time that I have fears and alarms when I reflect on past conduct of theirs, particularly the offer of the Veto in 1799, without the slightest communication with the laity.

Mr. Perceval in the debate stated that the bishops had unbounded influence over the laity, for that the latter concurred with the former in their resolutions (which you know was not the case).² This may account for his wish to treat with them. He knows in what quarter success is likely to attend his views, and there and there only will he apply. It is essential that our friends in Parliament should neither suspect our honour nor our good faith, and therefore I conceive it would be most useful and advisable that a speedy and decisive contradiction should be given to this most infamous report, not that any premature resolutions should be entered into or anything done of a public nature but that the bishops may be frightened from such an attempt, and that the confidence of our parliamentary supporters in us should not be weakened.

I am satisfied you will probe this to the bottom and do what's necessary and communicate this in such *discreet* manner as you may think most useful.³

No communications *whatever* have been made to us or they should have been immediately sent over.

We all waited on the Duke of Sussex⁴ last Sunday to return thanks. He received us in the kindest manner, the particulars of which as well as everything else that occurred here shall be communicated to you on my arrival in Ireland. . . .

You will see by the papers a motion of which Mr. Canning has given notice.⁵ We were quite unacquainted with his intention. He did not communicate it to the Opposition and with what view he did it is not distinctly understood, but I conceive it (though I may be in error) as calculated more to strengthen himself and party than our cause. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Spencer Perceval (1762-1812); chancellor of the exchequer, 1807-09; prime minister, 1809-12. See DNB.
- 2 The Commons debate of 24 April. The newspapers do not bear out Hussey's interpretation of what Perceval said, but debates were often badly reported by the press.
- 3 At a meeting of the Catholic Board on 12 May O'Connell denounced ' the insidious policy of the British Minister who would be anxious to destroy the power of the country by dividing the Clergy from the Laity ' (*DEP*, 14 May 1812). At the meeting of 16 May he stated that he had been ' convinced from the highest authority in the Catholic Church in Ireland that no such proposition had been made' (*DEP*, 21 May 1812). O'Connell's denunciation on 12 May may well have been mere kite-flying in order to discover whether there was any truth in Hussey's information about a proposition to the Catholic hierarchy.
- 4 Augustus Frederick (1773-1843), sixth son of George III.
- 5 See letter 375, note 2.

292

From Edward Hay

Booker's, 61 New Bond St., London, 8 May 1812

My dear friend,

... Mr. Canning's motion¹ was totally unknown to all the delegates here as also to the English Catholics. The only parliamentary friend I saw yesterday was Mr. Grattan who told me that Mr. Canning had consulted him some time ago and, on the disapprobation of Messrs. Grattan, Ponsonby² and Sir John Newport, he imagined the project had been relinquished.

The first of our parliamentary friends I saw this day was Mr. Parnell who is as sincere a friend as we have. He approved of Mr. Canning's plan from the first and thinks that it will be of most material benefit toward carrying our question, which he has hopes may be done this session by Mr. Canning's motion. He is also firmly convinced that Mr. Canning is quite convinced that the veto is unnecessary for the security of the Protestant Church and that it would be most unwise in the Catholics to be alarmed at the idea of it at present, as he entertains a well grounded expectation that Mr. Perceval will be scouted and outvoted if he ventures to mention it, and he thinks it is time enough for the Catholics to come to resolutions on that head when the result is known as it is most probable that the House of Commons will deem it unnecessary.

I next saw Mr. Ponsonby who confirmed Mr. Grattan's statement. He regrets the introduction of the measure extremely, etc. I mentioned that, as it was to be brought on, one should hope for the best and meet it with the best possible support.

I can assure you that there are as many parties [and] petty jealousies among parliamentary folks as in our Committee, as much reviling, whispering and underhand writing as there is to be seen in minor circles. It puts me in mind of what I have seen elsewhere. I have since heard, if from a source that I have reason to believe indubitable and from the highest authority, that Mr. Canning's motion is calculated to give the Regent an opportunity of relieving himself from the thraldom of his present ministers, and Mr. Canning does it on constitutional principles quite unconnected with the Catholics and the Opposition and is certain of carrying his point and defeating the ministers who will be hooted at if they venture to mention the veto as a necessary security. I cannot be more persuaded than I am that the few concerned in this measure sincerely wish our question to be carried without any restrictions and to give the security men an opportunity of being convinced of the absurdity of that measure.

I therefore do most sincerely hope that, if there should be any meeting in Dublin, that we may reserve our reprobation of the measure for the veto for a better opportunity.

If the bishops could be just enough to restore the rights they have assumed from the second order of the clergy, it would be a remedy for all evils.

I entreat you may be kind enough to communicate your own sentiments to me at this important crisis as I value your opinion very much. Pray do indulge me and I trust that you may be able to prevail on the Catholic body to wait calmly for the event of the ensuing debate. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

I See letter 375, note 2.

2 George Ponsonby.

378

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

London, 12 May 1812

My Dear Friend,

I cannot describe the dismay and consternation felt here at the assassination of Mr. Perceval in the lobby of the House of Commons.¹ Though some ascribe the horrid deed to a revolutionary system yet I believe it to be the effect of distress and disappointment in the unfortunate individual. All is conjecture that can be heard. Some may be right but it is hard to conjecture which, so that, until after the lapse of some days, nothing can be known to a certainty when I shall let you know on condition you keep my hasty letters to yourself.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Spencer Perceval, the prime minister, was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons on 11 May 1812 by an insane man.

294

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

Booker's, 61 New Bond St., London, 13 May 1812

My dear friend,

Dear Dan,

Nothing new today in addition to what I mentioned yesterday. Nothing can be relied on as authentic but what was given in evidence¹ on [one word illegible]. All is conjecture as to the political arrangement but all seem to agree that there must be an entire change of administration as they could not supply his place in his own party.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

1 In the legal investigation into the assassination of Spencer Perceval, the prime minister (see letter 378, note 1).

380

From Hunting-Cap to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 17 May 1812

I have for some posts back been expecting to hear from you relative to the Catholic address to the Prince Regent, which, from our public accounts seems to have met with very little attention nor do they tell us how Lord Fingall and those who accompanied him were received and whether any or what answer was given to them. You, no doubt, have a full account of the whole as you have, I suppose, seen and conversed with some of the gentlemen who attended the address. With respect to the petitions to both Houses, the only consolation left to the Catholics is what I have frequently known beaten armies to assume and set up, which is that they had made strenuous and vigorous efforts and a firm, resolute and determined stand. Mr. Perceval, though somewhat more temperate in his tone, still seems determined not to relax, and I much fear that Catholics have little or rather nothing to expect while he continues to hold the helm of state. Since you got to town you have had, I hope, no return of the complaint which affected you in Tralee.¹ Have you been much employed during the last term? . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I See letter 373.

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

London, 20 May 18121

My dear Friend,

The Marquis Wellesley² and Mr. Canning have refused to join the present administration so that the present will probably hold out this session. Great good is expected from the discussion on Mr. Canning's motion.³ Our invaluable friend, Mr. Parnell, I call to constantly. He thought that I ought to communicate a copy of Lord Holland's⁴ letter to a friend which I now enclose. He is not of opinion that it should be publicly read. He concurs perfectly in these sentiments which I have already informed you of and which have been confirmed by letters from himself to Mr. Scully.⁵ If I was at any time disposed to communicate rumours, now would be the time, but I every day find that it is better not attend to them, for those that do will involve themselves in unnecessary trouble and vexation. I have a great deal to say to you when we meet. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD .

- 1 This letter was franked by Henry Parnell, M.P.
- 2 Richard Colley (Wellesley) (1760-1842), second earl of Mornington and brother of the duke of Wellington. Created Baron Wellesley, 1797, and Marquis Wellesley, 1799; governor-general in India, 1797-1805; foreign secretary, 1809-12; lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1821-28, 1833-34. See DNB.
- 3 See letter 375, note 2.
- 4 Henry Richard (Vassall Fox), third Baron Holland (1773-1840); lord privy seal, 1806-07. See DNB.
- 5 Denys Scully.

382

From Elizabeth B. McCarthy¹ to Westland Row, Dublin [sic]

[postmarked Killarney] 28 May 1812

Dear Counsellor,

Nothing but the most extreme distress compels us to address you, which must add to the too great trouble you have already taken in our affairs but we must *inevitably* perish if you have not the goodness to direct Tim McCarthy² to give us some present means of subsistence as he says, and with some justice, I believe, that he cannot pay our debts and give us means of support out of the very little which is allowed for us. . . . I know it is not easy for you to make any addition to our allowance now but, as we cannot possibly subsist without it, we depend on your goodness to grant us relief as you have always done before. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

1 Unidentified; probably a cousin of O'Connell.

2 Unidentified; probably a cousin of O'Connell.

383

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square, Dublin

My Dear Friend,

London, 30 May 1812

... I am at a loss to conjecture what could have caused your silence to me. . . .

I find you have put off your motion for an aggregate meeting till after Mr. Canning's motion.¹ In my mind it would be well that the Catholic body withhold the expression of certain sentiments on topics on which they justly feel a tender alarm till toward the approach of the next session. There are a great number of trimmers here as well as in Ireland. I am in the way of finding out the tricks of many, and I should wish that there was no opportunity afforded such persons any excuse to flinch from their professions. We stand now on high ground. We have given our opinions unequivocally as to the Veto. Anything more is unnecessary until there is some party that professes to treat with us. Then we shall have much more advantage than we should have if we by any means win the chance of dividing our advocates for we have many that only assume the name of friends.

Since I came to London I have not heard one iota of the proceedings of the Board from any one member except the letter containing an expectation of hearing from me oftener. I wrote all that was to be written. I shall not commence alarmist for, however well-intentioned those that pursue that course may be on the onset, they prove the greatest enemies to the cause they mean to support. Though I hear the news from others in a roundabout way, yet that is no treatment for a secretary or the deputation that possessed the confidence of the Catholic body.

I fear that I could lay my finger on the cause which I hope I shall not consider myself bound to do for the public good!!! I got to press yesterday. The debates² will consist of fifty sheets upwards I fear of 800 pages, an herculean labour. I wish that I may have it in my power to attend the aggregate meeting as I must do myself justice if my friends do not. I have been very badly treated. . . .³

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 See letter 375, note 2.
- 2 The debates in parliament on the Catholic petitions (see letter 374). Whether Hay actually had them printed is not known.
- 3 This letter is franked by Sir John Coxe Hippisley, M.P.

384

From his mother to Merrion Square

Carhen, 8 June 1812

My darling Dan,

... My dear James¹ is just recovered from a violent attack of his old complaint. Biddy and Myles² returned yesterday from Derrynane, left him sitting up, and John,³ who called here today, says he is recovering fast. . . . It's heartbreaking to have the dear fellow subject to so severe a complaint. I am quite satisfied that my child Ally⁴ should be directed by you who have been a father to her since she lost her good father, and am sorry I cannot pay her the trifle I mean to give her except by calling on you to pay a hundred pounds of the two I have your bond for, and fifty pounds, part of my last September gale which with a trifle more is yet due to me. I will also pay £25 at March and the like sum at September if I live so long. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I Her son.

- 2 Her daughter, Bridget McSwiney, and her husband, Myles McSwiney.
- 3 Her son.
- 4 Ally Finn.

298

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

4 [?49] South Molton St., [London], 12 June 1812 My dear friend,

The gallery of the House of Commons was filled the moment the doors were opened at twelve o'clock so that I was not fortunate enough to be able to gain admittance. I have not been able to see any one of our parliamentary friends this morning but the Hon. Mr. Hutchinson¹ and Mr. Tighe² who confirm the general impression that the Administration is firmly settled for the session. Various are the opinions of individuals. Our friends are in different parties, our enemies strongly embodied in the Administration. It is generally believed that there was never any serious intention of removing the present ministry and of course the fitting up of the different offices is all conjecture as the negotiations never went so far as to assume that tone but our enemies have for the present prevailed and will oppose us as long as they can but whether our friends or enemies are in power, we should never desist from petitioning every session. We never should have omitted that most essential requisite to obtain Emancipation on any account.

There is this day a meeting of our parliamentary friends to consult on the best mode of bringing our question forward in some shape or other but particularly so in the House of Lords.

Mr. Tighe brings in his motion relative to what I may call your Orangeman, as it was his certificate I got the Wexford printer to hand over to you, in preference to myself. I think it would be productive of a good effect if you could forward that certificate to Mr. Tighe who would be as careful of it as yourself, along with any other information you can collect relative to his case. Mr. Tighe was good enough to send for me yesterday when he had obtained the perusal of the papers presented to government with respect to Hall,³ which I should have been very glad to have seen but unfortunately was detained . . . as otherwise I had hoped to have been present at the meeting of the 18th.

Mr. Tighe afterwards saw Mr. Pole who positively declares that Hall has not been pardoned or his execution moved on any other account but insanity, though Mr. Tighe understood he was at large and still employed in his corps. Mr. T[ighe] had also a long conversation with Mr. Pole relative to the case of a man who is mentioned in a note in the second part of the grievances as having been tried and condemned at Kilkenny most unjustly, afterwards executed, notwithstanding that government had abundant proof of his innocence, etc. Mr. Pole's recollection appeared to Mr. Tighe to have been thoroughly convinced that he was an atrocious offender and deserved no mercy. I should write to Mr. Scully on the subject but that Mr. Tighe will do so tomorrow as I consider it but right to communicate any circumstance of the kind but particularly so as Mr. Tighe wishes that he may be in time to have that note⁴ cancelled in the publication, as he imagines that the Government will instantly commence a prosecution. May I therefore entreat you may give this intelligence to Mr. Scully.

I waited on the Duke of Sussex on Sunday by his own request at the time we presented the address to His Royal Highness.⁵ Few Englishmen know as much about Ireland as he does, and no one is better disposed to do us justice to the utmost of his power and ability.

In conversing on our proceedings I could not avoid mentioning your name, independent of the feelings of friendship, and I believe it would be a great gratification to His Royal Highness to be acquainted with so honest and able a member of the Committee. I am instructed to forward you a copy of His Royal Highness's speech which I shall do by the first opportunity that offers and would be glad to have some expression of your feelings that I might communicate.

I am at a loss to imagine what could possibly be the cause of your total silence to me!!! Pray relieve my feelings by a line. I cannot but have very poignant feelings on the occasion as I do believe that you have no friend more attached to you than I am, and I flattered myself that yours was equal to my own. Do not let me conjecture as to the motives of the treatment I have experienced as that is a theme I should most reluctantly enter into.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- Christopher Hely-Hutchinson (1767-1826), brother of first earl of Donoughmore. M.P. for Cork city, 1801-12, 1819-26. See DNB.
- 2 William Tighe (died 1816), Rosanna, Co. Wicklow; M.P. for Wicklow borough, 1790-1800; Co. Wicklow, 1806-16.
- 3 Walter Hall who was sentenced to death on 17 February 1812 for the murder in Dublin of a Catholic youth named Byrne. According to O'Connell, speaking at a Catholic meeting in Dublin on 18 June 1812, Hall was a member of an Orange organization

calling itself the Purple Marksmen (*DEP*, 20 June 1812). He was pardoned by the duke of Richmond on the ground of insanity. On 7 July 1812 William Tighe, M.P. for Wicklow, carried an address in the Commons to the prince regent praying that copies of the judges' notes in this case be presented to the House (*Hansard*, XXIII, 934-9). There is no evidence of the outcome of Tighe's motion.

- 4 The footnote in Denys Scully's Statement of the Penal Laws ... (Dublin 1812, p. 229) which involved the publisher, Hugh Fitz-Patrick, in a prosecution for a libel of the duke of Richmond's administration (see letter 343, note 1).
- 5 On 5 June a deputation of five (Lord Kenmare, Sir Francis Goold, John Ignatius Burke, Myles MacDonnell and Edward Hay) presented an address to the duke of Sussex, expressing appreciation of his support of Catholic Emancipation (FJ, 9 June 1812). On 21 April Sussex spoke in support of Lord Donoughmore's motion that the consideration of the Penal Laws against Catholics be committed. The motion was lost by 174 to 102. Twenty-nine peers, including Sussex and Donoughmore, formally expressed their dissent from the result of the division (DEP, 25 April 1812; Lords Journal, XLVIII, 749).

386

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

[London, 13 June 1812]

My Dear Friend,

Though I wrote to you yesterday yet as Mr. Grattan told me this morning that he had written to Mr. Burroughs¹ which letter I would be glad you would contrive to see previous to the meeting.

I hope our affairs may be better managed at the next meeting on the 18th than our friends did in the House of Commons lately, as the triumph of our enemies has been obtained through the jealousy and division of our friends. I have seen some one or other of the different parties and have heard them accuse each other of being the cause of their general disappointment. It is a bad foundation to found any credit or reputation on the destruction of that of another person, as there is no argument which I have heard so much of yesterday evening and this morning so that it would be hard to find anyone that could give an impartial account of the different negotiations that have taken place in which, like all controversies, each think they have overcome their opponents in argument, but it is lamentable to think the country at large is injured by such petty squabbles, such as exceed anything that ever I witnessed in the progress of our affairs. I always steer clear of all party and shall never be the means of widening any breach but I should not be at all astonished if some persons are not brought to the field in consequence of what has been said. Mr. Parnell is quite of a different opinion from Mr. Tighe in his view of the note² which I requested you might mention to Mr. Scully yesterday.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- I Peter Burrowes (1753-1841), one of fourteen K.C.'s who opposed the Union proposals in 1798; counsel for Robert Emmet, 1803; commissioner of the insolvent debtors court, 1821-35. See DNB.
- 2 See letter 385, note 4.

387

From his brother James to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 26 June 1812

My dearest Dan,

[Reminds O'Connell to bring deed for Maurice O'Connell of Ballybrack who suspects them (O'Connell and James) of withholding it deliberately. James thinks Maurice is almost insane and 'beneath our notice'.]

You are no doubt anxious to know how my uncle¹ intends to dispose of his new purchase, Maglass, and I do assure you, though I have not been for one day from Derrynane since last April, that I know just as little about it as you do. John² has been here twice since the assizes and my uncle has been equally reserved with him on this subject which seemed to surprise John very much. . . . Need I tell you, my dear Dan, how sincerely I hope you may get this property. It would be a handsome provision for one of your boys.

I am convinced you will be glad to hear that my health has been better this summer than it has been for the last year.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Hunting-Cap.

2 His brother.

From Denys Scully to Limerick

Kilfeacle [Co.] Tipperary, 17 July 1812

My dear O'Connell,

The enclosed letter from William Tighe shows how keenly he hunts the case of Hall the murderer. It is full of matter : his queries appear most justly pointed and we must support Tighe totis viribus. I know you need not be urged. I take it that your public exposure of this case has pushed it upon the notice of Tighe and of Parliament, and most justly.1 Observe Tighe's concluding remarks and consider with him whether this case does not open the door to ample inquiry touching the state of criminal justice in Ireland. It is a lever by which the enormous mass of wrong may be raised to the notice and reprobation of mankind and a point d'appuy for our future statements. Try to sound Baron Smith upon this subject. I am told his recommendation to mercy has been, in more instances than one, slighted and that he feels sore about it. This may put him in the right humour for disclosing the secrets of the prison house, and speaching [sic] against the Castle.

What would you think of writing to Tighe himself? I know he would be delighted to hear from you. Give him all the information you can for the present and write in detail hereafter at your leisure. His address is No. 18 St. James' Place, London.

I wish you would keep a copy of the enclosed letter for regulating your inquiries and send me the original enclosed (under cover to the *Bank*, *Tipperary*) by any of the Tipperary attornies or clients, coming from Limerick assizes. . . .

[P.S.] How do you like Saurin's appearance in the Dublin Evening Post of last Tuesday, the 14th?²

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

2 William Saurin, the attorney-general, prosecuted a Dublin printer, Hugh FitzPatrick, for publishing a pamphlet by Denys Scully entitled A Statement of the Penal Laws which Aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland . . . (1812). In his summons to FitzPatrick Saurin had declared FitzPatrick's publication to be a 'false and seditious libel' (DEP, 14 July 1812). FitzPatrick retaliated by taking an action for defamation against the attorney-general, seeking damages of £1,000 (DEP, 14 July 1812). There is no evidence as to the outcome of FitzPatrick's action against Saurin.

I See letter 385.

To his wife, Tralee, c/o Counsellor S. Rice's, Day's Place

Cork, 5 August 1812

My dearest darling,

... The business here is, comparatively speaking, very light yet in itself considerable. I have as yet my full share of it. There are some very dangerous cases at the criminal side and I am the wretched counsel for the poor devils. I hate that kind of business excessively. Darling, you ought to wish for Emancipation that I may get rid of the annoyance of it.¹

Remember me most affectionately to Mrs. Rice² and her family. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

 A reference to the fact that he was prevented by the Penal Laws from becoming a senior counsel, that is, king's counsel (K.C.). As a senior he need not go so often on circuit and would be in a better position for choosing the type of legal work to undertake.
Mrs. Stephen H. Rice.

390

From his wife

[Tralee] 7 August 1812

My dearest love,

... I would not wish to arrive in Cork until the day before you could leave it with me. You know how unpleasant it is to have so many children in lodgings. ... I feel, thank God, much better, but I would be better were I once out of Kerry. ...

I do, my heart, most anxiously wish for Emancipation or any change that would rid you of the troublesome life you lead and leave you with your family more than you are.¹ As to Emancipation, if the bigots of Tralee could prevent it, they would. Anything like the talk they have in the town about the transaction of Saturday night,² it is quite tiresome to be listening to. The old Tabbies! The fact is they all seem to be afraid of the poor Papists. . . .

SOURCE : Irish Monthly, X (1882), 625

- 1 See letter 389, note 1.
- 2 Very probably a reference to the aggregate Catholic meeting in

Tralee on 1 August. It was resolved to thank 'our Protestant countrymen who have so numerously attended our meeting this day'. In its report of the meeting the Dublin Evening Post of 6 August said that 'the whole town of Tralee was splendidly illuminated in the night in honour of the Confederation of Protestant and Catholic '.

391

To his wife, Mallow

Carhen, 4 September 1812

My dearest Love,

I left Tralee after I wrote to you on Tuesday and travelled with Butler¹ to Killorglin. We spent the next day grousing on our way here. I had a delightful day of it, and what pleased me very much was to find that I was as well able to trot the mountains as ever I was, notwithstanding your so often reproaching me with growing old and getting fat. But you are so saucy, darling.

. . . The rents are coming in extremely fast without the smallest trouble as the poor people have a most abundant year of it. Indeed at all times my rents are comfortably paid as I would not consent to have any creature put himself under more rent than the land was well worth. . . .

I am just setting out for a good hunt at half after five in the morning. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 James Butler.

392

From Edward Hay to near Tralee, readdressed to Cahirciveen

4 Capel St., Dublin, 12 September 1812

My dear Friend,

I shall not now allude to the number of letters you are indebted to me for but hope that as it is now vacation time you may spare a few moments to send me an answer. I must defer till we meet any mention of what has occurred to each of us since we saw one another as I have subject enough now for the contents of a letter.

I found a letter on my return from England from a pro-

306

fessional gentleman requesting to know at what time it would be convenient for me to settle the account with the sheriffs of Cork for the costs of the execution against Murphy amounting to upwards of seventy pounds. I expected to have had some other application made to me in which case I should have communicated it to you and I must entreat your interference as to what is to be done.

Though you did me justice in saying that my life and utmost exertions are devoted to the service of the Catholics of Ireland yet the private state of my finances would be desperate indeed if I shall be obliged to pay this demand which I had not the most distant idea of from what you stated to me. Nay, what I have already paid is already an object to me notwithstanding that Mr. O'Connell has a fair demand for other charges and I really think that as the suit altogether will prove unprofitable in every particular, notwithstanding the damages awarded for $\pounds 3,000$, yet the advantage of having put down a paper may deter others from abusing us as that did.¹

Darcy² that supplied the former dinner, has a demand for some outstanding tickets that were not delivered at the door by the persons that were at the dinner, and there is no other fund to defray that charge as well as some other deficiency but the f_{40} held by you for money paid to Mr. Todd Jones, so that I believe it will fall to your lot to pay this money on account of the grand dinner,³ and I think you have a just right to withhold the f_{40} from the subscription of the county of Kerry as money advanced to meet an honourable demand pursuant to the vote of an aggregate meeting, and as the business of the prosecution⁴ of the proprietor of the *Southern Reporter* may be more justly estimated in Kerry, perhaps you could contrive to release me from any future dunning on that score as I should actually be obliged to pay that demand if it is fairly due on that account but I cannot leave it in better hands.

You may remember my declarations with respect to have the honour of being held accountable for the debts of the Catholics of Ireland which have been necessarily added to greatly during my absence in England. I have been applied to by some to accept bills for the amount of their demand but this I cannot comply with. I have called the Committee of Accounts and Board together to advise with them on the subject but could not obtain the attendance of a sufficiency to proceed on any business. Doctor Dromgoole did not attend till late in the day when the few that had had attended had come into the joke of seeming to countenance the hardship of my being obliged to accept bills for the debts due to the newspapers but that it was just as fair that Doctor Dromgoole should accept for the expenses incurred during my absence. The joke was too much for the Doctor's temper though he thinks nothing of his preposterous conduct to me. But more of this and others when I shall have the happiness of meeting you.

Nothing could go off better than the address and dinner to my excellent friend the Bishop of Norwich.⁵ The entertainment altogether could not be exceeded in London. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I Unidentified.
- 2 James Darcy, proprietor of the Globe Tavern, 52 Essex Street, Dublin.
- 3 The grand dinner given in Dublin on 19 December 1811 by the Catholics of Ireland to the Friends of Religious Liberty. According to the *Dublin Evening Post*, more than 800 persons participated, including Lords Downshire, Meath, Granard, Fingall, Lismore, Forbes, Dunsany, Cloncurry and Rossmore (*DEP*, 21, 24 Dec. 1811).
- 4 Unidentified.
- 5 Henry Bathurst, bishop of Norwich (1744-1837), a strong supporter of Catholic Emancipation. See DNB. On 17 August Lord Fingall, accompanied by members of the Catholic Board, presented an address of welcome to Dr. Bathurst (DEP, 18 Aug. 1812). On 20 August the Board entertained him to a public dinner, at which Grattan and John Philpot Curran spoke (DEP, 22 Aug. 1812).

393

To his wife, Mallow

Derrynane, 18 September 1812, 6 o'clock in the morning My darling Mary,

Do not you be angry with me for staying so long in this country. Indeed, heart, it is not pleasure alone which keeps me, but I really have business too. If I were to consult my first and chiefest pleasure, it would be with my own sweet Mary and her darling babes; but I will confess that I never had in her absence so pleasant a time in Iveragh, notwithstanding the melancholy cast on the country by the death of my ever lamented friend, poor Hayes,¹ who is more regretted than you have any notion of. We have had great amusement. I am never in bed at sunrise, and the weather is so delightful that every day we either shoot, fish, or hunt. This would please you too, my Mary, if in the meantime I was not keeping you at Mallow. I can hardly bear the idea of your thinking of going up to Dublin before me and do venture to entreat of you not to think more of it. Darling, you would be at expense in Dublin as well as in Mallow, and one short week would give us the happiness of travelling together. I, however, leave you to act in this, as in every other respect, completely at your own discretion. Whatever you determine on will certainly please me, yet I could wish you would not determine conclusively till you hear again from me.

source : Irish Monthly, XII (1884), 214 1 William Hayes of Kenneigh, Waterville, Co. Kerry.

394

From his wife to Tralee

[postmarked Mallow] 23 September 1812

My darling Love,

Your letter of Sunday with the notes enclosed I this morning received, happy to find you have at *length* fixed your departure for Tralee. This, my heart, brings your nearer to us. . . Mr. Prendergast¹ will be your travelling companion as Mary Hussey expects him to come for her about that time. . . I thought with you that I should have money sufficient while I remained in Mallow but everything here, meat excepted, is as high as in Dublin. . . This place is all bustle preparing for the races. A number of strangers have come to town within these three days, Burton's² family from Fitzwilliam Square among the rest, his daughter looking as ugly as usual and as conceited. . . I heard of the boys yesterday. They are quite well. All day Monday on the mountains shooting partridge. . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Walter Prendergast, uncle of Mary Hussey.
- 2 Charles Burton, K.C.

From his wife to Tralee

[postmarked Mallow] 29 September 1812

My dearest Dan,

... I am, my darling, most anxious to get home for many reasons. If the weather continued good, this place would be pleasant enough, but I assure you in bad weather it is a horrid place, the house comfortless and cold. Of this we have had a trial yesterday and the day before. The boys are still at O'Leary's¹ and are to remain until Thursday. On that day we are to dine at Mahony's² and from thence I shall bring home the boys. Ellen and Kitty are both very well but as *angry* with their father (for his long stay) as their mother *is*. . . Perhaps, love, you were *induced* to remain for the pattern of this day. . . . The races are still going on. We are preparing to go there.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 O'Connell's first cousin Cornelius O'Leary, son of Arthur O'Leary.

2 Unidentified.

396

From his wife to Tralee

My dearest love,

Mallow, I October [1812]

I have at length the satisfaction to hear you are arrived in Tralee and have fixed your departure from thence on Monday next. God bless you then, my heart, and let nothing induce you to put it off any longer. . . .

We have this moment received an invitation for dinner to Mr. Nagle¹ of Anakissy on Saturday next but I do not think we shall avail ourselves of it. You are included in the invitation. Lord Glentworth² has been here during the races, had some horses but won nothing except a saddle yesterday. He did not make the *noise* here that you did which surprised me as he is so liberal in his politics.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Pierce Nagle (c. 1752-16 May 1828), Annakissy, Co. Cork.
- 2 Henry Hartstonge (Pery) (1789-1834), styled Lord Glentworth from 1803, eldest surviving son of the first earl of Limerick whom he predeceased.

To John Lalor¹ of Cranagh now in Clonmel

Merrion Square, 28 October 1812

My dear friend,

I have the pleasure to inform you that the facts which you have laid before the public on Saturday have made a very considerable impression on the public mind,² notwithstanding that neither they nor I can be reconciled to your *friend* Bagwell.³ Yet to give the devil his due it must be admitted you could not avoid voting for him this time.

I put in a paragraph last night in the [Dublin] Evening Post⁴ in the spirit in which you dictated to me. I hope you will be satisfied with it. If I have exceeded in violence—attribute it to my anxiety to give your feelings vent.

The Freeman's Journal is acting a very kind part by you.⁵ Shall I give them any money? I thought it right to make your police subscription⁶ 15 guineas instead of ten. I sent Jack Lawless⁷ five. If he requires two or three more he shall have them. I must also pay for the insertion in the [Dublin] Evening Post last night. Our account[s] now stand thus:

Cash left by	you		£50	
Police subscription Jack Lawless	£17. 1. £5. 13.	3 9	£,22. 15.	0
I have of yours		£ 27. 5.	0	

If this money should not be sufficient to answer our purposes I will act by you as you would by me on any similar occasion. . . .

SOURCE : National Museum of Ireland

- I Of Crannagh, Templemore, Co. Tipperary (died 7 Sept. 1828). He had been a delegate for Co. Tipperary to the Catholic convention of 1792.
- 2 A letter in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 24 October from 'A Subscriber' defending Lalor for voting for Bagwell. Since the latter was a member of the duke of Richmond's administration, any Catholic supporting him was considered to be disloyal to the Emancipation movement.
- 3 William Bagwell (died 1825); M.P. Clonmel, 1801-19; Co. Tipperary, 1819-25; joint muster master general for Ireland.
- 4 A letter in the Dublin Evening Post of 27 October from John Lalor dated 26 October, defending himself against charges made in the

Dublin Evening Post of 24 October by a Clonmel correspondent in connection with Lalor's support of Bagwell.

- 5 The Freeman's Journal of 27 October had a special article explaining in a manner favourable to Lalor why he had supported Bagwell.
- 6 A number of Dublin citizens had presented a memorial to the lord-lieutenant in April 1812, complaining of certain abuses which they alleged rendered the metropolitan police system ineffective and excessively expensive. The lord-lieutenant ordered a public inquiry into the Dublin police to be instituted on 19 November 1812. 'A police subscription was opened by a number of Dublin gentlemen for the purpose of defraying the expenses attendant on this investigation (DEP, 1 Oct. 1812).
- 7 John Lawless (1773-1837), refused admission to the bar by Lord Clare; edited Ulster Register, 1817-19; the Irishman, 1819 to 1824 or later.

398

From Alexander McCarthy to Dublin

Cork, 6 November 1812

Dear Sir,

I hope it will not be inconvenient to you to pay Mr. Geo. Cronin the amount of IOU. Be assured I would not pass it but being so hard pressed for money, having made a purchase of a lot of land, Courtney property, to the amount of £10,500 and am yet short £3,000 of the money.

P.S. I did not wish to call on you last assizes on account of the business then in agitation which I am happy to find is over.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

399

From his brother John, 18 November [1812], to Merrion Square

Complicated account of his quarrel with Maurice O'Connor.¹ Asks O'Connell to retain Counsellor Stephen Rice for him.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 According to a newspaper account, John O'Connell 'was assailed by Maurice O'Connor in language the most abusive and offensive'. He hit O'Connor who drew his pistol and fired. The ball grazed John's arm. A warrant for his arrest being issued, O'Connor absconded (DEP, 17 Nov. 1812).

From James Roche to Merrion Square

Cork, 25 November 1812

My dear Sir,

I deferred replying to your favour of the 20th until I could ascertain what was intended to be done in regard to the petition¹ which I now learn is to be immediately forwarded, most probably by this post if not already done; but whether it shall be proceeded on afterwards will depend on the decision of the legal gentlemen whom it is intended to consult in London on the various points which the petition will embrace and the particular cases it will involve. As for the freeholders . . . there appears little doubt of their being established. Your reasoning on the subject is most convincing but the freemen are very differently situated and, as far as I can learn, scarcely any hope is entertained of obviating the objections opposed to them. The grounds of the petition will therefore, in addition to the freeholders, rest principally on nonresidence, bribery, etc. As for the expenses, it is not yet the wish of Mr. H[utchinson]'s friends to open a subscription until we are assured that it will be pursued and are enabled to form some estimate of the amount, when I shall have the pleasure of addressing you.

It never occurred to me that a subscription could be formed for the avowed purpose of purchasing a borough. I knew full well it could not, and it was our intention to cover it under the pretext of defraying the expenses of the election and petition, etc., but, as Mr. H[utchinson] was determined on preferring a petition, we were obliged to wait for the result which, I own, presents no very favourable prospect to me but I hope I shall be disappointed.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

I In the general election of October-November 1812, Christopher Hely-Hutchinson lost his seat for Cork city. The voting was: Mountiford Longfield, 918; Sir Nicholas Conway Colthurst, fourth baronet, 669; Hely-Hutchinson, 639 (DEP, 7 Nov. 1812). On 14 December 1812, a petition was presented to the House of Commons for the purpose of setting aside Colthurst's election and declaring Hely-Hutchinson duly elected. The petition alleged illegal practices on the part of the returning officers and bribery and corruption on the part of Colthurst (Commons Journal, LXVIII, 55-6). On 2
1812

February 1813, the speaker ordered the discharge of the petition because of a certain legal defect (*Commons Journal*, LXVIII, 108). Possibly the petitioners had decided not to go forward with the matter.

401

From James Roche to Merrion Square

Cork, 3 December 1812

My dear Sir,

Last night I addressed you a few hasty words relative to the probable cost of a petition, and this morning I was favoured with yours of the 1st recommending a distinct petition¹ from the electors, which indeed we had in contemplation, when I was directed to make the inquiry in order to remove, under a fair pretext, the burden of it from Mr. H[utchinson]. Your letter shall be laid before our committee this day and, if possible, acted on forthwith. You must, of course, be more competent to judge of the likelihood of success than I, but even Mr. H[utchinson] appears not to be very sanguine. Yet I feel that this should not prevent us from making the effort so long as any chance existed. Our committee will meet this day and I shall endeavour to impart by then the impression I feel. . . . Great indeed should be the inconvenience that could oblige us to refuse anything in the shape of a request from you. Connor² certainly wants the money, but we shall with pleasure advance it to him on your note or note payable to him at the period you mention. I believe the simplest way will be to settle the business so, and you will please to send us your note payable in Dublin for the sum with the interest. He shall receive the amount immediately.

Excuse my present agitation.

[P.S.] We could not convene the committee but as no time was to be lost I signed the petition with a few others and it goes off this night. Under your advice I could not hesitate.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- I See letter 400, note I.
- 2 Unidentified.

From James Roche to Merrion Square

Cork, 12 December 1812

My dear Sir,

I would have replied earlier to your letter . . . and thanked you for the very satisfactory information it contained relative to the petition¹ but that I expected to have had the pleasure of hearing from you respecting Mr. Connor's² bills which he is anxious, and for obvious reasons, to convert to use. The original ones have been returned to us by our brothers' house and you will now have the goodness to substitute to them any others you may find convenient. It is at Connor's particular request I now address you on the subject.

I read with the gratification which everything coming from you must excite, your observations at the meeting of your Board on Saturday last. As the friend of your country you must be that of Mr. Hutchinson though I lately understood from him that you were personally unacquainted. I would have offered him a letter of introduction but he said he would on his arrival in Dublin, which he expected would be on Monday, call on you and claim your friendship without formnone indeed can be necessary between two such congenial minds.³ By some accident he had been informed of the misunderstanding existing between you and Mr. Hutchins,4 one of his oldest and dearest friends and to whose zealous exertions during the late election he certainly was deeply indebted. He said he could not bear that any misconception, for such he was sure it must be, should disunite his two most ardent supporters, and that he hoped to be the instrument of reconciliation between two men so well formed to esteem each other and advance our common cause. I must own I could not help encouraging this noble purpose. Your life is not one of those which may be exposed or thrown away at the will of the owner. Excluding all moral or Christian consideration of the subject, it belongs not to you nor even to your family-it is claimed and it surely is wanted by your country. Was there ever a period when Ireland could so little spare her great advocate?---but I need not proceed further. To such hands, such truly honourable hands as Mr. Hutchinson's, you will not hesitate entrusting your cause as you would that of Ireland, so much dearer to you than life. Without undertaking to put him in possession of the facts which I preferred he should derive from a better source, I assured him that you had no concern in the original dispute.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

1 See letter 400, note 1.

- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 On 28 December the Catholic Board presented an address of appreciation to Hely-Hutchinson in Dublin (*DEP*, 29 Dec. 1812). At meetings of the Catholic Board on 5 and 15 December, O'Connell had praised Hely-Hutchinson and his family very highly (*DEP*, 8, 17 Dec. 1812). At the former meeting, a speaker stated that Hely-Hutchinson had already forwarded his election petition to London (*FJ*, 8 Dec. 1812).
- 4 James Hutchins, sheriff's serjeant, Cork.

403

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Carhen, 14 December 1812

My Dear Dan,

I have bought according to your desire 6 small in-calf cows for Mr. Pollock¹ and sent them off on the 9th inst. The average price of each cow here is $\pounds 6.7.0$ and I gave the driver $\pounds 3.10.0$ for the expenses of the cattle on the road, so the sum you are to receive from Mr. Pollock is $\pounds 41.12.0$ which I paid out of money of yours in my hands. You are also to get from Wm. Prendergast $\pounds 6.7.0$, the price of a cow I bought for him and sent to Tralee. As the man who carries the cows to Mr. Pollock will be twelve or fourteen days on the road, I think Mr. Pollock would do right to send a person to meet him on the last two or three days of his journey. He goes through *Kildare, Clonard and Trim.*...

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646 1 Probably John Pollock, Mountainstown, Navan, Co. Meath.

404

From James Roche to Merrion Square

Cork, 24 December 1812

My dear Sir,

We have made the notes conveyed by your favour of the

21st perfectly convenient to Mr. Connor¹ by giving him cash for them.

The sentiments expressed in my last are those of every true, and I may add of every grateful Irishman, towards the ablest advocate of our rights. They must be acceptable to you because you feel that you deserve them.

I have not heard anything about our election petition² but promise no form will be wanting to its prosecution.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

1 Unidentified.

2 See letter 400, note 1.

405

To Hunting-Cap

Merrion Square, 4 January 1813

My dearest Uncle,

I have the pleasure to inform you that James¹ arrived here a week ago in excellent health and indeed so well as to afford us all the best-founded hopes that his complaint is removed for ever, a result which Dr. Leyne always thought very probable.

Since James came here everything has been arranged for his marriage with Miss Bernard,² subject of course to your revision and control. The lady's fortune is ascertained to be \pounds 3,000 to be secured upon the entire of her brother's property...

With respect to James' own property, that is already strictly entailed by my poor father, the remainder in failure of issue male in James to me. It is necessary that you should communicate to me, for insertion in the settlement, how the property you settle at present and in reversion is to be limited, in the event of James not having any issue male. As John's³ property is limited to James in the event of the failure of issue male in John, I presume that this property to be settled on James is reciprocally to vest in John and his male issue in the event of James not having male issue with the like remainders even as in John's settlement.

... A disposition by testament ... is besides attended even at present with a very heavy stamp duty, which duty is very likely to be soon increased by the extension to this country

316

of the legacy tax, a measure which the young Chancellor of the Exchequer⁴ has certainly in contemplation....

I should indeed have taken the liberty of entering more fully into it if my brothers were alone concerned, but as I am myself more particularly interested I shall say nothing more about it than that the Caherdanielmore and Loher lots, being chattel interests, are at present liable when disposed of by will to the legacy stamp duty of near five per cent upon their entire value. Should I survive you, this duty must be paid for them if they are disposed of by will. Should you dispose of them by deed to operate after your decease, no such duty would be payable, and by having in the deed an absolute power of revocation and alteration of the purposes of it you would continue to have precisely the same power of changing your present intentions, if you think fit, as you have over your will.

These observations of course do not apply to the property already actually settled on John or the property to be settled on James by this deed.

Turning from matters of business to family affairs, I have the pleasure to inform you that Mary has given me another boy.⁵ He is perfectly stout and well as so is his mother. I intend to call him after the poor General⁶ and Mary has taken the liberty of setting you down as his godfather. I hope you will not be displeased at her paying this compliment to the name of the infant.

With respect to the Catholic cause, the newspapers inform you of almost all I know. Our enemies are extremely active, but as long as we continue true to ourselves and that the people in general confine themselves to objects strictly legal and to means sanctioned by the law our cause must continue its progress. I have been more than once alarmed, least a spirit of insubordination or of secret conspiracy should be resorted to by the ignorant or unthinking persons of our community, but I have great pleasure in assuring you that there is almost an entire certainty that every apprehension of that kind [remainder of letter is missing].

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I His brother.
- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 His brother.
- 4 William Vesey-FitzGerald (1783-1843), chancellor of the exchequer (Ireland), 1812-16; lord of the treasury (U.K.), 1812-17; M.P. for Ennis, 1808-12, 1813-18, 1831-32; Co. Clare, 1818-28; succeeded 1832

as second Baron FitzGerald and Vesey; created 1835 Baron Fitz-Gerald of Desmond (U.K.). See DNB.

5 Daniel Stephen O'Connell, born 29 December 1812, died c. 10 February 1814.

6 His uncle Count O'Connell.

406

From Timothy McCarthy, Kilfadamore, Kilgarvan, Co. Kerry, 6 January 1813

Seeks legal advice on the will of Daniel McCarthy¹ who died 31 December 1812.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

1 Married Elizabeth (a first cousin of O'Connell), daughter of James Baldwin of Clohina, Co. Cork.

407

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Carhen, 16 February 1813

My Dear Dan,

On my arrival here yesterday from Tralee (where I spent almost the entire of last month) I found your letter of the 11th and, on account of my absence from home, had no money collected but expect to be able to send off on Saturday from two to three hundred pounds to Cork to be remitted to you. I have this day sent off to the persons collecting co[unty] charges for me for any money they may have, which I can replace out of your rents, the last of which I will carry to the assizes. I left John extremely well¹ sitting up in Mrs. Rice's drawing-room, and I entreat you will without delay write to him what your opinion is as to the line of conduct to be pursued by him towards Rowland Eagar² who, as I am informed, *certainly* intends to call on John before the assizes.

I also left James³ recovering from a nervous attack brought on him by uneasiness of mind. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

I O'Connell's brother John had been seriously wounded in a duel with Richard Francis Blennerhassett. Their quarrel had originated in a dispute over Catholic Emancipation, in which John at first behaved reasonably. Later he seems to have provoked his opponent into fighting the duel (Basil M. O'Connell, O'Connell Family Tracts, No. 2 [Dublin 1948], p. 5).

2 Member of a Kerry landlord family.

3 O'Connell's brother.

From Edward Hay to Merrion Square

. Worcester Hotel, Oxford St., London, 23 February 1813 Dear O'Connell,

Mr. Grattan would feel much gratified by a perusal of the copy of the letter¹ read at the Board, to compare it with that which he received from Mr. Butler.² Lord Sidmouth was written to yesterday to request an audience of the Prince and 'tis now past six o'clock and no answer is yet come as I am busily employed in getting the signatures together to have all ready for Thursday as 'tis imagined the presentation and discussion will be on Thursday. . . .

[P.S.] . . . Remember [me] kindly to O'Gorman³ who I hope has written to you the account of the meeting of Saturday. Lord Kenmare and Mr. Burke not yet arrived but expected every hour.⁴ Though I was not honoured with an answer to any letter last year yet as 'tis the particular request of Mr. Grattan to get the copy of the letter from Mr. Butler, please to direct it to me. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 A letter from Edward Jerningham, secretary of the English Catholic Board, read at a meeting of the Irish Catholic Board on 2 February 1813. The letter concerned an interview which was alleged to have taken place between Charles Butler and Lord Castlereagh concerning the draft of an act of parliament proposed to be introduced in the forthcoming session for the repeal of all penal laws against Catholics (DEP, 6 Feb. 1813).
- 2 Charles Butler, K.C. (1750-1832), secretary to the English Catholics, 1782-91; member of the Catholic Board from 1808. Called to the bar, 1791, being the first Catholic barrister to qualify since 1688. Author on legal subjects, pamphleteer. See DNB.
- 3 Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman.
- 4 On 30 January 1813 the Catholic Board appointed a delegation to accompany Lord Fingall to London with the Catholic petitions and address. The delegates were Randal McDonnell, Owen O'Conor, Lord Kenmare, Sir Francis Goold, John Ignatius Burke of Glynsk and Peter B. Hussey (DEP, 2 Feb. 1813).

To his wife, Merrion Square

Monaghan, 5 March 1813

My darling Mary,

... The trials upon which I came here¹ do not come on till tomorrow. Nor am I sorry for it. I shall be better able to arrange my thoughts and give something like consistency to my declamation for the delay. I will have quite time enough afterwards to get to Ennis before the assizes commence. My arrangements in that respect are perfect.

Darling, this is a stupid and miserable village . . . houses rising in clusters against the surrounding hills. There is a considerable air of poverty in and about the place, the gentry and indeed all the inhabitants. I may judge too hastily but the only thing I have seen that deserved to be looked at was the seat of that worthy Lord Blayney.² The house is not large but is certainly convenient and it commands a view which a person who saw Killarney might admire. The wood and water before it are indeed rendered more pleasing by the naked barrenness of the rest of the country. . . .

. . . I expect to get to Cavan tomorrow evening. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 See letter 410.

2 Andrew Thomas (Blayney), eleventh Baron Blayney (1770-1834).

410

To his wife, Merrion Square

[c. 8 March 1813]

[top half of letter torn off]

... The trial did not come on at all at Monaghan. The Grand Jury were literally afraid of the picture I should have drawn of the Orange faction. And they have accordingly refused to find the bills of indictment until six on Saturday evening.¹...

Darling, I am sorry I was not in Dublin to illuminate when the account of the division² arrived. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I O'Connell was engaged as counsel for the crown at Monaghan spring assizes in connection with a trial concerning a shooting affray at the fair of Emyvale in June 1812 between some Catholics and a number of Protestant yeomanry. Bills of indictment were found by the grand jury against three of the yeomanry, but leave to have these bills reconsidered was granted by the court, and the case postponed to the summer assizes of 1813 (*DEP*, 18 March 1813). The yeomanry were subsequently acquitted though convictions were obtained against a number of the Catholics involved (*DEP*, 26 August 1813).

2 See letter 411, note 3.

411

From Walter Hussey¹ to Post Office, Ennis

Tralee, 8 March 1813

Dear Dan,

I am extremely happy to have it in my power to congratulate you on the prospect of John's² complete restoration to health much sooner than could have been expected, as on Friday last the ball was safely extracted from his neck, since which time he has made great progress towards amendment and I expect that you will find him able to go out and attend his business as usual at the assizes. . . . You never saw anything so battered and jagged as the ball is and . . . extracting it must have been very painful, but I need not I suppose tell you that he bore it with his accustomed fortitude and manly resolution. . . .

I have also to congratulate you as a *Papist* on the result of the debate in the House of Commons³ which I have just learned, and hope that Lord Castlereagh will not be able to 'hitch' in any arrangement to render the vote ineffectual. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Walter Hussey (1787 23 Mar. 1848), eldest son of Thomas Hussey of Dingle and Bridget, who later married Stephen H. Rice. Educated at Stoneyhurst and Trinity College, Dublin.
- 2 O'Connell's brother. See letter 407, note 1.
- 3 On 25 February 1813 Henry Grattan moved that the Commons go into committee on the Catholic claims (*DEP*, 3 Mar. 1813). After four days of debate (*DEP*, 2, 4, 6, 9 Mar. 1813), Grattan's motion passed by 264 to 224 in the early morning of 3 March (*DEP*, 9 Mar. 1813).

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, 13 March 1813

My darling Mary,

... There is but little business here at the civil side but the dock is rather heavy, as usual a great number of *fair* riots, one in which two brothers lost their lives, but nothing will conquer the eternal propensity to fighting of those people. I daresay I shall be able to leave this on Thursday next at the very latest. Indeed but that a Catholic meeting is quite necessary here I should certainly get to Tralee on that day. Did you see or hear of the attack made on us agitators by that greatest of all possible scoundrels, John Byrne, at the Down meeting?¹ Tell Finn² I expect that the Board, the [Dublin] Evening Post and the Review³ will do ample justice to the general delinquency of that reprobate Byrne.

. . . My success on circuit is complete. . . .

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI

- ¹ A meeting of the Catholics of Co. Down took place at Newry on 8 March 1813 under the chairmanship of John Byrne. Among the resolutions passed was one declaring that 'No material subject of discussion ought to be decided on by the Roman Catholic Board, without due notice to all its members . . .', and another, aimed perhaps at O'Connell, which deprecated 'the partial distinction of any individual, where there are so many entitled to our gratitude . . .' (*DEP*, 13 Mar. 1813). Neither the *Dublin Evening Post* nor the Catholic Board appears, despite O'Connell's wishes, to have condemned these proceedings. In reference to the resolutions of the Down Catholics, the secretary of the Catholic Board declared 'if any member had not been summoned, it could have happened only through mistake' (*DEP*, 16 Mar. 1813).
- 2 William F. Finn.
- 3 Unidentified.

413

From his wife to Quay Lane, Limerick

[Dublin] 13 March 1813

My darling love,

I have this moment given Maurice a sheet of paper to write to you as he wished to enclose his optime in a letter of his own. He is by me writing it but without any assistance from me. You must make allowances for his first effort. I envy you the pleasure of receiving his first letter. . . . I shall also send you the magazine for this month as there is an attempt of a likeness of you in it, not a flattering one. . . . With respect to O'Leary's¹ money I only got fifty pounds which, as I before mentioned to you, James Sugrue claimed and got by your directions which surprised me not a little as I considered myself perfectly *competent* to pay your bills and acceptances. I am not, my heart, angry with you about it, but really I think *your* money and bills would be as well with me as with James Sugrue. I know it was to save me trouble that you employed him. For goodness sake, say nothing to him on the subject. My *figures* are indeed very bad. I am not surprised, my heart, that you should not be able to make them out. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

I James O'Leary.

414

To his wife, Merrion Square

Limerick, 1/2 past seven, 18 March 1813

My dearest heart,

These assizes at the criminal side are still lasting as [? they] are hourly bringing men in for Whiteboy offences. I received thirty guineas for new cases this day and have at least another heavy day's work. I did not get out of court till nine last night.

Darling, send James Sugrue fifty pounds to take up a bill for f_{100} which will be due on Saturday. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

415

From his wife to Tralee

[Dublin] 20 March 1813

My dearest Dan,

... I did not give Sugrue the fifty pounds of yours as I judged you only meant I should do so in case I did not get money from O'Leary. In all I got from him a hundred pounds, I shilling and sixpence. This sum exactly answered for his

bill due this day. Independent of this money Sugrue wanted to get the fifty pounds you desired him call on me for in your letter to him, this I refused for the reason above mentioned. The papers I send by this post together with the caricature. . . Poor Maurice only got a first V.B. today occasioned by my giving him and Morgan a holiday, Patrick's Day. Strange that Mr. White¹ should keep school on that day. I certainly will make my boys observe all the strict holidays so far as to make them go to prayers. *He* promises to *cut* them all up next week. . . .

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 r Edward Whyte.

416

To his wife, Merrion Square

Tralee, 25 March 1813

My darling Love,

I can write you but a single line. John's¹ indictment against Maurice O'Connor has been found. It is a capital indictment and the trial will be on in a few minutes. There is not the least risk of any further quarrels in Kerry. The upper class have all deserted the O'Connors and the lower orders as you may well imagine are violently against them. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I O'Connell's brother.

417

From his wife to Cork

[Dublin] 27 March 1813

[No salutation]

You may judge, my dearest heart, with what anxiety I look forward to the arrival of Monday's post, when I trust I shall from you hear of a satisfactory termination to all John's¹ business in Kerry. Would to God he had taken the advice of his friends in the commencement of his troubles, and matters would not come to what they did but there is no use in talking of what's past. . . .

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 O'Connell's brother. See letter 399, note 1.

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 29 March 1813

My darling Love,

I enclose you a bill for £670. Send it the moment you receive this letter for acceptance as there will be bills of mine due during the next week to the amount or very nearly. There will be one due on the 2d of my own for £100 and another on the 5th for £500. There will also be another of mine for £100 due the 7th, but that closes my present list. The only other bill that can be due will be the one on the 11th for £56.7.4 but I expect to be with you before that day. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

419

From his wife to Grand Parade, Cork

[Dublin] 31 March 1813

My dearest love,

[Deals with bills of exchange and household expenses] I know, my darling, it is unnecessary for me to enter into those particulars [re household expenses] with you as I am well satisfied you are convinced that no extravagance of mine, either in the house or in any other way, occasions this expenditure. The night before last we got an *addition* to *our* family. About the hour of nine o'clock a violent ringing was at the door. When opened, a fine boy, about three months old, was found lying close to the door, left knowing I was one of the governesses of the Asylum. I have written to the Treasurer requesting the child should be admitted, to which he has complied. I hope this evening we shall fix the little unfortunate where he will be taken care of....

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, Saturday, 3 April 1813

My darling Love,

... I have a very great variety of things to do here after the assizes, and they will not be over before Tuesday or Wednesday at the soonest, though the judges are taking every *precaution* to get rid of the business. We were kept in court until ten last night. Yet I never was, my Love, in better health after a long and fatiguing circuit. Take care of yourself, darling, and be as well as I left you or I shall be in a *passion*. Are you not greatly afraid of me, heart?

Darling, I should be extremely sorry you disinvited Mary Hussey. Her family have been so very, very kind to John that we all owe them the greatest gratitude, and you know, my dearest love, that they were equally attentive to our sweet Kate when she was ill. . . .

I thought to write a good deal more to you but am called back to court.

Darling, I am just returned from making a ' famous Speech' and making the jury weep and acquit a man for the sake of *his wife* and children....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

421

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 5 April 1813

My darling love,

... The judges, especially the Chief Baron,¹ ran at the business in such a way that I never felt more fatigued than I did on Wednesday, and on Thursday I was kept in court until past ten o'clock...

... I have acquired more reputation this time in Cork than I ever did before. I am not, my love, in any degree drawing on my vanity when I tell you so. There were several trials here for robbery, the ordnance and naval stores at Cove, and we beat the counsel for the Crown in every one of them. It was in one of those trials that I got an opportunity of making a *display* which, darling, you will readily believe was a grand one. . . .

SOURCE : MSS 5759, NLI I Standish O'Grady.

422

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 6 April 1813

My darling Love,

I enclose you two bills, the one for \pounds 100 and the other for \pounds 600. Get them both accepted and take out of the former as much money as you may want till my arrival. With the other you will take care, love, that no bill of mine should be protested. . . .

... I have two briefs for cases before the Sheriff on Thursday and two arbitrations also for that day. And on Friday I have several deeds and equity pleadings to get rid of before I can escape out of this. Be assured, however, that I will not stay here a single moment beyond the time when I can escape from it.

Darling, I am prevented from writing more to you this day by a crowd greater than one of my *Kerry* mobs.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

423

From his wife to Grand Parade, Cork, readdressed to Merrion Square

[Dublin] 8 April 1813

My dearest Dan,

... With grief I perceive you still, my heart, persevere in accepting bills—to the amount of $\pounds 500$ Mr. Sugrue¹ has drawn on you for which he has taken up provision. To do him justice he did not show me those acceptances for him until I repeatedly required to get vouchers for the $\pounds 500$. The other two hundred has been applied to take up your acceptances for McGillicuddy. I shall say no more, my heart, on this subject until we meet, only to assure you with the truest sincerity that the only thing I have to make me unhappy is your accepting

328

bills, and I am confident, were you aware of the constant uneasiness it gives me, you would entirely give it up and, I trust, ere long you will indulge me. I judged, my heart, that you would not be at home as soon as you expected. I have read of you this morning in the Southern Reporter respecting the trials of those men for robbing the Ordnance stores. Even their honourable mention of you does not reconcile me to this paper. I hope you have not again subscribed for it. Believe me, love, I do not mean to compliment you when I say there is no man of your consequence or abilities less vain than you are. In truth you think too little of yourself and allow every person to make too free with you but, heart, notwithstanding you have the respect and good wishes of every individual who knows you. You said not a word of the bonfire which was made in Tralee the night of your arrival. Yesterday I heard it from Mary Hussey. . . . James² is yet with Connell.³ I saw him yesterday looking better. He confessed to me that it was of the greatest service to him to be in society where he would be restrained from talking of ideal misfortunes. O'Riordan4 is very anxious he should for some time longer change the scene now and again, and away from his own family, for when with any of them he continually indulges himself in talking what is past and of what may come to pass. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 James Sugrue.
- 2 O'Connell's brother.
- 3 Probably Connell O'Connell, attorney.
- 4 John O'Reardon, M.D. (1776-1866), Marlborough Street, Dublin. A close relative of O'Connell; studied in Paris; physician to the fever hospital, Cork Street, Dublin, 1818-48.

424

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Carhen, 25 April 1813

My Dear Dan,

I this day received yours of the 22nd and am truly sorry to find your accounts of our dear James¹ are even more unfavourable than the last. I carried your last letter to your uncle² and suggested to him to lock it up after my reading it for him, which he did not do but left it on the table in his room and then told Ellen³ it was there for her to read. . . . He seemed

1813

for a short time to feel for poor James but immediately after began to speak of politics.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

1 O'Connell's brother.

2 Hunting-Cap.

3 O'Connell's sister.

425

From his sister Mary A. McCartie to Merrion Square

Woodview [Newmarket, Co. Cork] 30 April 1813 My dear Dan,

I was greatly disappointed at not having the pleasure of seeing you here last October. I was very happy to hear from Jerry^I that you were well when in Cork and that you left Mary and the little ones [well]. As I heard from my mother that my dear father left me a legacy of \pounds 50 and that you were the person I was to apply to for it, I will now thank you to remit it to me as soon as convenient. I would be glad to know how my dear James² and Ally² are and will expect to hear from you by return of the post. All here unite in best regards to you, Mary and your family. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 Her husband.
- 2 Her brother and sister.

426

From Samuel Stephens to Merrion Square

Shankill [Co. Dublin], 10 May 1813

My Dear O'Connell,

... I found in the *Freeman's Journal* a signature of the name of Samuel Stephens, attorney, Stephen's Green, informing the public that he did not sign the anti-Catholic petition.¹ I suspected it a fraud....

[The writer gives a long description of his attempt to find out who this Samuel Stephens might be, but he had failed to discover him.]

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 A petition signed by a number of Dublin Protestants against the proposed Catholic relief bill. It was carried to London by the lord mayor of Dublin, Abraham Bradley King, and presented together with a petition from the same persons against the commercial monopoly exercised by the East India Company. This is said to have prompted Canning to declare of the petitioners that he would be 'very curious to hear the arguments by which they have brought their minds to decide upon the expediency of praying against a commercial monopoly, and for a religious monopoly, in the same breath' (FJ, 18 Mar. 1813). The Freeman's Journal published the names of the signatories of this petition (F], 23 24, 29 Mar.; 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30 April; 6, 10 May 1813). Several persons whose names appeared in the lists of signatories had letters published denying that they had signed the petition (F], 25, 26 Mar.; 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30 April; 4, 6, 8, 10 May 1813). One of these disclaimers was signed by a Dublin attorney named Samuel Stephens (FJ, 10 May 1813). No attorney of the name appears to have been resident in Dublin at this time.

427

From Christopher Hely-Hutchinson to Merrion Square

Saturday evening, 15 May 1813

Private

My dear Sir,

The enclosed address¹ to Dr. Troy is the copy of a letter which Lord Donoughmore seems desirous should be communicated. Permit me therefore to request you will have the goodness to show it to some of your friends. I write in haste.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Unidentified.

428

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Carhen, 27 June 1813

My dear Dan,

I write at the request of Samuel McCarthy,¹ who lives since May last at Baghaghs, as the tenants there have been served with ejectment at the suit of Darby Sullivan,² who says you are carrying on the suit for him and his mentioning your name in the business has induced the people living there to consent to give him possession. Now Sam desires me say he

1813

will do as you wish on the occasion, though he bought the interest of one of the persons who lived there before and would expect you will make Sullivan, if he gets the land, give him the small part he holds on securing Sullivan in the rent. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

I Samuel McCarthy (died 1840), son of Daniel McCarthy, Sunday's Well, Killarney, and Frances, daughter of Samuel Blennerhasset. 'Married 1806 Lucy Spotswood.

2 Unidentified.

429

From John Hancock¹ to Dublin

Lisburn, 7^{mo.} 14th 1813 [14 July 1813]

Daniel O'Connell,

I am personally unknown to thee. Perhaps my name in connection with the *Belfast Magazine* may have reached thee. To prevent thy falling into an error arising from the manner of my address, I think it necessary to premise that I am not a Quaker. I adopt the numerical mode of calling the months to avoid an absurdity, as I conceive it, of using an antiquated and inappropriate phraseology: and titles I disuse as much as I can conveniently, on the grounds of the equality of mankind, a doctrine at present much out of fashion. I belong to no sect but ardently, perhaps enthusiastically, advocate the cause of religious and civil liberty. Excuse the apparent egotism of the introduction. . . .

. . . On the 12th inst. there was as usual a large procession of Orangemen in this town, headed by the Grand Master of the County of Antrim, the Sovereign of Belfast, two Captains of Yeomanry and a very few others of the higher rank. In publicly conversing on the subject next day, I stated the illegality of the Orange system and offered, in case any Orangeman would furnish me with the means of substantiating the necessary proof, that I would bring the question of illegality before a court of law. A serjeant of the artillery stepped forward and declared before a number of witnesses that he was an Orangeman and had taken the oath. He has since offered to swear before a magistrate that he took the oath. The secretary of the Orange Association of the County of Antrim sent me a message that he was ready to declare that he had taken the oath of the Orange Association but, on being asked, declined to name anyone who had seen him take the oath.

I conceive that the time is come for everyone wishing well to the peace and happiness of this country to make a decided stand against Orange aggression and to sacrifice a portion of his private ease in this cause. I wish to do my part and, if I can, procure sufficient proof to redeem my pledge of assisting to bring the question to a legal decision, but I fear the proof I have already obtained is insufficient. On this point I request thy speedy reply as to the evidence necessary to be produced that I may make an effort to induce them to furnish it. They will comply with this demand if they are not afraid to meet the question in the shape of a legal discussion. I doubt their courage for blusterers are generally cowards.

There is another matter I have greatly at heart on this subject, to promote a petition to Parliament early in next session, praying that the peaceable inhabitants of Ireland may be put under the equal protection of the law against the outrages occasioned by Orange processions as they are in England where such proceedings have been so fully disapproved by high authorities in the late discussion² in the House of Commons. I consider this measure as highly necessary to the peace of the country and imperatively demanded at the present crisis and that all lovers of peace are called upon to exert themselves in their respective situations to abate the irritating nuisance of Orangeism.

I am with sincere respect

John Hancock

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 Author of several pamphlets, grandfather of William Neilson Hancock, the political economist.
- 2 A debate in the Commons on 29 June 1813 when W. Wynn declared the Orange Order unconstitutional (*DEP*, 3 July 1813). There were two members named Wynn in the Commons, Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn.

430

From John Stevenson¹ to Merrion Square

St. Andrew Ho. [?], 15 July 1813, 7 o'clock

Dear Sir,

I this moment received this paper and was informed by the

person who gave it to me that its immaculate contents is [sic] republished this day in the Dublin Journal.²

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

I Unidentified. This letter is written on the blank leaf of the printed address of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, dated 12 July 1813, to the Orangemen of Ireland. The address is directed against the Catholic Board in Dublin and against any attempts to destroy the Protestant ascendancy.

2 Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 15 July 1813.

431

From Charles R. Christian¹ to Merrion Square

Hillsboro [Co. Down], 16 July 1813

My dear Sir,

The state of Belfast on the 12th inst. has been dreadful. I send you a report of the Const. Chronicle. I am hurried here at sessions. The following facts may be of some use in showing a source of the evil. The Rev. E. Boyd² of Dromore, one of the new appointed magistrates for certain purposes, for such there are this county of Down, as the appointers of such found the magistrates affection, information and liberality will not lend themselves to their mischievous purposes. Mr. Ruthven³ has not arrived here. Should any party question arise in order to conciliation I mean to open the bridges of corruption to the jury, all Presbyterians, here showing that the demons of discord proceed much from the Protestant clergy by dividing so that they may tithe all. And as I can adduce strong grounds for my argument in consequence of Boyd, the curate of Bishop Leslie's,⁴ first floating the Orange petition through the Orange lodges, his after appointment to the magistracy as his reward, and the Protestant Bishop of Cork, Dr. [St.] Lawrence,⁵ the father-in-law of Bishop Leslie, together with Bishop Leslie, parading in front of the Orange procession to Maralin, a country thickly inhabited by Catholics and that on the 12th inst. This I have from good authority and this I conceive delightful for, should it be impressed on the Presbyterian people accompanied with the republication of my lamented friend, the Rev. Sam[ue]l Barber's6 famous pamphlet in answer to the Bishop of Cloyne⁷ must have a good tendency in this North. . . . The North has been in apathy. Should the tithe question be revived, this with the falling off of trade

from the American War must bring people to a sense of feeling.

There is no doubt that the Orange flag was hoisted at 4 in the morning of the 12th inst. on the steeple of Dromore Church with a feux de joie on its raising and removal in the evening and that, too, by the orders of E. Boyd, a justice and now vicar of Bishop Leslie, of course under the Bishop's auspices. It might be well to see who is this Mr. Boyd. He is a late importation from the Queen's County, his father, the Rev. Henry, came a few years ago to this county in the most abject poverty and by the generosity of the much to be lamented the late Dr. Percy,8 whose humanity was ready to extend to persons under distressing circumstances, provided not on[ly] for the father but for the two sons, the Rev. Elgy [Boyd] having about £800 a year in the Church now and thus raised to affluence. They repay their benefactor and respect his memory by deprecating that system he pursued of universal benevolence. . . . Alas, the change! in the regeneration of this virulent dissension. Unfortunate Ireland! Unhappy people!

[P.S.] Should anything like this meet the public view it must be gratifying to Countess Clanwilliam⁹ and Col. Meade¹⁰ as his son¹¹ is married to Percy's daughter and detests Boyd. He is also in the Church. I will be here three days.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 Attorney, Shandy Hall, Rathfriland, Co. Down.
- 2 Rev. Hannington Elgee Boyd, Dromaragh Glebe, Dromore, Co. Down, prebendary of Dromore.
- 3 Edward Southwell Ruthven (formerly Trotter) (1772-1836), Oakley, Co. Down; assumed the surname Ruthven in 1800; M.P. for Downpatrick, 1806-07, 1830-32; Dublin City, 1832-36 when he was unseated on petition. See DNB.
- 4 John Leslie (1774-1854), bishop of Dromore, 1812-20, second son of Charles Powell Leslie, Glasslough, Co. Monaghan; translated to see of Elphin, 1820.
- 5 Hon. Thomas St. Lawrence (1755-1831), bishop of Cork and Ross, 1807-31; son of first earl of Howth. His second daughter, Isabella, married in 1808 Bishop John Leslie of Dromore.
- 6 Rev. Samuel Barber (died 1811), Presbyterian minister in Rathfriland, Co. Down, from 1763 till his death. Imprisoned during 1798 for his activities in the Rebellion.
- 7 Richard Woodward (1726-94), bishop of Cloyne, 1781-94. Author of The Present State of the Church of Ireland . . . (Dublin 1787). Rev. Samuel Barber's publication was Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled, The Present State of the Church of Ireland (Dublin 1787).

1813

- 8 Thomas Percy, bishop of Dromore from 1782 until his death in 1812.
- 9 Theodosia Meade (1743-1817), wife of first earl of Clanwilliam.
- 10 Hon. Robert Meade (1772-1852), colonel of the 31st Regiment. Son of the first earl of Clanwilliam.
- 11 Recte brother. Hon. Pierce Meade (1776-1834), son of the first earl of Clanwilliam; archdeacon of Dromore, 1812-34; married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Thomas Percy, bishop of Dromore.

432

From T. [?].] B. Mathews [?]

Portsmouth, 22 July 1813

Sir,

Happening to go into a coffee-house here while waiting for embarkation, I saw in [an] old newspaper the following paragraph of which, though I have not the honour of your personal acquaintance, I think on public grounds you ought to be apprised. 'Some of these Hibernian patriots including Mr. O'Connell himself avow the design of separating Ireland from England and to this ultimate object all others are subvenient [sic].'

Now, Sir, hitherto as far as my humble powers could go, I have assisted your cause but if this paragraph is not explicitly and formally contradicted, my sentiments and of course [about two words missing] must change. The above extract is taken from the *Morning Post* of Monday, July 19th.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

433

From his sister Mary A. McCartie to Merrion Square

Woodview [Newmarket, Co. Cork], 25 July 1813

My dear brother,

I wrote to you in April last and did not get an answer. I hope to hear now from you by return of the post. . . . The purport of my letter to you was to apply to you for a small legacy that our dear father left me of fifty pounds. I hope you will give it to Dan Duggan¹ for me or pay it to Kitty² in Cork at the assizes. I would not trouble you so soon but I wish to go to see her and a little money is very necessary. . . . SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 Probably Dan Duggan, Newmarket, Co. Cork, brother of John Duggan, Jr., of Strongfort, Newmarket, Co. Cork.
- 2 Their sister, Kitty Moynihan (c. 1790-10 Oct. 1867). She married 19 October 1805 Humphrey Moynihan of Freemount and Rathbeg, both at Rathmore, Co. Kerry.

434

From E.B. to Merrion Square

28 July 1813

My dear Sir,

Men who have been total strangers to each other have found their hearts drawn together by the irresistible cord of sympathy. I, who am a total stranger to you, address you in the language of familiar friendship. I never saw you but twice, never heard you speak but once-yesterday in the case of the King-v-Magee.1 Your language I found, I shall not say convincing, but dazzling and overpowering-and as the soul of man is by nature darting into the sublime region of eternity, I beheld with ecstasy the fire of your soul darting through your eyes while addressing the suppressors of vice, the bible distributors. I have just received the enclosed address² and think it much better bestowed in enclosing it to you than retaining it myself. My guinea can go no farther than f.1.2.9 while the overwhelming influence of your eloquence must not merely open the eyes to truth, but awaken the mind to repentance; Poor Magee! Alas! poor Yorick!!!

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

¹ John Magee, proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, was prosecuted by the government for publishing (*DEP*, 23 Mar. 1813) an alleged libel on the duke of Richmond's administration. Magee was tried and convicted at the end of July 1813. As counsel for his defence O'Connell delivered, on 27 July 1813, one of the most famous speeches of his career.

2 Not extant.

435

To his wife, 7 August 1813, from Limerick

His legal business is 'increasing almost beyond endurance'. SOURCE : Fitz-Patrick, Corr., I, 20

To his wife, Mallow

Tralee, 16 August 1813

My darling love,

... It is to me the only unpleasant sensation I know of that my sweet Mary cannot enjoy the pleasures of Kerry which are so gratifying to me. I would doubly enjoy them if you could share them with me.... John's¹ case with Maurice O'Connor is fixed for the morning. Prejudice runs high but there is not the least appearance of a spirit of quarrel or wrangle. I have determined to take no part at the trial as I should fear much to allow myself to talk on it. I pledge myself solemnly to you not to say one word. You know I never broke that word with you.

source : MSS 5759, NLI I His brother. See letter 399, note 1.

437

From Nicholas P. O'Gorman to Tralee

Newpark, Ennis, 19 August 1813

My Dear Dan,

I yesterday received a letter from Geary¹ requesting by your direction that I should send down an account of last Thursday's affair² and, in case it did not arrive in time, to take it from McDonnell's paper.³ I answered Geary the moment I received his letter but not time enough for his last insertion and gave it as my opinion that McDonnell's was in the main a good account but I transmitted him the particulars to use as he pleased.

I have now, my dear Dan, to request you will give yourself no uneasiness on this topic. You were advised by some of the bravest and most skilful men on those subjects in existence. Leader's⁴ very dexterous proposition⁵ left it nothing but a matter quite of necessity that we should accede to it. In case of a fatality on either side the rejection of it would be ruinous. I struggled against opening your lips⁶ until I was coerced by the unanimous opinion of Terry O'Brien,⁷ Tha. Ryan,⁸ MI. Furnell,⁹ Lyons of Croom,¹⁰ the 2 Howleys,¹¹ Nichs. Maher¹² etc., and that after taking them aside and taking their opinions seriatim that Leader's proposition would not be rejected was their unanimous opinion especially when Bennett¹³ smoothed it by saying you might if you pleased say you meant to make no apology or concession whatsoever in saying what you were pressed to say.

Leader is now known mutual and neutral as he appeared then to have been to be Magrath's friend. He therefore begged the way for Magrath's apology.

I on the night before represented to Bennett the impropriety of a meeting so near town and wished to fix on O'Brien's lodge where there could be no ground for a multitude of any kind, gentle or simple, to attend and which multitude in truth forced the kind of agreement that was entered into.

I see the account in McDonnell's has been copied into the *Correspondent* and will be into all the other papers. I consider it a good one and very faithful.

My dear Dan, say whether my presence in Cork may be necessary and, if so, say the word and no inconvenience shall prevent me. There's no fair man can think ill of the matter but you know the host of enemies you have and the consequent misrepresentation.

Leader's proposition was certainly most unprecedented and embarrassing. We had but the one course to pursue under the unanimous opinions of *every one present*.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Daniel Geary, proprietor of the Limerick Evening Post and Clare Sentinel.
- 2 A duel which was arranged for 13 August between O'Connell and Counsellor Maurice (Mark) Magrath, in consequence of an alleged misunderstanding which occurred between them in the court-house at Limerick on the previous day (Dublin Correspondent, 18 Aug. 1813). Maurice Magrath, B.L. (born c. 1765), 2 Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin. Son of Patrick Magrath, landowner, and a native of Co. Cork. Educated Trinity College, Dublin, 1784-88; called to bar, 1796; assistant barrister for Co. Wicklow from 1815.
- 3 The Limerick Gazette owned and edited by Alexander McDonnell.
- 4 Nicholas Philpot Leader (c. 1773-1836), J.P., B.L.; M.P. for Kilkenny city, 1830-32; Dromagh Castle, Kanturk, Co. Cork.
- 5 Leader had interposed between O'Connell and Magrath when they were about to fire, 'requesting, as Mr. O'Connell was well known to entertain no enmity to Mr. Magrath, he should say . . . he was about to fight a man against whom he entertained no enmity' (Dublin Chronicle, 18 Aug. 1813). See also Michael MacDonagh, The Life of Daniel O'Connell (London 1903), p. 71.

1813

- 6 O'Connell's second and his friends agreed that he should comply with Leader's request. The contestants were accordingly reconciled without having exchanged shots (*Dublin Chronicle*, 18 Aug. 1813).
- 7 Terence O'Brien, Attorney, Limerick.
- 8 Thaddeus Ryan (1760-1843), Scarteen, Co. Tipperary.
- 9 Michael Furnell, Ballyseeda, Co. Limerick.
- 10 James D. Lyons, Toureen, Croom, Co. Limerick.
- 11 Of Rich Hill, Co. Limerick, wealthy Limerick merchants and landowners.
- 12 Nicholas Maher, Thurles, Co. Tipperary; M.P. for Co. Tipperary, 1844-52. Later of Turtulla, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
- 13 George Bennett (1777-1856); B.L., 1800; K.C., 1822. See Boase.

438

To his wife, Mallow, 22 August 1813, from Cork

'O'Connor's trial¹ went off very pleasingly to my feelings.'

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 See letter 399, note 1, and letter 416.

439

To his wife, Mallow

Cork, 24 August 1813

My darling love,

I got no letter from you this morning as I had expected and just now I was told that you had been taken ill on Sunday. There cannot be living a more miserable man than I have been since I heard this account. If I had not such a quantity of criminal business and so many wretches whose lives depend on my exertions, I should certainly leave this in the morning to see you. Nothing, however, shall prevent my being with you on Saturday next . . . although I must come back on Monday to attend the Catholic meeting here¹ at which there is to be great work between the various popish parties here. But I shall be miserable until I see you, my own, my dearest love. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I A meeting of Catholics of Cork took place on 30 August 1813 (DEP, 2, 4, 7 Sept. 1813).

To his wife, Mallow

Cork, 1 September 1813

My darling Love,

I was pleased to get your *scrap* of a letter this day. I trust, my heart, you are as well as you say. . . .

I suppose you heard of my being chaired¹ and of the complete triumph which the people have had over the rascally Board who are now busy protesting and doing all the mischief that they possibly can. It is well, however, that their means of doing that mischief is now very limited indeed.

I will be with you, darling, on Saturday. I cannot possibly get to you an hour sooner and indeed even then I am compelled to tear myself away from a great deal of business.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Probably refers to O'Connell's having been given the chair at the Cork meeting on 30 August 1813 (DEP, 4 Sept. 1813).

441

To his wife, Merrion Square

Killarney, 12 September 1813

My darling Love,

I am just setting off for Iveragh and hope this letter will reach you quite recovered from the fatigues of your journey....

... I came in here early and went on the lake. We dined in Innisfallen Island and, whilst we were at dinner, a tremendous storm came on so that the lake was as much disturbed as one of our wild bays in Iveragh. We remained in consequence on the island all night and until the returning dawn brought something of a calm. We had seven ladies and nine men stowed in the cottage with a fiddler all night. I danced country dances as well as I used to do before I married. We were yesterday again on the lake and had an extremely wet day but were completely fenced against it by coats and umbrellas. I did not receive a single drop. All your friends are well. Poor Splinter doing rather better. His daughter¹ is with him, very ordinary and very chatty. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Catherine O'Connell.

To his wife, Merrion Square

Derrynane, 20 September 1813

My darling Mary,

... Tell Maurice that I am glad to find he has got even to the third place and hope he will not at all events go lower. Tell him I used always to be first of *all* my classes and so may he too if he chooses... I am indeed anxious that Maurice should not throw away in idleness the talents which God has given him.

... You tell me that my darling Morgan looks thin. Take care of him, heart, he is apt to be voracious in his appetite and may injure his constitution by an excess in that particular. Consult Labat¹ and Kearney² about him constantly.

I have not yet been at Waterville, darling, much as it seems to terrify you. Nor has the rain allowed me one hour for shooting.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

r Samuel Bell Labatt, M.D., 62 Sackville Street, Dublin.

2 J. F. Kearney, M.D., 163 Capel Street, Dublin.

443

To his wife, Merrion Square

Derrynane, 21 September 1813

My darling love,

... My uncle¹ has made me a present of a mortgage he had on the lands of John O'Connell² of Riverstown³ for £840. Pretty well that, but what is better is, that the possession of this mortgage will enable me to get the complete dominion and ownership of the lands themselves as I will immediately file a bill to foreclose. All the family are anxious I should have the property, as this is the only way of keeping it out of the hands of that bastard⁴ of Spotswood that unfortunate John O'Connell is bound to father.

Darling, will you go to Labatt as soon as you can and beg of him to send me by post five or six packages of cow pock with directions how to use it and if he will be so good as to add directions for the manner of taking the disease from one patient and communicating it to another. It will be necessary for him to be very explicit as *the surgeons* of this country are not very skilful and the scoundrels are inoculating with the small pox at a furious rate....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Hunting-Cap.

342

- 2 John Charles O'Connell (1762-1837), Foilnageragh, Portmagee, Co. Kerry; cousin and clerk to Hunting-Cap and steward to O'Connell at Derrynane after Hunting-Cap's death. He was a brother of Lt. Gen. Sir Maurice Charles Philip O'Connell, Kt.
- 3 Riverstown or Ballinahow, The Glen, near Portmagee, Co. Kerry.
- 4 The illegitimate son of John O'Connell's wife and John Spotswood, Valentia Island, Co. Kerry.

444

From Robert Moore¹

Weymouth, 27 September [1813]

Dear Sir,

Having waited for years to see whether time might reconcile my countrymen in their political opinions, I have published in Dublin a second edition of my answer to Sir H. Parnell addressed to the Catholics who met the 18th [recte 13th] of January 1800 at the Exchange where you (then a very young man) distinguished yourself by one of the best and most patriotic speeches that was ever uttered in any assembly.² It is now very clear that all parties have united against your claims and that nothing but a repeal of the Act of Union can ever bring about what the Catholics wish for and which alone can preserve the Irish Protestants. During the admn. of the D. of Richmond³ I offered Sir H. Parnell to sign a requisition to the sheriff of the Q[ueen]'s Co[unt]y to convene the freeholders to take the conduct of the viceroy and his secretary⁴ into consideration, and in case he refused, to sign one for that purpose as a magistrate. This he declined as he is fond of half measures; I was the first on the requisition to Sir Jas. Riddall which meeting⁵ was rendered useless by the machinations of Mr. Pole and his friends. I still remain of the opinion that the repeal might be obtained, provided certain measures were adopted and pursued with firmness. That some privations will be the consequence must be very obvious to you. For my part I will subscribe from one hundred pounds to five, and that yearly should it be found necessary. Let the

friends of Ireland unite and we can make amends to those who may suffer for their attachment to their country. I have expressed my sentiments very fully in my address to you and your friends, but I hear the man who printed it and was prevailed on to keep it back for six months has secreted it as much as he could do, though he ran no manner of risk as my name was signed to it. I have but a very poor extract of the speech you made at the Exchange. Had I been in possession of a better I would have published it. I read what I have, frequently with a melancholy pleasure. I hope my friend Ambrose Moore⁶ will come forward manfully as he need not be afraid of embarrassing the present ministry. I can only say that I will step forward when called on and go over at any season of the year to support the real friends of Ireland and will never advise any step in which I will not take the most prominent situation. I am now to apologize to you for the trouble I have given you by this letter and, be assured, I should not have taken up so much of your time if I had not hoped that I might have been of some use; in answer to Mr. [sic] Parnell there are three or four words made use of that were not wrote by me.

[P.S.] I return home to Cheltenham the tenth of next month.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 Hon. Robert Moore (1740-1831), son of fifth earl of Drogheda.
- 2 On 13 January 1800 at a Catholic meeting in Dublin, O'Connell moved several resolutions against the Union and supported them in a speech in which he said: 'I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember that they have a country and that they will never accept of any advantage as a *sect* which would debase and destroy them as a *people*' (*DEP*, 14 Jan. 1800).
- 3 Charles (Lennox), fourth duke of Richmond (1764-1819); M.P. for Sussex, 1790-1806; lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1807-13. See DNB.
- 4 William Wellesley Pole.
- 5 A meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin convened pursuant to requisition on 18 September 1810, Sir James Riddall, high sheriff, in the chair. Petitions to king and parliament in favour of repeal were agreed on and a permanent committee of twenty-one appointed for the purpose of forwarding this object (John O'Connell, Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell [Dublin 1846] I, 45-56).
- 6 Unidentified. He was chairman at this meeting of 13 January 1800 (see above note 2).

To his wife, Merrion Square

Carhen, 29 September 1813

My darling love,

I just this moment got your long letter and sit down to write a short one in reply. Do, darling, precisely as you please about the building over the back premises. Whatever you do, I will approve of. Do you not think it too late to begin this season? If you do not, get Sugrue or the Hicksons to make a bargain for you, and set about the work at once....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

446

To his wife, Merrion Square

Derrynane, 1 October 1813

My darling love,

On the day of the pattern I wrote you my last letter. . . . As I left this place early, the fellows availed themselves of the opportunity to flog each other *elegantly*. I do not believe there ever were so many broken heads and bloody faces in the country before.

With respect to the building backwards, my plan, my love, would be to turn it into a pantry and bedroom for James the servant below and a study above. It should be so contrived as to enable me to set up my present bookcases, and the expense of setting them up should be taken into the estimate for the building. I would require also a dressing closet back of the study, and perhaps some other *conveniences* could be arranged for myself personally. There is an architect of the name of Elsam¹ with whom James Sugrue is very intimate, who would, I think, give you a plan without any charge, and if you be determined to go on with the work, the sooner you begin the better. Take great care of the person you employ that they should not violate their written contract under the pretence of *extra work*. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Richard Elsam, architect, 32 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin.

To his wife, Merrion Square

Derrynane, 3 October 1813

My darling Mary,

The post is quite regular here but I am obliged to write on post days before I get your letters. This gives our correspondence the appearance of tediousness.

Poor Ellen¹ is not at all apprised of the very dangerous state to which her unfortunate husband² is reduced. He continues to correspond with her in a good deal of spirits and writes as neat a hand as ever he did. She is indeed to be pitied. She has been suffering a great deal this some time back with pains which she supposed to be rheumatic, but at length one of her legs began to swell and she was in such pain that she went to Carhen where Dr. Moriarty, the younger,³ happened to be and consulted him. He is decidedly of opinion that her disease is very different and requires *mercury* for its cure. She is accordingly going through a course of that medicine. You may imagine the feelings of herself and her family at finding that this poison has been for years in her blood and corroding her frame. Is she not to be pitied? . . .

In my next I will inform you of the time of my departure from this. I shall not give Miss Hussey⁴ her escort up. You need not however, my love, be so *jealous* on the subject as it would not be easy to prevail on me to give you *cause*.

I am just going to *Waterville* but I will not remain there more than one night.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 O'Connell's sister.
- 2 Splinter.
- 3 Probably Dr. Maurice Moriarty, Killarney.
- 4 Mary Hussey.

448

To his wife, Merrion Square, Dublin

[Derrynane, c. 12 October 1813]

My sweetest Love,

I expected to be able to leave this place today but my uncle has prevented me, as he is about to change his will into a deed settling his property instead of bequeathing it.¹ There will be a great advantage in this arrangement as it will free us and especially me from [one or two words missing] duty which, as his personal fortune is considerable, would fall heavy. Besides it secures the property to our children should he chance to survive me. This deed detains me here one or two days longer. The next post will inform you of the particulars of my route to Dublin. The only news here is *a secret*—Charles Sugrue's intended match with Miss Segerson.² Everything is arranged for the match.

Darling, be assured that I am most impatient to be in Dublin with you and my babes.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I In October 1813 Hunting-Cap settled a substantial property on O'Connell entailing it to O'Connell's heir male.
- 2 On 18 October 1813 Charles Sugrue married Maria, daughter of Francis Segerson, George's Quay, Cork.

449

From Hunting-Cap to 30 Merrion Square

Derrynane, 14 December 1813

Dear Dan,

The [Dublin] Evening Post of Thursday the 2nd of this inst. brought me the speech of the Attorney General in aggravation of punishment¹ on Mr. John Magee and your reply to it, and though he denied alluding to you in that speech, yet I think every person who was present must have entertained a different opinion. But though some of them were rather sharp and indecorous yet I must say I do not think they merited or justified the intemperate and vehement reply you set out with and continued to pursue till prevented by the interposition of the court. However averse and hostile the Attorney-General may be to the Catholics and to their constitutional pursuits to obtain Emancipation, the high situation he enjoys as first law officer of the Crown demands a degree of respect and consideration from the bar which should not be lightly forgot or neglected. In some cases, perhaps, the prejudice and animosity of an Attorney-General may carry him beyond the limits of temperance, discretion and decency, but the rank which his situation gives him and the consideration in which he is held by the court should restrain the bar from treating him with the harshness and severity which his con-

346

duct and language may perhaps otherwise demand, and to this may justly be added the risk the advocate runs of being committed by the court for using intemperate or irritating language towards him in their presence, as they may construe it into a disrespect and insult to the Bench.

I have therefore most earnestly to request, and will even add to insist, that you will in future conduct yourself with calmness, temperance and moderation towards him, and that you will not suffer yourself to be hurried by hate or violence of passions to use any language unbecoming the calm and intelligent barrister or the judicious and well-bred gentleman, or that may tend to expose you to the reprehension, if not to the resentment, of the court. The trial of Mr. Magee next month for publishing the Kilkenny resolutions will, of course, bring on discussions between the Attorney-General and you. I have not only to entreat, but decidedly to insist, that on your part they will be carried on with calmness, discretion and decency, and that you will not in any degree glance at anything that has passed between you on former occasions or animadvert with severity or strained conclusions on what may fall from him. The flattering power of popular applause has often subdued reason and laid people to acts for which they severely suffered, but believe me, my dear friend, it has ever proved a very perishable commodity. No man of solid sense will ever be anxious to look for or obtain it. The part you take at the Catholic Board is the more laudable because it is the result of an honest, firm, unalterable desire to bring about the Emancipation of the Catholics, but ever in the pursuit of that very desirable object, moderation, prudence and deliberate reflection should never be lost sight of. This I strongly recommend to your serious consideration.

Now to business. Have you got the leases of the roads executed? . . . What are the last accounts you had from poor James?² I am anxious to hear from him.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- When John Magee was brought up to be sentenced for his alleged libel on the duke of Richmond's administration (see letter 434, note 1), the attorney-general moved to have Magee's sentence increased in consequence of the *Dublin Evening Post*'s having published O'Connell's speech in Magee's defence which, the attorney-general claimed, contained a libel against himself (*DEP*, 2, 4 Dec. 1813).
- 2 O'Connell's brother.

From Terence O'Brien¹ to Merrion Square

[5 Patrick Street], Limerick, 15 December 1813

My dear Counsellor,

Dr. McCarthy² of Newcastle [west, Co. Limerick] is the person who I told you had the money to lend. I wrote to him a most pressing letter for it and took the liberty of offering to join you in the bond. Callaghan,³ whom he promised the money to, is his brother-in-law. He is a distiller in Kanturk. I am sorry we were late in our application but I hope it will be no inconvenience to you. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

1 Attorney.

2 D. McCarthy, M.D.

3 Of Messrs. Callaghan & Bros., Glen Distillery, Kanturk, Co. Cork.

451

From Thomas Ring,¹ Beaver St., 22 December 1813, to Merrion Square

A long letter from Thomas Ring, a member of the Brick and Plasterers Corporation, thanking O'Connell for his advice on 'the case of my answer to the man who was the most virulent supporter in the Brick and Plasterers Corporation of Alderman Thorp,² that is to say, Richard Elsam'. Ring adds that he has helped Catholic apprentice employees of his for years and paid for their education. He now asks compensation for future expenses incurred by his support of the Catholic cause, as well as for some expenses already incurred for that cause. Ring has tried to have Catholics admitted to the Brick and Plasterers Corporation. Apparently he has already talked to O'Connell and is now writing this letter to him in order to make a formal application for the money to the Catholic Board.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 A builder of Beaver Street, Dublin.
- 2 Charles Thorp, Mountjoy Square, East, Dublin; lord mayor, 1801.
To Hunting-Cap

Merrion Square, 28 December 1813

My dearest Uncle,

The very kind and affectionate tone of your last letter, a letter in which I easily recognize the parental cordiality of the best of parents and friends, consoles me entirely for the species of reproach which that letter contained. I am also consoled by being able to assure you that, had you been present and seen the situation in which I was placed, you would be far, very far from thinking that there was any excess of violence in my language which was not called for by the attack made upon me. I stood in the novel situation of a barrister put upon his trial, with the grossest language used towards him by the Attorney-General who had arranged his plan with the Bench beforehand and introduced, an hour before the court sat, as many of the placemen of the Bar as he could collect in order to support and cheer him. He had arranged with the Bench to condemn me if I retaliated upon him and, thinking himself thus secure, he addressed the entire of his discourse at me. The report in the newspaper can give you but an insignificant idea of the tenor of his language, and of his insulting manner it can give you no idea whatsoever.

Under those circumstances, believe me, my dearest Uncle, there was but one course to be pursued. If you were present you would advise but one course, the fixing on him a decided insult at all risks. There was no chance of lying by and sending him a message for he would then indeed file an information and I should have to remain two years in Newgate. There were many enemies of mine and of our cause present. There were also several friends, and both enemies and friends agree that it was impossible for any man to get out of such a situation better than I did, and they all attribute my success to the manner in which I put the quarrel on the Attorney-General. George Lidwell¹ was in town and attended in court to be my friend if the attorney-general should make a friend necessary. Lidwell highly approved of my conduct and published at all the clubs here that the Attorney-General had disgraced himself for ever, first in attacking a gentleman of the Bar virulently and then in shrinking from the retort in a cowardly manner. In short this is the universal opinion, and I mention it to you only to show you that there were circumstances connected with this which cannot be present to your mind, and which if they were, would fully vindicate my violence. I entreat of you to bestow that in thus seeking to justify myself I do not argue from any vanity or self-sufficiency, but it is a duty which I owe you as well as myself to state to you those facts from whence you will be able to draw the conclusion which the public have done, that unless I replied in the manner I did I should have been put down fully, even personally and in profession. And as to the interference of the judges I am safe in telling you the fact that partiality so gross was perhaps never before exhibited.

With respect to the ensuing trial I will, of course, punctually comply with your directions, and indeed those directions besides the implicit obedience which I owe them are recommended to me by every consideration. Even as a point of honour there would be no merit in trampling on a fallen man. I could not say anything so unbearable by a gentleman as what I have already said to him, and it is my duty as well as my inclination now to abstain from anything harsh and degrading. But should he rally, should he attack me again, should he use disrespectful and contemptuous language to me, surely in that case you do not direct me not to retort in similar terms. What am I to do in that case? I pledge myself to you not to begin, I pledge myself to you not to travel out of the strictest line of moderation in tone, manner and language unless I am first attacked. But if I am assailed with foul and intemperate language you would not, I know well, have me put up with it or allow any man to tarnish my character or honour with impunity. And it is in this sense that I understand your direction. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 George Lidwill (died 1839), Dromard, Templemore, Co. Tipperary, landlord and litterateur; high sheriff of Co. Tipperary, 1807.

453

To Hunting-Cap

Merrion Square, 6 January 1814

My dearest Uncle,

Since I wrote to you last I am in possession of a second letter from you directing me to pay 10 guineas as your con-

tribution to the vote of the Catholic Board to me.1 I am very proud of this mark of your approval, and entirely agree with you that my immediate relations ought not to take any part in the collection of this money. Nor is it indeed at all necessary that they should, for I never could believe there existed so strong a sentiment of kindness towards an individual as I am told has been evinced on this occasion. Several Protestants have contributed, one gentleman of that persuasion sent yesterday ten guineas, and I am told-for, of course, I do not take any part in the business-that the list of subscribers is filling up very fast. The articles have been nearly arranged, and there seems not the least doubt of the complete execution of this vote. I own I am not a little vain of this mark of kindness from my countrymen as it seems to prove to me that the disinterested purity with which I have endeavoured to advocate the liberty and religion of Ireland has not only been appreciated but very, very much indeed overrated.

My last letter has given you, I trust, complete satisfaction with respect to the line of conduct which I mean to pursue towards the Attorney-General.² Rely on it that your affectionate commands shall be most scrupulously obeyed. I will not say or do anything that can be constructed into offence but, if I am attacked, I will repel the assault with interest. I do not at all imagine he will recommence; on the contrary, I am told there does not exist a more miserable man than he has been since his last attempt. I have heard this from excellent authority. The attempt to which Finlay³ alluded in his speech related in truth to a case before the Chief Baron⁴ at Limerick where I got a verdict from a jury in a cause in which he imagined I had made a personal allusion to him and in which he certainly took a strong part against my client. The report of that transaction reached town in a very exaggerated shape, and the Attorney-General's partisans endeavoured to call a meeting of the benchers to have a censure voted in general terms which, without directly naming me, might be understood to mean me. The Master of the Rolls5 was sounded by the Chancellor6 on the subject. His reply was, 'I tell you, my Lord, I will give any man who gives me an opportunity of speaking of Mr. O'Connell's conduct at a meeting of the Benchers f_{500} . I never was so grateful to any man as I should be to the person who gave me such an opportunity.' This fact I have from the very best authority. But this determination of Curran and, indeed, the opinion of the chief baron himself

concurred in having all notion of a meeting of the Benchers on the subject abandoned. This it was that Finlay obscurely hinted at, for with respect to stripping me of my gown the benchers could no more do it (unless for some *scandalous crime* which I presume they do not reckon upon) than they could strip you of your estate. They have no authority to do it and the entire Bar would, for their *own* sakes, revolt at any attempt of the kind. Set your mind at rest on that subject. Believe me, you never will hear of any effort being made with

that view.

[Account of land transactions of Hunting-Cap, 'the splendid gift you made me of the Bolus mortgage'. 'I am also paying off Mr. Finn the balance of my sister's fortune.']

Believe me, my dearest Uncle, that your kindness is not thrown away upon cold ingratitude. Never was there a man more beloved and reverenced by his relatives than you are, and never did any man deserve affectionate veneration so much.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- I The Catholic Board resolved on 11 December 1813 that O'Connell be presented with a service of plate worth a thousand guineas, and a committee was appointed to collect money for its purchase (DEP, 14, 16 Dec. 1813). At this meeting also the board passed a resolution in condemnation of the veto (DEP, 16 Dec. 1813).
- 2 See letter 452.
- 3 John Finlay (1780-1856), called to the bar in 1809.
- 4 Standish O'Grady (1766-1840), attorney-general, 1803-05; lord chief baron, 1805-31; created Baron O'Grady and Viscount Guillamore, 1831. See DNB.
- 5 John Philpot Curran (1750-1817), master of the rolls, 1806-14; father of Sarah Curran. See DNB.
- 6 Thomas (Manners-Sutton) (1756-1842), created Baron Manners of Foston, 20 April 1807. Lord chancellor of Ireland, 1 May 1807-November 1827. See DNB.

1814

From James McCarthy¹ to Merrion Square

Killarney, 18 January 1814

My dear Counsellor,

[States that he has received an offer of foreign service from Major McCarthy² and asks O'Connell ' with your usual kindness and attention to my welfare arrange as speedily as possible everything necessary for my departure'. He adds that, if O'Connell is too busy to write, he can give word to James O'Leary, at present in Dublin, who will pass it on.]

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

I Unidentified.

2 Major William McCarthy, 96th Foot; promoted to lieutenant-colonel, June 1814.

455

To George Bryan, Jenkinstown, Kilkenny

Merrion Square, 24 January 1814

My dear Bryan,

I delayed to reply to your letter until I could ascertain whether I could procure your attendance to be dispensed with at Magee's trial.¹ You will easily believe that I exerted myself as much as possible in order to be able to comply with your request. There are few, very few, occurrences in life that could give me so much sincere pleasure as gratifying you in any particular, but I lament to say that in this instance I have not succeeded, as *your presence* at the trial, must, I fear, be required. At the same time that I think I can promise you that you shall not be examined as a witness yet, I repeat, *your presence* will be necessary. At least it is so considered by the friends of Magee. The trial will, I presume, commence in the first week of February and cannot take up by any possibility more than two days.

SOURCE : Papers of the Hon. Bryan Bellew

1 John Magee was again prosecuted for libel by the government because of the publication in the *Dublin Evening Post* (7 Aug. 1813) of a series of resolutions passed at a meeting of the Catholics of Co. Kilkenny on 4 August 1813, containing an alleged libel on the duke of Richmond's administration (*DEP*, 8, 10 Feb. 1814). Magee was found guilty and given an additional sentence of six months imprisonment and a fine of $f_{.1,000}$ (*DEP*, 12 Feb. 1814).

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Cork, 9 February 1814

My Dear Dan,

... [sad situation of James'¹ health, even apparently mentally affected, and Myles may have to go to Bristol to fetch him.] I forgot in my hurry yesterday to add to your bill $\pounds 23.2.2$ which I received from the different parishes, since you left the country. I mean the subscriptions to the Board. I now enclose you $\pounds 23$ and it has occurred to me to return this money as a subscription from these parishes towards the purchase of your plate² but that, of course, will be at your discretion. I wish you to recollect the application for the commission of the peace. It is now the more necessary, as Richard Mahony³ is leaving Portmagee and going to live in Killarney and Mr. *Dowling*⁴ is the only acting magistrate.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 O'Connell's brother.
- 2 See letter 453, note 1.
- 3 Richard Mahony (born 1758), Aghada House, Portmagee, Co. Kerry; called to the Irish bar, 1785.
- 4 Rev. Michael Dowling (c. 1775-1823), Cahir House, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry. Curate of Cahir[civeen].

457

To George Bryan, Henrietta Street, Dublin

Merrion Square, Friday [11 February 1814]

My dear Bryan,

I am extremely glad that you mean to attend at the Board on Saturday, and I will certainly move you into the chair and should have done it without any communication with you, as whenever you are there, both private and especially public reasons influence me to make that motion. But you know little of Conway,¹ Lawless² and Co. if you imagine that there will be a fair expression of public feeling on Saturday. Depend on it, they will come to the Board well assorted with *hissers* and I shall probably have my share quite unconnected with you. I should be glad to talk with you on the subject if you chance to come down to court for five minutes. The public feeling is certainly on principle with Magee though greatly disgusted with the imprudent ribaldry of Conway's attacks and quite convinced of the purity of your motives.3 Finn's4 offer of yesterday puts the nature of the attack on us out of question.

You will I am sure excuse me for not answering your note yesterday. My little boy is dead.5

SOURCE : Papers of the Hon. Bryan Bellew

- 1 Frederick W. Conway.
- 2 John Lawless.
- 3 John Magee had been prosecuted in consequence of publishing the resolutions of a Co. Kilkenny Catholic meeting of 4 August 1813 (see letter 455). Bryan had been chairman at this meeting. It was believed that Magee's defence might have been strengthened had Bryan been prepared to accept responsibility for the resolutions. In the witness box, however, Bryan refused to accept this responsibility. He thereby incurred the odium of the Dublin Evening Post and of many of his fellow members of the Catholic Board. O'Connell supported Bryan at a meeting of the board on 5 February 1814 and was criticized in consequence by the Dublin Evening Post (DEP, 8, 10 Feb. 1814). In accordance with his promise, O'Connell attempted to have Bryan given the chair at the board's meeting on 12 February 1814. His proposal was strenuously resisted by Jack Lawless, who moved a resolution containing a strong implied censure of Bryan's conduct (DEP, 15 Feb. 1814). Ultimately, a modified resolution of censure on Bryan was passed by the board on 26 February 1814 (DEP, 1, 3 Mar. 1814). For a full and largely accurate account of this episode see O'Keeffe, O'Connell, II, 20-36. William F. Finn. 4

Daniel Stephen O'Connell, aged two years. 5

458

To George Bryan, Henrietta Street, Dublin

Merrion Square, Thursday [17 February 1814] My dear Bryan,

I want to see you much, to talk to you about Saturday. I have collected the sentiments of the very best men at the Board on the subject and am anxious to communicate it to you. I think it would be easy to place you in public estimation where you ought to be-higher if possible than even you were-and I know how much the cause wants you. I am obliged to go from court to the Bankrupt[cy] Commissioners at the Exchange or I should call on you. Perhaps you could during the day take a turn in the hall¹ or meet me just at three at Fitzpatrick's.

SOURCE : Papers of the Hon. Bryan Bellew 1 The hall of the Four Courts.

459

From his mother to Tralee

Carhen, 19 February 1814

My ever Dear Dan,

[Catherine writes on behalf of a poor, honest local man who had been most obliging to her in her recent illness. The man, Patrick FitzPatrick, is a tenant of Charles Sugrue¹ ' which I am sure will be an additional inducement to you to serve him '. The poor man got into some legal money trouble through no fault of his own.]

Believe me, with the warmest affection of my old heart, Your tenderly fond mother,

Catherine O'Connell

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

I Charles Sugrue (c. 1793-1865), East Kinnard, Waterville, Co. Kerry, and Sidney Place, Cork; originally a landowner in Co. Kerry; became a butter merchant in Cork in 1815; cousin of O'Connell.

460

From his wife to Ennis

[Dublin] 8 March 1814

My dearest love,

... The only money I got from James Sugrue was an acceptance of ninety-one days for Hastings.¹ Mrs. Shiel² has this day given me \pounds 100 which her husband gave her. While this money lasts I will not call on Mr. Sugrue.³ I have paid Mrs. Shiel her year's salary and Miss McCarthy⁴ three months which was all we owed her. I need not say, love, that I shall be as economical as possible until you return. If I could get a frank I would send you a caricature of the *Catholic Board* which I got by the penny post. The subject is accusing Dr.

1814

Dromgoole of letting the cat out of the bag before Emancipation took place.⁵ The figures, all but you, are uncommonly like...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Richard Hastings, victualler, 53 William Street, Dublin.
- 2 Housekeeper with O'Connell's family, 1813-22; a Protestant.
- 3 James Sugrue.
- 4 Mary McCarthy of Cork, governess from about March 1814 until September 1814.
- 5 Dromgoole was a prominent member of the Catholic Board. At the board's meeting on 8 December 1813, he delivered an intemperate and sectarian speech (*DEP*, 11 Dec. 1813) which O'Connell in 1832 declared to have been the only sectarian speech ever uttered on the Catholic side in the course of the entire Emancipation campaign (Fagan, O'Connell, I, 120). Dromgoole's speech evoked a tremendous outcry among the Protestants of Dublin (O'Keeffe, O'Connell, II, 397). The Catholic Board on 24 December 1813 passed a resolution disclaiming the sentiments expressed by Dromgoole (*DEP*, 30 Dec. 1813). This action of the board aroused much dissatisfaction among Irish Catholics, who felt it was unnecessary (O'Keeffe, O'Connell, II, 48; *DEP*, 30 Dec. 1813), and on 3 March 1814 the board withdrew its resolution censuring Dromgoole (*DEP*, 8 Mar. 1814).

461

To his wife, Merrion Square

Ennis, 9 March 1814

My darling Love,

... I have got almost entirely rid of my *toothache*. The cheek has swelled a little but, the pain having ceased when the swelling began, I easily reconcile myself to the loss of so much of my *beauty*. It does not in any degree interfere with my exertions for my clients. I am just come in from, I hope, *saving* seven poor devils in a batch from the gallows. They were tried by Serjeant McMahon¹ who conducted the trial with great propriety and humanity. He will make a most excellent judge.

The Limerick case is not yet over.² I hope to assure you tomorrow of complete triumph. . . .

- t William MacMahon (1776-1837); master of the rolls, 1814-37; created baronet, 6 May 1815. See DNB.
- 2 See letter 462, note 2.

Ennis, Thursday, 10 March 1814

My darling Mary,

I can write you but one line tonight. I say tonight because it is now near nine and I have but this instant left court. You will participate in my joy when I tell you that we have succeeded to the utmost extent in the Limerick case. Vereker¹ and the corporation are down for ever. The freedom of the city is established and if there be gratitude in men they will not forget that I was the first who put the present *agitation* in motion. The jury were not ten minutes enclosed, although the trial lasted two days.² I can hardly tell you how delighted and grateful I feel.

You see how good I am to write to you every day and yet your letter received last night only *threatened* me with another on Saturday. I will be on that day in Limerick although there is a play announced here for that evening under my patronage....

I am, of course, quite satisfied with your arrangements with Mrs. Shiel. Indeed, darling, I have always cause to be satisfied with you and never had anything else. No man certainly was ever so blessed in that respect.

- 1 Charles Vereker (1768-1842); succeeded his uncle as second Viscount Gort, 1817; M.P. for Limerick city, 1794-1800, 1802-17; lord of the treasury (Ireland), 1807-12; voted for Catholic Emancipation. See DNB.
- ² The Limerick case concerned a dispute about corporate rights. The corporation of Limerick appears to have been under the influence of Colonel Vereker who resided at Lough Cutra, Gort, Co. Galway. According to the *Freeman's Journal*, the citizens of Limerick were granted by charter the right to become freemen of the city through birth, marriage or servitude (FJ, 16 Mar. 1814). This right seems, however, to have been ignored by the corporation since, according to the *Freeman's Journal*, 'all the Corporals, Drummers and pioneers of Colonel Vereker's regiment, all the labourers and huxters of the village of Gort, have been from time to time honoured with the freedom of Limerick . . . while . . . men worth not less than ten thousand pounds, were denied the privilege' (FJ, 6 Mar. 1814). In a speech delivered in Limerick in 1812, O'Connell had denounced what he termed the corporate thraldom

prevailing there (Fagan, O'Connell, I, 87). The case in question resulted in the restoration to the citizens of their alleged right to become freemen of the city through birth, marriage or servitude (*LEP*, 12 Mar. 1814). An appeal by the corporation against this verdict to the Court of King's Bench was rejected (*DEP*, 14 May 1814; see also letter 618).

463

From his wife to Limerick

[Dublin, 12 March 1814]

My dearest love,

I am most sincerely rejoiced at your triumph over the Corporation of Limerick. From the time I heard it was on, I was all anxiety lest you may be defeated, knowing that government were against the cause but an honest jury can do a great deal. Lord Glentworth, I think, stands a very good chance of being returned should he again set up for the county. I should not be surprised if you got a handsome piece of plate on this occasion. At least I think it is very well due. I hope the trial will be given in the Limerick paper. Tell me, love, why was not O'Connell¹ of Kilgorey on the grand jury of Ennis? The report of this town is that no Catholic (who has ever taken an active part in Catholic affairs) will be put on a grand jury this circuit. I hope it is not true. It would be such a satisfaction to the Orange folks. . . . Maurice has written a curious letter to you. . . . Tell me, love, what on earth dealing have you with Mr. Gun? A man called here this day with an acceptance of Mr. Gun's² for £ 300 which he said you were to pay by Mr. Gun's directions. I have sent the docket to Mr. Sugrue.³

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Daniel O'Connell.
- 2 Possibly George Gun.
- 3 James Sugrue.

464

From his son Maurice to Limerick

Dublin, Saturday, 12 March 1814

Dearest Father,

I am very happy to inform you that I cut up fourth from last on Thursday. We are all very well. I have almost got the better of snuffling. I tell this to you because I know it would make you very happy. . . . I am happy to hear your toothache is better. I am third in prosody for I was made go down last on Tuesday. . . . I go to Uncle Finn's¹ every night, make out what I can of my lesson and Uncle tells me the rest. . . . I have the greatest chance of the premium for good behaviour.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 William F. Finn.

465

From his wife to Tralee

[Dublin] 22 March 1814

My dearest love,

. . . Without vanity I will say there are no parents more blessed in their children than we are. They all have their endearing qualities and I think, love, that if parents in general treated their children as we do ours there would be many, many happy families in the world. . . . As to politics I am indeed a very bad judge but I much fear there is little chance for Emancipation. Every thing seems to be against it and surely, while the Catholics continue to disagree among themselves, what can they expect? The Convention Act will be carried¹ and, what I consider worse, the Veto. I hear there is to be a great meeting of the Board on Saturday relative to a letter from Lord Donoughmore.2 His Lordship, like all the other seeming friends to the cause, wishes to give it up. I hope Hutchinson³ will not follow his brother's example. Captain Bryan is in town, by all accounts very much displeased with himself. How infatuated he was to act as he did. Don't you think that odious Conway the last of fellows! What impudence he had to avow himself the sole author of all the abuse the Dublin Evening Post contained this some time back, but Magee is more to blame than he is. I do confess I hate Conway and Dromgoole most cordially. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- I It was rumoured at this time that Peel was preparing to introduce a bill for the suppression of the Catholic Board (DEP, 12, 26 Mar. 1814; O'Keeffe, O'Connell, II, 79-80).
- 2 On 29 January 1814 the Catholic Board agreed to forward to its parliamentary spokesmen, Grattan and Donoughmore, a series of

⁶ Suggestions ⁷ in connection with the forthcoming Catholic relief bill (*DEP*, 5 Feb. 1814). Twelve such ⁶ Suggestions ⁷, covering a wide area of Catholic grievances, were finally forwarded (*DEP*, 22 Feb. 1814). Donoughmore, in the letter referred to above, curtly refused to be influenced in his parliamentary conduct by the board's suggestions (Donoughmore to P. P. Roche, 3 Mar. 1814, *DEP*, 29 Mar. 1814).

3 Christopher Hely Hutchinson.

466

To his wife, Merrion Square

Tralee, Saturday, 26 March 1814

My darling Love,

I have just got your letter of Thursday and the optime enclosed. Tell Maurice I am much obliged to him, very much obliged to him. Indeed, I am by far the more so as he has had so little assistance from any other person. Tell him it cheers me to find him so successful. Tell my own sweet Nell that I will write to her the moment I get to Cork and that I love her, if possible, more than ever I did. I much doubt, heart, whether my dear Morgan will consider the being prevented from writing to me anything of a severe punishment. I know not why that child's heart is not as warm to either of us as that of our other children. It sometimes afflicts me. . . .

We have not had a Catholic meeting in Limerick or here, nor shall we have one I believe in Cork. There would not have been any meeting in Clare but that it was before expressly adjourned to the assizes and honest Mr. Wolfe¹ would not consent to omit the meeting.²

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Stephen Woulfe, Tiermaclane, Ennis.

2 The Clare Catholic meeting was marked by wrangles between supporters and critics of Lord Donoughmore. O'Connell appears to have prevented a section of the meeting from passing a vote of thanks to Donoughmore. Woulfe was Donoughmore's chief supporter at the meeting (*DEP*, 19 Mar. 1814).

Cork, 30 March 1814

My darling Love,

... The entire of poor James' malady consisted in those restless and fidgety manners which ... you know were not at all natural to him. I much fear therefore that he is not as well as we could wish, but at all events he shall stay no longer in England. Whatever restraint may be necessary (if any shall) may as well be imposed here. ...

Magee's² trial is not as yet come on but it will, I believe, during the day or at all events tomorrow. It is quite uncertain what the jury will do with it, but it certainly is not a case for damages.

The business here is, as usual, pretty heavy; not, indeed, so much so as I have frequently known it but the judges are slow. . . .

Ask my dear Morgan for me whether he will gratify his father by a letter. If he does not choose to do so, do not urge him. Tell him, however, that I love him very sincerely.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His brother.

2 James Magee (died 1866), younger brother of John Magee, proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post* from whom he took over legal proprietorship and agreed to accept all liability for prosecutions from 29 November 1813. He was appointed a Dublin police magistrate c. 1841. See *DNB*. See letter 469, nore 1.

468

To his daughter Ellen,¹ Merrion Square

Cork, 2 April 1814

My dearest darling child,

I should have written to you long since in answer to your letter but that I was so much hurried by professional business. . . Although I never have and never will make any of my children jealous on the subject of partiality, yet I confess I have the most tender of affections for you and I require nothing of you in return but that you should pay just so much attention as will enable you to grow up respected and happy. Do, my darling child, gratify a fond father's heart by exerting those talents which God has bountifully bestowed on you. If you love me you will prove it by exerting yourself. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Ellen O'Connell (12 Nov. 1805-1883), eldest daughter of O'Connell; married in Merrion Square, 17 July 1825, Christopher Fitz-Simon, Glencullen, Co. Dublin.

469

From his wife to Cork

[Dublin] 4 April 1814

My dearest love,

The Blarney Lane letter1 was, in my opinion, richly worth the damages Mr. Coppinger² is to get. I don't know when I was so pleased at the result of any business as I am at this. It is a great triumph to Magee,3 a business tried in Mr. Coppinger's own county and in the midst of his connections. Scully,4 it is thought, will be in a hobble as [the] Government are trying to induce the proprietor of the Kilkenny paper to give up the author of the resolutions of August last.⁵ He has been offered £500 a year to give him up which he has refused. He is satisfied to suffer the imprisonment if the expenses of the trial are paid by the author who, it is said, will not do so, thinking that the resolutions in his handwriting have been destroyed which is not the case. There was a person sent express last week from the Attorney-General to Kilkenny, he having heard what I have mentioned respecting the resolutions. . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

¹ The 'Blarney Lane' letter was published in the *Dublin Evening Post* under the signature of 'One of the Populace', writing from an address at 'Blarney Lane' (there was a street of that name in Cork). In consequence of its publication, James Magee, proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, was prosecuted for libel by William Coppinger, a member of the Cork Catholic Board. According to O'Connell's biographer Fagan, the Cork board allowed only the Catholic aristocracy and merchants of the city and its neighbourhood to participate in its proceedings and was pro-veto in its views (Fagan, O'Connell, I, 109-10). In August 1813, after the defeat of Grattan's relief bill, an aggregate meeting was held in Cork at which O'Connell, backed apparently by the populace, carried a resolution in favour of unconditional Emancipation. The members of the Cork board, at a private meeting under Coppinger's chairmanship, passed resolutions condemning this incursion of the lower orders into Cork Catholic affairs. For this they were satirized in the 'Blarney Lane' letter. Coppinger sought, in consequence, damages of \pounds 5,000 from James Magee. The case was tried before a Cork jury, who awarded Coppinger only \pounds 60 with 6d costs. O'Connell was one of the counsel for Magee (*DEP*, 5, 12, 14 April 1814; see also Fagan, O'Connell, I, 109-11).

- 2 William Coppinger (1778-1863), Barryscourt, Co. Cork, and Ballylean Lodge, Co. Clare; brother-in-law of O'Connell's brother John.
- 3 James Magee.
- 4 Denys Scully.
- 5 Denys Scully was author of the celebrated Kilkenny resolutions of August 1813 (see letter 455 and O'Keeffe, O'Connell, II, 20) publication of which had led to the prosecution of John Magee, proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post* (see letter 457). The Kilkenny newspaper and its proprietor have not been identified.

470

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 6 April 1814

My heart's darling,

Do not be angry with me for not writing to you daily. We have never been so completely tied by the legs in court as since Sunday. One judge sits at nine, the other at one but remains in court till half after nine. As the criminal business is entirely in my hands I have for the last three days spent twelve hours a day in court incessantly so that my sweetest love and her babes will easily excuse me for not writing. But the worst is that, with all this time consumed, the business proceeds very slowly and, though the fourth day is closed, there are still twenty-three out of 34 records untried. No man had ever so much business in Cork as I have. All my clients escape, and the only man who had another counsel happened to be convicted. He would as certainly have been convicted if I defended him, but I look upon it as one of those singular accidents which accompany my professional career. My feelings, too, have been spared considerable pain. . . .

Cork, 9 April 1814

My darling Heart,

There are still nine records untried. I fear I shall be near a week still here. I am in every one of them. At all events, I shall remain till I hear from you in reply because, darling, Dennis Moylan of this town has offered me an immense bargain of a barouche run only two months with everything as good as new. It is yellow coloured with plated mounting lined with blue. It cost near £500 and I would get it upon very reasonable terms. In short, I should not hesitate one moment but that I would not buy it until I first consulted you. I really like the carriage and, when our arms are painted on it, I think you too would admire it, but, darling, let me not influence you in the least. Write the moment you get this and send your letter for the midday mail of Monday. If possible I will get the liberty of taking the carriage up to you for your inspection, or at least a power of rejection if you should dislike it on the view. If I buy this carriage it shall not interfere with the building.1

Tell sweet Kate I will write to her tomorrow. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Alterations to the house in Merrion Square.

472

To his wife, Merrion Square

Cork, 11 April 1814

My darling Love,

... James¹ has taken a couple of coachmen to view Moylan's barouche and he approves highly of it. I shall have heard from you before I need come to any conclusion and will endeavour to get you a view of it before I am *bound* to keep it. The colour is perhaps not precisely that which you would like but in everything about this carriage, exercise your full discretion. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His servant.

Cork, 14 April 1814

My darling love,

There is still one record untried but that will of course be disposed of tomorrow. I had intended to have gone this day to Kinsale to search the Corporation books but, the assizes not having been closed, as I expected, yesterday, I shall not now go there at all. The consequence is that as I shall not remain for any Catholic meeting which is adjourned, I will, I trust, be able to leave this on Tuesday or Monday at the very latest. I should get off certainly on Sunday but that I have O'Leary's¹ marriage articles to draw and they will give me the delay of a day or two. Last week he was to have been married to Miss Cronin² of Rossview and at present he has everything arranged to marry a Miss Purcell³ who is near forty. The match with Miss Cronin was broken because her father desired that O'Leary should promise not to admit his son by Miss Allen to sit at the table whenever he came to visit his father. O'Leary flew off in a rage.

I shall not buy Moylan's barouche unless he gives you the power of rejecting it. If he does, I will go up in it as after the most careful inspection it appears to be a most excellent carriage and I shall certainly get it very cheap. He has been trying to sell it for near twelve months but it is too expensive a carriage for this market. In the meantime let James Sugrue see whether the carriage you saw could not be had for £350pounds [*sic*] instead of guineas and what periods *he* would take my bills for its price. If at 61 days for the first £50 and an interval of 31 days for each other hundred pounds, you may reckon on my closing with him at once. . . I will come to no definite bargain with Moylan till I hear from you.

- I Con O'Leary (born c. 1769), O'Connell's first cousin, eldest son of Arthur O'Leary and Eileen O'Connell (author of the famous Gaelic dirge, *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* or *The Lament for Art* O'Laoghaire). Called to the bar, 1808.
- 2 Probably a daughter of Daniel Cronin, Rossview, Killarney.
- 3 Unidentified.

Cork, 16 April 1814

My darling Heart,

I have dismissed Mr. Moylan and his barouche and you shall have the Dublin one. The moment I arrive in town you shall have it. We will get it *cheaper* if we can but, at all events, you shall have it as I am quite delighted at its pleasing you so much. Do not get the arms painted on it till my arrival. . . .

I shall sleep at Fermoy or Bruff on Monday evening and . . . shall have no further delay than the afternoon of Tuesday in Limerick. On Wednesday morning I will leave it and of course expect to be with you long before dinner on Thursday.

James¹ and Myles² arrived here from Bristol yesterday. James has been perfectly well since he came here, with a slight appearance sometimes of melancholy, but in company he comes out with his old dry jokes. Myles, however, had some very uneasy time with him on the road but he is so greatly improved that there can be little doubt but that his native air and the society of his friends will completely restore him. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 His brother.

2 Myles McSwiney.

475

To John Magee

Merrion Square, 2 May 1814

My dear Magee,

I beg of you to read attentively a letter which I have written to your brother.¹ I should be glad to know whether you think that the request I make of him is unreasonable. It consists merely of my entreaty that he should distinctly state what he expects of me, if anything, on the supposed case of my words having been totally mistaken in the report in question.

If I am to judge from the great reluctance your brother exhibited yesterday to answer the question, without an answer to which it is impossible for me to form an estimate of what, *under existing circumstances*, I should do, I much fear that the Attorney-General² will succeed in one of his objectsincreasing dissension amongst the few who remain devoted, in intention and design at least, to the unfortunate land of our birth. But for my part I am determined not to have to blame myself.³ I am ready to do that which I think reasonable. If more be required of me, is it not fair that I should know what that is? I do, therefore, entreat of you to procure for me an answer to the question I put to your brother.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 22-3

- 1 James Magee.
- 2 William Saurin.
- 3 When the attorney-general moved in December 1813 that the sentence upon John Magee be rendered more severe in consequence of his having published O'Connell's allegedly libellous speech in his defence (see letter 449), Magee's counsel Thomas Wallace made the embarrassing demand of O'Connell that he, rather than Magee, should accept full responsibility for any libel contained in it (*DEP*, 2 Dec. 1813).

476

From Count O'Connell to Merrion Square

Paris, 6 June 1814

My dear nephew,

In vain would I attempt to give you a true idea of the pleasure and emotion with which I perused your very kind and affectionate letter. . . . It is my most ardent wish and desire to enjoy the happiness and comfort of embracing all that is dear to me once more, my most beloved and revered brother, you, John, James and your families, yet I fear I may be compelled to postpone it till next spring in order to avoid travelling in the winter season. . . . Nothing can be more kind, my dear nephew, or more tempting than your offers to me. Such accommodation as you hold out to me exceeds by far what a shattered old soldier, particularly one who has renounced the vanities of this world, could expect or demand. I should only fear that you and my good niece would be inclined to spoil me. You know bad habits are easily contracted especially when they are flattering and, at my time of life, a little mortification should be preferred to ease and comforts. The solitude of Derrynane, I admit, would of itself afford few charms, but the company and conversation of my good and revered brother, with the help of a small library, would amply make amends for the want of society. I have lived long enough in the high walks of life to grow tired of them. Retirement, ease and study are now my sole enjoyments. I have not yet made up my mind whether or no I shall fix my residence in Ireland. My inclination strongly induces me to pass the remainder of my life amidst my friends but the infirmities of old age now approaching fast may, perhaps, require a softer climate and a perseverance in the habits of life I have been ever accustomed to. However, if it please God to grant me some years more, I shall make the experiment, settle my headquarters in Merrion Square, reserving only the power of visiting Derrynane and Grenagh in the summer season.

I was long since well informed and not a little flattered at your success in your profession and am rejoiced to find you daily rising in the public estimation. I fondly indulge the hope that, whenever we shall be admitted to the full enjoyment of our political rights, your talents will not be overlooked, but I cannot help thinking that temper, moderation and calmness will be the surest course to effect the object of our wishes. A system of religious toleration now prevails throughout all Europe. The justice and policy of Catholic Emancipation is generally felt and admitted in England but government is the proper judge of the mode and time for bringing forward a measure so important, and surely it behoves us to await with patience and submission the hour of our deliverance. I trust you will set a good example and recommend yourself as much by your wisdom and prudence as by your abilities.

... My warm affections to your amiable partner and to your boys and girls. Let me know their number and age and your views for your sons, etc. It seems to me that the style you appear to live in must be very expensive. You are, I doubt not, too good a father to forget that your family is large and that it behoves you to save money for them. Pray inform me in what way your poor father has disposed of his property. Did he bequeath all his lands to you or divide them? Has your uncle made any settlement on you? What is the amount of his yearly income and what share of it is likely to be one day yours? Has he renewed the lease of Derrynane, that of Loher and made any late purchases? These questions I ask merely for the interest I take in you, be assured not with any personal views whatsoever. ...

From Count O'Connell to Merrion Square

Paris, 16 June 1814

My dear Nephew,

. . . I cannot refrain myself from congratulating you on the fair opportunity the late proclamation affords you of bidding farewell to the late Catholic council or committee of Dublin, as well as to all your political pursuits, and to confine yourself in future solely to the practice of your profession in which you are sure to reap both honour and profit. Reflection and experience must make you sensible that all past and future measures, in the manner and course followed till now, will tend to no useful purpose nor will ever lead towards the accomplishment of the great object the Roman Catholic subjects of His Majesty aspire to, viz. their full admission to all the political rights enjoyed by their Protestant brethren. It has always been my steady opinion that the only effectual way to attain that desirable end can only consist in gaining the good will and confidence of government and of those of the Established Church by a prudent, peaceable and loyal deportment, and that tumultuous assemblies or meetings of what denomination soever, intemperate speeches and hasty resolutions are better calculated to defeat than to promote that object. Governments don't act on abstruse principles but from practical experience. It cannot be denied that there still exists in Great Britain a strong prejudice against the pretended doctrines of the Church of Rome and against those of that profession, but then look back to twenty years and compare the temper of the present moment to what it was at that not very distant period. You will be led naturally to conclude from the accelerated daily progress of liberal principles and maxims that a succession of a few years will undoubtedly effect without any violence or convulsion that which we all look to and which, it is my humble belief, impatience and precipitancy are more likely to impede than to hasten. With this conviction in my mind, allow me, my dear nephew, most earnestly to entreat you to submit and conform your conduct to the letter and spirit of the Lord Lieutenant's1 late proclamation,2 and to listen to no proposal nor suggestion that could tend to elude or counteract the intent or scope of it. Let me add that to pursue a different course would be folly in the extreme and

only expose you to a rigorous and, I must say, a merited prosecution. I trust your wisdom and prudence will meet my ideas and induce you carefully to avoid in future any insinuations and any steps that may render you obnoxious.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

- 1 Charles (Whitworth), first viscount, later (1815) Earl Whitworth (1752-1825); lord-lieutenant, 1813-17; see DNB.
- 2 By a proclamation dated 3 June 1814, the lord-lieutenant declared the Catholic Board illegal under the Convention Act of 1793 (*DEP*, 7 June 1814).

478

From Owen O'Conor to 4 Capel Street, Dublin

Belanagare, 29 June 1814

My dear O'Connell,

I was not, until last night, favoured with your letter of the 30th of May last applying to me for my subscription to defray the expenses of our last petition to parliament and to know whom I gave my last subscription to.

I cannot get a note of five guineas, I must therefore send you three notes amounting to $\pounds 5.10.0$: my last subscription was only $\pounds 5$ and I enclosed it in a letter to you about a year ago, in which I stated as fully as in my power my reasons for not applying to the Catholics of this county for subscriptions....

I regret very much that it will be impossible for me to attend your next aggregate meeting. . . .

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

479

From Myles McSwiney to Merrion Square

Kenmare, 30 June 1814

My Dear Dan,

... He [James O'Connell] seems determined to go to England and I am sure he is only delayed by the want of money, as his rents cannot be had for some time. I have made the road at Cahirciveen which I am sure you will like and have also had the fairs advertised. ... You were talking of making a quay at the bottom of it. If you wish to do so, let me know it. About $f_{.15}$, I think, would make a tolerably good

371

1814

one. Your uncle is greatly afraid you will be selected by the attorney-general¹ for prosecution in case of the renewed meetings of the board,² as he thinks the government would rather fix on you than any other man in the kingdom. This subject is really causing him the greatest uneasiness this time back. You said at the last Cork assizes you would make application to the present Master of the Rolls³ about the commission of the peace.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 William Saurin.
- 2 It appears that a renewal of meetings of the Catholic Board was at this time being considered, some hope being entertained that a Dublin jury would refuse to find the board illegal under the Convention Act (DEP, 18 June 1814).
- 3 William MacMahon.

480

From his wife, Mallow, Co. Cork, 25 July 1814, to Ennis, redirected to Limerick

'Your departure was greatly regretted by the townspeople. They complained loudly of your making such flying visits to Mallow.'

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

481

To his wife, Mallow

Limerick, Thursday, 28 July 1814

My darling Mary,

I have found no letter from you here before me. Nor have I had a line since we parted. Good God, what can be the cause of your silence?

I could not write to you on Tuesday, and yesterday I allowed myself to be too angry at not getting a letter from you to write.

I am unable to write connectedly from anxiety. You or some of my darling girls must be ill, or my boys. There *must* be some reason for this silence. If there were none it would be *very*, *very cruel*.

From his wife to Limerick

Mallow [Co. Cork], 30 July 1814

My dearest love,

I trust and hope my letter of yesterday will reach you in time this day to prevent your setting out for Mallow. I am really, darling, grieved you should think me capable of letting four days elapse without writing you a single line. . . . From my boys I have not as yet had a line but I heard this day they were very well in Killarney. My Bet[sey] and John are as happy and as much at home as possible with their Aunt Connor, Betsey the idol of the girls. Your mother was greatly pleased with her and John but the latter can't bear the idea of going to see her. She lodges in a cabin at the Spa and he, never being accustomed to see such habitations, fears venturing to her. . . . I am to have Mass in the house tomorrow. A Mr. Burke1 from the parish of Cashel was kind enough to offer his services which I gladly accepted of. . . . The town is full of the military. No sooner does one regiment march out than another marches in. There is a Scotch regiment quartered here. The last division marched in this morning playing the *Protestant Boys.*² Could you have seen the girls' indignation you would be amused. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

I Unidentified.

2 A traditional anthem of the Orangemen.

483

To his wife, Mallow

Limerick, 1 August 1814

My own heart's darling,

... I perceive even by the writing that you are not well and though hearing from you shows me you are not *worse* yet I cannot set my mind at ease about my sweetest treasure.... Write to me every day, dearest. Do not omit any. Tell me exactly how you are.... Do you cough or is your chest sore? Have you consulted any physician? Tell me the exact truth.

I had not inclination to write to you about business or

anything respecting myself. Hitherto I have certainly been the *most* employed on this circuit. There was a good deal in Ennis but this town has for the present fallen off. My share, however, continues as full as ever. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

484

From his wife to Limerick

Mallow [Co. Cork], Monday evening, I August 1814

My dearest life,

... Dr. Barry,¹ whom I consulted, makes nothing of this affection of the chest. He assured me I would live to a green old age. He gave me some draughts to take whenever I found myself likely to be attacked. I have not yet had occasion to try them nor hope I shall not at least for another year. He is very like Dr. Leyne in his manner and I am sure is as good a physician. ... I had a visit this day from William Mahony² and from Mr. Leahy,³ Shanakiel. For the latter I was not at home. ...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Probably John Barry, physician, who resided in Mallow in 1824.
- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 Daniel Leahy, Shanakiel House, Cork city, land agent to the earls of Cork.

485

From his wife to Court Street, Tralee

Mallow, Friday night, 5 [and 6] August 1814

My dearest Dan,

. . . You have no idea, love, what a stupid, dirty hole this is and the weather wretchedly bad. The place is full but we know not a creature. How I envy you all in Tralee. . . . As to Mallow, never again will I be *forced* to visit it. It was so foolish of me, enjoying perfect health, to be persuaded that Mallow could make it better. You will smile, darling, and say I am in a passion. I am really vexed with myself. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

486

To his wife, Mallow

Tralee, 8 August 1814

My dearest Love,

... I went out to James Connor's lodge some time before dinner and slipped into the room where my Betsey and John were, without their having any notion of my being near. I stood in the room and Betsey fixed her eyes on me about a minute, then she screamed and bounded into my arms and threw her arms round my neck and hugged me. My John, too, was quite pleased to see me. They both together asked if I brought them their Mama. Betsey insisted that she must get from me her *poor Mama*, and John would have his own Mama and he flogged Dora¹ for saying that Mama could not come till next week. They both held me by the hands and would not leave me for the evening. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 Nursemaid.

487

From his wife to Court Street, Tralee, redirected to Cork

Mallow, Wednesday morning, half past 11 o'clock [probably 10 August 1814]

My dearest Dan,

I am seriously disappointed and angry with you for not writing to me since your arrival in Tralee. How could you, heart, be five days without letting me have even one line to say you had arrived safe, not even a line from Ellen Connor to say how my babes are. Have we any chance of seeing you here on Saturday? The *traversing* of some *shabby* presentment will I suppose, deprive us of that happiness. I am so angry I can scarcely write with *patience to you*. God grant your silence is not occasioned by anything serious.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

From his wife to Parade, Cork

Mallow, 17 August 1814, half past ten o'clock My darling love,

... of this I am satisfied that while I remain here I will not be as well as I have been before I *unfortunately* came to it... My spirits are very much depressed. What would you think of my returning to Kerry with you? I should prefer going home but the building that is at present going on would make our house very disagreeable... Ellen has been extremely bold since you saw her. I am now going on a plan of keeping her out of my presence and confining her to the schoolroom until I see a thorough change for the better in her conduct and manners...

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

489

To his wife, Mallow

Cork, Thursday, 18 August 1814

My dearest darling,

I am half inclined to be angry with a darling that is not in her habit of giving me any vexation but how can I avoid being angry, sweetest, at your allowing your spirits to desert you as they do. Indeed, my own love, if you had the slightest possible reason to apprehend anything like the shadow of danger, I would not be long having all the physicians in Cork about you. . . . I will write to Dublin to have double expedition used to hurry on the finishing of the house. I hear it is in a great state of forwardness. . . .

We are to have an aggregate meeting on this day week¹ and I must attend *that* but at all events I will spend some days before then with you in Mallow if you do not come here. . . .

Darling, tell my Kate I am obliged to her for being so good, but let Ellen know I am greatly shocked at her conduct.

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

1 The Cork Catholic meeting was held on 26 August 1814. It was marked by bitter condemnations of what was considered Grattan's

490

To his wife, Mallow

Cork, Saturday, 20 August 1814

My darling Love,

... I was resolved to be with you in person this evening, and I certainly should have had that happiness but for a scoundrel arbitration which I am compelled to attend to tomorrow... I have just seen Baldwin¹ and he tells me that it is highly probable that the Cork air will agree as well with you as the Dublin air. He encourages your coming here much, and I have every prospect of getting accommodation fit for you in these lodgings....

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Herbert Baldwin, M.D. (1782-1861), second son of James Baldwin, Clohina, Co. Cork; first cousin of O'Connell; Repeal M.P. for Cork city, 1832-37; landowner.

491

To his wife, Mallow

Ennis, Monday, 25 August 18141

My dearest love,

I have been very impatient and uneasy since I left you, about you. I could not rid myself of the apprehension that you were getting another attack on the chest. I cannot express to you the fever of anxiety I have thrown myself into about it. Because, darling, I had actually brought myself to expect that you could next year go to Kerry for the entire summer without inconvenience and, indeed, you have looked so well and got so fat that, if I have the happiness to hear that you are quite over all apprehension of an attack, I shall again hope that you will never have another. . . .

I got on famously. I was in Limerick by twelve but had to

wait there till four and then to come away without any luggage. Judge whether that was not pleasant. I have been borrowing clothes all day. I luckily found a man fatter than myself and got into his coat and waistcoat. You would have laughed to see what a ludicrous figure I cut. However my wardrobe is just this moment arrived and tomorrow I shall be as great a beau as ever. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I The correct date of this letter is 25 July 1814

492

To his wife, Mallow

Killarney, Saturday, 9 September 1814

My darling Heart,

... I was this day to have dined at John's¹ but remained in town in the anxious expectation of having you come. How my heart longed to press you and my sweet Nell and Kate to my bosom, but the expectation thus excited has only afforded me a disappointment more acute than you perhaps will think the occasion warranted....

I will send you money in my letter of tomorrow. I do not think you ought to sell the car for less than thirty pounds. If you do not get that price for it, I think you had better not part with it.

We had a party on the lake on Wednesday. On Thursday, we had a stag hunt. The weather was delightful and the scenery enchanting. How I wish you were with us. Phillips² is a *little* recovered but is still far, very far, from being himself. Paine³ is also here in the horrors but still falling in love occasionally.

- 1 His brother.
- 2 Charles Phillips (c.1787-1859). Protestant, born Sligo; a successful barrister; transferred to the English bar, 1821. Author of *Curran* and his Contemporaries (several editions). See DNB.
- 3 John Howard Payne (1791-1852), American actor and author of the song 'Home, Sweet Home!'

To his wife, Cork

Killarney, 13 September 1814

My darling Love,

I am more alarmed than I wish to say about your flight from Mallow. It was, I am sure, more occasioned by your own illness than by my sweet Nell's toothache. You will get, I trust, well from the Cork air; but at all events Dublin is a certain restorative. . . .

Have you seen or heard anything of Phillips?¹ I never knew a man so allured and, indeed, so insane with love. . . . He has . . . not a little disappointed public expectation here.

The meeting took place this morning. John² was in the chair, Lord Kenmare having been obliged to go off to see his sister who had met with an accident near Cork. The meeting was the most numerous and respectable that ever met in Kerry. I hope you will be satisfied with our resolutions. I was the only orator; I spoke very badly. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Charles Phillips.
- 2 His brother.

494

From his wife to Derrynane

Cork, Thursday [sic] night, 8 o'clock, 16 September 1814 My dearest love,

... Phillips¹ left this for Limerick on Thursday morning. He spent the evening before with us and never did I see a human being more altered than he is. I said a good deal to him for coming away before the meeting but he assured me I would not blame him if I knew what he *felt*. He also told me he felt a little hurt that none of the gentlemen in or about Killarney visited him, excepting three or four. I regret very much our county was so backward in respect to such a deserving patriot. The meeting tomorrow,² I am told, will be rather tumultuous. I am delighted you will not be at it. The protesters and seceders are to go there in a body to advocate Lord Donoughmore's conduct *who*, I hear, has written a very angry letter to the people here. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

- 1 Charles Phillips.
- 2 A meeting of Cork Catholics convened to consider the replies of Henry Grattan and Lord Donoughmore to the request of the Catholics concerning presentation of their petitions to parliament (see letter 489, note 1). Both Grattan and Donoughmore refused to comply with this request, the latter framing his reply in very haughty language (Donoughmore to Charles Sugrue, 14 Sept. 1814, *DEP*, 20 Sept. 1814; Grattan to same, 14 Sept. 1814, *DEP*, 20 Sept. 1814). Despite these rebuffs, the Cork Catholics resolved again to entrust their petitions to Grattan and Donoughmore (*DEP*, 20 Sept. 1814).

495

From his wife to Derrynane

[Cork] 18 September 1814

My dearest love,

... The report of this town is that Lord Kenmare was so offended with some expressions that Phillips made use of in his address to the populace (the night of the bonfire) alluding to *his* being an absentee, that he neither visited him nor waited for the meeting which was his first intention. Every creature asks me if it is true. I wish I could contradict it. Let me know if there was any foundation for this report. I like your resolutions much and they are highly approved of here but are we not to have your speech? Did you ever read such an insulting letter as Lord Donoughmore's? What little spirit the Catholics of Cork show in leaving their petition in his hands....

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

496

To his wife, Cork

Derrynane, Sunday, 19 September 1814

My darling Mary,

. . . I need not say I am delighted to hear that Cork agrees so well with you. Do not think of leaving it till we are on

380

our return to Dublin, or at least not more than a week before. . . .

The boys . . . are kept in great order by the old gentleman¹ and rode to Mass with him in great state this day. He says Maurice is a very sensible boy and after lecturing Morgan for some wildness he concluded by asking Maurice why he did not advise his brother. . . .

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers I Hunting-Cap.

497

To his wife, Cork

Waterville [Co. Kerry], 21 September 1814

My darling Mary,

... I am not surprised at the attachment of my poor Ellen and Kate to Miss McCarthy.¹ She is really a most amiable and interesting young woman. I wish to God it was possible for us to have her back with us but that is out of the question for more reasons than one, and especially because we have no kind of right or reason to treat Miss Conry² so ill as to displace her without a cause. Yet how I wish it were consistent and *just* that we should have Miss McCarthy again. My poor darling Ellen, what she must have suffered. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I Their former governess.

2 Mary Theresa Conry, governess from about August 1814 until summer 1815. A convert to Catholicism, she later became a nun near Carlow.

498

To his wife, Cork

Carhen, 23 September 1814

My darling Mary,

... I am not at all satisfied with the conduct of the Cork men. The letter of Lord Donoughmore was excessively impertinent and insolent and the *submission* of the people of Cork seems to me to prove they are fit to be slaves.¹ I am very, very sorry I was not at the meeting. I never would have consented SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

I See letter 494, note 2.

2 Eneas MacDonnell and James Nicholas Mahon.

499

To his wife, Cork

[Tuesday, probably late September 1814]

Copy

[The first part of this letter is missing]

The pattern day was, as you say, a beautiful one. Your boys and I started soon after 6 in the morning. We went full gallop to meet the hounds at the farm next the pattern. We had then two delightful hunts. Morgan boasted that he was thrown but twice. We then had three races on the strand and I spent the rest of the day in deciding wrangles, preventing riots, throwing boys into the trenches and flinging hats among the crowd, etc. Your boys are in perfect health, their ponies are very gentle. Maurice's is quite trained. Morgan gets his at once into a gallop and that is all he cares about. They always inquire for you and their sisters very affectionately. Write to me, darling, every post. In one or two more I will tell you the exact day of my departure hence.

I will get you feathers if I can. I write in great haste as we are going to Portmagee. Tell my sweet, sweet Nell and Kate how they are doated of by your's most fondly,

Daniel O'Connell

500

From John West¹

Dublin, 29 September 1814

Copy

Sir,

I wrote you on the 17th inst. respecting your acceptance of James Sugrue and Co.'s draft for $\pounds 200$ due the 16th and protested for non-payment. Not being favoured with an answer, am again obliged to request you will remit the amount or order...

source : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650 1 Unidentified.

501

From his wife to Derrynane

[Cork] I October 1814

My dearest love,

When I wrote to you on the subject of James Sugrue's failure I mentioned my hope that you were not involved for him but unfortunately I find it to be the case. At the other side of this letter I have transcribed a letter¹ to you from a Mr. West. This letter I opened, thinking it was from Moore, the builder. I cannot indeed, love, give you any idea of the shock I received on perusing it. I know you do not like I should interfere with you on subjects of this nature. I shall be therefore silent but I cannot help feeling most acutely the danger you expose yourself to in accepting bills for every schemer that applies to you. Oh then, darling, such a husband and such a father as you are, why won't you put on a resolution on any account never to accept a bill, bond or note? I should be too happy if you gratified me in this instance. I sent the letter to Mr. Sugrue. As yet no letter from you. Eight days tomorrow since I got your last. Were you in America I should hear as often as I do from Iveragh. It is most lonely to me not to hear at least three times in the week from you. . . .

Mr. James Sugrue remains in Cork for another week. If the truth was known I believe he has little business to Dublin.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13650

1 Letter 500.

From John Hancock to Merrion Square

Lisburn, 2 October 1814

[No salutation]

I had hoped to have heard from thee in reply to my two letters on the subject of the anti-Orange petitions. . . .

... As perhaps thou may know of these petitions being in some places in progress, I write to announce that I had a letter a few days ago from Sir Henry Parnell¹ stating that he was in Dublin at Leech's hotel in Kildare St. and requesting that the petitions should be delivered to his care before he left Dublin. He expressed his intention of being present at the opening of parliament on the 1st of next month. I expect the petitions will be presented to both Houses in the course of the first week although I have suggested a wish that the discussion may be postponed till after the question of Catholic Emancipation shall have been disposed of for this session. I have no hopes that this necessary and just measure will be carried at present and yet perhaps parliament may be disposed a little to conciliation and may with a feeling of this kind seek to repress the irritations and provocations of the Orange societies, either by passing a direct vote of censure on them or by appointing a parliamentary commission to sit in Ireland and inquire into their enormities. .

I am decidedly of the opinion that even Emancipation would be incomplete without the most necessary and indispensable adjunct of being relieved from the insults of the Orange system, for in my opinion harmony can never be restored to the land so long as a numerous faction, strong in the protection they directly and indirectly receive, are permitted to insult with impunity.

In the present times many discouragements attend the man who seeks to serve his country more substantially than in mere words and empty professions. In the prosecution of the business of these petitions I have experienced an ample share of discouragements; . . . I trust the anti-Orange petitions will do good, if not immediately at present, at least they may serve as a beginning, which may be acted on with increased force, and with more extended exertions next year.

I wish to explain one matter and justify myself to thee on the score of having in my former letters to thee taken up
warmly the subject of prosecuting Orangemen for parading contrary to law and, nothing having been since done to act with effect in the case, I hope I am not to blame. I believe I mentioned in a former letter that two of our counsel at the assizes at Carrickfergus, Dunn² and Holmes³ gave us no encouragement to proceed. I continued my exertions but at every step found difficulties arising from the timidity and lukewarmness of the friends of liberty in Belfast and from the fears of some of the persons who were wounded in the last affray, to come forward and prosecute afresh those who had appeared with the insignia of party colours so evidently to the terror of His Majesty's subjects ' as to kill some and to wound and maim others'. After an unavailing struggle I had to desist from absolute despair of succeeding at that time. I hope the question, which I consider one of the highest importance, will in some shape be brought to a legal discussion, yet in this procedure I dread the effects of a partial bench and partisan judges.

I am astonished at the almost total want of public spirit in the higher and middle classes of the town of Belfast. Fashion even in politics is almost omnipotent, example is contagious and thus public spirit is paralysed. Among the poorer classes there is some spirit but it is unenlightened and there is danger of its breaking out in outrages which may materially hurt but cannot help the cause. I am much pleased with the address of the Catholic Board to the people.⁴ . . .

Excuse the length of this letter and the familiar style assumed by one personally a stranger to thee. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- ¹ On 8 June 1814, Sir Henry Parnell, in presenting to the Commons petitions from the north of Ireland against the Orange Order, threatened, in the event of the Irish executive failing to take steps for the suppression of the order, to bring forward a motion in parliament for that purpose (*DEP*, 21 June 1814). Parnell attempted to have a clause directed against the Orange lodges inserted in Peel's peace preservation bill (*DEP*, 7 July 1814). A number of bloody affrays had recently occurred between Orangemen and Catholics (*DEP*, 30 June; 20, 30 July; 2, 11 Aug.; 1 Sept. 1814).
- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 Probably Robert Holmes (1765-1859), called to the Irish bar, 1795; married Mary Emma, sister of Robert Emmet; opposed the enactment of the Union; imprisoned on suspicion during Emmet's rebellion. See DNB.

4 Apparently an address to the people, denouncing secret societies, read at the Catholic Board's meeting on 5 February 1814 (*DEP*, 8 Feb. 1814).

503

To his wife, Cork

Derrynane, 11 October 1814

[No salutation]

I do, my heart, approve very highly of your plan of remaining in Cork till I join you there. . . . By this day fortnight we shall be all off for the capital, God willing. I write by this post to Mrs. Shiel and send the carpenter f_{40} in cash to help to expedite the cleaning out of the rubbish and finishing of the new rooms.

... I am quite satisfied with this country and indeed I ought, for I have had very pleasant times in it. Darling, I now return to my impatience to be with you. I never was in better health in every respect but getting scandalously corpulent in spite of all my exertions to keep myself down.

... You know I intend to send the boys to the Jesuits this winter. ... Good God, how pleased I should be if you could possibly get back Miss McCarthy. Put it distinctly *in her way* at any rate. ...

SOURCE : Fitz-Simon Papers

504

To Owen O'Conor

Merrion Square, 14 November 1814

Private

Will you be so good as to let me know whether we may expect you at this meeting.¹ Much, very much, may be done if we restore unanimity and, to use a vulgar phrase, *pull together*. Everybody regards and respects you, and if you were here I think you could contribute largely to bring together *every* honest Irishman, of whom there are in truth more than our friends think or our enemies suspect.

SOURCE : Clonalis Papers

1 That of 26 November (see letter 507, note 1).

386

From Sir Edward Bellew to Merrion Square

Barmeath [Co. Louth], 21 November 1814

Dear Sir,

I had the honour of receiving your letter respecting a meeting of R.C. gentlemen on Saturday the 26th inst.¹ I have communicated with some gentlemen who have received similar letters, and all of them agree in opinion with me that any meeting at present would be premature, but entertain no objection to the principle of a meeting at another period. . . .

P.S. As I take it for granted that unanimity is the object of the meeting, might it not be worthy of the consideration of the gentlemen proposing it, whether it might not be advisable to postpone it till we all agree on its propriety, a period which I... think cannot be far distant.

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

I See letter 507, note I.

506

From Lord Fingall to Merrion Square

Killeen Castle [Co. Meath], 23 November 1814

Dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter expressing the wish of several Catholic gentlemen that I should attend a meeting to be held at No. 4 Capel Street on Saturday next.¹ With much respect for the opinions of the gentlemen who have considered this meeting advisable, I cannot but state to you that to me it appears, that when the result of circumstances now depending to which it is unnecessary to allude, shall be made known, a much better opportunity will be afforded for laying the ground of our application to Parliament, and the adoption of such measures as shall be most likely to deserve and ensure unanimity in our body, an object I trust I need not say, I have ever proved myself most anxious to promote.

source : Dublin Diocesan Archives 1 See letter 507, note 1.

507

To Lord Fingall

[24 November 1814]

My Lord,

... I am sorry you augur so ill of the meeting of Saturday¹ as to believe that the mode of proceeding about to be adopted is not the most likely to promote unanimity; that is at present matter of prophecy, in which I hope your Lordship will have the pleasure of finding yourself mistaken; but, at all events, I am quite sure, my Lord, that if you were pleased to point out, either by letter or personally, any mode likely to attain that great object, unanimity, any suggestion coming from you must be received with all the deference due to a person having so many personal and hereditary claims on Catholic confidence.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, Corr., I, 25-6.

1 A meeting held on 26 November 1814 to consider steps for the promotion of the Catholic cause in parliament. It was adjourned in the hope that Fingall might later be prevailed on to attend (DEP, 29 Nov. 1814). Fingall claimed he was in favour of postponing further meetings. He wished first to learn the outcome of certain negotiations on the subject of the veto, which Dr. Murray was believed currently engaged in at Rome on behalf of the Irish hierarchy (see Fingall's letter to O'Connell read at meeting 26 Nov. 1814, DEP, 29 Nov. 1814. The Dublin Evening Post reports Murray's having been sent to Rome, DEP, 17 Dec. 1814).

Index of Persons

In this index no distinction is made between persons mentioned in letters and those mentioned in notes, or between a name mentioned once or more than once in a letter and its notes. Numbers in italics indicate that the person is either the writer or the recipient of the letter; a form of relationship after a name indicates relationship to Daniel O'Connell. All numerical references are to letter numbers.

- Abbot, Charles (later 1st Baron Colchester), 400 Abercromby, Sir Ralph, 46 Addington, Henry, 1st Viscount Sid-
- mouth, 40, 408
- Allanson, Charles Winn, and Baron Headley, 166

- Allen, Miss, 473 Atkinson, John Wray, 25 Austen, Charles Joseph, 143
- Avonmore, 1st Viscount, see Yelverton, Barry
- Bagwell, William, 397
- Baily, John, see Bayly, John
- Baldwin, Herbert, 490
- Barber, Rev. Samuel, 431
- Barnewall, Hon. John Thomas (later 15th Baron Trimleston), 348
- Barnewall, Nicholas, 14th Baron Trimleston, 140.
- Barry, John, M.D. (Mallow), 484 Barry, Capt. Richard, 40
- Bathurst, Henry, bishop of Norwich, 392
- Bayly, John, 29, 33, 141, 147, 167
- Baymont, Mr. (procurator of Douai),
- Beamish, William, 360
- Bellevue, Aimée de, 56 Bellevue, Marie Caroline Célinie de, 56 Bellew, Sir Edward, 6th baronet, 505:
- 140, 338
- Bellew, William, 140
- Bennett, George, 437 Bennett, Richard Newton, 18
- Berill, Peter, 141, 142
- Bernard, Miss, 405 Bernard, William, 198, 215, 219 Bishop, Mrs. Eliza, 278, 329, 330
- Blake, Miss, 371
- Blake, Sir John, 11th Baronet, 200
- Blake, Julia, 238

- Blaquiere, Mrs. see de Blaquiere, Eliza Blayney, Andrew Thomas, 11th Baron Blayney, 409
- Blennerhassett, Mrs., 166
- Blennerhassett, Arthur (Blennerville), 154
- Blennerhassett, Ellen (formerly O'Connell), 101, 102, 103, 106, 202, 341, 347. See also O'Connell, Ellen
- Blennerhassett, John Henry (Harry), 102, 106, 108, 128. Blennerhassett, Richard Francis, 321,
- 407
- Blennerhassett, Sir Rowland, TST baronet, 313
- Blood, Miss, 371
- Bodkin, Anthony, 196, 199, 202, 367
- Booker, Joseph, 374, 377, 379
- Botet, Major A., 219, 350
- Bowen, Bob, 108
- Boyd, Rev. Hannington Elgee, 431
- Boyd, Rev. Henry, 431 Brabazon, John Chambre, 10th earl of Meath, 392 Breen, John, M.D., 343

- Browne, Arthur, 143 Browne, Valentine, 5th Viscount (later 1st earl of) Kenmare, 27, 28, 140,
- 223, 317, 385 Browne, Valentine, Viscount Castlerosse (later and earl of Kenmare),
- 338, 408, 493, 495 Bryan, Maj. George, 455, 457, 458: 338, 339, 356, 465 Burdett, Sir Francis, 5th baronet, 322

- Burke, Rev. Mr., 482 Burke, Col. John (later Sir John, 2nd
- baronet), 338
 Burke, John Ignatius (late baronet), 318: 338, 385, 408
 Burke, John Joseph, M.D., 343 Ignatius (later 10th
- Burke, Sir Ulick, 1st baronet, 318
- Burrowes, Peter, 386
- Burton, Charles, 213, 394

Burton, Hon. Francis Nathaniel Pierpoint, 215 Busteed, Mrs., 61, 67 Butler, Charles, 408 Butler, James (Waterville), 129, 154, 306, 391 Butler, William (Bunnahow, Gort), 342 Byrne, Mr., 385 Byrne, John, 412 Caldbeck, William, 23, 26 Callaghan, Mr. (Kanturk), 450 Canning, George, 374, 375, 376, 377, 381, 383, 426 Canny, Mathew, 342 Casey, Charles, 21, 40 Castlereagh, Viscount, see Stewart, Robert Castlerosse, Viscount, see Bro Valentine, 2nd earl of Kenmare Christian, Charles R., 431 Browne. Clanwilliam, Countess of, see Meade, Theodosia Clare, 1st earl of, see Fitzgibbon, John Clarke, Mr. (attorney), 203 Cloncurry, 2nd Baron, see Lawless, Valentine Browne Cloyne, bishop of, see Woodward, Richard Cody, Mrs., 312 Cole, John, 220 Colthurst, Sir Nicholas Conway, 4th baronet, 400 onnell, Charles, Connell. see O'Connell, Charles (Tralee) Connell, Rick, see O'Connell, Dr. **Rickard Charles** Connor, Betsey, 31, 41, 42, 52, 54, 55, 57, 61, 62a 63, 78, 173, 204, 237, 275, 341, 347, 482. Connor, Ellen, 61, 63, 182, 183, 199, 209, 487 Connor, James, 37, 38, 41, 42, 52, 54, 55, 60, 61, 62, 62a, 63, 67, 71, 78, 94, 95, 101, 104-106, 112, 150, 154, 175, 179, 185, 220, 222, 235, 256, 260, 264, 279, 303, 323, 336, 401, 402, 404, 486. Conry, Mary Theresa, 497 Conway, Frederick William, 305, 457, 465 Conway, Brig. Gen. James, Viscount, IO Conway, Maj. Gen. Thomas, 2nd Count, 10 Cooper, Austin, 215, 219 Cooper, Samuel (Cashel), 219 Cooper, Samuel (Dublin), 215, 219 Coote, Sir Charles, 2nd baronet, 318 Coppinger, Elizabeth (Bess) (later Mrs. John O'Connell), 101, 110. See also O'Connell, Elizabeth (Bess). Coppinger, William, 110, 469

Cork and Ross, bishop of, see St. Lawrence, Hon. Thomas Cornwallis, Charles, 1st Marquis Cornwallis, 40 Costigan, Sylvester, 283 Cotter and Kellet (bankers), 255 Coutts and Co. (bankers), 49 Cronin, Miss, 473 Cronin, Daniel, 261, 337 Cronin, George, 398 Crosbie, Col. James, 188, 189 Crosbie, John, 2nd earl of Glandore, 269 Crosbie, John Gustavus, 29 Crotty Mr., 40, 46, 49 Curran, John Philpot, 392, 453 Daniel (hairdresser), 40 Darcy, James, 392 Day, Judge Robert, 24a, 28, 105, 130, 219, 365 de Blaquiere, Mrs. Eliza (Eliza O'Brien) 199, 201 de Blaquiere, Hon. Peter Boyle, 199 Delany, Daniel, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, 282: 271 Denny, Anthony, 104 Denny, Sir Edward, 3rd baronet, 101 Donoughmore, 1st earl of, Hutchinson, Richard Hely Hely see Donovan, James (Dublin), 333 Dora (maid), 486 Douai, Procurator of, see Baymont, Mr. Dowling, Rev. Michael, 456 Downshire, 3rd marquis of, see Hill, Arthur Blundell Sandys Doyle, Rev. Mr., C.C., 288 Dromgoole, Thomas, M.D., 373, 392, 460, 465 Dromore, Protestant bishops of, see Leslie, John; Percy, Thomas. Dublin, Archbishop of, see Troy, John Thomas Duggan, Dan, 433 Duggan, John, Jr., 4, 12, 17 Dumas, Thomas Collins, 238 Dundas, Henry, 15 Dunn, Mr., 502 Dunsany, 13th Baron, see Plunkett, Randall Eager, Mr., 256 Eager, Rowland, 407 Eldon, 1st Baron, see Scott, John Elsam, Richard, 446, 451 Emmet, Robert, 97, 386 Erskine, Thomas, 1st Baron Erskine, 322 Esmonde, Letitia, Lady, 312 Esmonde, Sir Thomas, 9th baronet, 312

390

Index

- Fagan, Chevalier Christopher (captain),
- 8, 9, 10, 11, 22 Fagan, William Trant, 469
- Falvey, Miss, 44 Fingall, 8th earl of, see Plunkett, Arthur James
- Finlay, John, 453 Finn, Alicia (Ally) (née O'Connell), 364, 384, 425, See also O'Connell, Alicia (Ally)
- Finn, Rev. Charles J., 65
- Finn, William, 340 Finn, William F., 340: 357, 368, 412, 453, 457, 464
- Finnerty, Peter, 322 Fitzgerald, Miss, 106
- FitzGerald, Augustine, 217, 219
- FitzGerald, John Bateman, knight of Glin, 33, 64
- FitzGerald, Maurice, knight of Kerry, 186, 192, 356, 375: 129, 146, 187, 188, 189, 261, 271, 356 FitzGerald, William Vesey, 405
- Fitzgibbon, John, 1st earl of Clarc, 25, 28, 397
- FitzMaurice, Lord Henry Petty (later 3rd marquis of Lansdowne), 166
- FitzPatrick, Hugh S., 343: 385, 388, 458.
- Fitzpatrick, Rev. John, 312
- Fitzpatrick, Patrick (Cahirciveen), 459
- Fitzsimmons, John, 286 Forbes, George, 6th earl of Granard, 392
- Forbes, George John, Viscount Forbes, 392
- Foster, Mr., 146
- Fox, Charles James, 140 Fox, Henry Richard Vassall, 3rd Baron Holland, 381
- Franklin, Mr., 219
- Franks, John, 24a Franks, Matthew, 23 24a
- Freeman, Maj. Gen. Quin John, 357
- Furnell, Michael, Sr., 437
- Gallwey, John, 223
- Geary, Daniel, 437 George III, 18, 40, 311, 316, 322, 372
- George Augustus Frederick, prince of Wales (later prince regent), 140, 316, 318, 320, 322, 338, 348, 362, 372, 374, 375, 377, 380, 385, 408 Glandore, 2nd earl of, see Crosbie,
- John
- Glentworth, Viscount, see Pery, Henry Hartstonge
- Glin, Knight of, see FitzGerald, John Bateman
- Goold, Sir Francis, 1st baronet, 338, 354, 385, 408 Goold, Thomas, 335
- Grady, Henry Deane, 142, 169, 372

- Grandard, 6th earl of, see Forbes, George
- Grattan, Henry, Sr., 178, 270, 271, 284, 305, 319, 338, 339, 356, 374, 377, 386, 392, 408, 411, 465, 469, 489, 494
- Grenville, William Wyndham, Ist Baron Grenville, 140, 178, 265, 268, 293
- Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, 265,
- 339 Grey, Richard, 244 Gun, George, 277, 279, 280, 281, 353. 463
- Hall, Walter, 385, 388
- Hancock, John, 429, 502
- Hannah (servant), 194, 205 Hardwicke, 3rd earl of, see Yorke, Philip
- Harry, John, 106 Hart, William Sterne, 373
- Hastings, Francis Rawdon, 2nd earl of Moira, 338, 367 Hastings, Richard, 460
- Hay, Edward, 271, 273, 338, 339.
- 385, 412 Hayes, William, 393 Headley, 2nd Baron, see Allanson, Charles Winn
- Herbert, Henry Arthur (Muckross), 188, 189
- Hickson, George, 246
- Hickson, George (Hillville), 246
- Hickson, John C., 230, 372, 445 Hickson, Robert (Dublin), 203, 219, 230, 445 Hickson, Robin, 164, 264
- Hill, Arthur Blundell Sandys, 3rd marquis of Downshire, 392
- Hippisley, Sir John Coxe, 1st baronet, 383
- Hobson, Mr., 10 Holland, 3rd Baron, see Fox, Henry Richard Vassall
- Holmes, Robert, 502

- Howley, John, 437 Howley, William, 437 Hughes, Michael, 328 Hunting-Cap, see O'Connell, Maurice (Hunting-Cap)
- Hussey, Edward, 42
- Hussey, Mary, 42, 43, 48, 394, 420,
- 423, 447 Hussey, Nicholas Connolly, 43, 130 Hussey, Peter Bodkin, 376: 42, 43, 102, 204, 204, 324, 326, 324, 326
- 63, 82, 196, 198, 204, 264, 324, 326, 338, 374, 408 ussey, Mrs.
- Hussey, Thomas (Bridget Prendergast), 42

Hussey, Thomas (Dublin), 330 Hussey, Walter, 411 Hutchins, James, 402 Hutchinson, Christopher Hely, 427: 385, 400, 401, 465 Hutchinson, John Hely, 1st Baron Hutchinson (later 2nd earl of Donoughmore), 338 Hutchinson, Richard Hely Hely, 1st earl of Donoughmore, 270, 271, 273, 284, 319, 338, 339, 361, 385, 427, 465, 466, 489, 494, 495, 498 James (servant), 163, 194, 205, 207, 335, 446, 472 Jeffers, Mr., 73a Jeffers, Mrs., 371 Jerningham, Edward, 265, 267, 268: 408 Johanna, see Hannah (servant) John (coachman), 226, 326 Jones, William Todd, 287, 392 Keane, Edward, 322 Kearney, J.F., M.D., 442 Keating, Geoffrey, 40, 56 Keating, George, 56 Kellet, Sir Richard, 1st baronet, 255 Kenmare, 5th Viscount and 1st and 2nd earls of, see Browne, Valentine Kennedy, Patrick (Ahanbee), 321 Kenny, Mrs. (Tralee), 204, 220 Keogh, John, 266: 287 Keon, Mr., 290 Kerry, Bishop of, see Sugrue, Charles Kerry, Knight of, see FitzGerald, Maurice Kildare and Leighlin, Bishop of, see Delany, Daniel Killaloe, Bishop of, see O'Shaughnessy, James King, Abraham Bradley (later 1st baronet), 426 Kirwan, Thomas, 343, 362 Labatt, Samuel Bell, M.D., 442, 443 Lalor, John, 397 Lansdowne, 3rd marquis of, FitzMaurice, Henry Petty see Larkin, James, 358 Larkin, M, 358 Lawless, John, 397, 457 Lawless, Valentine Browne, 2nd Baron Cloncurry, 392 Lawlor, James Justin, 355 Leader, Nicholas Philpot, 437 Leahy, Daniel, 484 Lennox, Charles, 4th duke of Richmond, 385, 397, 434, 444 Leslie, John, Bishop of Dromore, 431 L'Estrange, Anthony (Dublin), 219 Leyne, Mary, 42 Leyne, Maurice, M.D., 78, 107, 108, 194, 405, 484

Leyne, Michael, 350 Lidwill, George, 452 Lismore, 1st Viscount, see O'Callaghan, Cornelius Lonergan, John, 291 Longfield, Mountiford, 400 Loughborough, 1st Baron, see Wedderburn, Alexander Lumley, William, 361 Lynch, Miss, 301, 367 Lyons, James D., 437 Mac, Zeb, 183 McCarthy, Captain (Aughermonge), 304 McCarthy, Alexander, 307, 398 McCarthy, Daniel (died 1812), 406 McCarthy, Denis, 161 McCarthy, Denis, M.D. (Newcastlewest), 450 McCarthy, Elizabeth B., 382 McCarthy, James, 454 McCarthy, Jeremiah (Jerry or Darby) (Aughermonge), 304 McCarthy, Jeremiah (Dublin), 220 McCarthy, Mary (Aughermonge), 304 McCarthy, Mary (governess), 460, 497. McCarthy, Samuel, 428 McCarthy, Timothy, 406: 382 McCarthy, Maj. William, 454 McCartie, Jeremiah, 148: 23, 97, 425 McCartie, Mary A., 425, 433: 23, 42 McClelland, James, 143 McDonnell, Alexander, 437 MacDonnell, Encas, 320, 361: 338, 498 McDonnell, Myles, 385 McDonnell, Randal, 338, 408 McGillicuddy, Mr., 423 McInerney, Roger, 108 McKenna, Arthur, 154, 203 McMahon, Francis, 342 MacMahon, William (later 1st baronet), 461, 479 McSwiney, IcSwiney, Bridget (Biddy) O'Connell), 304, 384. See O'Connell, Bridget (Biddy) (née also McSwiney, Myles, 254, 317, 357, 360, 363, 403, 407, 424, 428, 456, 479: 250, 253, 319, 384, 474 McSwiney, Peter, 361a Magee, James, 467, 469, 475 Magee, John, 475: 434, 449, 455, 457, 465, 469 Magrath, Maurice, 437 Maher, Nicholas, 437 Mahon, James Nicholas, 498 Mahon, Nicholas, 342 Mahon, Patrick, 342 Mahony, Captain, 144, 165, 168, 184 Mahony, James Mountain, 164, 165 Mahony, Nano, 72 Richard (Portmagee and Mahony, Killarney), 456

Index

Mahony, Robert, 395 Mahony, William, 484 Mangin, Mr., 67 Manners, 1st Baron, see Sutton. Thomas Manners Mannix, Mr., 142 Markham, John, 147 Markham, John, 147 Marshall, Ralph, 36, 175: 64 Mathews [?], T. [?] B., 432 Mayberry, John, 72 Meade, Hon. Pierce, 431 Meade, Col. Hon. Robert, 431 Meade, Theodosia, countess of Clan william, 431 Meath, 10th earl of, see Brabazon, John Chambre Milner, John, 268 Mitford, Sir John Freeman, 40 Moira, 2nd earl of, see Hastings, Francis Rawdon Moore, Mrs., 15 Moore, Ambrose, 444 Moore, Daniel, 501 Moore, Pvt. John, 358 Moore, Hon. Robert, 444 Moriarty, Mr., 315 Moriarty, Dr. (the younger), 250, 447 Moriarty, Patrick, M.D., 36, 48, 54. 107, 110, 130, 250, 357 Morres, Hervey Montmorency, 251 Morris, Parson, 124 Morrison, Gen. George, 19 Moylan, Dennis, 289: 471, 472, 473, 474 Moylan, Dennis Richard, 289 Moynihan, Catherine (Kitty) (néc O'Connell), 245, 433. Se O'Connell, Catherine (Kitty). See also Moynihan, Humphrey, Sr. 148, 317, 350 Murphy, Mr., 392 Murphy, Rev. Arthur, 288 Murray, Mr. (grocer), 49, 56 Murray, Daniel, co-adjutor bishop of Dublin, 272, 507 Nagle, Honora, 232, 235 Nagle, Pierce, 396 Nash, Mr., 40, 49 Nepean, Evan, 15 Newport, Sir John, 1st baronet, 338, 339, 377 Norwich, Bishop of, see Bathurst, Henry O'Beirne, Hugh, 290 O'Brien, Murrough, 1st marquis of Thomond, 113

- O'Er'en, Terence, 450 O'Bryen, Capt. James, 217, 219
- O'Callaghan, Cornelius, 1st Viscount
- Lismore, 392 O'Connell, Alicia (Ally) (sister; later Mrs. William F. Finn), 170, 187,

245, 253, 254, 275, 302, 304, 315, 340, 357, 360. See also Finn, Alicia (Ally)

- O'Connell, Bridget (Biddy) (sister; later Bridget McSwiney), 43. See also
- McSwiney, Bridget O'Connell, Catherine (mother), 75, 384, 459: 2, 8, 9, 10, 72, 81, 89, 101, 106, 108, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 134, 135, 139, 144, 146, 148, 157, 160, 173, 253, 254, 298, 302, 304, 350, 357, 363, 425, 482 O'Connell, Catherine (Kitty, Kate)
- (sister; later Catherine Moynihan), 119, 128, 132, 134, 135, 148. See also Moynihan, Catherine
- O'Connell, Catherine (Kate) (daughter), 194, 230, 234, 236, 239, 240, 301, 345, 371, 395, 420, 471, 489, 492, 497, 499 O'Connell, Catherine (niece), 441
- O'Connell, Charles (Co. Cork), 169
- O'Connell, Charles (Tralee), 36, 160
- Mrs. Charles (Catherine O'Connell, O'Connell) (Tralee), 48
- O'Connell, Connell, 225: 226, 227, 228, 295, 342, 423 O'Connell, Daniel (Kilgory), 113: 180,
- 197, 342, 463 O'Connell, Daniel (Portmagee), 75,
- 307, 337 O'Connell, Daniel (Splinter) (brother-
- in-law; of Tralee), 37, 160: 38, 39, 42, 44, 48, 50, 51, 54, 75, 146, 151, 183, 202, 241, 315, 326, 330, 441,
- 447 O'Connell, Lt. Gen. Daniel Charles, Count (uncle), 40, 46, 49, 56, 476, 477: 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, 64, 405 O'Connell, Daniel Stephen (son), 405,
- 457 O'Connell, Edward (son), 216, 221
- O'Connell, Lieut. Edward (brother-inlaw), 45, 60, 194, 196, 198, 199, 202, 205, 206, 207, 209, 214 O'Connell, Elizabeth (Bess) (Mrs. John
- O'Connell), 166, 174, 185, 243, 245. See also Coppinger, Elizabeth (Bess) O'Connell, Elizabeth (Betsey) (wife of
- Capt. Rickard O'Connell), 41, 42,
- O'Connell of Tralee), 50: 72, 75, 117, 151, 160, 185, 196, 254, 315, 424, 447 O'Connell, Ellen (mother-in-law; later
- Ellen Blennerhassett), 41, 42, 43, 48, 53, 54, 57, 60, 61, 62, 71, 78, 81, 87, 98. See also Blennerhassett, Ellen
- O'Connell, Ellen (Nell) (daughter), 468: 177, 194, 230, 236, 240, 301,

329, 330, 332, 371, 395, 466, 488, 489, 492, 493, 497, 499 Connell, Ellen (M

O'Connell, (Mrs. Thomas O'Connell), 62b

- O'Connell, Geoffrey (Ballybrack), 313 O'Connell, James (brother), 191, 193, 222-224, 250, 252, 253, 255, 260, 284, 313, 315, 319, 321, 349, 350, 387: 46, 104, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 129, 133, 139, 144, 153, 155, 175, 194, 206, 261, 263, 264, 304, 317, 355, 357, 359, 360, 384, 405, 407, 423, 424, 425, 449, 456, 467, 474, 479
- O'Connell, John (brother), 84, 336, 399: 37, 46, 81, 82, 89, 93, 95, 96, 101, 106, 107, 110, 111, 125, 129, 169, 178, 196, 222, 223, 306, 357, 384, 387, 404, 407, 411, 416, 417, 420, 436, 476, 492, 493
- O'Connell, John (son), 331, 342, 482,

- 486 O'Connell, John Charles, 443 O'Connell, M., 348 O'Connell, Marthe, Gourand, Countess, 23, 40, 56, 64
- O'Connell, Mary (Maire Ní Dhuibh) (grandmother), 2, 8, 9, 10
- O'Connell, Mary (wife), 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41-45, 47, 48, 51-55, 57-63, 65-72, 734, 74, 76-83, 85-112, 114-136, 143-146, 149, 150-159 162-166, 168-174, 176-185, 187-190, 194-221, 226-241, 243-245, 247-249, 256-259, 263, 264, 274-276, 278-281, 294-306, 308-310, 323-335, 341, 342, 344-347, 364-371, 389-391, 393-396, 409, 410, 412-423, 435, 436, 438-443, 445-448, 460-463, 465-467, 469-474, 479a-490, 492-499, 501, 503: 50, 316, 343, 359, 372, 405, 425 O'Connell,
- Maurice (Hunting-Cap) (uncle), 1-18, 20-23, 24a-29, 33, 64, 73, 141, 142, 147, 167, 261, 277, 311, 334, 373, 380, 405, 449, 452, 453: 36, 37, 40, 49, 55, 56, 62, 72, 75, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93, 95, 96, 101, 107, 110, 139, 151, 155, 164, 165, 175, 185, 189, 191, 196, 204, 206, 208, 209, 219, 222, 223, 226, 253, 254, 269, 274, 280, 298, 304, 306, 308, 309, 313, 315, 319, 330, 344, 345, 349, 350, 357, 373, 387, 424, 443, 448, 476, 479, 496
- O'Connell, Maurice (son), 242, 464: 96, 97, 98, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112, 115, 117, 119, 122, 124, 125, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134, 135, 139, 144, 145, 146, 149, 151, 153, 154, 156, 177, 187, 194, 204, 207, 226, 228, 230, 233, 234, 236, 240, 263, 276, 278, 325, 326,

- 334, 346, 364, 365, 371, 413, 415, 442, 463, 466, 496, 499 O'Connell, Maurice (brother-in-law),
- 372: 42, 50, 69, 70, 81, 194
- O'Connell, Brig. Maurice, 46
- O'Connell, Maurice (Ballybrack), 313, 348, 387
- O'Connell, Maurice (deceased; Moyresk, Co. Clare), 113
- O'Connell, Maurice Charles Phillip, 246: 40, 46
- O'Connell, Maurice Morgan (brother), 24: 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15
- O'Connell, Morgan (father; Carhen), 30, 32, 139: 2, 8, 9, 10, 25, 27, 56, 75, 84, 100, 101, 104, 106, 107, 110,
 112, 121, 125, 126, 135, 144, 146, 159, 151, 152, 151, 153, 154, 156, 159, 166, 178, 196, 198, 199, 202, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214,
 222, 223, 250, 252, 253, 254, 350, 384, 425, 433, 476
- O'Connell, Morgan P. (son), 119, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 129, 132, 135, 144, 146, 149, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 176, 177, 187, 194, 204, 230, 236, 240, 364, 371, 415, 442, 466, 467, 496, 499 O'Connell, Capt. Rickard (brother-in-
- law), 38, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 53, 57, 59, 118, 210, 248, 275, 276, 348 O'Connell, Surgeon Rickard (of 38th
- regt.), 37, 42, 200
- Rickard Charles O'Connell, Dr. O'Conner, Dr. Kickard Charles (Tralec), 36, 37, 48, 90, 128 O'Connell, Thomas 57, 208 O'Connor, Captain, 24 O'Connor, Arthur, 33 O'Connor, Maurice, 188, 399, 416, 436,

- 438
- O'Conor, Owen, 292, 478, 504: 338, 408
- O'Donel, Conor, 290
- O'Ferrall, Maj. Gen. James, 338
- O'Gorman, Mrs., 187
- O'Gorman, James, 342 O'Gorman, Nicholas Purcell, 437: 279. 310, 318, 338, 356, 408
- O'Grady, Standish, 141, 142, 421, 453
- O'Leary, Cornelius, 395, 473
- O'Leary, Dr. Cornelius, 42
- O'Leary, James, 326, 328, 369, 413. 415, 454
- O'Loghlen, Michael, 342
- O'Mullane, Edward, 369
- O'Mullane, Honora, 81
- O'Mullane, John (uncle), 110
- O'Reardon, John, M.D., 423
- O'Reilly, Dominick W., 338 O'Reilly, Sir Hugh, 1st baronet, 338
- Orpen, Edward, 127
- O'Shaughnessy, James, bishop of Killaloe, 293

Index

- O'Sullivan, Daniel (brother-in-law), 215, 219 O'Sullivan, Capt. Daniel (Coulagh), 71, 115, 174 O'Sullivan, Honora, 117, 304 O'Sullivan, James, 247 O'Sullivan, Rev. Michael (Tralee), 209. 214 Ouverture, Pierre Toussaint 1', 56 Owenson, Sydney, 187 Parnell, Henry Brooke (later 4th baronet), 338, 339, 377, 381, 386, 444, 502 Payne, John Howard, 492 Peel, Robert (later and baronet), 465 Pembroke, Mrs., 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90 Perceval, Spencer, 293, 376, 377, 378, 380 Percy, Thomas, bishop of Dromore, 431 Perrier, Sir Anthony, Kt., 361 Pery, Henry Hartstonge, Viscount Glentworth, 396, 463 Peter (servant), 30 Petty, Lord Henry, see FitzMaurice, Henry Petty Phillips, Charles, 492, 493, 494, 495 Pierse, Dan, 37 Pitt, William, 40, 140 Pius VII, 273 Plunkett, Arthur James, 8th earl of Fingall, 270, 351, 352, 506, 507: 123, 140, 178, 192, 265, 268, 271, 273, 316, 318, 319, 338, 342, 348, 356, 380, 392, 408 Plunkett, Randall, 13th Baron Dunsany, 392 Pole, William Wellesley, 342, 356, 385, 444 Pollock, John, 403 Ponsonby, George, 293, 338, 339, 377 Popes, see Pius VII Power, John (Cork), 40 Power, Nicholas, 312 Prendergast, Dr. (London), 16 Prendergast, Samuel, 357 Prendergast, Walter, 37, 42, 95, 127, 129, 394 Prendergast, William, 403 Primrose, Mrs. Honoria, 157, 196, 258 Primrose, John, Sr., 359: 105, 337, 350 Prince Regent, see George Augustus Frederick Purcell, Miss, 473 Rice, Dominick, 25, 56, 105, 263, 355, 373 Rice, Stephen Henry 12, 14, 15, 42, to5, 140, 163, 389, 399 Rice, Mrs. Stephen H. (formerly Mrs. Thomas Hussey) 129, 389, 407 Richardson, William, M.P., 293
- Richmond, 4th duke of, see Lennox, Charles Riddall, Sir James, Kt., 262: 444 Ridgeway, William, 343 Rigby, Mrs., 18 Rigby, Mrs., 18 Ring, Thomas, 451 Riordan, Tom, 239 Roche, James, 362, 400-402, 404: 313, 354 Roche, Stephen, 313, 354 Roche, Thomas, 402 Roche, William, 402 Ross, Gen. Alexander, 45 Rossmore, 2nd Baron, see Westenra, Warner William Rowan, George, 189, 299, 300 Rowan, John, 187, 299, 300 Ruthven, Edward Southwell, 431 Ruxton, Mr., 259 Ryan, Mrs., 126 132, 134, 150, 203a 208, 209, 211 Ryan, Rev. Edward, D.D., 268 Ryan, James, 140 Ryan, Thaddeus, 437 Ryder, Richard, 339 St. Lawrence, Hon. Thomas, bishop of Cork and Ross, 431 St. Omer, President of, see Stapleton, Gregory Sandes, George, 353 Saurin, William, 343, 348, 356, 388, 449, 452, 453, 469, 475, 479 Scott, John, 1st Baron Eldon, 40 Scully, Denys, 137, 138, 140, 314, 388: 343, 381, 385, 386, 469 Scurlog, Gregory, 343 Segerson, Francis, 360 Segerson, John James (Cade), 95, 127, 129, 130, 136, 188, 189, 298, 299, 300, 304, 307, 311, 337 Segerson, Maria, 448 Serrant, Count Walshe de, 6 Shaw, Robert, 305 Shaw and Needham (bankers), 282 Sheil, Richard Lalor, 343 Sheridan, Edward, M.D., 343 Shiel, Mrs. 460, 462, 503 Shrewsbury, 15th earl of, see Talbot, Charles Siddons, Sarah, 76 Sidmouth, 1st Viscount, see Addington, Henry Sinnot, Mr., 312 Smith, Sir William Cusac, 91, 100, 274, 276, 324, 388 outhwell, Thomas Southwell, Anthony, 3rd Viscount Southwell, 140, 338 Speaker of the House of Commons, see Abbot, Charles Splinter, see O'Connell, Daniel (Tralee) Spotswood, Capt. John, 55, 108, 111, 443

Spread, Charles, 280 Stack, John, 316, 354 Stack, Mrs. John, 316 Stapleton, Gregory, president of St. Omer, I Staughton, Mr., 261 Stephens, Samuel, 426 Stevenson, John, 430 Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh (later and marquis of Londonderry), 322, 408, 411 542, 400, 411 Sugrue, Charles, 448, 459, 494 Sugrue, Charles, bishop of Kerry, 173 Sugrue, James, 323, 371, 413, 414,, 415, 423, 445, 446, 460, 463, 473, 500, 501 Sullivan, Darby, 428 Sullivan, John, 37 Sussex, Augustus Frederick, duke of, 376, 385 Sutherland, Sergeant, 358 Sutton, Thomas Manners, 1st Baron Manners, 453 Sweetman, William, Jr., 343 Taaffe, Henry Edmond, 343, 348 Talbot, Charles, 15th earl of Shrewsbury, 140, 338 Talbot, William John, 269 Teeling, Christopher, M.D., 203a Teeling, Luke, 287 Thomas (servant), 163 Thomond, 1st marquis of, see O'Brien, Murrough Thompson, Mr., 357 Thompson, Douglas, 19 Thorp, Alderman Charles, 450

Trimleston, 14th Baron, see Barnewall, Nicholas Troy, John Thomas, archbishop of Dublin, 272: 265, 427 Tuohy, Kitty, 165 Unknown correspondent, 286, 434 Vereker, Charles (later 2nd Viscount Gort), 462 Wallace, Thomas, 475 Waller, Richard, 142 Waters, Mr., 9 Waters, Mary, 9 Wedderburn, Alexander, 1st Baron Loughborough, 40 Wellesley, Richard Colley, 1st Marquis Wellesley, 381 West, John, 500 Westenra, Warner William, 2nd Baron Rossmore, 392 Whelan, Mr. 305 Whitbread, Samuel, 339 Whitworth, Charles, 1st Viscount (later Earl) Whitworth, 477 Whyte, Edward, 365, 415 Whyte, Samuel, 365 William (coachman), 226, 240 Wilson, William, 33 Wollstonecraft, Everina, 278, 326, 371 Woodward, Richard, bishop of Cloyne, 431 Woulfe, Stephen, 342, 466 Wynn, Charles Watkin Williams, 429 Wynn, Sir Watkin Williams, 429 Yelverton, Barry, 1st Viscount Avonmore, 100 York, Frederick Augustus, duke of, 48

Yorke, Philip, 3rd earl of Hardwicke,

40

Young, Charles, 285

Tierney, George, 339 Tighe, William, M.P., 385, 386, 388 Toussaint l'Ouverture, Pierre, see Ouverture, Pierre Toussaint l'

Trant, Patrick (Cahirciveen), 337



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